ABSTRACT

THE ẸGBADO OF ẸGBALAND

by Oliver H. Osborne

The large literature relating to the Yoruba speaking peoples of Nigeria demonstrates an interest in both general and very specialized social and cultural processes peculiar to all the Yoruba peoples as well as a continuing fascination with the Yoruba as an indigenous urban people. There has been little concern with the study of how the millions of people who live in the many Yoruba villages manage to come together and organize their communities. Very little of this literature discusses the Ẹgbado Yoruba.

The subject of this thesis is the Ẹgbado people of the village of Ibara Orile. Pertinent aspects of the social organization and culture of the Ibara Omida township of Abẹokuta are also considered.

During the tribal wars of the last century the people of Ibara deserted their old town and kingdom. For eighty-eight years they lived in isolated farm hamlets or have participated in building a new community at Ibara Omida, their settlement in the Ẹgba town of Abẹokuta. Yet, they never forgot their past glory. Through the years they have labored to improve their position among their Ẹgba neighbors and rulers. In 1952 they crowned their first king since the time of their disastrous loss of their kingdom. This success, combined with an improvement in the price paid for their cocoa, permitted the Ibara people to leave their small dispersed, familistic, farm hamlets and gather together to build new homes at Ibara Orile, the site of their old walled town.

It has not been easy for them to develop a new community. They lack the necessary organization skills and habits of cooperation. Their social, political, and religious institutions have few elements which are conducive to the development of extra-familial patterns of cooperation. Dispersed in the bush hamlets for more than three generations they have come to rely upon kinship ties which emphasize the authority of family elders. The people who inherited family chieftaincy positions were primarily responsible for the maintenance of the integrity of their kin group, its land, and its property. There was no king to symbolize and protect community interests.

In the first section of this thesis problems of research tactics, the history of the Yoruba peoples, and the history of the Ẹgba and Ẹgbado Yoruba are discussed. This section also contains an examination of the historical, ecological, and demographic characteristic of the people of Ibara Orile.

The second section considers the ways in which the people of Ibara Orile, collectively and individually, organize their world. Included are discussions of religious beliefs and behaviors, kinship structure, political organization, and household organization.

The last section is devoted to discussions of how the people of Ibara Orile live their lives; how they grow up, how they participate in their social and cultural systems, how they grow old, and how they die. This section includes considerations of child-rearing and socialization beliefs and practices, usual modes of dividing labor, methods of production and distribution, characteristic marriage and reproduction practices,

associational habits, middle age, and old age.

The last chapter of the third section constitutes a discussion of individualism, interpersonal behavior, and community integration. The findings of earlier sections are used to present a culture, social structure, and personality approach to the study of the peoples most frequently expressed problem; their belief that lack of cooperation and interpersonal hostility have inhibited the development of Ibara Orile.

THE ẸGBADO OF ẸGBALAND

By
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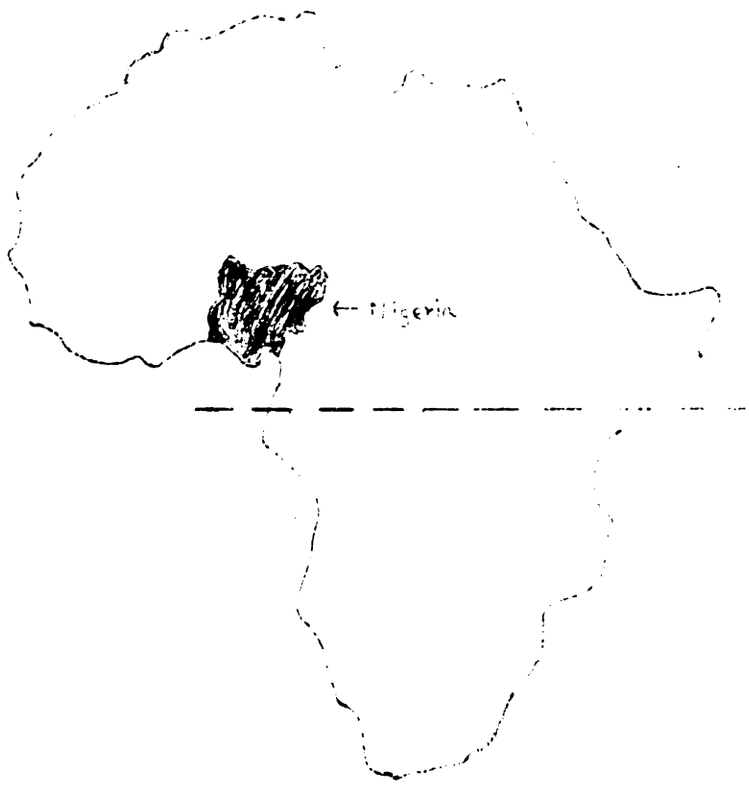

AFRICA

PREFACE

The data for this dissertation were obtained during an eighteen month field investigation, commencing April, 1965, and terminating September, 1966. The field study was carried out among a group of Ẹgbado Yoruba people living in the Ẹgba Division of Western Nigeria.

The intellectual antecedents to the research were many. The investigator comes from a background of training and experience in psychiatric-mental health nursing. His first two degrees were in the field of nursing. In 1962 he began matriculating for a Ph.D. in the then joint Department of Sociology and Anthropology at Michigan State University. At that time most course offerings were in Sociology and Social Psychology, the areas in which the investigator took the major portion of his early graduate work at Michigan State University in time, however, he came to identify some common research interests with Professor C.C. Hughes, Professor of Anthropology and Director of the African Studies Center.

Such common concerns lie in that portion of the behavioral sciences which have been variously described as culture and personality, psychologyical anthropology, and social psychiatry. With the creation of a separate Department of Anthropology at Michigan State University the investigator was able to pursue more vigorously his growing interest in anthropology and to prepare for the time when he would enter upon field investigations.

This background led to the development of a research proposal entitled "The Yoruba Village as a Therapeutic Community". The study was to be carried out under the auspices of Dr. T.A. Lambo, Professor of Psychiatry, University of Ibadan, who treats mentally ill patients in traditional village settings. The objectives of the proposed study related to the determination and specification of sociocultural factors which contribute to and detract from traditional communities as therapeutic milieux. It was felt that the results of such an investigation would help to illuminate and clarify problems relating to the treatment and cure of psychiatric patients in western communities. Although the initial phases of this study were carried out satisfactorily several difficulties emerged which led to the abandonment of the original study.

That development, however, provided an opportunity to pursue problems of a more basically anthropological nature. During the period of preparation for the initial field investigation and as a result of experience gained during the abortive therapeutic community project, it became increasingly clear that there was a need for more basic Yoruba village ethnographies. Although the literature relating to the Yoruba is quite extensive, study of it reveals that the contributors have been concerned with either very general social and cultural processes peculiar to all or most of the Yoruba speaking peoples, or with very specialized problems. Among the major works in the area Johnson (1921), Ajisafe (1924), Ajayi and Smith (1964), Biobaku (1957) and many others have been primarily concerned with history; Asuni (1964), Barber (1966), Collis (1966), Leighton et. al. (1963), Lambo (1960) have devoted their studies to the consideration of health problems; among the many contributors

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to the understanding of religious practices of the Yoruba are Idowu (1963), Dennett (1910), and Lucas (1948). Bascom (1963), Mabogunje (1962), Ojo (1966), Lloyd (1960), Morton-Williams (1960), and Wescott (1962) have described many of the more general cultural and social characteristics of the Yoruba people. Examples of literature which is becoming increasingly specialized include Izzet (1953, 1961) and Okediji (1966) dealing with social problems, and Beier (1959) who has discussed the place of dogs in Yoruba life.

But there is little equivalent concern with the study of how the millions of people who live in the many villages (as contrasted to larger towns.) throughout Yorubaland manage to come together, organize themselves, and live together as communities. The short period of the first study demonstrated that, with certain exceptions in the Leighton (1963) volume, the vast literature dealt at too high a level of abstraction to permit the investigator much understanding of how the people living in villages behave in relation to their environment, their institutions, and in their daily transactions with their families and friends. Ojo (1966) and Okediji (1966) contributions must be excepted from this criticism. These contributions were published during the time the investigator was in the field.

This lacuna in the literature was taken to be of sufficient importance to justify an ethnographic study of a Yoruba village. In response to both the very general and very specific nature of previous published works, it was determined that this study would deal only with considerations of the social, cultural, and interpersonal transactions occurring among the people of one village.

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The exclusive concern of this study will be the description of the life ways of the Ẹgbado people of the village of Ibara Orile ("bara" melon, "orile" homestead). Today, many of the people of the old kingdom of Ibara live in the village of Ibara Orile or Ibara Omida ("omi" water, "da" gone) township of the large town of Abẹokuta. According to plan, the major portion of the field work was carried out in the village of Ibara Orile which is located some ten miles, by road, from Abẹokuta. Less intensive work, consisting of key informant interviews and planned observations, was done in Ibara Omida. Since the people of Ibara Orile are also the people of Ibara Omida, I decided that, for my purposes of a village study, as contrasted with a town study, the people of Ibara Orile were sufficiently competent to discuss the salient social and cultural processes occurring in Ibara Omida. Therefore, many of the comments herein relating to Ibara Omida are the results of information obtained in Ibara Orile and later confirmed through the use of interviews and observations in Ibara Omida.

Although the data in this thesis are drawn only from Ibara, it is clear that these people should not be considered unique among the Yoruba. Informants from the far reaches of Ẹgbaland and Ẹgbadoland have assured me that most of the cultural and social patterns practiced by the people of Ibara are familiar to their home areas. The literature also indicates that most of these patterns are not unfamiliar to most of the other Yoruba peoples, although the specific patterning and cultural styles do vary. Thus, only minor differences in the traditional gods various Yoruba subgroups may choose to worship, or differences in emphasis they may wish to put upon various aspects of their many ceremonies, customs,

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rituals, or social and cultural processes constitute the extent of the differences existing among these people.

In the first section of this study, problems of research tactics and the history of the Yoruba peoples, the Ẹgba Yoruba, and the Ẹgbado Yoruba will be discussed. This first portion will also contain an examination and discussion of the main outlines of the historical, ecological, and demographic characteristics of Ibara Orile.

The second portion of this thesis consists of an examination of the religious, social structural, and political characteristics of the people of Ibara. The third section deals with descriptions and discussions of how the people of Ibara solve the problems of reproduction, child rearing, socialization, production and distribution of foods and goods, and how they interact with each other to solve the mundane, yet important, problems of daily living. The last chapter of the third section constitutes a consideration of the more enduring interests of the investigator; i.e. the problems of interpersonal behavior and community integration. It is, however, to be considered only a tentative formulation of some of the persistent problem areas which characterize Ẹgbado interpersonal life.

For purposes of brevity the term "orile" will be frequently substituted for Ibara Orile and the term "Omida" will be frequently substituted for Ibara Omida. With the exception of unavoidable references to the Olubara of Ibara and other titled elders only pseudonyms are used in this report.

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It would be impossible to adequately express the deep appreciation which I feel towards the many people who contributed to the development and completion of this dissertation. To single out each and every one of these people would be a very difficult task.

I do, however, wish to express particular gratitude to my major advisor, Professor C. C. Hughes, Professor of Anthropology and Director of the African Studies Center, Michigan State University, who gave so much of his time, counsel, and consideration during my years as a graduate student, during the months in which I was engaged in fieldwork in Nigeria, and during the time I spent on campus analyzing and reworking my field notes into an acceptable dissertation. Professor Hughes provided both the opportunity and stimulus for this thesis.

Nor can I fully express my appreciation to Professor Ralph Nicholas and Professor Marc Swartz of the Department of Anthropology, Michigan State University. Their continuing interest, constructive criticisms, and unfailing support contributed much to the construction and completion of this thesis. They were particularyly instrumental to the development of my understanding and awareness of the plurality of meanings concomitant to changing Egbado Yoruba social structure.

I go no further without affirming my deepest gratitude to my wife, Mary Osborne, who became a working anthropologist, a liaison and a logistics officer in the field; a secretary-clerk at home; and, throughout, a mother to our four children who, with her, endured the many crises and deprivations attendant upon being so closely associated with a graduate student.

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Many thanks are also due to Professor T. A. Lambo, Department of Psychiatry, University College Hospital, University of Ibadan, Nigeria. As his research associate I was welcomed into many localities which would have otherwise been closed to me. Dr. Asuni, Director of Aro Hospital, Abẹokuta, Nigeria, was also most helpful in providing me with opportunities to locate and enter several particularly interesting research situations. Our many discussions illuminated avenues of investigation which, without his interest, I might have neglected. In a strange tropical environment the body is subject to a variety of unfamiliar and distressing ailments. I must, therefore, mention the invaluable medical assistance with Dr. Lambo, Dr. Asuni, and their assistants provided my family and myself during our period of acclimatization.

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Without financial support there can be no research. I utter the obvious so that full credit can be given to the organizations which provided the funds for my graduate studies and fieldwork. I gratefully acknowledge the grants provided by the Public Health Service (4F4-NU-20,824) and the National Defense Education Act (LF4-789). I also wish to acknowledge a grant from the National League for Nursing which provided the opportunity for me to begin graduate study in sociology and anthropology. Finally,

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I wish to express my gratitude to the African Studies Center, Michigan State University, for a generous grant which permitted me to undertake field study.

Orthography

The conventional Nigerian spelling for Yoruba words has been used throughout. Examples of this usage are:

ẹ as in wet

ọ as in sow

ṣ as in shout

n placed after a vowel indicates nasalization.

Yoruba is a tone language. It consists of low tones (ˋ), high tones (ˊ), mid-tones (no mark), rising tones (ˇ), and falling tones (ˆ). In the following examples the major high, low, and mid-tones are used to illustrate the importance of tones in the communication of meanings:

ìgbà time, period

igba two hundred

igbá calabash cut into halves

ìgbá the locust tree or acacia, native tomato

igbà a system of pawning

igbâ twisted rope for climbing

Unfortunately, technical difficulties prohibit the use of tone marks in this report. The proper tone marks for words used in these pages can be found by reference to Abraham (1958) and Church Missionary Society (1921).

CONTENTS

PREFACE iii

LIST OF TABLES xiv

LIST OF CHARTS xv

LIST OF FIGURES xvi

MAPS xvii

PART ONE

I. THE BASIC CONDITIONS 1
A Time of Turmoil 1
The Researchers 3
Selecting A Research Site 4
The Problem of Entree 9
The Problem of Identity 11
The Question of Color 14
The People 17
Methodology: A Final Note 23

II. THE ẸGBADOS OF ẸGBALAND 25
Early Yoruba Migrations 25
Ẹgba Migrations 30
Early Ẹgbado Migrations 33
The Old Ibara Kingdom 38
The Destruction of The Old Kingdom 43
The Ẹgba and Ẹgbado 44

III. ABEOKUTA TODAY 52
Population Characteristics 54
Political Organization 56
Housing 59
The Peoples View of Abẹokuta 61

IV. IBARA ORILE 64
The Physical Parameters 64
The Varying Routine of Village Life 72
The Weekly Routine 74
A Sense of Unity 79
The Hamlets 82
The Return To The Orile 84
Rebuilding The Orile 89
The Growth of The Orile and The Price of Cocoa 93
The Demographic Characteristics 99

INTRODUCTION . .

I. RELIGION . . . . .
The Sixties Above a
Islam and the Mus
Christianity and T
The Prophets . .
Christ as Worship . .
Witches and Warlo
The Social Organi
Summary . . . .

II. SOCIAL STRUCTURE .
Nomenclature of
The Lineage . . .
Land Holding Patt
Inheritance of
Clan . . . . . .

III. POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

POLITICAL ORGANI
The Governmenta
The Tribunal of
The Chiefs . . .
Village Level P
The Elders and
The Ibibio Union

IV. [illegible]

V. THE BEGINNINGS [illegible]
The First Years
Problems and Di
The Factions .
The Movement .
Closing . . .

PART TWO

HOW THEY ORDER THEIR WORLD

INTRODUCTION 116

V. RELIGION 118
The Skies Above and The Ground Below 118
Islam and The Muslims 122
Christianity and The Christians 127
The Prophets 130
Orisa Worship 134
Witches and Wizards 153
The Social Organization of Witches and Wizards. 159
Summary 164

VI. SOCIAL STRUCTURE 171
Nomenclature of Kinship Groups 174
The Lineage 178
Land Holding Patterns 196
Inheritance of Land and Other Property 206
Clan 215

VII. HOUSEHOLD ORGANIZATION 221

VIII. POLITICAL ORGANIZATION 240
The Governmental Infrastructure 240
The Olubara of Ibara 243
The Chiefs 250
Village Level Politics 254
The Elders and The Youth 257
The Question of Leadership 260

PART THREE

HOW THEY LIVE THEIR LIVES

INTRODUCTION 269

IX. IN THE BEGINNING 272
Childbirth 272
The First Years 277
Growing Up 280
The Fathers and Their Children 295
The Movement Of Children 298
Schooling 301

I. THE MEN . . . . . .
The Seasons . . .
Farmers . . . . . .
Farming . . . . . .
The Crops . . . .
Farm Economics .
Farming and the
The Hunters . . .
Fishing . . . . . .
Craftsmen and
Tailors and
Livestock . . . .
The Organization
Housebuilding and
Sickness and
II. MARRIAGE AND
Marriage . . .
Motivations and
Traditional Mar
Sexual Relations
Summary . . . . .
III. THE WOMEN OF THE
The Daily Routine
Food Processing
Traders . . . . .
The Trading Encounter
The Market and
IV. THE SOCIAL ORGANIZ
General Principles
Relations Outside
Communities Societies
Savings Societies
Egbe Se
Conclusions
V. RELIGION, CEREMONY
The Ancestors
The Deities
Structural
Systems of

X. THE MEN 306
The Seasons 306
Farmers 308
Farming 311
The Crops 315
Farm Economics 320
Farming and The Growth Cycle 323
The Hunters 326
Fishing 328
Craftsmen and Tradesmen 328
Tailors and Washermen 329
Livestock 330
The Organization of Labor 331
Housebuilding and Houses 335
Sickness and Health 343

XI. MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE 354
Marriage 354
Motivations and Obligations 359
Traditional Marriage 365
Sexual Relations 383
Summary 384

XII. THE WOMEN OF THE HOUSE 387
The Daily Routine 387
Food Processing 391
Traders 394
The Trading Encounter 397
The Market and The Men 401

XIII. THE ASSOCIATIONAL LIFE 407
General Purpose Societies 411
Religious Societies 418
Co-Wives Societies 419
Savings Societies 419
Egbe Ise Ilu 422
Conclusion 424

XIV. PERSONALITY, COMMUNITY AND COOPERATION 427
The Interpersonal Dimension 437
The Structure of the Interpersonal Encounter. 446
Structural Schisms 453
Systems That Bind 457

APPENDIX

A. THE YORUBA LANGUAGE 484

B. FACIAL MARKINGS 486

C. EVENT LIST FOR CALCULATING AGES 487

D. THE OLUBARA'S COURT 489

E. CENSUS FORM (Sample) 493

F. SOCIO-CULTURAL DATA FORM 495

TABLES

1. Development of Ibara Orile According To The Year Of Construction And Quarter Of Village 92

2. Producer Prices And Cocoa Purchases By Regional Marketing Boards (1947/48 - 1964/65) 95

3. Census Studies 108

4. The Pattern Of Movement Of Wives Of The House 111

5. Expressed Religious Affiliations According To Town Quarter 121

6. Source Of Bale's Property 226

7. Source Of Bale's Property According To Quarter . . . 227

8. Wifeless Bales According To Age Groups 235

9. Number Of Wives Per Bale (And Female Bales) 355

10. Question 13 - How Do You Think The People Of The Orile Can Obtain The Amenities They Desire? 433

11. Question 14 - What Traditional Ways Must The People Of The Orile Give Up In Order To Obtain The Amenities They Desire?. 434

12. Question 9 - Who Are The Important People In The Orile? 436

Characteristics of B...

Materials and Design ...
...Data Sheet ...

Basic Learning ...
Assessment ...

Sample ...
Teaching ...

List of ...
Teaching ...
Length of ...

CHARTS

1. Characteristics of Buildings of Ibara Orile 70

2. Name and Order of Popularity of Orisa Worshipped In Ibara Orile 121

3. People Living In Houses Of Orile According To Relationship To Bale 230

4. Sex Composition of Ibara Orile Anglican School According To Class 303

5. List Of Christian Societies Existing In Ibara Orile According To Name of Society, Number of Members, And Amount Of Contribution To Ibara Anglican Church . . . 410

FIGURES

1. Scheme Of Kinship Categories 179

2. Lineage Organization 180

3. Scheme of Kinship Terminology 188

4. Beauty Scarifications 287

5. Toys 287

6. Variations In Seasonal Rainfall - 1964 307

7. Diagram Of Intercropping and Use of Land On Three Farm Sites - July, 1966 313

8. Six Room House 342

Africa and Nigeria . . .

Regions of the Federa
Major Ethnic Divisions

Metropolitan Ibadan and
Nigeria Administrative

Igala Division . . . . .

Abeokuta . . . . . .

The Four Quarters of

Yoruba Style . . . . .

MAPS

1. Africa and Nigeria . . . . . Frontispiece

2. Regions of The Federal Republic of Nigeria-Major Ethnic Divisions 2

3. Metropolitan Oyo and Yorubaland Western Nigeria Administrative Districts 29

4. Ẹgba Division 41

5. Abẹokuta 55

6. The Four Quarters Of Ibara Orile 66

7. Ibara Orile 67

CHAPTER 1

THE BASIC CONDITIONS

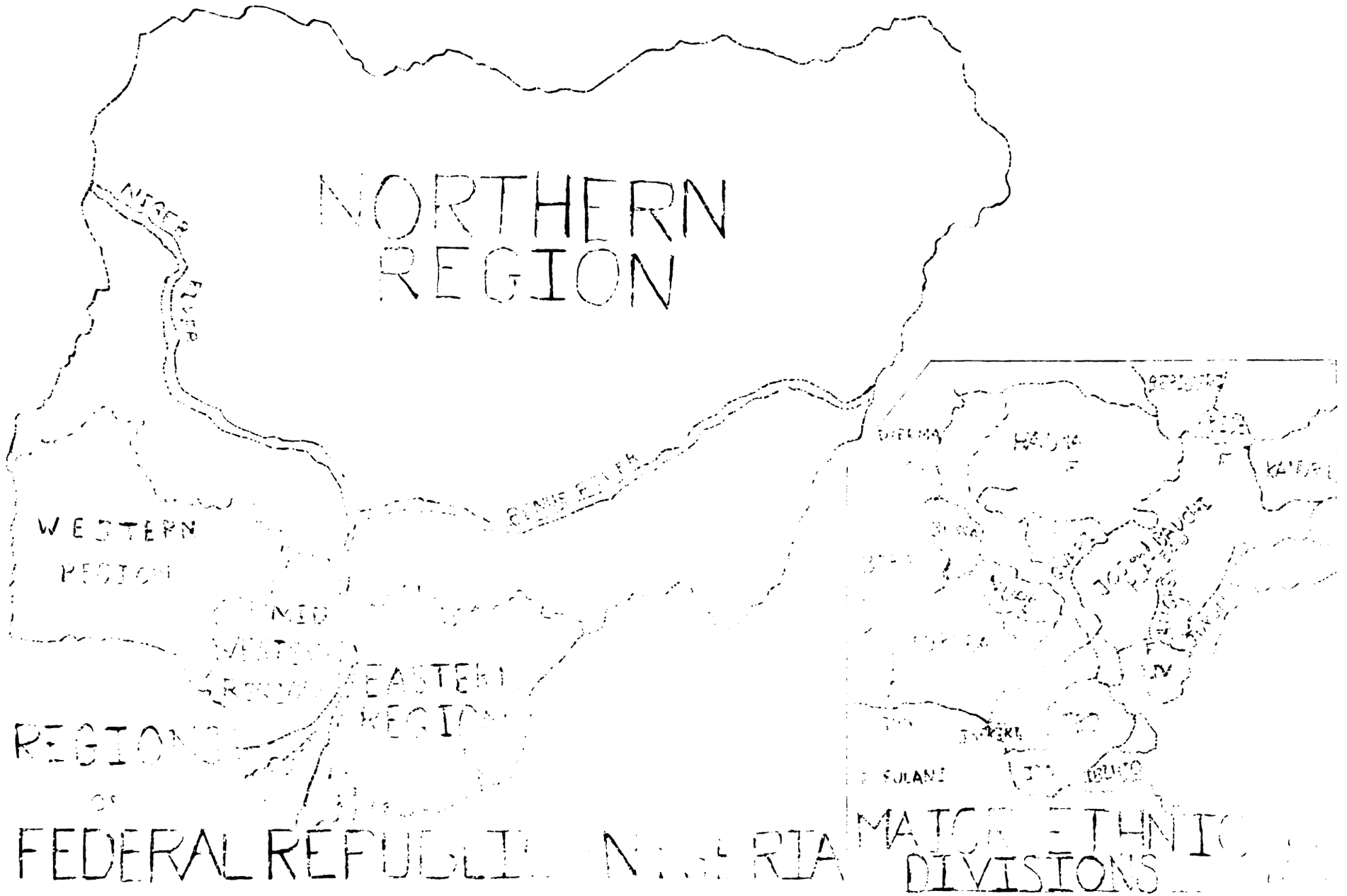
A Time of Turmoil

The period of my field research was a time of great social discord and political upheaval for Nigeria. The usual problems of entrance into the selected research site and the establishment of an acceptable identity were compounded by the continuing political turmoil. As the people of the Western Region of Nigeria prepared for their October, 1965, elections the stresses and strains of earlier political unrest were increasingly manifested in acts of violence.

Subsequently, a profound disappointment in the results of the elections led to the hooliganism and civil disorders which terminated in the military coup of January 15, 1966. The ensuing peace was short-lived and the second bloody revolt of July 29, 1966 was the prelude to a period of distrust and massacres which portend ill for the future of a potentially great nation.

By June, 1965 I began to visit and establish friendly relationships with some of the important people living in the village of Ibara Orile; the people among whom the field research for this dissertation was carried out. At this time their political hostilities and loyalties were just beginning to heat up. Before the October, 1965 elections the people of Ibara Orile had found that their varying political allegiances had disturbed their usual familistic relationships. A small, but powerful,

MAP 2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portion of the people of one of the quarters of the orile had allied with the ruling Nigerian National Democratic Party (N.N.D.P.) while most of the people supported the opposition Action Group Party (A.G.).[1]

Rumors were rife and many people believed that the government would punish them for joining the A.G. They feared that they would lose hoped for town improvements; be thrown in jail; or worse, their taxes would be increased. The people had become wary of government officials and official edicts. A tradition linking census taking with taxation had made them wary of anybody who asked questions about them and their households.

The ramifications of the national and regional political strife had increasingly serious concomitants at the local level, which were felt in the most innocent of interpersonal relations. One day, in response to a question about American family relationships, I used the word 'democratic' My interrogator became so frightened that I thought he would flee. I was told that the word "democratic" was associated with the political party he opposed, i.e. the ruling N.N.D.P. The man had feared that I was, in reality, a government agent.

The Researchers

Prior to my entry into the research situation I had an opportunity to participate in a two month concentrated Yoruba language course. This was followed by some three months of informal Yoruba language study These short courses proved insufficient to permit more than a basic understanding of the structure of the language, elementary skills in speaking the language, and some idea of the use of an interpreter.

In a few months of actual field work my command of Yoruba had developed to the extent that I was able to do some direct interviewing and, for varying lengths of time, was able to work without an interpreter. In the later months of field study I was able to carry more of the burden of the interviews. Throughout most of the period of the study my interpreters and I lived in the village. During the riots of late December, 1965 and the military coup of January 1966 I remained in my home in Abẹokuta. In the latter half of January, I was able to return to the village and continue my work until July, 1966, the time of the second military coup.

Mary Osborne and her interpreter spent much of their time interviewing the women of the village and collecting census information. As the political situation deteriorated and the political hooligans became more destructive their trips to the orile became less frequent. They directed their energies toward the collating and indexing of the data. During the period from February to June, 1966, they were once again able to return to the orile. After the completion of the April census of the orile and a socio-cultural data survey the frequency of their excursions to the orile diminished. They became increasingly involved in the further analysis and organization of the data

Selecting A Research Site

The town of Abẹokuta is surrounded by many small communities. For the purpose of this study these communities will be categorized as hamlets, villages, and suburbs.

Hamlets

The small communities usually, but not always, composed primarily of members of a localized kinship grouping will be referred to as hamlets The kinship grouping may be segments of one or two exogamous patrilineages. Most of these hamlets are located in the bush, access is usually by foot-path. The inhabitants of these hamlets think of themselves as living on a farm They refer to their compound in Abẹokuta as 'home'. These hamlets are typified by little economic, religious, and political diversity. They are, essentially, farm settlements consisting of between five to fifteen houses. The only occupation in which the inhabitants engage is farming and food processing. The Cornell Aro group (1963) has described some of these hamlets

Villages

In the area surrounding Abẹokuta there are some settlements which have greater social, religious, and political complexity than is usually found in the hamlets. The inhabitants of these settlements usually include segments of several different exogamous patrilineages Similar to the organization of the hamlets, each of these patrilineages has its own compound in its own section of Abẹokuta Some of the people of the hamlets also have homes in these villages A few of the people in these villages practice a part-time trade which they combine with their more usual farming activities Unlike the hamlets there is usually a small market, and probably a church and mosque There might even be a school. The people of this type of settlement think of the place as a village or a town. Their terminology depends upon how closely they are tied into the social, religious, economic, and political activities that occur in

their compounds in Abeokuta.

The extent to which these processes are occurring in their Abẹokuta compound is the decisive factor. It sometimes happens that these larger settlements have their own political organization consisting of an oba (king) ahd his Ogboni and Olorogun chieftaincy organizations. In these instances the people tend to refer to their settlement as a town. In any event, they will have their own compound in their own quarter of Abẹokuta and there will be no question in their minds that Abeokuta is a town. For the purposes of this study, this second type of settlement will be called a village. The term "town" will be reserved for Abẹokuta, which is a traditional Yoruba city composed of several townships. Further discussion of the town of Abẹokuta will be reserved for future sections of this report

Suburbs

In the vicinity of Abẹokuta there is a third type of settlement. Although this type of settlement occurs less frequently than the hamlet and village settlement types there is every indication that as more people leave the land for wage work and the pressure for individual ownership of land increases, this type will become a more popular settlement pattern. This third type of settlement is characterized by locally based nuclear families and segments of exogamous lineages which may or may not have compounds in Abeokuta, but which will not necessarily have their compounds in the same township of Abẹokuta. This type contrasts with the hamlets and villages whose Abẹokutan compounds are usually in the same township of Abẹokuta.

The people of these new types of settlements may be of the same Yoruba sub-groups which inhabit Abeokuta, but they may also consist of

such other Yorubas as Ibadans, Oyos, Ijębus, and Ondos. There are also civil servants, teachers, and Europeans in these settlements. The people of these settlements tend to buy and sell their land more freely and have less immediate and restricting social, political, and religious ties to the traditional Abęokutan institutions than peoples of the villages and hamlets. These types of settlements will be called "suburbs" for their existence is the result of their proximity to Abęokuta, a place where the suburbanites might find new and challenging opportunities. Because of the fact that these suburbanites are more transient and have more rapidly changing social relationships, this type of settlement was not considered suitable for study.

Ibara Orile

The most suitable research site seemed to be a settlement which most closely approximated the village or homestead (orile) type. After spending a period of time visiting various villages in the Abęokuta area and engaging in some studies in the suburban settlement of Aro, it appeared that Ibara Orile, a village of some 155 houses and 971 people, offered the best opportunity for ethnographic research.

Geographically, Ibara Orile was ideally situated for study. This village is bisected by a paved secondary road some twenty minutes driving time from the center of Abęokuta. Lorries and taxicabs travel this road carrying people from Ibara Orile to Ibara Omida, their "home" township in Abęokuta. The presence of this road means that the interactions of the people of Ibara Orile with their family and family elders in Ibara Omida are more generalized and intense than would be expected if they had to

rely upon messengers and messages to the same extent as the residents of more isolated villages and hamlets. They can and do travel to their compounds in Abẹokuta for family meetings, ceremonies, jobs, and relaxation. The fact that the people of the Orile do not have a village political structure means that they have to travel to Abẹokuta to meet with their king and chiefs. This type of political organization is more like the majority of villages in the area than those small settlements which have their own kings and chiefs.

Of additional importance to the selection of Ibara Orile was the fact that, as yet, no government bureaus, piped water, electricity, or other improvements had come to the village. Yet the village is sufficiently close to Abẹokuta that these amenities are real factors in the economic and political calculations of the villagers, factors which require cooperation to make their attainment possible. The people's expressed desire to obtain these amenities provided an opportunity to study their own efforts to develop their town. Goodenough (1963:22-23) has discussed, in some detail, the positive values of a people's involvement in the development projects they desire. However, the agrarian traditions of the people of Ibara Orile have not yet been changed by the incursions of the modern processes of urbanization, bureaucratization and industrialization. There are few strangers in the town and there are no industries.

Unlike the Ẹgba towns which sprang up after the tribal wars of the nineteenth century, Ibara Orile is an ancient Ẹgbado town with a long history. The fact that there is little literature describing the Ẹgbado Yoruba made the choice of Ibara Orile additionally suitable. Such a study would contribute to the growing volume of descriptions of the Yoruba peoples

Finally, the paramount chief of the Ibara Kingdom, Oba Adeshina Lalubu II the Olubara of Ibara, demonstrated a particular interest in my choosing Ibara Orile as my research site. He assured me of his continuing support. He never failed to keep his promise.

The Problem of Entree

The turmoil of the political situation served as a backdrop to many of the problems of entree into the research site. I had visited the orile twice before it was finally selected as the most desirable research site. The exploratory activities of my first visits were confined to gross observations of the physical structure of the village, greeting the elders, and learning something about the history of the place.

When the decision to work in the orile was made, the Olubara of Ibara was asked to sponsor me and formally present me to his people. He agreed and took the opportunity of a previously planned tour to make the introduction. It was only after the people had gathered in the Ibara Orile courthouse and the Olubara began to speak that I learned that the purpose of the Oba's tour was to advise the people to attend a meeting to be held by Chief Akintola, Premier of the Western Region and leader of the N.N.C.P.

Immediately after the Olubara advised, warned, and cajoled the people to attend the Akintola meeting I was introduced. The Olubara asked the people to cooperate with me and with my assistants. He told them that I had come from America to learn something about how the Yoruba lived. He asked them to welcome me and to try to cooperate with me. It was during this introduction that I learned that the people of the orile had blundered some previous opportunities for village improvements. These failures were

attributed to their inability to cooperate with each other and with the medical specialists, agricultural agents, business men and other outside agents of social change who had previously visited the village.

At the time I was not aware that most of the villagers had aligned themselves with the Action Group Party. I did, however, suspect that some of the people might associate my coming too closely, with the visit of their premier, Chief Akintola. I feared that some of the people might conclude that I and my assistants were actually government agents. For this reason, I arranged two more general meetings for the purpose of further defining my purposes and offering the villagers opportunities to ask me questions.

Because of his age, the acting headman[2] attended none of these meetings The villagers assured us that he was advised of all of our activities After each general meeting I visited the acting headman to reassure him and to respond to any questions he might have. I also asked the people who attended these meetings to tell their absent neighbors what we had discussed.

During the course of these meetings the elders and influential men of the four quarters of the village were identified. I met with these people individually, and reiterated what had been said at the general meetings. I asked them for their cooperation and began my first interviews with them These meetings were held in the most conspicuous manner I could devise This meant that the interviews took place outdoors rather than in the elder's parlor, the more usual site of such meetings In this way the people of each quarter of the orile learned that their elders not only accepted my presence but were actively cooperating with me.

It would be too much to claim that the large amount of acceptance I

received was directly attributable to the precautious and measured pace of my entrance into the orile. Perhaps my appearance and activities added sufficient novelty to their lives and prestige to their orile to keep them positively involved with me.

Suffice to say that they were friendly and cooperative. Only one individual actively resisted my research. Despite his hostility he did grant me interviews. There was another villager, Ajibode Akinlabi, who had doubts about me which I was never able to dispel. This man lived across the road from me and whenever he returned from his farm he would sit in his window and watch me. Every once in a while he would verbalize his confusion about my purposes. Plaintively he would ask: "Osborne, why are you studying us so much? What will you do with our information when you get home?" All of my reassurances and explanations were to no avail. He remained bewildered. Nevertheless, he cooperated with me throughout my stay in the orile.

The Problem of Identity

As the primary investigator most of the problems of identity fell on me. On various occasions I was identified as an N.N.D.P. spy or as a tax collector. At first, suspicions regarding my political affiliations caused many people to deny that they belonged to any of the social, economic and religious societies which I suspected existed in the village. As the time of the elections approached, the Ibara Orile leader of the A.G. began to call increasingly frequent meetings of his followers. The many people who gathered for these meetings came to understand their mutual commitment and to discuss their political affiliations more openly. They began to lose

their reticence in my presence and they spoke more freely to me about their social and political affiliations. The fact that no one suffered punitive repercussions resulting from their disclosures to me or from my presence at their political meetings convinced many who had lingering doubts that I was not a spy. Their king's continuing support and the presence of my wife also contributed to my stature as a researcher, an identity somewhat less frightening than that of a government spy.

Perhaps the event which most dramatically established my identity as an understandable and trustworthy fellow was the visit of my four children to the orile. On this occasion I ceremoniously introduced the children to all the elders of each of the four quarters of the village. An elder of the Ifatedo quarter of the village verbalized the results of his meeting with the children this way: "Now I know who you are and this (meeting the children), with your moving into the orile, is a good sign that you are one of us."

My early emphasis upon clarifying my objectives and identifying myself to the elders proved rewarding. An elder of the Idofin quarter cautioned the people of his area not to treat me as they had treated the 1963 census takers. He cautioned them to tell the truth and reminded them that:

> During the first census we Yorubas were sending people into the bush and we lied about how many people were in the house so that many people were not counted. The census showed that the Yoruba had fewer people than they really did. Meanwhile the Gambari (pejorative term for Hausa) were doing exactly the opposite. They would count everybody they could find, even their dead. They would not let their wives be seen so that they could say what they pleased. You must not be so sly that you become silly.

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By October, 1965 my identity as a researcher had become so firmly established that I was able to overcome the most serious threat to my identity that I had encountered during my months in the village. A week before the elections an armoured column of Nigerian Army scout cars motored into the village and stopped in the market place. The young officer in charge of the column was a friend of mine. He saw my parked car and thought he would stop and chat with me before continuing towards Ilaro, where he was to act as a symbol of government authority during the period immediately before and after the elections. This officer left his column to search for me about the village. He found me and invited me to return with him to the market where, standing beside his array of weaponry, he engaged me in a prolonged conversation.

In the background I could hear the market women commenting, "Eh! eh!! Osborne has brought the army against us." After the column had departed I told an elder that a friend of mine had visited me and asked him to quell the fears of the market women. He sagely responded: "Should a friend pass without my greeting him?" and went off to speak to the market women. I never heard of the matter again.

The women of the village, less involved in politics, seemed to interpret my presence as the materialization of their fantasies of "progress". Their definition of the meaning of progress was very elementary and was directly related to the market place. When I or my assistants went to their homes or passed them in the market place they would ask us for money: "If you want to bring us progress you must give us money."

I had, early, established the rule that we would give no monetary rewards to anyone in the orile. I was sure that the doling out of money

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would create jealousies and hostilities between those who received money and those who did not. In addition, we might have encountered difficulties if some of our informants came to believe that the payments for the services which they might have rendered, or assumed they rendered, was inadequate.

There was also the very real possibility that the distribution of monetary rewards would have led some people to be more cooperative with us than the amount of information they had warranted. Finally, of course, my budget did not permit me to engage in such a practice.[3]

In a short period of time most people realized that we were not going to distribute money and came to accept us simply as people who walked around, visiting, looking, and asking questions. Some women used their earlier experiences with us to structure a jesting relationship. They would continue to greet us and ask for money in a laughing non-expectant manner. Undeniably, they always remained hopeful of having better luck in the future. Only one or two women continued to feel that we should give them money. They were usually friendly and helpful, but on occasion, their underlying hostility would break through their surface pleasantness.

Although the people of the orile did not receive money from us their village did receive prestige from our presence and from our activities. They would mention the curiosity which people from neighboring villages and hamlets expressed about our presence.

The Question of Color

Since my return to America I have often wondered at the fact that the most frequent questions social scientists have asked have had to do with how my wife and I, as American Negroes, were accepted by the African

peoples we met. There is, also, a small literature which suggests that the American Negro finds himself somehow displaced and unwanted when he goes to Africa. This literature is typified by the writings of Russell W. Howe (1961:34-35) who speaks of the American Negro as a "Stranger in Africa". In this article Howe speaks of an American Negro agricultural expert who did a good technical job but was despised and the butt of the local gentry because he had a freezer, an air conditioner, and was careful about the foods he and his family ate. He adds that this would not have been a source of scorn for a white scientist.

This article is generally oriented towards a view of the American Negro as a danger to American foreign policy if it is believed that because of his color, African officials will more readily accept the American Negro in foreign service posts than whites. Howe goes on to say that the American Negro is considered a European in disguise. He is black but does not have a tribe, nor does he speak the language.

Isaacs (1959:219-233) says that the American Negro who goes to Africa will find only superficial friendliness and acceptance. He reports that the African looks down upon the American Negro as a people who do not fight for their freedom. Isaacs also speaks of the cultural chasm which exists between the American Negro and the African. The vignettes he presents as support for his argument include the story of an American Negro girl married to an African who could not adjust to the idea of members of her husband's family coming to live with them.

As American Negroes my wife and I cannot say that we experienced any of the rejection which is the focus of this literature. Nor did we find that our presence caused much confusion for the people. Rather, we were

hospitably greeted by most of the people with whom we worked. They were always pleasantly surprised when they realized that we were Americans. Invariably this awareness would stimulate a second, and different, welcome, similar to the welcoming of a long lost relative. They would then talk to us about hearing of their fathers' children who had been stolen from them during the tribal wars of the nineteenth century and sent 'overseas' to Brazil and Cuba. They would call us family and ask to consider remaining among them.

Yet they fully recognized that we were not of their culture. They were not annoyed because we lived a little differently from the way they did. They always maintained their good humor when we explained that we could not eat their food, which was always literally laced with hot pepper, or drink their unboiled water. In fact, they came to accept our different, sometimes strang behavior quite early and quite easily.

In the early days of life in the village some of the people did seem to think of us as Europeans. But soon we were thought of more as friends and regular participants in, or observers of, the activities and affairs of the village. Very early my wife was invited to join one of the large women's social societies in the village (see Chapter X[illegible]). Since I was not a native Ibara man, I was not eligible to become a member of the traditional Ogboni society. Instead, I was invited to join the Reformed Ogboni society of Abeokuta.

We found that we were easily accepted in the professional and business communities of Abẹokuta and we have many friend in these communities in Ibadan. Of all the people we met and worked with only two individuals gave us pause in their behavior towards us. In both instances we were

forced to conclude that their reactions in our presence were not due to a feeling of anathema concerning our race, but rather to their higher regard for the white man.

The People

Most of the residents of the orile had only recently moved from their small isolated bush hamlets. By comparison with the elders and the chiefs of Ibara Omida, many of these people knew very little about many aspects of their history and cultural background. Few of them could speak with any knowledge about the history of the old Ibara kingdom, their political structure, their social structure, or their religion. At first I thought their failure to respond to my questions was a form of resistance. As I came to know more about the people and their history, and we developed a mutually trusting relationship, I came to appreciate more fully the sincerity of their protestations of lack of knowledge about these things.

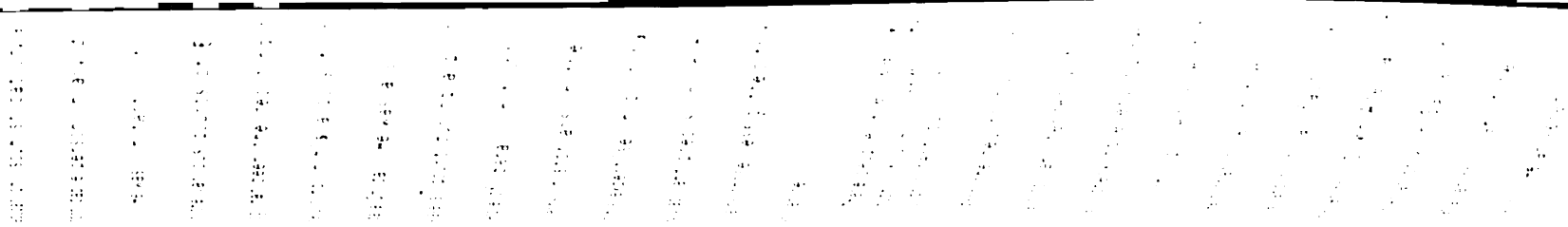
Their relative ignorance regarding the traditional customs of their people cannot be explained only in terms of their long isolation in the small hamlets. There is also the contributing factor of their long history of exposure to the influences of Islam and Christianity. The acceptance and practice of these religions has caused many of the people to forget or ignore the customs of their fathers. Although they practice some of the rituals of the old religions, too often the meanings underlying these customs have either been lost, devalued, or remolded to fit newer philosophies which seem to provide better solutions to contemporary problems.

Questions of reliability and validity are problems of concern to the ethnographer throughout the period of his field investigations. Each

emerging datum appears to require new stratagems of verification. The investigator must determine if the information he gathers from his informants is a true representation of the beliefs of most of the people or merely the results of the informants' own understandings, the results of a lifetime of soliloquy. My usual solution to this problem was to get as many people as possible to comment, independently, on any aspect of the culture which came to my attention. My intention was to determine the range of responses available in the orile to the particular questions I wished to investigate.

Another, equally troublesome but not unfamiliar, problem was the fact that the most knowledgeable people in the orile were also the people who tended to be most unavailable. These people were always preoccupied with the demands of their relatives, their personal affairs or their civic activities. Their sense of responsibility, their intelligence, their experience, and their knowledge made them valued participants in family discussions and community forums in both the orile and Omida. They would frequently spend many days in their compounds in Abeokuta, and their many activities would often take them to some more distant town.

Simon Adeola was among my most valuable informants. During the course of this report I shall frequently speak of him. He had a fine appreciation of my activities and objectives. Despite his many personal activities, civic involvements, and family obligations Simon was always happy to meet with me. He would often seek me out or send a messenger to me in order to give me additional information or to clear up points which he felt he had not adequately explicated during some earlier meeting. He was the most intelligent and literate man in the orile. Now a man of some seventy-five years of age, he had spent his early years in Lagos where he obtained an



education, sophistication, and a sense of priorities which made him a formidable person in any dispute.

He was, in fact, litigious. He was known for his successful exploits in the various courts of Ẹgbaland. His extensive knowledge of his genealogy had been the deciding factor in his winning an important land case, resulting in his acquisition of one of the most desirable properties in Ibara Omida. He was also considered to have been quite instrumental in the Alake's[4] court during a protracted fight to restore the obaship to the people of Ibara. In fighting these cases Simon had become one of the foremost historians in the Ibara Kingdom. He had experienced the rewards of his expertise in cultural matters and had developed a penchant for accuracy and precision in his speech. At times he tended to be intolerant towards those less gifted than he. When I first arrived in the orile he advised me:

> These people are really bush people and do not know much. You will see. They are tooignorant to make significant comments about the history of their people.

From the beginning I recognized Simon's potential value and hoped to correct for any tendency to rely too heavily on him by formulating the rule of checking everying he said to me with several of the other villagers. At first this proved more difficult than I had anticipated. I was surprised to learn that some of the village elders had gained their knowledge of the social and cultural facts I wished to study through instructions they had received from Simon Adeola. This was first brought to my attention during a conversation with Samuel Omotayo, a man who was nearly as old as Simon. I had asked this man if he could tell me something about one of the cult societies. He answered:

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> I cannot say. About six months ago baba (father) Adeola asked some of us this same question and no one knew the answer and he told us. So far we did not know until he asked and then told us you must ask him.

This answer illustrates another common problem of interviewing which I frequently experienced. A youth might know the answer to a question but would refuse to respond to the question because he felt it was the type of thing an elder should say. Samuel himself is an elder and a very successful man. In this instance he regarded himself as junior to Simon and considered Simon his teacher. Therefore, like a youth, he referred me back to his master, Simon Adeola.[5] A corollary of this rule is that status elders can teach chronological elders. I believe that some of the hesitancy which I experienced in interviewing people who wished to cooperate with me but referred me to some more elderly person due to their overestimating my age, a result of their inflated estimates of my social status. The subject of the principle of seniority in Ibara social relationships will be more thoroughly explained on pages 187-193.

Dauda Aina was another person who was quite helpful. He knew much about the people of the orile and like Simon Adeola understood quite a bit about my objectives. Although his age would ordinarily have made him a youth (he was only about 50-55 years of age), he had several social and personal characteristics which made many people think of him as an elder. He had lived in the orile longer than most of the other people and was a man of great power and daring.

Although he helped me in the solution of many problems, unfortunately, as with Simon Adeola, I had fewer interviews with him than I would have liked. As the local leader of the Action Group he was heavily committed

to politics and political behavior. His erratic and aggressive political behavior resulted in his involvement in a great variety of conflicts.

Conversely, it was fortunate that a man of Dauda's character lived in the orile. Through observations of his machinations and follow-up of the responses he stimulated in other people I was able to learn much about the social and cultural organization of the village. His behavior sometimes canny, sometimes aggressive, sometimes thoughtful, sometimes mysterious sometimes ludicrous, sometimes gallant, but always exciting, pointed up many otherwise hidden interstices in the fabric of the culture. Dauda taught me much about how one "operates" in Ibara Orile society.

There were many other very helpful informants. They included the Oluhara, the acting headman, the headman, and most of the elders. Many of the women were also quite helpful and free in relating their views of life in the orile. In my early encounters with many heads of households (bales)[6] I found that some of the older women of the house would interfere and insinuate themselves into our discussions in a most hostile manner. They would usually interrupt us or loudly mutter that I should not be asking questions about the people in the house. The meaning of their behavior was often apparent and when they were encouraged to participate more freely in these discussions I experienced less of this behavior. There were occasions when these women proved much more knowledgeable and willing than the bale of the house.[7]

But as the Ibara people say: "We are all differently talented." There were many people like Ajibode Akinlabi (see page 10) who although a "youth" of about forty-five years of age was less knowledgeable, less energetic, less involved, and, perhaps, less gifted than most of the orile men I came

to know. He preferred to sit in the shade of his house or in his parlor looking out of his windows as much as possible. Despite his suspicions of my activities he was always willing to talk to me. Unfortunately, he knew very little about the history of the orile and the social and cultural traditions of the people of the Ibara kingdom.

My contacts with the children of the orile were limited. The children spent most of their days in school or on the farm. When they returned home they would engage in a variety of errands and tasks. As part of their daily round of activities they would, invariably, arise early in the morning and retire early at night.

What little contact I had with the children was always pleasant. They usually shouted greetings at me as I made my rounds of the village. Whenever possible a few of them would drop by my rooms to stare through the window at me. When I tried to talk with them they would laugh and run away. To them I remained a curiosity and source of amusement.

The question of what to do about the general lack of knowledge of their institutions which many of the people of the orile demonstrated remained a source of difficulty. For a while I was tempted to shift my research site to Ibara Omida, where the full richness of Egbado traditions and civilization is most viable. But the initial commitment to a village study militated against this change.

I was able to do some work in Ibara Omida. Unfortunately, the second military coup of July 29, 1966, prevented me from making a more intensive investigation of Ibara Omida and seriously interfered with several other "wrap-up" activities I had previously planned.

Methodology and Reporting: A Final Note

Throughout the period of research, verbatim English and Yoruba notes were taken of all conversations, meetings and interviews in which my assistants and I became involved. In several instances tape recordings and formal meetings were transcribed in their entirety and supplemented with notes on non-verbal behavior. The construction of this report necessarily involved the synthesizing and organizing of these notes into some comprehensible and useful form. The object of this report is to convey something of the characteristics, meaning, and style of life of the villagers of Ibara Orile.

There is the very appropriate saying that: "Much was lost in the translation". This must necessarily be the fate of this and similar efforts to describe a people who speak a foreign language, have developed "unusual" institutions, and hold "strange" beliefs. The analysis and ordering of the collected data presents an additonal distillation of what may have been at one time in the initial interaction between the researcher and the people and environment of Ibara Orile, "the truth".

In extracting the material for this report it often seemed that the verbatim notes spoke for themselves and for the people who provided the content of the notes much better than any further interpretations I could possibly make. Therefore, for purposes of better communication and analysis, I shall use quotes whenever they seem particularly descriptive of actual events and beliefs.

Notes

1- In future sections of this paper N.N.D.P. will be substituted for Nigerian National Democratic Party and A.G. will be substituted for Action Group.

2- The Yoruba word for "headman" is bale or baba + ilẹ literally "father of the ground". This must be contrasted with bale or baba + ile which means "father of the house" or "head of the household". Because of the similarity of these terms "bale" will be used for "householder" while the Yoruba word for headman will not be used.

3- During my last days in the orile I asked the Olubara and the people to meet with me for the purpose of presenting the town (not individuals) with some gifts as tokens of my appreciation for their cooperation.

4- Alake or Oni + Ake means "Owner of Ake" and is the title of the paramount chief of Egbaland.

5- The use of the term "youth" is relative. A man may be fifty or sixty years old and be considered one of the youths of the village. At the same time a younger man might be considered an "elder". The designations "youth" and "elder" will relate to a man's activities, his position in the family structure, and the relative age of the person referring to him. The subject of this terminology will be discussed in future sections of this report.

6- The term "bale" means "head of household". Refer to note 2 above

7- My experiences with these women and my interpretations of their behavior differs from the report and analysis of Morton-Williams (1960:37) who feels that their hostile behavior is related to their loss of fecundity and the knowledge of approaching "individual extinction". According to Morton-Williams, the moroseness and hostility of these old women results in their being stereotyped as witches My experience was that these women were usually very pleasant, kind and helpful. The subject of witches will be discussed in future sections of this paper.

CHAPTER II

THE ẸGBADOS OF ẸGBALAND

Early Yoruba Migrations

About one thousand years ago the country now known as Yorubaland was inhabited by small groupings of hunters and gatherers.[1] Not much is known about these people although Yoruba historians believe that these peoples lived in isolated hamlets located in some of the places where Yoruba towns exist today. The lack of tales of war and conflict occurring during these early times has led to speculation that small bands of Yoruba migrants eventually absorbed, through intermarriage, the indigenous people.

Legends and speculation have led to the belief that the Yoruba people migrated from someplace to the northeast of their present country.[2] Lucas (1948) is one of the strongest exponents of the idea of eastern origins for the Yoruba peoples. Dennett (1910:10-11) and Niven (1958:5-6) also report the legends of eastern origins and treks from "Mecca". Following Johnson (1921:21), Biobaku (1957:1) contends that the origins of the Yoruba are obscure. Biobaku cautiously follows Herman Hodges, an earlier author, in linking the Yoruba with "kindred people of the Sudan" Johnson (1910:3-10) agrees with the hypothesis that the Yoruba migrated from the east and cites the findings of the explorer, Captain Clapperton, who visited the Sultan of Sokoto a hundred years before the Johnson book was published.

In his Lugard Lectures, presented in 1955, Biobaku discussed the

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various legends and theories regarding the origins of the Yoruba. He stresses the popularity of the ideas of "Mecca" and "near-East" origins. Of earlier historians he concludes:

> They all agree on one thing: namely that the Yoruba migrated into their present areas, they were not the aborigines. All theories point to near-Eastern origin. (1955:9)

Utilizing archeological evidence, and both written and oral histories Biobaku tentatively concludes that the origins of the people are probably "Upper Egypt rather than the Yemen" and that the probable dates of the migrations "occurred between 600 and 1000 A.D."

> The Yoruba did not emigrate from their original homes in one mass exodus. The migrations occurred in waves and as would be expected major waves gradually dwindled into ripples and thereby widened the total area that was penetrated. (1955:21)

According to legends told to Johnson (1921:6-8), Lamurudu was the ruler of this distant land. His son, Oduduwa, a leader of the idol worshippers of the kingdom eventually came into conflict with the followers of Mohammed. In the ensuing battle Lamurudu was killed and Oduduwa escaped. Oduduwa managed to lead his family to Ile Ife, where he died.

Oduduwa's oldest son, Okanbi, also died at Ile Ife. Six of the remaining seven children left Ile Ife to establish their own kingdoms. The two oldest children, Alaketu and Olowu, were girls. They founded Ketu and Owu. The third child became the founder and king of Benin. Orangun, the fourth child, became king of Ila. Onisabe, the fifth child, became king of Sabe. And Olupopo, the sixth child, became king of the Popos.

Oranyan, the seventh child, inherited his father's lands. Thus he succeeded to the throne of Ile Ife, becoming the first Alafin and the paramount king in Yorubaland (Johnson 1921:9 and Niven 1958:11). The

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first Alake of Ake is alleged to have been born of the same mother as one of the earliest Alafins (Johnson 1921:9-10).

After Oranyan consolidated his position at Ile Ife he gathered his people together, built an army, and set out to conquer and punish the people of "Mecca", the place from which his father had been expelled. He left Adimu, a trusted servant, at Ile Ife. Adimu's duty was to worship deities and to guard the sacred objects of the Yoruba. According to Johnson (1921:11) Adimu was the son of a woman condemned to be sacrificed to the god, Obatala. Her execution was delayed until after the birth of Adimu. Niven (1958:10) believes that Adimu was the chief of the aboriginal people living at Ile Ife before the arrival of Oduduwa and his followers. He points to the fact, although Ile Ife is known as the home of the Yorubas, it is the descendants of Adimu who have occupied the revered position of Oni of Ife.

Oranyan's attempts to return to "Mecca", the land of his father, were fraught with difficulties. He had managed to travel as far as the land of the Nupes before he fell into a dispute with his brothers. His brothers finally deserted him and, with their men, returned to their homes. The Nupes refused to permit Oranyan to continue his northern journey through their country. Changing his direction, Oranyan soon found himself in the land of Bussa, which the Yoruba call Ibariba. The king of this land persuaded Oranyan to lead his soldiers to a place where they could occupy themselves building their own city rather than pursuing the difficult attempt to return to the homeland of their fathers. Respecting this wise man's advice, Oranyan followed a snake for seven days. On the site where the snake disappeared Oranyan built the city of Oyo; the place now known as

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Old Oyo (Johnson 1921:10-12).

Oyo was destined to become the greatest of the Yoruba kingdoms. It became increasingly powerful and, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, began to develop as an empire which would eventually become "the most powerful political state in the Yoruba country". (Ajayi and Smith 1956:1-5) To this day the Oba of Oyo, the Alafin, is the paramount king of all the Yorubas and is believed to be the direct descendant of the founders of the Yoruba nation.

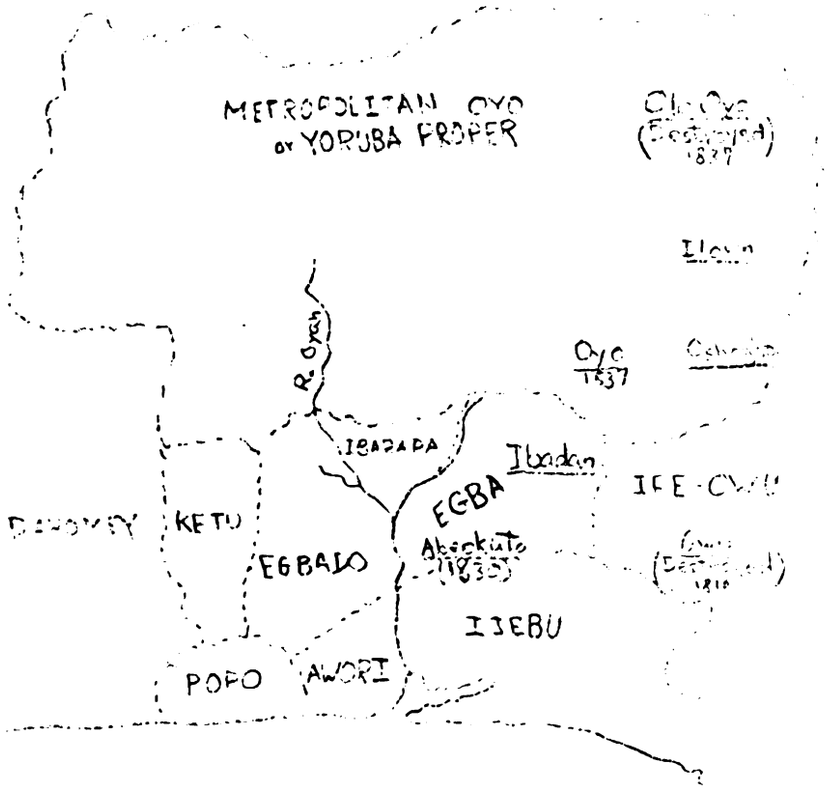
The history of the Alafins is filled with cruelty, deceit, tyranny, and war. In 1804, when his dissident generals forced Alafin Aole to take poison he uttered the prophetic words

> My curse on you for disloyalty and disobedience, so let your children disobey you. If you send them on an errand, let them never return to bring you to the seas and beyond the seas, slaves will rule over you and you, their masters, will become slaves. (Johnson 1921:192)

Niven (1958:32-33) with Johnson notes that this curse did come true. Johnson found that, "tranquility did not return to Yorubaland until the youngest who heard him were dead."

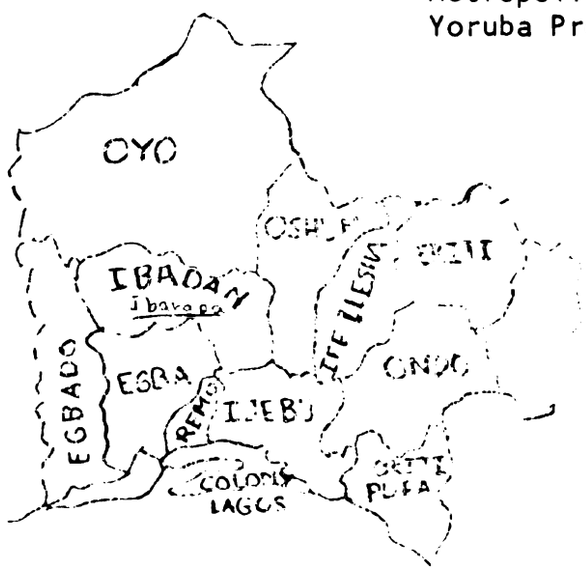
Until this time the chieftaincy and general respect of the Alafin of Oyo was the only force which held the Yoruba empire together. This position of the Alafin had become progressively weakened and the death of Aole signalled the end of the Alafin's power to maintain peace and order between the towns and villages of Yorubaland. From 1804 to 1893 Yorubaland was plagued by major civil wars, slave raiding, famine, and Fulani conquests. The inability of the Yoruba to cooperate against a common enemy meant the loss of Ilorin to the Fulani. Ajayi (1964) has shown that the decline of the great Oyo empire created a power vacuum which resulted in the civil

MAP 3



METROPOLITAN OYO AND YORUBALAND
MIDDLE 19TH CENTURY

from Crowder (1966:109)
....Boundaries of Provinces and Subject Kingdoms
----Approximate boundary of Metropolitan Oyo or Yoruba Proper



WESTERN NIGERIA ADMINISTRATIVE DISTRICTS

from Barber (1966:4)

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and tribal wars of the nineteenth century. His thesis contrasts with those histories which indicate that the introduction of the European slave trade stimulated these wars.

It was during this time that the Ijẹbu introduced guns into the art of war. Great bands of displaced persons roamed the countryside; they deserted weakening and defeated chiefs in order to join powerful and successful chiefs. Towns and villages were destroyed or erected as the battles raged back and forth across the land. Refugees from these broken towns flocked from one place to another seeking shelter and safety. It was in 1829 that the town of Ibadan was first settled by the Oyo, Ife, Ijẹbu and Ẹgba refugees who gathered together at that place.

Ẹgba Migrations

Johnson says, "all the principal families of the Ẹgbas trace their origins from Oyo, hence the common saying 'Ẹgbas who have not their roots in Oyo are slaves' i.e. belong to the conquered aboriginal population." (1921:17) In another place he says, "It may be noted that every child born to a reigning Alake ranks among the junior members of the Royal Family; for that reason there has never been a distinct royal family among the Ẹgbas." (1921:19)

Ajisafe (1924:10-11), an Ẹgba man, emphasizes the historical evidence which indicates that the Alake was either a child of the Alaketu or accompanied the Alaketu to Ketu during the period of the early migrations from Ife. In either event, his purpose is clear. In contrast to Johnson, he wishes to establish the fact that the Alake was of the original princely families of the Yorubas and that he migrated into the Ẹgba forest from Ketu.

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Biobaku (1957:3), also an Ẹgba man, is in agreement with Ajisafe. He believes that the Ẹgba first came to the Ẹgba forest of Yorubaland in three successive waves. These migrations occurred between the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. One wave settled in a group to form the province of Ẹgba Agura; their ọba was called the Gbagura. A second wave of emigrants crossed the Ona river to settle in the area called Ẹgba Oke Ona; the Oshile was their ọba. A third, and possibly a fourth, group went farther south and eventually became known as the Ẹgba Alake, after the title of their ọba, the Alake. These three groups formed a loose federation with the Alake, the only member of this group believed to be a descendant of Oduduwa, as their paramount ọba.

> The truth probably was that the Alake by his descent from Oduduwa, the legendary founder of Ile Ife possessed a prestige that raised him above the rivalry of municipal kings. Moreover, he was probably at the head of a later and more virile migration whose claim to leadership was conceded." (Biobaku 1957:4)

During the wars of the early 1800's most of the Ẹgba towns were destroyed. It was these Ẹgba who, in 1929, came to Ibadan as refugees. There they fell out of favor with their Ibadan allies. At first they retreated to their Oke Ona settlement but were soon pushed farther south. They eventually sought the safety of Olumo rock where they were soon joined by Ọba Olowu and his people, refugees from the former kingdom of Owu. Together, they built the town of Abẹokuta (under the rock).

Johnson (1921:226) claims that the Oyo did not drive the Ẹgba from Oke Ona. In fact, he implies that they left Ibadan of their own accord and that some remained, particularly their women, in Ibadan. Ajisafe (1924:60-62) claims that the Oyo attacked the Ẹgba and they fought all day. In this battle the Oyo chief, Oluloye, and the Ife chief, Maye were

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defeated and the Ẹgbas retreated to Olumo rock.

Ajisafe (1924:57) believes that the first settler at Abẹokuta was an Ogboni chief named Liperu, from Itoko, who, after Itoko was destroyed, fled to the town of Ibara and lived under the protection of Lafa, the Olubara of Ibara. Liperu is alleged to have taught the Ibara chiefs the lore of the Ogboni cult. After a time, Liperu returned to his farm which, according to Ajisafe, was located near Olumo rock, the place where the refugees from Ibadan and Oke Ona were soon to come.

According to Ajisafe (1924:64-65), the place of Liperu's Itoko farm was also known as Adagba's farm because Adagba, a brave man who lived there, had repulsed some Oyo raiders. Ajisafe also mentions the help the Ẹgba at Abẹokuta received from the Ẹgbados of Ibara during the period of the famine of the early 1830's and the Owiwi battle of 1832. He adds that the supplies offered by the Ibara people were very poor.

Biodaku (1957:16) was more equivocal, saying that the "settlement was named 'Oko Adagba', the Ẹgbado host...(of the Itoko men)...although the Ẹgba countered by claiming Adagba as an Ẹgba hero...."

Ajisafe, Johnson, and Biobaku say little about the origins of the Ẹgbado people. Johnson (1921:226-228) does mention the loyalty of the Ẹgbado people to the king of Oyo and speaks of their peaceful pursuits, their later submission to the Ẹgba, and their harassment by the Dahomeans. For the most part, Johnson is more concerned with the histories of the Ẹgbado people living in the population centers of Ilaro and Ijana. These towns are located in the western-most provinces of Ẹgbaland. Johnson seems to have been confused about the territories and towns actually inhabited by the Ẹgbado people. At one point he suggests that Jigga was the eastern-most border of Ẹgbadoland (1921:226-227). At another point he

describes such Ẹgbado towns as Imaṣai, Iboro, and Iṣaga as Ẹgba towns (1921: 251). Ajisafe never made this mistake.

Mabogunje (1921:258-269) states that the Ogun river forms an important tribal division between the Ẹgba and Ẹgbado. The Ẹgbado are located in the northern section of the area.

> They all, like the Ẹgba, lived in a number of small towns such as Ibara, Imala, Aibo, and Kesan. During the nineteenth century, most of these towns were destroyed by the Ẹgba and Dahomeans. The inhabitants of towns nearest Abẹokuta; namely Ibara, Ilewo, Ishaga, removed into that town for safety and threw in their lot with the Ẹgba. Those farther away simply accepted Ẹgba overlordship...." (Mabogunje 1961:267-268)

Mabogunje goes on to say that the Ẹgbado region closest to Abẹokuta was appropriated by the Ẹgba in the same manner that they appropriated other lands which surrounded Abẹokuta. In more distant places, such as Ṣangote, the Ẹgba rights were more severely circumscribed.

My investigations indicated that the Ẹgbado owned the lands and the towns along the Abẹokuta-Ilaro road. The people of Ibara Orile claimed to have no Ẹgba among them.

Early Ẹgbado Migrations

According to one historically minded Ibara Orile elder:

> About 1360 A.D. there were three powerful men from Ife. They were Ogunfuminire, Osukpanikpeti, and Torungbuwua. They told their parents that they were going to find a place to settle. Before leaving Ife their parents consulted Ifa and Ifa said that they should sacrifice. The ingredients of the sacrifice were placed in a black plate. On the second consultation of Ifa they found that the one who carried the plate should place the plate on the surface of the rivers he meets along his path. If the plate sinks he should settle there, the others should travel further.
>
> Ifa also told them that at the first pond they come to they should stop and fish by draining the pond. They should look in the fields

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and find melon seed which they should break and dress and use in cooking the fish. The Yoruba word for melon is bara. That is why they named that place where they ate the fish 'Ibarakpa' (Ibara + kpa = melon kills, see map 3) for some of the followers of the three powerful men died after eating the cooked melon.

It was Ogunfuminire that Ifa chose to carry the plate of sacrifice. The plate did not sink at the first rivers he came to. He told those who did not die from the cooked melon to follow him for he had not found the place where the plate sank. The first Ibarakpa is near Oyo. The path from that place to this place is also known as Ibarakpa.

As they traveled they did not have water. The three leaders asked their followers to dig a well. The followers began to dig in the hole of Afermojo which is an animal like a pig having big nails for digging but lacking teeth. As a result of the digging of this pit the river Ofin began to flow.

The travelers then moved forward a bit. 'Mo Sun Se' means 'move forward a bit'. It is the name of a village on the road to Aiyetoro. This village is under the jurisdiction of Ibara. As they continued their travels they met a river which they called Odo Ogunfuminire. This is the present Ogun river by which Abeokuta is situated. Torungbuwua died after the Ogun river was crossed.

Osukpanikpeti and Ogunfuminire continued their travels until Osukpanikpeti found a brook at the place now known as Ot'ta (Where they sell). He is the founder of that town. It is on the road to Lagos.

Obeying their Ifa diviners Ogunfuminire continued till he found another river. He placed his plate on it and the plate sank. He settled there. It is the place called Iddo, near Lagos. His children are the children of the soil of Lagos Island.

Those followers who were still sick from bara poisoning decided to stop their trek and settle a short distance from the west bank of the Ogun river. They stopped at the place called Igbo Ogun where they met a people who might be called the sons of the soil of Ibara. The name of Ibara comes from the history of bara poisoning. A later Ifa divination indicated that the bara should never be planted within the walls of the town. (Even today this interdiction is upheld.)

After a while the people felt that they needed a head. They sent one man called Akinjogun to the Alafin of Oyo to receive the crown. Akinjogun was accompanied by his younger brother, Lalubu, who carried the presents they were to give to the Oloyo (Alafin). When they were two or three miles from Oyo Akinjogun offered to help

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> Lalubu with his burden. It was Akinjogun who arrived in the presence of the Alafin carrying the load. Akinjogun delivered the message of the people of Ibara and presented the gifts to the Alafin.
>
> After giving the two travelers a feast the Alafin had a crown prepared. When the crown was finsihed he had Lalubu approach him and he gave Lalubu the crown telling Akinjogun, 'This is your king'. Akinjogun replied that he was the older brother to Lalubu. The Alafin responded, '<u>Ilewo ni tire</u>' (i.e. literally, What are you? Are you not the person to carry gifts into the palace?).
>
> When the brothers returned home and were asked why Lalubu had been crowned Akinjogun responded, 'It was Ilewo that was given to me'. In later years Akinjogun resettled at a site a few miles from Ibara. This settlement came to be known as Ilewo.

There is an elaboration to this story to the effect that Akinjogun so vigorously objected to the crowning of his younger brother that the Alafin decided to put him to a test. He presented the brothers with a fish and asked Akinjogun to divide the fish between himself and his brother. Akinjogun separated the head from the body and gave his brother the head, taking the body for himself. To the Alafin this was further proof that Lalubu was the real king for the Alafin considered the head to be the most favored part.[4]

It is generally believed that Lalubu was the first Olubara of Ibara. There is a myth that associates the goddess Yemoja with the birth of Lalubu. According to the story:

> Olukoye married Lalubu's mother. By the time she was about forty years old they had not had a child. One day they consulted Ifa and through this divination they learned that they should worship Yemoja. They followed their priest's instructions and, within a course of months, Lalubu (Honor of the deep stream) was born. The parents took good care of the child but Yemoja was forgotten.
>
> Three months later the mother took some clothes, a calabash, and the child to the Ogun river to get water and wash the clothes. The child was settled on the bank of the river while the mother washed her clothes. When the mother finished she looked up and found the child was missing.

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> Three months later another woman traveled to the river to get water. When she glanced up she saw a child sitting under a tree on the opposite bank of the river. She tried to go to the child but four crocodiles came out of the water. The woman became alarmed and ran back to the village to report these events to her people. All of them rushed to the river-side. Some of them attempted to cross to the opposite bank. When they entered the water the four crocodiles again rose up to block all attempts to rescue the child.
>
> Then the people went to the Ifa priest who, through divination, found that the parents had received something from a god but had then neglected that god. The parents of the child were told to sacrifice sheep, fowl, pigeons, and corn to the neglected god. They were also directed to provide plenty of drumming and dancing. When this was done the crocodiles left that section of the river and one man was able to cross and get the child. In one of the child's hands they found one gun and two stones. In the other hand there were sixteen small cowries and one iron arrow. Through the years the senior members of Lalubu's family have received these objects for safekeeping and sacrifice during the occasion of the Gelede festivals.[5]

The history of Ibara indicates that the place was once known as Igbo Ogun (the place where god Ogun is worshipped). Their tales of origin indicate that they met an indigenous people already occupying the land. The elders think of the settlement of the town as having occurred in migratory waves. To them the name Igbo Ogun is nearly forgotten. They call their town Ibara. They think of Ibara as consisting of four large wards which can be linked to the early and later migrations. The people of the wards Oke Afin and Idofin are thought to have come from the Ile Ife area. These were the people of the earliest migrations. A distinctive Isolo ward developed during and after the Dahomean wars. The people of this ward are reputed to have come from the Oke Odan area near Dahomey. The people from Ifatedo are considered very recent migrants to the town. Their origins are linked with the old Egbado kingdom Ijana, in the area of Ilaro. The site of the first Ifatedo hamlets, in the Ibara area, are

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The people of the old Ibara kingdom were industrious and the town grew. It was thought to be a good place to live. The fact of different origins did not prevent the people of the early migrations from intermarrying and forming close kinship ties. This habit of absorbing new groups through intermarriage has contributed to the easy acceptance of the later Isolo and Ifatedo migrations. Additionally, as Ẹgbados, all migrants were worshippers of the goddess Yemoja and their uncritical acceptance and participation in the worship of Ajiboyede and Eyinni, the deified community ancestors, added to the strength of their common identification as the people of Ibara.

Ancient Culture Heroes

Ajiboyede, Eyinni, and Maru are among the most important of the heroes of the people of Ibara. The people believe that they were instrumental in the development and successful growth of the old Ibara kingdom. Some people say that Ajiboyede was one of the early Olubaras of Ibara.[6] He is reputed to have been a very wise man who loved his people deeply. Through Ifa divination he learned that in the future, if his people were not careful, strangers would come and subjugate them. He was told that he could avoid such a thing by sacrificing his only son, Maru. According to the legend, Maru was sacrificed in the market place of Ibara. It is for this reason that, in matters concerning the welfare of the town, the people still sacrifice to the spirits of Ajiboyede and his son Maru.

One of the stories the people tell concerns Eyinni, a woman, who came to Ibara with the original migrants. It was she who cared for and sacrificed to the idols which the migrants carried with them. Prominent among

these idols were Yemoja, Ṣango, and Ogun. Eyinni had the title Abo Oro, which is descriptive of her duties as priestess for her people. When the migrants arrived at Igbo Ogun she continued her duties as priestess. Soon it became her responsibility to crown the new Olubaras for she was the sister of the first Olubara and his brother, Akinjogun.

According to the stories the people tell, trouble came to the land and Eyinni went to live between two strong kings. The place where she settled is now the town of Igboro. Her third brother is said to have founded the town of Ilugun. Eyinni remains important to the people of Ibara because all of the sacrifices she made for her people were without error. As Simon Adeola put it, "All she did was perfect, so that now before a sacrifice for the cooperation of the town we call her name three times."

The Old Ibara Kingdom

In time Ibara became a large town and the center of a small kingdom. Some of the elders believe that in the early 1800's it had a population as large as that of Abẹokuta today. They say that there was a very large market and the government was highly organized. The site of the old town is in a valley. A river runs along the bottom of the valley and the remains of the old town walls, on the hills surrounding the old town site, are offered as evidence of the past greatness of the town.

The bush prohibits full inspection of the remains of these old walls. However, sections of the walls can be observed from such vantage points as the foot paths which bisect the walls at different places. From these points the only evidence of the old walls is a single row of laterite

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usually three feet wide and six to twenty-four inches high. These remains soon disappear into the dense foliage, leaving the observer to ponder what further evidence lies hidden in the underbrush just a few feet away. Some people insist that less than twenty years ago portions of the walls were as high as four feet. Because of the thick undergrowth it is impossible to estimate the circumference of the walls. Fortunately, a tarred road runs through the town. Along this road the distance from the east wall to the west wall measured approximately three-fourths of a mile.

The farms that have been cultivated within the walls have contributed to the destruction of the walls and the houses that once claimed the landscape. Contractors have used the soil of the old town walls and the walls of fallen houses to construct new houses. Roadworkers have used the soil of the old town walls to repair the roads. Yet enough fragments of the walls remain in the bush to lend credence to the stories of a once great empire.

Legend is that at an earlier time the houses and people of Ibara were so numerous that there were no farms within the walls. Deep in the bush, off some of the less frequented paths, the remains of some of the walls of the old houses can be seen. But this mute evidence of the old kingdom is, too often, completely obscured by overgrowth to permit a proper evaluation of its meaning.

Contravening evidence to the story of no farms being within the walls is the river that runs through the town. During the rainy season this river overflows, turning the lowest portions of the valley into a marshland. During the dry season, because of the high water table, the area contains so much mositure that it is used for farming. If these

same conditions existed one hundred years ago it is probable that a large part of the land within the walls was quite uninhabitable and must have been used for dry season farming.

According to the Ẹgbados of Ibara, the eastern banks of the Ogun river, where Abẹokuta now stands, was Ibara farmland. It was in a section of Abẹokuta, now called Ibara Omida, that many of the rites of worship to Yemoja were performed. It was to Lafa, one of the last Olubaras to reign before the destruction of the old kingdom, to whom Shodeke, the great leader of the Ẹgba people, came asking for land for the Ẹgba refugees from Ibadan and Oke Ona. They point to the continuing attendance of of Ẹgba people from the Itoko township of Abẹokuta at their Yemoja festivals as proof of the Egbado claim that they were the original owners of the land. They say that before the Ẹgba refugees came to Abẹokuta the people of Itoko used to help them celebrate their Yemoja festival (see pages 187-192). They also direct attention to the fact that most of the fresh fish sold in Abẹokuta comes through their market at Ibara Omida as proof of their claim to the use of the Ogun river through the intercession of their goddess, Yemoja.

The people of Ibara have many other stories which they cite as examples of their power and the kindly treatment they gave the Ẹgba immigrants, during the early 1830's.[7] They speak of the times when the Ẹgbas became so involved in their wars that they had no time for their farms. When famine threatened they were given food from the farms of Ibara. There was also the time when the Ẹgba women proved barren. To help correct this condition the Ẹgbados of Ibara sacrificed one of their own women, pregnant with her first child, in the markets of

MAP 4

EGBA DIVISION

from
Akin Mabogunje (1961:258)

Abẹokuta.[8]

There is another story which has to do with the aid which the people of Ibara gave the Ẹgba during the Owiwi wars. The Ijẹbu, fearing that the growing Abẹokuta populace might threaten their command of the routes to the sea, attacked the Abẹokutans at the Owiwi river. The Ẹgba, under Shodeke, lost many men and were afraid of an ensuing defeat. Shodeke came to the people of Ibara for help. The people of Ibara carried smallpox to the Ijẹbu camp. So many of the Ijẹbu died or became sick that they had to return to their homeland.[9] Shodeke was so impressed by the power of the people of Ibara that he cautioned the Ẹgba never to fight with the people of Ibara and he changed the name of the Ara river to Olomore (River of my benefactor) as a token of his appreciation for the help he had received from the Ẹgbado. The story of the Dahomean destruction of Iṣaga town, in retaliation to the help the Iṣaga gave the Ẹgba when the Dahomeans attacked Abẹokuta is also part of the lore of the region. These are but a few of the stories which the people of the orile offer when they wish to discuss what they consider to be their true relationship with the Ẹgba and the greatness of their former kingdom (Odunjo, n.d. 1957).

The evidence is often inadequate and confusing.[10] It is hard to get a coherent picture of what Ibara was like in those old days. How large was the kingdom? How powerful was the Olubara? For the present these are questions which must remain unanswered. There is the knowledge that the Alafin who crowned Lalubu said that future kings of Ibara should be crowned by their oldest sister, Eyinni. One gets the impression that the early kings of Ibara were not of sufficient stature to warrant their

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continued consideration by the Alafin.[11] However, there is no question that the Olubaraship represents a true obaship.

The Destruction of the Old Kingdom

The Ibara people say that their great town and kingdom were destroyed during the Dahomean wars of the 1800's. At that time the inhabitants deserted Ibara for the protection of the walls of Abẹokuta. Some say that it was because of lack of cooperation in the town that the people of Ibara did not stay behind the walls of their own town and fight their enemies. Others say that the people of Ibara were simple farmers with no skill in the arts of war. There are also those who claim that the people of Ibara did resist and that there was a whole day of fierce fighting before the Dahomeans set fire to the town and the defenders were forced to flee. Yet many of the elders of Ibara could not remember hearing anything of such a fire.[12]

In 1862 the Dahomeans destroyed Iṣaga, crucified several Christians, and decapitated and disemboweled men, women, and children. According to Ajisafe (1924:111) they were especially savage towards pregnant women whom they disemboweled and decapitated in large numbers. Some Ibara historians believe that upon hearing news of the slaughter at Iṣaga many of the people of Ibara became frightened and rushed to join the defenders of Abẹokuta. Others ran into the bush to create, eventually, the little farm hamlets which still exist throughout the Egba provinces.

In 1864 the Dahomeans destroyed Ibara, Ilewo, and some smaller Ibara towns (Ajisafe 1924: 120-124). Olubara Adubiwaju, successor to Lafa and Labiran and the remaining people of the orile deserted the broken town.

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There was at the time a belief that the Olubara must not see the Ogun river. While his people fled to Abẹokuta, Adubiwaju tried to go north on the west side of the Ogun. He was met and killed by some marauding Ẹgba and Ijaiye men. This occurred on the banks of the Oyan river. It is one of the places Lalubu II had to visit in 1952 before he was properly installed as Olubara.

According to Johnson, in 1893 Governor Gilbert Thomas Carter and Captain Bower, "accompanied by a posse (italicized in the original) of Hausa soldiers", began their pacification tour of the Yoruba kingdoms. As the years passed and the effects of the pax Britannica became apparent, many people began to leave the protection of Abeokuta to live in hamlets near their farms. These patrilineally organized hamlets usually consisted of up to fifteen houses, although some of them grew considerably larger. For the most part the settlements were never considered more than expedients of the moment. Although the glories of the old kingdom of Ibara were not forgotten, Ibara Omida, the ibara township of Abẹokuta, was now considered the real home of the people of the old kingdom. The site of the old walled town was considered to be their homestead. They began to call it Ibara Orile. The people of the hamlets and in Ibara Omida continued to think of themselves as members of the Ibara kingdom with the Olubara as their king.

The Egba and Ẹgbado

Contrasts

The tales of origins and migrations just outlined are historical accounts of the relationships which now exist among the various Yoruba

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peoples. The dates of these early migrations cannot be definitely stated. Parrinder studied the history of the ancient kingdom of Ketu. He traced the names of some forty-eight kings of Ketu and was able to establish the approximate dates of the reigns of the eleven kings who ascended to the throne since 1750. He says that:

> If one were to attempt an estimate of the length of the reigns of the dated kings they would go back hundreds of years, perhaps longer than some writers have been willing to allow for the existence of Yoruba kingdoms" (1956:21).

The oral historians of Ibara date the early migrations of their forefathers from Ile Ife as about 1360 A.D. Unfortunately, they can marshall little evidence for this date. Crowder cites a private communication from Morton-Williams (Crowder [1966:55]) who places the founding of Oyo as 1390 A.D. at the earliest and 1440 A.D. at the latest.

Following Biobaku's (1955) migratory waves theory it is assumed that the countryside was populated through the movement of many large and small groups of migrants. It is possible that these migrations started before 1300 A.D. and continued up to and beyond the time of the wars of the 1800's. The Ẹgba migration of the early 1800's provides an example of population movements before that time. The development of Ibadan and Abẹokuta are illustrative of the settlement and growth processes that occurred at Oyo and Ile Ife. In other words, large and small Yoruba kingdoms resulted in the development of the several sub-tribes of the Yoruba peoples. Although these sub-tribes continued to speak the same language they did develop distinctive dialects and they came to adopt modification of the old Yoruba traditions.

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that they obscured the more pervasive and general Yoruba culture. Ajayi and Smith (1964) comment on some of the more uniform Yoruba cultural patterns:

> That is to say, the traditional culture of the Yoruba people is associated with the town of Ile Ife: it was there that they first became conscious of themselves. From a nameless people wandering around with crude and simple stone and iron tools, they evolved a common language, a monarchical system of government, an urban social life, a pattern of religious beliefs and practices and a famous artistic tradition. Thus Ile Ife represents the formative stage in the cultural development of the Yoruba people. Most of the traditional orisas or deities, as distinct from the imported ones, are said to have originated there. All the important traditional rulers who have the right to wear beaded crowns trace their origins there and many of them used to send to Ile Ife for sacred symbols to use at their coronations. [1964:1][13]

Lloyd also comments on the continuity of Yoruba culture. He finds that: "Yoruba culture is remarkably uniform for a people so numerous and inhabiting such a vast area."

According to both Ẹgba and Ẹgbado informants, the term "Ẹgba" means "People of the forest" while "Ẹgbado" means "People beside the water". Some Ẹgbado offered another meaning for the term. My Ẹgbado informants would suggest that the term "Ẹgba" originally was "Ẹ gba mi o" which means "Please help me". This refers to the Ẹgbado claim that Ẹgba came to the Ẹgbado asking for land. My Egba friends claim that they had never heard of this particular interpretation. Biobaku says that "the most popular derivation of the name connotes open handed generosity which was considered to be the distinguishing trait of the Ẹgba." [1957:3]

There is no real evidence that the migrations which led to the development of the Ẹgbado sub-tribes began before the migrations which took the Ẹgba people into the Ẹgba forest. Ajayi and Smith speak of early migrations from Oyo in this manner:[14]

> The empire was in three parts. First, was the metropolitan area consisting of those who spoke 'Yooba' the Oyo dialect and who owed direct allegiance to the Alafin. They were divided into six provinces, three to the west of the upper Ogun or right bank (Ekun Otun) and three to the east or left bank (Ekun Osi). Secondly, there were the other Yoruba people conquered or dominated by the Oyo-speaking ones. The most important of these were the Ẹgba and Ẹgbado on both sides of the Ogun south of the metropolitan provinces. /1964: 4_7

However, despite the lack of evidence as to the first of the groups to enter the area, the Ẹgbado kings were still under the suzerainty of the Alafin of Oyo at the time the Ẹgba came to Abẹokuta. Johnson (1921: 15-26) speaks of the Ẹgbados as part of that group known as the "Yoruba Proper" or as the "Oyos" as they are termed by other tribes. He calls the Ẹgba an offshoot of the "Yoruba Proper" and describes them as a group of people who were small in number, "situated far from the center of life and activity, they were little thought of...."

Other distinctions between the Ẹgbado and Ẹgba can be made. The dialectical differences between the Ẹgbado and Ẹgba support Johnson's claim that there is a closer relationship between the Ẹgbado and Oyo than between the Ẹgbado and Ẹgba. The modern Ẹgbado dialect remains more similar to the dialect of the Oyo than that of the Ẹgba (see Appendix A)

The usual Ẹgbado tribal marks found in the orile are similar to the tribal marks of the "noble" families of Oyo (Johnson 1921: 106). These marks consist of three vertical scars over four horizontal scars located on both cheeks. The usual Ẹgba mark is three vertical scars over three horizontal scars on both cheeks. However, there is a mark consisting of three vertical slashes on both cheeks which seem to be generalized Oyo marks. He says that the Ẹgba marks are called Abaja Oro, "i.e. the upright Abaja Oro is distinctive of the Ẹgbas. They consist of three

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perpendicular lines each about three inches long on either cheek. The younger generations, however, have their lines rather faint or of shorter lengths undistinguishable from the Pele" (see Appendix B). Johnson continues his discussion of the significance of the similarity between the Oyo and the Ẹgbado marks: "The Ẹgbado marks are the same as the Oyo marks generally as this family remained in close connection with the Oyo and in their allegiance to the Alafin long after the break-up of the kingdom and the establishment of tribal independence." (Johnson 1921:107)

Other distinctions between the two groups can be made. In my investigation I found that there is a greater tendency for the Ẹgbado to perform clitoridectomy than the Ẹgba. There is also the tendency, noted earlier, for the Ẹgbado to list Yemoja among their important orişa. I have met many Ẹgba who are not at all familiar with Yemoja or with the important Gẹlẹdẹ festival which is associated with the worship of Yemoja.

Within the five kingdoms and more than 140 towns which comprise Abẹokuta, there are many local traditions and customs familiar to the people of one town or kingdom and completely unknown in a neighboring town. It is possible that some of the Ẹgba practice clitor dectomy, worship Yemoja, and speak a dialect which may be closer to that of the Ẹgbado of Ibara than it is to other Ẹgba dialects. Although the story of Abẹokuta has been more than twice told (Ajisafe, 1924; Biobaku, 1957) there remains still a need for a study of the structure of the internal organization of the town and the relationships existing within the town.

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NOTES

[1]There are many variations to a general theme of the early Yoruba history. The story of the early Yoruba migrations and wars presented in these pages is a distillation of the works of Ajisafe (1921), Johnson (1924), Biobaku (1957), Crowder (1962), Parrinder (1956), Odunjo (n.d. 1957), and Ajayi and Smith (1964). The earliest of these books, written in 1921 and 1924, constitute foundations of our knowledge of Yoruba history prior to the twentieth century. There has been growing interest and understanding of the work of archeologists and their elaboration of the Nok culture. The true contributions of these studies to our understanding of the history of the early kingdoms of West Africa has yet to be made. This is not an historical paper and, therefore, more attention cannot be devoted to the interesting questions of history. Suffice to say, future studies of the history of these areas must also include increments to the philosophy of knowledge.

Serious questions relating to the methodology of collecting oral histories remain unanswered. There is also the fact that historians of the past, and even today, tended to be limited, if not biased, in their outlook Johnson was an Oyo man and his very superior history was written from the Oyo point of view. Ajisafe and Biobaku were Ẹgba men and tended to rely on Ẹgba sources for their basic data. Biobaku has very little to say about the Ibara people who lived in the area of Olumo rock before the coming of the Ẹgba and the building of Abẹokuta. His book was written in 1957, yet he says nothing about the struggle which resulted from the Ẹgba chiefs' resistance to the Ibara people's attempt to re-install their oba. This struggle occurred in the late 1940's and early 1950's. The Olubara was crowned in 1952 after an interregnum of eighty-eight years. It would appear that the history of the Ẹgbado people has yet to be written. The little pamphlet by Odunjo (n.d. 1957) was of incalculable help in the reconstruction of the early history of the Ẹgbado peoples and the events which occurred during the Ẹgbas' early migration to Abẹokuta.

[2]There are points at which distinctions should be made between legends of origin, which are subject to investigation, and myths of creation which appear more fantastic and are more firmly rooted in the religions and cosmology of a people. While Yoruba myths of creation do not support the idea that the Yoruba migrated from someplace in the east they do identify Ile Ife as the home of the Yoruba. According to mythology, the Almighty God, Olodumare, sent his son, Oduduwa, to create the earth. When Oduduwa died there was nothing but water covering the earth. Among the items which Oduduwa willed to his son were a cock, some earth, and twenty-one pieces of iron. The cock soon scattered the earth with its feet. The earth became land masses and Oranyan became the owner of the earth. This happened at Ile Ife, the place the Yoruba consider the center of the earth and the origin of all people. It is believed that this is

why the Alafin is the owner of all Yoruba land and why there are sacred iron objects at Ile Ife (Johnson 1929:143).

[3]Some informants offered alternative stories about the settlement of Ibara. Most of these tales are not as internally consistent and finely elaborated as the tale presented in these pages. This tale follows the pattern of many of the traditional Yoruba tales of origin and has the additional benefit of being in harmony with some of the currently existing social facts of the people of the area. The people of Ibara do have close relatives among the people of Ibarakpa. Their belief that they controlled the towns of Ibarakpa lends strength to their feelings that Abẹokuta was built on their land.

[4]Among the Yoruba it is commonly believed that the head contains a person's or animal's luck (see pages 151-152).

[5]These articles are in the possession of Simon Adeola. The gun is a small derringer-like affair which appears to have been carved out of stone.

[6]Odunjo (n.d. 1957:21-25) gives the order of kings of Ibara. They were Lalubu, Oso, Olumala, Agborjoku, Akando, Asosoburo, Ajiboyede, Oluṣeni (actually had the title of Obajiwo which is the title of the person who is regent during an interregnum), Labiran and Adubiwaju (Adubiwaju was the Olubara who was killed by marauders while attempting to escape from the Dahomeans in the year 1864). Lalubu II is the first modern Olubara and was enthroned in 1952.

[7]Odunjo (n.d. 1957:13-15) tells of how an Itoko man and an Ijemo man came to live in Ibara Orile before Lafa took them to Olumo to live. They were settled near an Ẹgbado man named Adagba who was considered to be a very rough and independent man.

[8]During my early days in Abẹokuta I noticed a considerable number of women parading in single file along the main streets of Abẹokuta. It seemed that they were involved in some kind of religious ceremony. Their responses to my questions indicated that they were worshipping a woman who had permitted herself to be sacrificed in one of the large Abẹokuta markets during the early years of the Ẹgba's settling at Abẹokuta, so that the women of the town might no longer be barren.

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[9]Ajisafe (1924:64-64) and Biobaku (1957:20) claim that the food was poor. They claim that the Owiwi war was won through the prowess of Ẹgba arms and that Ibara was only used as a resting place.

[10]The Reverend Hinderer (Tucker 1853:193) reports having visited the village in 1850. He speaks of Ibara as a small farm town sited on a wide plain, partly cultivated and partly grass land, located ten miles from Abẹokuta. He does not mention the town walls which must have been quite apparent at that time. He stayed a short time at Ibara and then proceeded to Iṣaga. Reverend Hinderer was pleased with his reception at both these places for he commented: "Never did I experience more African affection than at Iṣaga and Ibara. Would to God that these two towns . [with] . less than 5,000 souls soon have a missionary among them; there are many villages round to which he would also have access".

[11]It is possible that this interdiction upon travel to Oyo is the source of the belief that the Olubara should never see the Ogun. The route which the Ẹgbados would have used to travel to Oyo would be through Ibarakpa which is the general term for the land parallel to the Ogun between Abẹokuta and Oyo. To prohibit the Olubara from crossing the Ogun would also ensure that the Olubara could never attack the Alafin without proving his disloyalty as soon as he attempted to cross the river. Johnson speaks of the controls which the Alafin put upon his regents at Ijana. Although the controls put upon the Ijana Regents and the Olubaras were different, they had essentially the same effect (Johnson 1921:226-227). None of the origins of this travel restriction. Interestingly, some Ẹgba who know this story cite it as proof that the Ẹgbado could never have owned the Olumo land because their king could never see the land.

[12]My Olayinka, Assistant Headmaster of the Ilaro College and an historian, was the first person to mention this fire.

[13]Ajayi and Smith (1964:1-2) point out that the term "Yooba" was originally the name of the Oyo peoples. The people in areas surrounding the Yorubas spoke of the Yorubas as the Anago peoples. The missionaries were the first persons to apply the term Yoruba to all Anago-speaking peoples.

[14]The authors must be speaking of later migrations from Oyo as contrated with the earlier migrations from Ile Ife.

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CHAPTER III

ABẸOKUTA TODAY

Physical Characteristics

Abẹokuta is a large town in the southwestern part of Nigeria. It is located sixty-three miles north of Lagos, the capital city of Nigeria. From the lowlands of the coast the country rises to heights of 600 feet at some points in the irregular landscape of Abẹokuta. The land around Abẹokuta consists of a crystalline base covered with red laterite soil, laterite rock, clay and sandstone. Located at the fringes of the tropical forest zone of the south, Mabogunje (1961: 258) describes the land as part of the lowland rain forest belt. Obili (1957: 3, 5) and Pugh and Perry (1960: 63-67) say it is guinea savannah. According to Obili, guinea savannah is located nearest forest regions. It is characterized by low visibility, a result of closely packed grass interspersed with trees. He would be describing the Abẹokuta area when he says, "The richest savannah is a transition between tropical forest and true savannah and is often known as guinea savannah."

The agricultural agents in the area think and speak of the land as "derived savannah". This term indicates their belief that the land, once a part of the high forest, through the continuous slash and burn agriculture practiced by the Ẹgba and Ẹgbado farmers for more than 130 years, has been changed to savannah. Only in the river valleys that interlace

the land can the lush forest that once covered the entire area [illegible] be seen.

Pugh and Perry (1960:61-62) also describe the development of derived savannah as the result of the land being subjected to continuous slash and burn cultivation. Eventually, the land becomes denuded of trees and only grasses can grow. Vestiges of the original forest remain in the river valleys where the moisture in the land and the plains have preserved these areas.

The most impressive geographic feature of the town of Abeokuta are the outcroppings of granite, described by Pugh and Perry (1960:[illegible]) as inselbergs and kopjes. These outcroppings are characteristic of the right bank of the Ogun river. As a result of these granite outcroppings, the elevations within the town vary between 300 and 600 feet above sea level. The land to the eft of the Ogun river consists of gentle rolling hills.

In earlier days the Ogun river formed the western boundary of Abẹokuta. Today the town has extended its boundaries across the river to include a suburb called Lafenwa. Lafenwa contains a "stranger" residential area, an army camp, commercial houses, a large market, the abatoir, the railroad station, a cement company, a brewery and a firm which manufactures toys and educational materials. At the Lafenwa Motor Park people board lorries which take them to Lagos or to the various towns of Ẹgbadoland. Lafenwa is also an important fueling, loading, rest and repair area for the trucks and buses which travel the main road. From Lafenwa these vehicles are driven either south to Lagos, or north, following the main road across the Lafenwa bridge, through the narrow,

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hilly streets of Abẹokuta, past the Itoku and Ṣapon markets, along the side of the Alake's palace, and finally, out of the northeast corner of the town into the Ẹgba forest which lies beyond. The northern journey could end in Ibadan, Ilorin, Kano, or in the land-locked country of Niger.

As it wends its way through the town, this north-south route is intersected at various points by paved roads which lead to such places as Ijebu and the Ibarakpa towns (see map 5, page 55). There are a few other paved roads and some dirt roads which also carry vehicular traffic. Because of the steep hills of the town there is little bicycle traffic. Small four-cylinder taxicabs are used to move the people and their packages cheaply and efficiently to all points in the town, or to the small hamlets and villages situated in the immediate vicinity of Abẹokuta. But walking is the most popular mode of travel. The many footpaths which run between the houses, compounds, and various wards of the town provide ample opportunities for rapid travel in any desired direction.

Population Characteristics

Abẹokuta is the administrative center of the Ẹgba Division. In 1952, the population of the division was 393,800. By the 1963 census the count was 629,564 (see page 63) It is estimated that there are now 187,292 people actually living in Abẹokuta.[1] But it is difficult to evaluate the meaning of such census figures. Many of the people reported as urban residents are closely linked to their oriles and a rural way of life. Large segments of the population commute between their quarter in Abẹokuta and their orile on either an irregular or regular basis. The number of people staying in Abẹokuta will wax and wane according to the day, the week,

the season, or the festivals which are peculiar to particular quarters or kingdoms of Abẹokuta.

Each weekend the farmers from the surrounding hamlets and villages come to Abẹokuta to visit their relatives, attend family meetings, participate in the activities of their social societies [see Chapter XIII] and to attend the meetings of the political, economic, and chieftaincy societies to which they belong. Many people are bent on more pleasurable activities; intending to dance and drink at the numerous wedding, funeral, naming, and freedom ceremonies which take place in the town. There are also a variety of traditional religious ceremonies and festivals and religious and national holidays which draw many people off their farms to spend a few days in town. And there are some people who, engaging only in rainy season farming, choose to move to the town during the dry season and to return to the farm during the wet season.

Political Organization

Since the early days of the Ẹgba migrations to Abẹokuta the people still think of themselves as belonging to that section of Abẹokuta to which the people of their old towns came during the tribal wars of the last century. Their old towns and old loyalties were simply transplanted to a new location. The sites of those old towns are now, more usually, called the homestead (*orile*). Many of the people of Abẹokuta still maintain farms in their father's orile or have relatives there.

Abẹokuta, then, is a confederation of between 142 and 205 townships organized into five different kingdoms.[2]

The tribal wars of the 1800's caused these kingdoms to come together, under the shelter of Olumo rock, for mutual protection and defense. Although they have remained together, the people still think of themselves as members of their own kingdom and their own small town, owing allegiance to their own oba and their own local chiefs.

Although the townships of the kingdoms are politically integrated into their respective kingdoms, no kingdom is an integral geographic entity. Rather, the constituent townships of the various kingdoms are scattered throughout Abẹokuta. Only the people of the kingdom of Ibara, who migrated to Abẹokuta as a group, comprise a separate and distinct geographic unit.

The Alake is the Ọba of the Ẹgba Alake people, the Oshile belongs to the Oke Ona people, the Gbagura represents the Agura people; the Oluwo is king of the Owu people; and the Olubara is the head of the Ibara people. The Alake is the paramount king among the five. He is the oba who sits in the House of Chiefs in Ibadan. The Oshile is the next in importance, followed, in order, by the Gbagura, the Oluwo and the Olubara.

The elders of these townships participate in their own Ogboni, Olorogun and Parakoyi chieftaincy associations. Traditionally the Ogboni cult was the political organization of the town, the Olorogun was the military organization and the Parakoyi chiefs were responsible for the organization and order of the markets of the town. The chiefs at the township level represent their townships in the oba's court. In the same way, but at a higher level, whenever problems concerning the whole town of Abẹokuta are to be discussed, members of these associations are selected to represent their kingdom in the Alake's court.

Such problems as land disputes, divorces, petty crimes and neighborhood hostilities, broached in the smallest township, will be heard by the chiefs of that township. If the problem is not settled at the township level it will be brought to the court of the _oba_ in whose kingdom the problem was first raised. It will be, in most instances, resolved at this level. If these chiefs should fail to reach a settlement, or if the matter requires civil action, or if it involves serious criminal behavior, the problem will be sent to the government courts. But if there are wider political considerations involving the whole town of Abẹokuta, the problem will become a matter for discussion by the chiefs and _obas_ in the Alake's palace.

Often the problems with which these chiefs must deal originate in the distant oriles and hamlets which are under their jurisdiction. In all of these problems and disputes the _oba_ can always rely on the historical knowledge and long experience of the old chiefs.

This traditional political and judicial structure is no longer sufficient to cope with the institutions of the larger society in which the Abẹokutans must now participate. Today Abẹokuta is the center of modern governmental service and administration. The local branches of Posts and Telegraphs, the Ministries of Agriculture and Works, the Electricity Corporation of Nigeria, local government and Nigerian police, the system of courts, the Ẹgba Divisional Council and the Ministry of Health are representative of some of the modern local government activities located in Abẹokuta; they have little relevance to the traditional political structure and do not fit into it. A large proportion of the activities of the Local Government Advisor and his staff is the interpretation of

these new government processes to the chiefs and their people.[3]

Housing

In many ways Abẹokuta has not changed much in the 135 years since it was founded. Although many modern conveniences are available, the majority of the people cannot yet afford the electricity, telephones, and other amenities which they see in the stores. Perhaps the greatest changes which have occurred in their physical living arrangements have been their increasing dependence on the small taxicabs and the manner in which they build their houses.

The people no longer build the large traditional compounds of the past; many of the traditional compounds still exist, although in very dilapidated condition. Nowadays, it is more common to build single one or two storied houses on the land once fully given over to the family compound type of dwelling. Since this new type of construction occurs on family land people who live close to each other still tend to be more related than not, as was the case when they lived in compounds. As in the past, the houses are made of mud, but roofs of metal sheeting have replaced the old style grass roofs. The rusting of these metal roofs combined with the color of the laterite walls lends the town a reddish-brown appearance. Even the houses which have been cement veneered and the houses which have been gaily painted soon take on this reddish-brown appearance, for the nuclei of the raindrops are composed of particles of red laterite.

The town houses are usually much larger than the houses found in the oriles, for they have to accommodate kin who come from the farms for

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short or extended visits. Although the style of housebuilding has changed, these newer houses still serve as residences for patrilineally related kin and their families, as was the function of the older compounds.

Successful people usually building prestigious two storied mud houses in their family compound. Unfortunately, these houses crack and fall faster than the more traditional one storied houses. There is a growing tendency to build one and two storied cement block houses or to use cement block in the repair of damaged mud walls. Therefore, it is not unusual to find modern concrete block houses in very traditional sections of the town.

In order to placate his relatives and to maintain or raise his position of seniority in his family, a financially successful person will build such a house on family land. Family members will always have access to such a house The builder of the house must remain responsive to the needs of the members of his extended family and the social position of the family elders who live in the house. House builders cannot freely dispose of the houses they build on family land. They may not sell such houses, nor can they will them to any person other than members of their patrilineage, the owners of the land.

After kinship obligations have been met, many business men try to purchase land in the sections of the town which have become the sites of the popular, cement block, two storied houses which are cement veneered, multicolored, and electrified. The builder has more personal control of the houses which he builds on purchased property than he has of houses he builds on lineage land. He may use the former as he pleases. After his death his children inherit clear title to houses which he has built

on purchased land. If he does not wish to lodge his wives and children in these houses he can rent the rooms to the bureaucrats and technicians who comprise the monied "stranger" element of the town.

The People's View of Abẹokuta

For the people of Egbaland Abẹokuta is their recreational and ceremonial home, and it is a good place to get a job or to learn a trade. The thirteen grammar schools, thirty-three secondary schools, and numerous primary schools make Abẹokuta an educational center. The town is also a cultural center, a military center and an information center. It is also a medical center. There are two large hospitals, a leprosarium and several clinics in the town. There is also a modern psychiatric hospital situated three miles south of the town along the the road to Lagos.

There are numerous apprenticeships, craft, and clerical positions available to the young men and women who do not wish to live on the farm or are unable to attend school. The range of opportunities available in Abẹokuta are so much greater than those opportunities available to the people living in the villages and hamlets that most people wish to try their "luck" at town life. Thus many people living in homesteads or hamlets maintain a strong orientation towards the town and are fascinated by the possibilities of town life. They move back and forth between hamlet, homestead, and Abẹokuta, trying their "luck" looking for the place which is most suitable for them. They have three choices. To the people of Ibara home might be Ibara Omida, Ibara Orile, or some hamlet off the main road, back in the bush. Of course, most people prefer to live in one place and visit the others.

The people of the villages and hamlets frequently travel to Omida for meetings, festivals, markets, schooling, and new jobs. The long term resident of Omida is less likely to travel to the orile for more than a short visit or a social occasion. Some of the chiefs in Omida have not visited the orile in many years. Two men of Ibara Orile attempted to explain the relationship which exists between the people living in the hamlet of Koto Aro, the Koto Aro section of Ibara Orile, and the Aro compound in Ibara Omida, Abẹokuta. They started by talking about the burial of their father.

> He is now buried in Aro's compound in Ibara Omida. There are many houses in Ibara Omida. There is an old building there. It is very big. Our family left Koto Aro [hamlet] to build in Ibara Omida. It is just one big family. There are three houses from Koto Aro here [in Ibara Orile] and another from Koto Aro built on my mother's land [in the orile]. Koto Aro still has land here [in the orile on the father's land]. Our great grandfather built here before [in the time of the old kingdom]. It is our elders who knew the history.

> The place where all the ceremonials and social gatherings occur is Aro in Ibara Omida because that is where the elders are. If the elders of the family moved to Ibara Orile tomorrow this would be the place where all the ceremonials and social gatherings of the family would occur.

NOTES

[1]Personal communication from the Information Division, Ministry of Home Affairs, Western Region, Ibadan, August, 1966.

[2]Johnson (1924:226) said that 153 towns migrated to Abẹokuta. Lloyd (1962:227) says that there are 140 of these towns "...although the Gbagura section claims that many in its own area." Leighton, Lambo, Hughes, et. al. (1963:297) mention 142 "townships". Biobaku (1957:88), speaking of the number of townships which were involved in the selection of the late Ademola as Alake in 1869, says that "...202 townships supported him whilst only three opposed." My own informants tended to waver between 140 and 150 townships. This confusion regarding the actual number of towns in Abẹokuta is similar to the confusion regarding the number of wards in Ibara Orile and the number of hamlets under Ibara Orile.

[3]The last paragraph of Biobaku's "Epilogue" (1957:99) defines some of the weaknesses of the Abẹokuta political organization or their "constitution" as the Ẹgba are wont to call it. Biobaku compares the strength of the Ẹgba confederation with that of Ibadan. In Ibadan "a strong government emerged partly because those who flocked to Ibadan completely identified themselves with the new town under the nominal suzerainty of Ọyọ. The Ẹgba remained primarily attached to their townships and the attempt to revive the office of the Alake was only partially successful--certainly not to the extent of supplying a welding force. Yet the Abẹokutans take pride in their confederation and during the national political chaos of the last few years, they have pridefully suggested that the whole of Nigeria might benefit by adopting their form of government.

CHAPTER IV

IBARA ORILE

The Physical Parameters

The Abeokuta-Lagos road runs west through Lafenwa and then turns south as it begins its meandering course towards Lagos. Traveling along this road, through Lafenwa, past the railroad station, the cement factory, the brewery and into the hilly country beyond, it takes just five minutes to reach Aro village and Ita Osin market. At this place, a secondary road branches to the west. This road leads to Ibara Orile, Ilewo, Isaga Jigga, and eventually, to Ilaro.

The distance from Ita Osin to Ibara Orile is about four and a half miles. During the rainy season it might take as much as fifteen minutes to cover this distance. The road workers cannot work fast enough to fill the ever-developing potholes caused by the overloaded lorries that use the road. Nor can they move enough laterite to rebuild those portions of the road that frequently wash away. Their repairs hold up much better during the dry season when the travel time to Ibara Orile might be reduced by as much as five minutes.

Along this section the landscape consists of gentle hills and valleys. The vegetation of the hills is derived savannah, while lush strips of forest line the valleys. The color and character of the countryside do not change radically through the seasons. In the rainy season everything seems a little greener. In the dry season everything becomes just a little browner. Dry season firing of the bush does thin out the grass for a while, but in

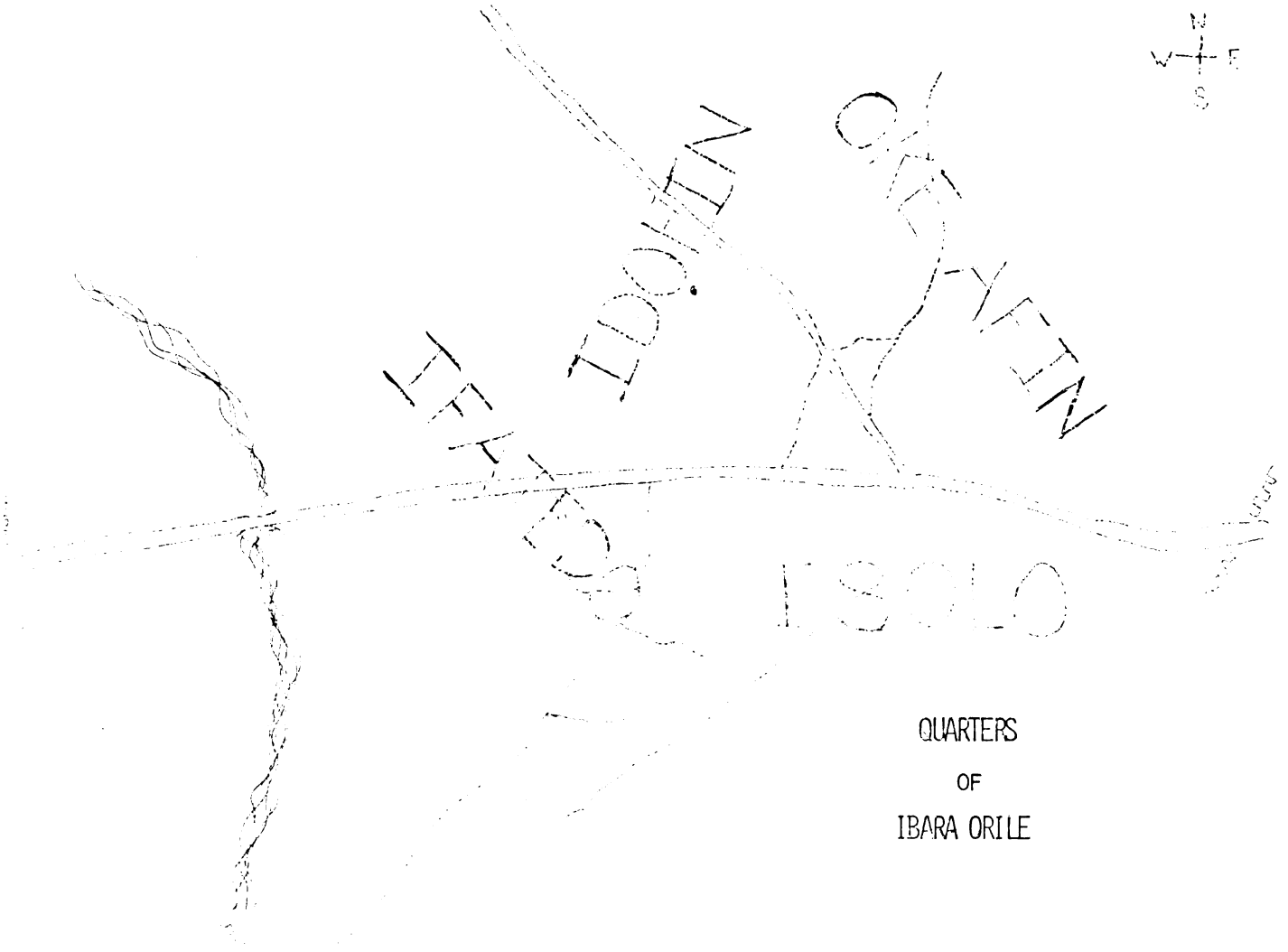
a short time it is again thick and has risen to such heights that both farmer and hunter find it impassable.

On the eastern fringes of Ibara Orile are four houses which the villagers sometimes call the Oke Ckoko section, or Oke church section, of the orile because of its proximity to the church. Then comes the church, the school, the dirt road leading to the north, the market place and the large white structure which is really the courthouse, but more frequently serves the purpose of town meeting hall. By this time the large mosque, food shop, and cooperative building which lie along the left hand side of the road have already been bypassed. The cooperative is a tall one story building situated across the road, oblique to the courthouse. From here, the road stretches onward through the town bending slightly to the south into the more forested regions. (See map 7)

Walking about the village provides a clearer idea of the geographical and organizational patterns of the orile. Ibara Orile is built on the eastern slopes of a valley which runs from north to south. There are four major wards in the orile. At the top of the hill in the northeastern corner of the orile is the ward called Oke Afin. Although this section lies on the top of a hill the forest growth is very thick. The soil is red laterite, but the crest of the hill is quite steeply inclined and the paths between the houses are worn so much that at some points the underlying red laterite rock shows through.

In the high sections of Oke Afin the inclines are so steep that in places, crevasses--sometimes three feet wide and four feet deep--have been created by rainy season surface water drainoff which rushes down the hill towards the valley bottom. The village spreads down this steep incline.

MAP 6



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past the point where the dirt road intersects the tarred road towards the bottom of the valley. From the angle formed by the intersection of these roads the incline towards the valley bottom is much more gentle. The general direction of this incline continues running from the northeast corner to the southwest corner of the village.

Across the dirt road from Oke Afin, surrounding the market and court-house, is the ward known as Idofin. The major portion of the community to the left of the paved road is called Isolo. The fourth major ward, Ifatedo, stretches along both sides of the paved road at the western end of the town.

The southerly slope of the land meets the Iju river which runs along the bottom of the valley about 300 feet from the last house in Ifatedo. On the northern side of the road the banks of this river are quite well formed. The banks are less developed on the southerly side of the road This is the lowest part of the valley. During half the year this section is very swampy.

To the north of the town, running for a distance along the dirt road, is the Ilarun river. One half mile farther north is the Ara river. All of this water contributes to the year 'round luxuriant quality of the trees and foliage in the valley

The forest completely surrounds the village. During the rainy season the forest intrudes into the village to such an extent that it is often difficult to see portions of the village which are really quite close to each other It is only during the late dry season when the sun has dessicated some of the foliage that the relationship of various sections of the village can be appreciated

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Of the 155 homes in the orile (see Chart 1), 130 have metal roofs while the remaining twenty-four are thatched. All of these houses are made of mud. Twenty-one of these houses have a layer of protective and decorative cement covering all four outside walls. Only four of these houses are fully painted. The Buyers Cooperative building, courthouse, school, church, and mosque are the only public buildings in the orile. The restaurant, situated next to the Buyers Cooperative building, and the two cassava mills are the three private commercial buildings in the orile (although one of the mills has been closed for nearly two years). The subject of house construction is discussed on pages 335-343.

The oldest house now standing in the orile was built in Idofin nearly 100 years ago. Today this house looks as old as its reputed age. Years of rain have eroded several portions of the wall permitting the rusty old tin roof to sag towards the gaping holes that remain. At these points the interiors of the unused rooms (which the householder now considers too dangerous to occupy) are exposed to the view of all who pass. Household and farm implements and protective medicines of another generation can be seen hanging from the walls. Through these holes the old three and a half feet high doors which lead to the newer sections of the old house can be seen. They stand as mute evidence of the time when doors were built low so that the interior of the house could be easily defended. The erosion around both the older and newer sections of the house has resulted in the house standing on a platform of earth some three feet high.

CHART I

SOME CHARACTERISTICS OF
BUILDINGS CONSTRUCTED IN
IBARA ORILE

Number of homes with metal roofs.....131
Number of homes with thatched roofs..... 24

Totals. 155

Number of fully cemented houses..... 21
Number of houses without shutters or doors..... 4
Number of houses without outside walls painted..... 4
Number of house partially painted..... 1

Public Buildings
A. Permanent market stalls (3)
B. Courthouse
C. School
D. Mosque
E. Church

Private Commercial Buildings
A. Flour mills (2)
B. Restaurant
C. Semi-permanent market stalls (12)

There is no plan to the arrangement of the buildings. Each house appears to have been put exactly where the builders desired to place it with little reference to any larger plan or pattern. Only the builders of those houses facing the paved road seem to have ignored the rule of individuality for several of these houses have been built in a straight line. This is particularly apparent in the Ifatedo section.

The only landscaped area in the orile is the ground on which the Anglican church and the school are built. Here laterite rock and African violets have been used to line the paths. The slightly inclined pathway to the paved road has been terraced with logs to prevent soil erosion. The grass of the lawns of both the school and the churchyard are maintained by the school children who periodically hack at it with their short-handled long-bladed grass cutters.

Two of the viliagers have tried to grow some flowers on the land surrounding their houses. They say that they have seen Europeans grow gardens and that "It helps to beautify the place". The lemon grass which these two individuals use to decorate their gardens protects their drains from erosion and is also used for medicinal purposes.

Graves are located here and there between the houses, in the middle of major pathways, or sometimes a few yards off in the bush beside a broken wall. Many of these graves are protected and decorated with large molded laterite slabs and laterite filigree, all covered with a thin veneer of cement. Other graves are merely outlined with beer bottles stuck, neck down, into the ground.

The market consists of three government built sheds with metal roofs and cement floors. They start at the junction of the dirt and paved roads

and run parallel to the latter. Behind and beside these permanent sheds are a number of individually owned thatched roof sheds which shade floors of cleared and smoothed laterite. Most of these thatched roof sheds are the personal property of people living in the orile. Others belong to traders living in the surrounding hamlets. Some are strong and are expected to last a long time. Others are of flimsier construction and seem to be serving a transitory seasonal purpose.

The Varying Routine of Village Life

The Daily Routine

The tempo of life in the orile varies from day to day. There is always a portion of the population visiting Ibara Omida. Most days the men and boys are tending their farms. Many of the younger children are in school for a major part of the day. The women may be attending a distant market, working in the bush or on the farms, negotiating for the purchase of some farmers' products. During the middle hours of the day the lack of people moving about the village makes the place appear deserted.

There are, however, always a few women about the town. They spend the morning in their homes, cleaning the house or cooking. They also gather in small groups, at the cassava mill, behind the Buyers Cooperative building, or they may be washing clothes at the point where the Iju river runs under the tarred road.

It is late in the morning when the older men return from their work in the fields. From time to time these men may be seen entering the

[redacted]

village, greeting neighbors, stopping at the mosque to pray, then disappearing into their houses. The younger farmers whose farms are near the orile come home about noon for lunch and relaxation. They remain in their homes or visit friends until mid-afternoon when they return to their farms.

During the dry season when there is little farm work to be done those people who have returned to the village remain inside their houses until early evening, seeking protection from the sun. Only a few men return to their farms for a few hours of evening work. Some households leave the orile for days at a time, escaping to Abẹokuta where they participate in the active social and political life of that town.

When the season is more comfortable the orile begins to come to life about the hour the farmers begin to return from their farms. It is about this time that the children are home from school and the women are in their cooksheds preparing food and performing a variety of household chores. But on most days for the major part of the day, the town is deserted.

The men return from their farms between 6:00 and 8:00 p.m. They spend the few remaining hours of the day visiting the mosque or church socializing with their neighbors and taking care of their personal business. These activities last only for a few short hours for with the coming of darkness most people have retreated to their shuttered and locked houses. They are usually asleep by 9:00 and 10:00 p.m. If there is a full moon the people sit around, chatting in front of their houses, until 10:30 and 11:30 p.m.

The Weekly Routine

There are three different ways in which the people of the orile usually divide their week. A generally accepted division is according to the market cycle which brings the market to the orile every five days. Another is that of the Muslims of the orile who think of Friday as the beginning of the week and their day of rest. Finally, the Christians consider Sunday to be the beginning of the week and their day of rest.

The important general consideration is the fact that the religious days always occur on Fridays and Sundays while the market day can occur any day of the week. Market day is a busy active time for everybody in the orile. It is the market day which periodically calls to the individual's attention the fact that the orile is a social unit which is larger than his own home and family; a social unit which occasionally demands his involvement and participation.

Fridays are important for the large number of Muslims in the village. Their attentions will be divided between the farm and the mosque. On this day many Muslims will be found on their farms either because their commitment to their farms is greater than that to the mosque or because they feel that they can do their praying just as properly in their field. Another group of men will, from time to time throughout the day, congregate at the mosque. It is their presence in the town, seated near the mosque or in the market place or wandering about visiting with friends which makes the town appear a bit less desolate on Fridays. The characteristics of the religious affiliations of the people are discussed on pages 118-122

If the market day falls on a Friday the number of the people frequenting the mosque increases, but the tempo of the market is not affected by their religious observances. Quite aside from Fridays the market always has a salutary effect on attendance at the mosque. The market keeps the farmers in town and makes it easier for them to go to the mosque.

Sunday is more like market days because most of the people of the orile, be they Christians Muslims or traditionalists, think that there is something special about Sundays.[1] The special character of Sundays does not rest on its religious significance. The number of Christians in the orile is small and many of them do not attend the church as frequently as the elders of the church would wish. Like the Muslims, more Christians go to church when market days fall on Sundays than would attend on a non-market Sunday.

But whether Sunday be a market day or a non-market day, it is the day that the people of the orile get dressed up and travel to their lineage compounds in Ibara Omida where their lineage meetings will be held. Some will travel to Abẹokuta for the sole purpose of attending some one or several of the many "freedom,"[2] naming, marriage or funeral ceremonies which take place on Sundays.

It is probable that an additional impetus for holding these festivities on Sundays results from the fact that many of the most important members of the lineage are those people who have education and hold European-type jobs. This means that they will be available to attend lineage meetings and social functions only on weekends. If a market should occur on Sunday there is an increase in the generally festive aura of the market. More people, better dressed, seem to appear on

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

market days which occur on Sundays than would appear if the day were solely a market day or only a Sunday.

The general observation was that the religious observance of the Muslims and Christians have no detrimental effect on the market when market days occur on Fridays or Sundays. When market days occur on Fridays and Sundays there is increased attendance of services at the mosque and church respectively.

The Market Cycle

For the people of the orile each day has a meaning and pace of its own. Each day's activities are largely a response to the demands of the market cycle in which the people participate. According to their method of calculation the five day market cycle begins in Ibara Orile. The Ibara Orile market day is also the last and most important day of the cycle. People throughout the area will attend the market.

The orile is quiet during the second day of the cycle. On this day the market is held in Ibara Omida. Because of the unique kin, social, and political relationships the people of Ibara Orile have with the people of Omida some of the orile people always attend the Omida market. It is also a good time for transacting commercial and family business.

Yet many women remain in the orile buying and preparing food products for sale in the Ita Oşin market and the large Lafenwa markets. These markets are held on the third day of the Ibara Orile market cycle.[3] Because so many women will attend these markets the orile is usually quiet on the third day of the cycle.

The fourth day of the market cycle is the Iberekodo market day. Only

[redacted]

a few women have an interest in this market.[4] Most of the women remain in the orile in order to prepare for the Ibara Orile market which will occur the next day which is the fifth and last day of the old cycle and the first day of the next market cycle.

The Ibara Market

The Ibara market is not a big thriving market like the Lafenwa Itoku Omida, or Iberekodo markets of Abeokuta. It is a small market catering to the familiar needs of a small stable clientele and responsive to the changing seasons and the vagaries of the larger town markets. During the harvest season the orile market can be very noisy and active. People living in Abẹokuta and surrounding villages come to join the people of the orile to exchange goods and services. At this time there are usually one or two people selling dried meats, dried fish, melon seeds, cassava, cassava flour, sugar, tea, mats, beans, live snails, canned sardines, locally made soaps, European-type soap, traditional medicines, European medicines, hens, stationery, peppers, sewing needles, thread and a variety of other goods.

When there has been a long period of good market days the news seems to spread so that for a time the market will attract people who sell goods which are ordinarily sold in the larger markets of Abẹokuta. These people sell clay pots, European dishes, metal pots, spoons, knives, European second hand clothing and a variety of other items more often found in the big urban markets than in the small village markets. From under their thatched sheds some of the women of the orile sell cooked rice, meat soups, fish soups, pounded yam, bean cakes, fried plantain and other popular food items.

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Some of the transient sellers use the metal covered sheds for protection from the sun. Each market day the meat vendor seats himself under one of these sheds. The bamboo wine seller also occupies her usual place under the sheds and one of the town tailors brings his machine from his home in Oke Afin to join her. Another tailor works under the thatched shed which he has establsihed on the fringes of the market. There are usually two barbers at work during market day. One cuts hair under a tree, the other rents one of the rooms of the Buyers Cooperative building.

Throughout the market day women bring the farm produce from the farms and storage rooms in their homes to a central depot area located under a large shade tree which is situated between the court house and the market Sometime during the late afternoon and early evening lorries come to carry these goods to Lagos.

Market day is a particularly busy day for the women at the remaining cassava mill. This is the day that the cassava buyers from Abẹokuta come to the village. At the Buyers Cooperative building the produce buyers are busy weighing and paying for the cash crops raised by the people of the village and neighboring hamlets. Depending on the season of the year people bring kola nuts, cocoa or palm kernels to the buyers. This purchasing is only done on market days, the only days the building is open. On that day the main buyer from Abẹokuta comes to the village.

All of the selling and buying is not done in the market area. The activity of the market day permeates the entire village for the market day is the time for visiting, initiating and terminating private business arrangements and "playing". It is also the most likely time for groups of men to meet under the shed of an elder or in the court house to discuss

village social, economic, and political problems.

The tempo of the market changes with the seasons. During the midst of the dry season there is very little activity. Little produce comes in from the farms and fewer strangers come from Abeokuta to sell their pots, pans, cigarettes, and used clothes. There are no big lorries moving farm produce to Lagos. Fewer women come to the market place to sit under the sheds selling their products. Nevertheless, the tailors still come to the market; there are always clothes to repair. The barbers still come to set up their stands; there is always hair to cut. The buyers still come to the Cooperative Buyers building; there are always women with palm kernels to sell. The women continue their work at the mill for cassava does not know the seasons.

Everything goes on just as it does during the harvest of the rainy season. The only difference is that there are fewer people involved, fewer things are sold and fewer people venture into the sun fewer times

A Sense of Unity

Although Oke Akin, Idofin, Ifatedo, and Isolo constitute the four main wards of the village some of the householders try to maintain their separate identities and origins alive by calling the sections of the village where they have built their homes after the names of the hamlets from which they originally came. For example, those from the hamlets of Koto Aro, Olowokere, Oluknoku, and Molegede will sometimes use these old names when referring to their present house sites. The loyalties to these old names are connected to the fact that these names identify both the old hamlets

and symbolize the historical, social and cultural traditions of the lineages which occupied the old bush hamlets.

Nevertheless, most of the people of the orile do discuss the organization of the town in terms of the four main wards, most of the time. There are other ways in which the people separate out mentally, the sections of their community. They sometimes speak of living in Isale Bale (beside the bale), Isale Balogun (beside the Balogun), or Isale Mosulasi (beside the mosque).[5]

The orile is the source of local political leadership for the people who live in the hamlets of the area. The acting head man lives in the orile.[6] For the people of the hamlets the orile's acting head man is the sage and final arbiter of disputes which cannot be settled by the elders of their bush hamlets.

The courthouse is also located in the orile. Increasingly, in recent years, important meetings which affect the lives of the people in the hamlets and in the orile have been held in the court house rather than in the homes of the elders and the acting head man. This change has resulted from the growth of population and the greater involvement of the people in the affairs of the town. It is the courthouse which is used when the Olubara and other important people come to speak to the people of the orile. It is here that they come to hear the community developer, the agricultural agents, the nutritionists, or the leaders of the Lagos based Egbado Improvement Union.

Many of the people who live in the hamlets also belong to one or more of the many social, political, and economic societies which frequently meet in the orile. These societies will be discussed in greater detail

in future sections of this thesis.

In recent years the people of Ibara and the civil servants in the offices of the district council have estimated that there are 143 hamlets under the hegemony of the Olubara. However, many of the hamlets' inhabitants have begun to move either to Ibara Orile or to Ibara Omida. As the pace of this move has increased, many of these hamlets have been completely abandoned. The count of the actual remaining hamlets becomes confused because to the people these old places still have utility and meaning. The farmer who has lived in one of these hamlets all of his life may still use the remains of his old home as an overnight camp and place of rest when he tends his nearby farms.

Such a place, abandoned but still utilized, is old Olukonku. Olukonku used to be a big village situated beside the main Ilaro-Abeokuta road, a mile west of Ibara Orile. Today it consists of three houses in the Idofin section of Ibara Orile. Only a score of broken ragged walls are in evidence in the remaining open areas of the old site. Many more broken walls lie hidden in the dense bush. Nearly every day the women of Olukonku who now live in Ibara Orile walk to this place to peel, soak, press and dry their cassava. They use some of the broken walls as sheds for the storage of their food stuffs. They sit there for hours cracking palm kernels or doing some other woman's task. To them the place is very familiar and still very much alive.

Of course, these moves from the hamlets offer opportunities for the weakening of the solidarity of kinship groups which formerly occupied these settlements. The members of these kinship groups feel freer to go off in directions they find personally satisfying. Those who wish to

continue farming the land of their fathers most often [illegible] although they may prefer to move to some other hamlet in which they [illegible] claim kinship ties. Some think of moving to Ibara Omida where they [illegible] become traders, apprentices, draftsmen or students. A few decide to [illegible] with a distant relative in some of the Ibarakpa towns which have [illegible] in Abẹokuta.

Beyond Abẹokuta there is always Lagos or Ibadan. Lagos has a [illegible] attraction than Ibadan for the people of Ibara and for the other [illegible] of Abẹokuta. During the last century the years of tribal [illegible] the people of Ẹgbaland from migrating north or maintaining [illegible] with their families in Ibadan. They were able to move more freely to the south. They thrived and became very successful in business and [illegible] in the exciting port city of Lagos, the federal capital and the [illegible] commercial, industrial, cultural and fashion center of the country. But Abẹokuta remains the most popular and practical place to [illegible] live in Abẹokuta. Shelter and food can be found in the family [illegible] and if things do not go well the distance back to the farm is not [illegible] as great.

The Hamlets

There has not been a lock-step movement of people from the [illegible] the orile. Some of the hamlets, off in the bush, seem to have a life of their own. Although the evidence points to a migration from [illegible] hamlets it sometimes happens that a lineage is comprised [illegible] personnel and has such great social cohesion and popularity that it is able to keep its men and women and to recruit new members [illegible]

marriage, to its hamlet. At the same time, the men of the lineage who have left the hamlet to seek better opportunities in Abeokuta are more liable to return home to the farmers' life if their efforts should fail. Some hamlets may even flourish and grow under these circumstances becoming so popular that lineage members from less successful hamlets come to join them.

Madi is an example of one of these growing hamlets. It is situated in a deep valley two and a half miles along the dirt road from the orile and about three quarters of a mile into the bush. There are about fifteen houses in this hamlet. Many of these houses have been improved with cement and metal roofing. At a recent funeral celebration nearly 300 people came to the hamlet. Some of these people came from such distant places as Ibadan and Lagos.

There are many lesser hamlets scattered throughout the countryside. Like the orile and Madi these hamlets are usually situated on the slopes of the more forested valleys. The inhabitants of these hamlets think of the orile as the place where they can sell their farm produce and secure commodities and services or where they can seek the head man's advice.

On market days people from these hamlets come to the orile to shop, to have their clothes mended or to have their hair cut. The women from these hamlets come to the orile to sell their palm kernels, have their hair braided or have their cassava milled. There are people in the orile who will wash and iron their clothing and the services of blacksmiths and carpenters are available. The church and mosque also provide religious services for the people of the hamlets.

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The Return to the Orile

The Yorubas are often described as an urban people. Bascom (1955:258) has considered Yoruba urbanization:

> A traditional Yoruba pattern and not the outgrowth of European acculturation. It cannot be explained in terms of the development of colonial administrative centers, ports, mines or industry. The real basis of the Yoruba economy is, and was, farming. Yet the farmers are city dwellers and the city is not really a 'non-farm area' as we view it. A belt of peripheral farms which are visited regularly surrounds the city, extending as much as fifteen miles or more outside it. Families whose farms are more distant may have farm huts where they spend several days at a time during the height of the farming activity, but they maintain a residence in the city and regard it as their real home. Some Yoruba of course, live on farms or in very small villages.

The evidence indicates that the people of the kingdom of Ibara were reluctant to return to their homestead. Only recently have the Ibara people begun to repopulate their orile. Their behavior can be contrasted with the repopulation of Ilaro which began immediately after the tribal wars of the last century. Today Ilaro is a large town, the capital of the Ẹgbado Division of Abẹokuta Province. In 1952, Ilaro had a population of 12,400 people. By contrast Ibara Orile has only 871 residents even today.

Some of the people of the orile feel that the chiefs living in Ibara Omida exercised restraints against those who wished to resettle the orile. Mustafa Adeode is an elder who lives in Idofin. In recent years he has been one of the most consistent workers for the development of the orile. He speaks about his coming to the orile in this way:

> I first came here between 1939 and 1940 when the second world war started. When I rebuilt the house I put on the metal roof. My father was here before I came here. I came from Emege [hamlet]. When my father was young he was staying here, but during the

> Dahomean wars everybody ran away and after the wars he came here to build this place. But the people rose up against him saying that so far they had all settled at Abẹokuta so why should he rebuild the homestead. They feared that many people would follow him, They fined him.. Then he left this place and went to Ẹmẹge to live. It was when he saw the people coming back to this place that he decided to come back here too.

Some of the youth also blame their parents for the laggardly redevelopment of the orile. "Our fathers did not care to live in the town. They did not care for development."

The most consistent response to queries related to individual reasons for leaving the small hamlets to establish residence in the orile seems to have to do with the idea that living among large groups of people presents more life opportunities and satisfactions than living in small bush hamlets. There are several ways of expressing this theme.

Lamidi Adesọla now lives in the Ifatedo section. He expresses his reasons for leaving Ṣangotola's hamlet this way:

> Ṣangotola's hamlet is along Aiyetoro road. There were ten houses there. There is nobody there now. They all moved to this place because they did not want to live in the bush again. In the old days of our fathers they did not care to see everything in the town. They did not care for the amenities like electricity and redifussion.

Jimọ Akinṣọmọ is a tall, straight, handsome, and intelligent man. He is between forty-five and fifty years old. When the old hamlet began to break up he decided to "...live in the orile rather than in a small hamlet in the bush." As a result of his move to the orile he must now walk a greater distance to get to his farm than when he lived in the old hamlet. Many other men of the orile are in a similar plight.

Laisisi Oguyẹmi of Idofin is about forty-five. He expresses the very common sentiment about living among large groups of people this way:

> I came here because this place is supposed to be a town. I like living in the town because there are many more things to do, many more houses and lorries and people to play with.

Matthew Olayinka, the Alaga, (see pages 256-257) was more concerned about the development of the orile. Matthew spoke of water, electricity, and the building of a clinic as part of the development he hopes to see come to the orile. He feels that more people must move into the orile before these things can be realized.

Some people considered safety from thieves and the depopulation of the hamlets through death and marriage as the primary reasons for moving to the orile. One of the tailors told of the depopulation of old Ifatedo:

> There were about thirteen buildings and about fifty to sixty people living in old Ifatedo. Some of the girls moved away after marrying and some people died. Those who lived in the bush wanted to come to this place. People moved here through death or through being driven away from their farm lands by thieves. Because people lived close together in Ibara Orile they can drive thieves away.

Indeed the problem of thieves seemed to be a constant concern. This fear of molestation was compounded by the political turmoil of the times. Quite a few of the people believed that N.N.D.P. thugs would be sent into the village to burn the houses of the A.G. supporters. Many of the people as well as the hunters kept their flint or cap-and-ball "dane" guns fully loaded and cocked in dark corners of their parlors. Several people kept their pistols secreted in various parts of their houses and during the more tumultuous periods, on their persons.

There is also a predilection for conspicuous consumption which contributes to the idea of coming to the orile. Yisa Aderẹmi now lives in Oke Afin. He came from Aderemi Oke (the hill of Aderẹmi), a patrilineal based hamlet of six thatched roof houses.[7] Yisa appreciates the material comforts

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of life. He handles his new cigarette lighter with pride, demonstrates it to visitors, speaks of its uses with animation and satisfaction, and is always ready to offer a visitor a light. He has already cemented the floors and walls of the two parlors of the house which he built no more than five years ago. His main parlor has three windows rather than the usual one or two. In his parlor he keeps his most valued possessions: his "dane" gun, his bicycle, his clock, his gas lamp and his traps. Yisa says: "I came here because this is a town. You do not spend a lot of money on houses in the bush." Yisa hopes to cover all the mud walls of his house with cement and paint. Painting village houses represents a great ambition which few people in the orile really expect to attain.

Like Matthew Olayinka, Simon Adeola claims that he came to the orile because he wanted to see it become an important place. He often speaks of his successful efforts to get people to move to the orile. Many people agreed that Simon helped convince them to return to the orile, but these people are almost all members of Simon's extended family.

Some of the elders have been in the orile such a long period of time that it is hard to think that they ever left. Although he is relatively young, Dauda Aina claims that he has lived in the orile for nearly fifty years. Dauda says that his father left their orile home for only a short period of time during the tribal wars of 1914. Dauda has been in the orile since that time.

Ganiyu Ọmọloku of Isolo is the direct descendant of Ọmọloku, the hunter who is reputed to have been the only person to remain in Ibara Orile throughout the Dahomean wars. The stories which the people tell about the resettlement of the orile suggest that for a long time, before

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and after the 1914 tribal wars, the orile actually consisted of two separate hamlets. One of these hamlets was in Idofin where the present head man and acting head man had settled. The other settlement was around Ganiyu Omoloku's house in Isolo. In time, with the growth of the population, houses were constructed in places where the bush once separated the two compounds.

Summary -- the people of the orile emphasized their disdain towards life in the bush and their desire for the "society of the town" as their main reasons for moving to the orile. Their sentiments towards people who stayed in the bush was often expressed by their use of the pejorative term "ara-oko" (literally, "country bumpkin'). Comments relating to their fears of thieves ravaging their bush hamlets and their belief that the populated orile was a better place to spend their money on fine houses were always linked with the main idea of the desireability of populated areas. There seemed to be some conflict in their thinking about the type of place they wanted the orile to be. They did not speak of desires to rebuild Ibara Orile to its former stature. They believed that Ibara Omida would continue to be their proper home and cultural center. They have come together in the orile to obtain, through cooperation with each other, the piped water, clinics, schools, markets, electricity, rediffusion and other amenities (idagba s'oke) which they believe will make their farm life more pleasant and profitable.

Rebuilding the Orile

One characteristic of the people of Ibara is that, as members of kinship groups and as individuals, they can live in two or three places: their kinship oriented bush hamlets, their home in Ibara Orile and their home in Ibara Omida. The easy movement of people between these three places suggested that a study of the redevelopment of the orile should, most properly, focus on the year of construction of the houses of the orile rather than on the year a particular family or segment of a patrilineally extended kin group moved into the orile. Considering the recent history of the rebuilding of the orile the houses were a more stable factor to deal with than were the family units living in the houses. Determining the date of the construction of houses built in the orile proved a lesser problem than determining the difference between the number of people who moved into the orile as contrasted with the number of people who have moved out of the orile.[8] This subject will be discussed in future sections of this dissertation.

I found approximately seven broken house walls within the inhabited sections of the orile. My investigations indicated that the people who had lived in these old houses had either built other houses in the orile or had died before being able to complete the construction of their homes. In one instance I learned of a man who had abandoned his partially completed house on his father's land in the Oke Afin quarter of the orile to build a house on his mother's land in Ilewo.

I knew that I could not really use the broken walls as an index for the number of families who had abandoned the orile. The meaning of these broken walls remained too ethereal. It often happened that people used

the accumulated mud of abandoned houses in the construction of their own houses. Other people incorporated the remaining walls of an abandoned house in the construction of their own.

There are 155 houses in the orile.[9] Of these 155 houses there were fourteen houses for which no information regarding the year of construction could be satisfactorily obtained. Included in this number were some of the empty houses as well as some of the occupied houses. In some instances neighbors could give a reasonable idea of the year of construction of the empty houses. In other instances some of the householders could not give any good idea of the date when they, their fathers, or some relative had built the house which they presently occupied.

There was also the question of what constitutes abandonment. Our informants assured my assistants and I that very few families have abandoned houses they built in the orile. When some members of an extended patrilineage leave the orile the house is soon occupied by other members of the patrilineage. An apparently abandoned house may suddenly be filled with people as the occupants return to take up their farming and food producing activities. Although fourteen of the houses could not be dated the villagers believed that these were all built after 1950.

The oldest standing house in the orile was built in Idofin in 1865. By 1925 seven of the 141 houses whose construction date could be estimated had been built. Four more houses had been built by 1935. But by 1945 only 19 of the 141 dated houses had been constructed. After 1945 there was considerable acceleration in the rate of housebuilding. Between 1946 and 1950 the number of the houses in the orile nearly doubled. In this period sixteen houses were built.

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This rapid rate of growth was maintained through 1955 when the total number of dated houses then constructed in the orile had risen to fifty-two. In the next five years, between 1956 and 1960, fifty-one houses were built. This number can be compared with the fifty-two dated houses built in the orile between 1865 and 1955. From 1961 to 1966 another thirty-eight of the dated houses were built, raising the total to the 141 houses whose construction date could be determined.

Fourteen houses were built in 1961. This was the year in which the largest number of houses were built. Thirteen houses were built in 1959 and eleven houses were built in 1956, the second and third largest house-building years. Table I illustrates the development of Ibara Orile according to the year of the construction of the houses in each quarter.

Following previous considerations of the history of the people of the orile, it is interesting to note the difference in the development of the various quarters of the village. Of the 155 houses in the orile, fifty-four of these houses are in Oke Afin, forty-two in Isolo, thirty-five in Idofin and twenty-four in Ifatedo, the smallest quarter of the orile.

Despite the fact that there are great differences in the number of houses in the largest and smallest quarters in the 101 years since the oldest currently occupied houses were built, all of the wards attained one-half their current size within four years of each other. This occurred according to the age of the existence of each quarter of the orile. Thus despite the fact that it is the largest and oldest quarter, 1956 was the year in which Oke Afin attained one-half of its present size. Idofin attained one-half its current size in 1957, Isolo in 1958 and finally, in 1959, Ifatedo attained one-half its current size. Fifty percent of

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TABLE 1

DEVELOPMENT OF IBARA ORILE ACCORDING TO YEAR OF CONSTRUCTION OF HOUSES AND QUARTER OF VILLAGE

Construction Year	Ifatedo		Oke Afin		Idofin		Isolo		Totals	
	No.	Cf.[a]	No.	Cf.	No.	Cf.	No.	Cf.	Yearly	Cf.
Unknown	1	24	7	54	4	35	2	42	14	155
1966	1	23	2	47			4	40	7	141
1965	1	22			1	31	1	36	3	134
1964					1	30			1	131
1963			2	45	3	29	2	35	7	130
1962	3	21	2	43	1	26			6	123
1961	4	18			6	25	4	33	14	117
1960	1	14	5	41	2	19	1	29	9	103
1959	3	13[b]	6	36	1	17	3	28	13	94
1958	1	10	1	30	1	16	5	25[b]	8	81[b]
1957			3	29	6	15[b]	1	20	10	73
1956	1	9	5	26[b]	3	9	2	19	11	63
1955	4	8	2	21					6	52
1954			1	19			1	17	2	46
1953			2	18			2	16	4	44
1952			1	16					1	40
1951	1	4	1	15			2	14	4	39
1950	1	3	3	14	1	6	2	12	7	35
1948	1	2	1	11	1	5	1	10	4	28
1946			2	10			3	9	5	24
1945			1	8	1	4			2	19
1944							1	6	1	17
1942			1	7	1	3			2	16
1940			2	6			1	5	3	14
1935	1	1	1	4			2	4	4	11
1925			1	3					1	7
1920			1	2			1	2	2	6
1915			1	1					1	4
1914					1	2			1	3
1900							1	1	1	2
1865					1	1			1	1
Totals	24		54		35		42		155	

[a] Cf. means cumulative frequency

[b] Indicates year in which one-half of all houses currently standing in each quarter and in the orile were built.

the houses now standing in the orile were built after 1958 although the oldest house in the orile was built over 100 years ago.

The rapid and recent growth of the orile poses some questions; the two which will be discussed in the following section are: (1) Why did so many people decide to move to the orile during such a short period of time? and (2) What implications does this movement have for the future growth of the orile?

The Growth of the Orile and the Price of Cocoa

The people said that they returned to the orile because it was more desirable to live in a populated place than in the small isolated hamlets in the bush. They wanted such amenities as piped water, electricity, and easy transportation. They believed that these things would soon come to the large villages and that the small hamlets would be forgotten in the distribution of such amenities. They also spoke of their desire to enjoy the society of friends who could be more easily found in the villages as contrasted with the hamlets. The fear of thieves and the desire to build better houses in places where such houses could be appreciated also contributed to their desire to repopulate the orile.

However, most of the people presently living in the orile made their decision to return to the orile during the latter half of the decade of the 1950's. The expressed reasons for their return to the orile could have been implemented with moves to the orile at any time during the adulthood of potential and actual heads of households. Yet the evidence indicates that old, as well as young, householders made their decisions to move to the orile during the same relatively short period of time. The distinction

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When asked why so many people decided to move from their hamlets in such large numbers in such a short period of time, the householders of the orile responded, "It was cocoa. Cocoa brought us here". They said that their purpose and the purpose of their fathers had been to rebuild their orile. They were only able to realize their desires when cocoa prices had improved to such an extent that they could save money and build good houses in the orile.[10]

The farmers of the orile do not keep records of the yearly prices paid by the Government Marketing Board. Their guesses of the prices varied considerably from one farmer to the next. However, figures from the United Nations Food and Agricultural Organization provide some information regarding the price of cocoa and the characteristics of cocoa production for the Western Region between the 1947/48 season and the 1964/65 season (see Table 2).

Study of the price and production figures for the 1947/48 to 1964/65 cocoa crops indicates that there were many good years for the cocoa farmer. In fact, the price ranged from between £160 to £200 per ton of cocoa between the 1951/52 to 1960/61 crops. These were very good prices compared to the prices paid prior to the 1951/52 season.

Allowing for the fact that people must have some time to adjust their saving and spending habits to wide fluctuations in the market system, it can be seen that there is a relationship between the yearly number of houses built and the fluctuations of the seasonal cocoa prices. Four years after the 1951/52 cocoa season a combination of their confidence in the price of cocoa and the savings which had accumulated in that time resulted

TABLE 2

PRODUCER PRICES AND COCOA PURCHASES
BY REGIONAL MARKETING BOARDS
(1947/48 - 1964/65)*

Crop Year (September-August)	Producer Price Grade 1 (per ton)	Western Nigeria (Tons/per year)
1947/48	62.5	-
1948/49	120	-
1949/50	100	-
1950/51	120	-
1951/52	170	-
1952/53	170	-
1953/54	170	-
1954/55	200	80,912
1955/56	200	103,274
1956/57	150	124,510
1957/58	150	71,406
1958/59	160	126,612
1959/60	160	141,566
1960/61	160	176,377
1961/62	100	179,554
1962/63	105	163,840
1963/64	110	211,257
1964/65	120	276,200

*Excerpted from FAO "Agricultural Development in Nigeria: 1965-1980. Rome, 1966:44.

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in as many as six people building houses in the orile. With the exception of 1950, this was the highest number of houses started in one year in the modern history of the orile, i.e. since 1900. The fact that six houses were built in 1950 was attributed to savings from good jobs during World War II. Between 1955 and 1964 the number of houses built in the orile each year never fell below six. Not even the disastrous season of 1957/58 caused the farmers to lose confidence in cocoa.

The 1964 drop in housing starts occurred three years after the precipitous fall in cocoa prices from £160 in the 1960/61 season to £100 in 1961/62. Thus a lag of three to four years between fluctuations in market prices and those in the number of houses built can be seen to exist whether cocoa prices rise or fall.

Despite the fact that since 1964, there has been a slow rise in housing starts, prices have not fully recovered and the deteriorating political situation in the country has not permitted people to regain their confidence in cocoa or to accumulate sufficient savings to continue their high rate of building activity. Several of the houses started in the 1961/62 season remain unfinished because of the inability of the house builder to get sufficient money from the sale of his cocoa.

Cocoa has been the major cash crop of the Ibara people. After the 1947/48 season the price paid for cocoa doubled. Despite considerable fluctuations, the price of cocoa has never dropped below £100 per ton of grade 1 cocoa. Many of the farmers were able to take advantage of these prices. For the first time in their lives they were able to save money. With the money they received from the sale of their cocoa the men of the orile came to appreciate that they could realize the dreams of their fathers,

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and their fathers' fathers. They could return to the site of the old kingdom and build their houses on the land of their lineages (see pages 196-206).

For the men of the orile the building of their own homes is one of their most important life goals. It is their major life investment. For the builder, a house has many values. It constitutes the proper use of the town land of his lineages; the land he receives from his father and mother (see page 239). It provides a place of shelter for the members of these lineages. It provides a home for himself, his wife, and his children. It contains the rooms in which he anticipates lodging his future wives. It provides him with the position of bale. It gives him an identity in his community. And, properly maintained, it will last many years after his death. His children and his children's children will remember and bless him for providing homes for them. These reasons are sufficient to cause wealthy men to build several houses, both in the orile and Omida. However, providing rooms for rental purposes is becoming an increasingly popular reason for enlarging existing houses or building new houses (see pages 236-237).

It should be noted that a small number of people attributed the rapid growth of the orile to the increase in motorized traffic along the paved road which runs through the orile, connecting Abeokuta with Ilaro. This road was paved sometime between 1927 and 1929. It is not possible to determine the usefulness of this hypothesis because the available figures for registered vehicles only cover the period from January 1953 to January 1956.

Simon Adeola is a very historically minded elder. He is also a leader in activities directed towards the development of the orile. He takes much credit for the rapid development of the orile and he offers

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a different explanation for the rapid growth and recent down trend in house building in the orile:

> I came here in 1943 to build up this place. I went into the bush asking people to come back here. Then, in one year, nineteen houses were built. But Dauda Aina is a proper bad man. If he sees anybody trying to develop the town he will fight them. In 1959, when I was rebuilding my house, he started propaganda against me saying that Abẹokuta [Ibara Omida chiefs] gave the orile £35 and I chopped it all [i.e. used it for his own purposes] without giving them a cent. I let them follow him for four years and there was no growth. You watch. Even before your departure you will see great changes around here.

As usual, Simon Adeola was quite prophetic. Within a few months after this speech Dauda's political, economic, and social influence were considerably reduced. More people came to sit and talk with Simon and several houses were built in the orile.

Finally, regarding the question of projections for the future growth of the orile, if Ibara Orile is accepted as a kinship oriented community it would appear that there is a limited population which the community can attract for future growth. It has been demonstrated that, despite differences in size, the growth of the existing quarters has been even; that is, one-half of all houses built in each quarter of the orile were built within four years of each other and that the greatest growth for all quarters, despite their antiquity, has occurred since 1955. If it is assumed that the opportunities to make money during the recent period of good cocoa prices were randomly distributed then the evidence accumulates to substantiate the conviction that the major portion of the limited population which, potentially, could have contributed to the further growth of the orile has already been tapped and that more people will not abandon their hamlets for the orile until there is some evidence of the successful

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development of the orile. In such an event, barring the development of industry or a migration of strangers to the orile (such as the recent migration of the people of Ifatedo), another cycle of extensive house-building in the orile should not be anticipated.

It might be noted that of the seven houses built in the orile in the 1966 building season, two, in the Isolo section, were speculative ventures, intended for rental use.

The rapid growth of the orile's population has contributed to serious problems of communication and cooperation among the people. These problems will be discussed in future sections of this dissertation. The present consideration will remain the study of the history of the recent repopulation of the orile.

The Demographic Characteristics

In this section the freedom of movement which characterizes the dynamic life style of the people of the orile will be discussed in terms of the population data collected and the problems encountered during our attempts to obtain demographic information. It is difficult, even hazardous, to make statments about the demographic characteristics of the people of Ibara Orile. The difficulty arises in discovering who actually resides in the orile and approximating the ages of these residents.

Sources of Information

We obtained our census information from the bale of the house. He is the person who is most able and willing to speak of the people living in his house. Although the principle of seniority (see pages 187-192)

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contributed to our decisions to restrict these interviews to the bale of the house it must be noted that, in a few instances, a mature person of extraordinary talent and education usurped and obscured the older person's perogatives. In these instances the usurper gave more useful information than the bale could provide. The bale's hesitancy, old age, or general incompetency usually revealed the reason for the usurper's success.

Hughes et. al (1963) refer to the position of bale as the "apical figure". He is quoted here to suggest the problem of defining the personnel who might fill the position of bale:

> The Apical Figure is defined both by methodological and cultural criteria. This person is presumably the dominant most influential individual in the eldest generation in the household. As we shall see in a moment, in many cases it is the senior male. In some cases, however, there is no married male, or there is only a widowed female, who may or may not live with siblings. We developed a series of rules of thumb for ascertaining the 'apical figure'--in reality rules of precedence, of priority, to apply when there was doubt. (1963)

It is the bale, who by virtue of his position is best equipped to answer questions regarding the people who make up his household. Occasionally, we found that the bale of one house would want to get permission from his elder in the area before speaking to us. In a few instances we found that one person might be chosen to speak for two or three houses. This behavior was always indicative of a segment of an extended family living together in the orile.

Women of the house would usually hesitate to act as informants. It was not unusual that those women who were more cooperative would only give their own name and the names of their children. When asked about others in the house they would only say: "That is not for me to say." Young men would usually respond: "It is what our fathers' know best."

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Defining the Population

Many of the people of the orile claimed that their real home was their compound in Ibara Omida and that "this place (the orile) is a farm". Such statements reflect their feelings of belonging to an extended lineage whose identity is coterminous with the primary family compound in Abẹokuta. The extent of feeling of rootedness in the Abẹokuta compound ranges along a continuum of strong attachment to relative disengagement from familial ties. Those who maintain strong social, economic, religious and affectional ties to their lineage journey often to their Abẹokuta compound. Those who are more circumscribed in their family connections spend more time in the orile.

For purposes of census study the question really becomes a judgment as to whether the person spends more time in the orile or in Omida. Pragmatically, this meant, Where does the person sleep most of the time?

There are some people who move between the orile and Omida so frequently that it is difficult to determine where these people sleep most of the time during the course of the year. Simon Adeola provides an example of this problem. Simon is one of the oldest men in his lineage. He has managed to build a home in Omida as well as in Ibara Orile. His Omida home is a two story concrete block house with electricity and running water. Yet he maintains clothes, furniture and wives in both his houses. He also managed to send his son to school in England. Simon's education, financial success and talent are obvious to most people and he is the recognized leader of his lineage. He holds this position despite the fact that there are other men of his family who are older than he; this raises interesting questions about the cultural rules for the position of lineage leader which

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are discussed more fully under the section entitled "Principles of Seniority".

Simon elected to live in the orile for a variety of reasons, but many of his family obligations and much of his property remained in Omida. The combination of his desire for a rural life and the obligations which he has towards his family in Omida means that he spends as much time in Omida as in the orile. When interviewed in Omida he woud say that his home was in the orile, but when he was interviewed in Omida he would say that his home was in the orile. He pays his taxes in Omida, but he is on the Ibara Orile voting roles.

There are a few lineage elders who, too old to run back and forth to Omida, spend all their time in the orile. In these cases family members leave the Omida compounds and come to the orile to meet and consult with their "father" or "visit" with him for extended periods of time.

The problems of determining who actually lives in the orile is compounded by the movement of the females of the family. These women, married to other lineages and towns, will for a variety of reasons return to their father's or brother's homes. These visits may last from one week to several years. If a woman is elderly she may spend many years or even the rest of her life in the homes of her male relatives. Even in the latter case she may feel that she is a visitor rather than a resident for she may fully expect to return to her husband's house or to go live with her son. When asked she may, with equal validity, give either of these residences as her real home.

A younger woman might be visiting the home of her relative for social reasons or to escape an intolerable marital situation. Her visit may last until there is a satisfactory arbitration between herself and her husband -

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house, or until she has found another husband. In response to queries about her residence she may say that she lives in her husband's house, or as previously noted, she may say that she lives with her patrilineally related family. Her answer will depend on her feelings or estimate of the extent of the estrangement between her husband and herself. Unmarried females of the lineage living in Omida may, from time to time, be sent to the orile to help with the processing of food which will be used to feed the people of the town compound or children living "abroad" in Lagos.

Men of the family also come to the orile for short or prolonged visits. Some come for the purpose of helping on the farm during the rainy season and there are some young men who come to the orile looking for new opportunities after losing a town job or finishing school. It seems that these men use their sojourn in the village as a period of reflection and ego mobilization before venturing to try town life again.

It often happens that men return to the orile for treatment of some disease or injury which they contracted in town. Like the women, these men will claim the orile as their home although they anticipate leaving the orile to return to the town within the next few days or weeks.

Parents move their children back and forth between the orile, Omida and Lagos. These parents are always alert for the possibility of their children learning a trade or profession. To them farm life is anathema to their aspirations for their children. It does happen that these excursions to the metropolitan areas fail to produce the desired opportunities and the child returns to the orile for a period of time until another situation can be arranged. Despite the fact that many months may have elapsed since the child has left the household, the parents may

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still claim the child as a part of it. Their response may be stimulated by emotional ties or knowledge that the child's situation will soon be terminated. In terms of their familiar living patterns they are correct. The family house in the orile is their child's home as the house in Omida is the house of all kin. (See Chapters VI and VII)

If the respondent is the elder of the extended lineage he may begin to give the names of all its members; he may include those people who merely visit their orile home but never really live there. In accounting for the occupants of the house he will have a greater tendency than other informants to include the dead with the living, but he may forget young children and neglect the young wives of the house (see pages 465-467).

I finally arrived at the arbitrary rule of concluding that for the purpose of a demographic survey, persons living in a house for a period longer than a month prior to the survey would be considered residents of the house. My experiences in the orile led me to believe that if a woman comes to visit her family she will usually anticipate a stay of not more than a month. I also noticed that if a woman who first told me that she was visiting the orile remained in it for a period longer than a month she usually began to take on heavier burdens of housework and became more involved in food producing. The holiday nature of her visit was transformed into more of a work orientation. In the morning she would leave the house earlier than when she had first come to the orile. Her activities would be more consistent with those of the regular inhabitants than with those of guests. Visitors may also be found to participate in food production but they are generally more casual about this type of work.

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Young men who have come to visit their parents usually appear to be more obviously at play, but their visits are often of much shorter duration. However, those whose visits were prolonged spoke of their difficulties in finding jobs in Abẹokuta This was probably due to their having insufficient contacts with "important persons" to find new employment. In any event, these young men "do not stay long in the orile" before they are off to Abẹokuta or some larger town seeking new opportunities.

The census of each house was always terminated with a survey of its construction and with questions about the sleeping arrangements of the occupants These final observations and questions revealed the number of children, wives and strangers living in the house whom the bale had not mentioned previously. Locked doors which were found in several of the houses during these final visual surveys revealed the number of wives, brothers, and other relatives who had left the orile but were still considered to be residents of the house.

The Question of Age

A more difficult problem was the question of age calculation. Most of them could not even approximate their ages and it was not unusual to hear them say that they were two or three years old.

Those persons who did seem to have some idea of their age often presented unique problems. Some of these people had obtained approximations of their ages from their interactions with census takers during the 1952 and 1963 censuses or from relatives who might have calculated their age for them. Such calculations might have been made as early as fifteen years before. My assistants and I had to be aware of the possibility that

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In our attempt to determine ages, we utilized such devices as an historical events calendar (see Appendix C). We also used a person's own estimate of his age in relation to some elders whose ages we had already established with some degree of confidence. These two devices were helpful. The latter device was particularly useful, for it leaned heavily on the villagers' own means of determining their relative ages and therefore on their social commitments and usages towards each other. The drawback of this method was that it was time consuming and required our building up confidence in our age listings of many people before we could use them as fixed points in determining the ages of people.

The use of the historical events calendar was our most useful tool. However, this had to be used with caution for there was always the problem of retrospective falsification. Some of the people, in their eagerness to help us, would attempt to convince us that they were alive during the period of certain historical events. They would speak of helping their father on the farm, of having been married and having children at that distant time, or of going on some important trip. In those instances, when our suspicions were aroused, we would continue to ask those informants about still earlier historical events. At times we had to conclude that the person was probably speaking of something he had heard about so often that he felt it had happened during his lifetime. The possibility of retrospective falsification was particularly possible in the orile where many of the people had spent most of their lives in the bush and really knew nothing about most of the events which were listed on the event sheet.

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Because of these problems we took the census of the orile on two separate occasions. The first census was started in September 1965 and was completed by November 1965. The second census was taken in April 1966 and was completed the same month. The period between November 1965 and April 1966 was a time of tension and terror. Hooligans of the various political parties committed murder, arson and robbery in the towns and villages of the Western Region. Periodically, many of the people fled to Omida where they hoped to obtain more protection than in the orile.

At the time of the April 1966 census some of these people had not yet returned to the orile. The dry season had just ended and harvest had not yet begun. Some who would ordinarily be in the orile at harvest time had not returned.

The Data

A comparison of the two censuses shows a decrease of 31 persons between August 1965 and April 1966 (902 to 871). (See Table 3.) During the period between the censuses 112 people left the orile. 90 people moved in, and there were 9 deaths, a population loss of 31. This figure corresponds with the actual difference between the totals reported in the two censuses, thus verifying our census-taking procedures.

Very few children are actually born in the orile. Some women go to the maternity clinic at Ikereku District Council, the site of the local administrative offices; others to the hospitals in Abẹokuta; and there are a number of women who go to their husbands' compounds in Abẹokuta.

Since most babies are not born in the orile and womens' movements are not restricted, there is no way of gathering statistical data on

TABLE 3

CENSUS STUDIES
IBARA ORILE

Preliminary Census

Age Group	Male		Female		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
0-1	13	2.9	8	1.7	21	2.3
1-5	69	15.5	56	12.2	125	13.8
6-10	52	11.6	56	12.2	108	12.0
11-20	68	15.2	51	11.1	119	13.2
21-30	60	13.4	100	21.9	160	17.7
31-40	62	13.9	68	14.9	130	14.4
41-50	54	12.0	36	7.9	90	9.9
51-60	25	5.6	26	5.7	51	5.6
61-70	16	3.6	32	7.0	48	5.3
71-80	15	3.4	14	3.1	29	3.2
81-90	7	1.6	6	1.3	13	1.4
91-100	3	.7	3	.6	6	.6
100+	2	.4			2	.2
Total	446	100.0	456	100.0	902	100.0

Second Census

Age Group	Male		Female		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
0-1	22	5.1	15	3.4	37	4.2
1-5	58	13.5	53	12.0	111	12.7
6-10	53	12.4	47	10.6	100	11.5
11-20	66	15.4	53	12.0	119	13.7
21-30	55	12.8	91	20.5	146	16.8
31-40	57	13.3	67	15.1	124	14.2
41-50	52	12.1	38	8.6	90	10.3
51-60	25	5.8	25	5.6	50	5.7
61-70	15	3.5	31	7.0	46	5.2
71-80	15	3.5	16	3.6	31	3.5
81-90	5	1.2	4	.9	9	1.0
91-100	3	.7	3	.7	6	.7
100+	2	.5			2	.3
Total	428	100.0	444	100.0	871	100.0

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sex, still births, and infant mortality. This poses a problem in accounting for the decided predominance of males over females in the 0-1 year category. Actually nothing can be said about the number of pregnancies occurring in the orile, for it appeared that as soon as a woman began to enlarge she would go to her husband's house in Omida. While in the orile we saw only three pregnant women and heard of only two births there.

If it can be assumed that an equal number of boys and girls are born, then barring a hidden selective factor in female mortality, the preponderance of boy infants over girls is probably because the mothers who raise their boys in the orile have greater expectations of their living in the village and becoming farmers than the mothers of girl infants expecting them to remain there. The aspirations which mothers have for their daughters usually revolved around trading activities; these can be better learned in the town than in the small village. Many of these girl children are also sent to the homes of their parents' relatives where they are socialized and where they are expected to assist with the household chores.

Upon completion of the second census we were surprised to note the large increase in the number of newborns in the orile. There were, in fact, twice as many in this category in the second census than in the first. I do not believe that we missed these babies during our first census. Even at that time we habitually checked every room, the outside kitchens, and the area surrounding each house as part of our regular efforts to find and identify all occupants. There is much that is not known about such matters. There might be a cyclical pattern of births and deaths occurring on a monthly basis of which we are not yet aware.

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Possibly this may be partly explained by the weekly visits of a nutritionist and her staff which began in the interim between censuses. These people distributed powdered milk, gave health lectures and demonstrations, treated infections and encouraged many women to take their children to the local clinic and hospitals in Abẹokuta. This woman was very competent and her program was highly successful.

Despite the fact that most births appear to occur outside the orile a substantial number of mothers and their children do return there. This is revealed by the large number of children in the age categories 1-5 and 6-10. When these categories are combined there are 211 children in the 1-10 category. From the 211 children in this combined category, the number in the 20-21 category drops to 110. This reflects the number of children sent to Abẹokuta and other distant towns for such purposes as apprenticeships, better schooling, or residence with relatives who might require their services.

The increase in the number of females in the age category 21-30 is a reflection of the number of wives marrying into the orile. This number drops abruptly in the next ten year period and this decline continues into the 41-50 years group. This is indicative of the number of women who have decided to live in their husbands' houses in Omida or who, for one reason or another, have terminated their relationships with their husbands. It can be seen that these fluctuations in the number of females living in the orile occurred in both the censuses.

Age Category	No.
11-20	
21-30	17
31-40	13
41-50	6
51-60	2
61-70	2
71-80	2
81-90	
91-100	
Total	42

TABLE 4

THE PATTERN OF MOVEMENT OF WIVES OF THE HOUSE

Age Category	Idofin		Ifatedo		Isolo		Oke Afin	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
11-20							2	3.2
21-30	17	40.5	14	58.3	30	55.6	17	27.9
31-40	13	30.9	5	20.8	14	25.9	21	34.4
41-50	6	14.2	3	12.4	7	13.0	9	14.8
51-60	2	4.8	1	4.1	2	3.7	5	8.2
61-70	2	4.8	1	4.1	1	1.7	5	8.2
71-80	2	4.8					1	1.6
81-90								
91-100							1	1.6
Total	42	100.0	24	100.0	54	100.0	61	100.0

Study of Table 4 shows that it is indeed the wives in a household who are the greatestcause of the fluctuations in the female population. Despite the indication that the men of the Oke Afin quarter marry earlier and keep their wives over a longer period of time the marital careers of their wives are similar to those in other quarters. It is evident that after the first decade of marriage there is a dramatic loss of wives which continues to the extent that by the time a man reaches the age of 51 there is better than eight percent chance that he will not have a wife living with him in the orile. These figures illustrate the womens' mobility and the fact that reproduction is the primary reason for wives associating with their husbands.

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of 11-50, the number of males in this category does not vary more than two percentage points. See Table 3. These men are committed to farming as a way of life. That is not to say that they like farming. In fact, they will often claim to dislike farming and express a desire to become involved in some other activity. Of farming they say: "It is what I know".

However, although the number of farmers in these age groups remains constant, it should not be assumed that they are all the same farmers. Some of these men die, others move to Abẹokuta to try their luck. They are replaced by men who have not been successful at their trades or other activities in Abẹokuta. This type of turnover is small, but does occur. Some of the men who come back have and moderate success in their crafts or trading activities. They return to the orile to bury their fathers and find that they must remain in the orile to take care of the surviving children and wives. This, too, is their "luck".

Referring again to Table 3, the number of men in the 50-60 group is one half the number of men in the 40-50 age group. This decrease is largely due to death and disease. Those farmers in this group who have become too debilitated to continue their farm work turn to Omida where they will stay most of the time. They return to the orile and their farms to reap the harvest of cocoa, palm kernels, coconuts, kola, and oranges (see pages 323-326). This pattern seems to be the one followed by an increasing number of men as they grow older. The fact is, it is opprobrious for a man to die on the farm. If a man has had any success at all in life he will usually look forward to enjoying the society of town life in his later years.

The number of women in the 61-70 category shows an increase over the

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number of women in the 51-60 age group. This rise probably reflects the number of women who have given up trading and have come back to the orile to live with their children in their children's father's house. In the next age group the number of women drops to a low of sixteen, reflecting deaths and movement back to Omida and their own father's house.

Consideration should be given to the harmony which exists between the number of males and females in the categories between 51 to 100. Study of our records indicates that these figures represent a number of women who have chosen to remain with their husbands. If these women, like so many other wives had decided to leave the orile, the number in these categories would have been considerably decreased.[11]

NOTES

[1] I have only heard three or four Muslims say that Sundays had no special meaning for them. One of these people was the Immam.

[2] The term "playing" means sitting and talking or holding meetings of the various social societies of the town. The "freedom ceremony" is an elaborate celebration given by parents on the occasion of the completion of their child's apprenticeship.

[3] The Lafenwa market becomes really active after 10:00 a.m. and continues until about one half hour before sunset. The small Ita Ọṣin market starts earlier but by noon many of the women selling in this market have packed their loads and trekked over two miles to the Lafenwa market where they will again spread out their wares for sale.

[4] Further investigation might prove that this interest stems from the familial relationships these women have with the Iberekodo township of Abeokuta. They claim that Iberekodo is an Ibarakpa village.

[5] Balogun is a chieftaincy title in the Olorogun society.

[6] The headman now lives in Ibara Omida. Although he has retired from the orile he has not relinquished his resporsibilities and he will keep his title until he dies.

[7] G.J. Afolabi Ojo (1966:208-209) makes some interesting comments about the significance of irregularities of landscape in Yorubaland. Even minor elevations would be called "oke" (hill) as contrasted with neighboring depressions which are termed "odo" (lowland). These terms are used as either a prefix or suffix to the given name of the place as in the name Oke Afin. "Even within each village and town there is a common Yoruba practice of projecting the ups and downs of the land, no matter how slight, into the names of the quarters (Ojo 1966:209).

[8] The problem of dating historical events will be discussed on pages 105-109. See also Appendix C.

[9] At the time of the study of the repopulation of the orile 144 houses were occupied.

[10] The actual

[11] The question
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[10]The actual costs of building a house will be discussed on page 340.

[11]The question of wives' origins is difficult to resolve. Considering the mobility of the people, the recent growth of the orile, the tendency to arrange genealogies for convenience' sake (a practice which ultimately permits some people to marry not very distant relatives), attempts to evaluate the extent of intravillage and intraquarter marriage would have provided a very unrewarding exercise.

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PART TWO

HOW THEY ORDER THEIR WORLD

Groups of people require some common beliefs about human nature and the world around them. If everyone in a society went around with different ideas about these things there would be little basis for the communication and cooperation necessary to the creation and development of a community. There must be some commonality of belief and opinion about the world, how it is organized, and the way people should and do behave before meaningful human associations can be established.

There is, then, the question of the structure of interpersonal action. This is the question of idiosyncratic behavior which inhibits the possibility of anticipated and patterned social responses, thereby leading to social chaos, as contrasted with patterned interpersonal behavior, structured so that the range of response to particular stimuli is known and can be, to a great extent, anticipated. In the discussion of his concept "World View" Redfield notes many of the dimensions of this problem:

> 'World View" is one of those terms which are useful in asserting something of what is most general and persistent about people.... The culture of a people is...its total equipment of ideas and institutions and conventionalized activities The ethos of a people is its organized conceptions of the Ought. The national character of a people, or its personality type, is the kind of human being which, generally speaking, occurs in that society. The 'world view" of a people, yet, another of this group of conception, is the way a people characteristically look outward upon the universe.

> Among other things [it is] the recognition of the self and others; groupings of people, some intimate and near, others far and different; some usual ways of confronting the inevitable experiences of the human career; a confrontation of the Not Man seen in some ordered relationship of components of entities, this Not Man including both some observed features such as earth, sky, day, night and also invisible beings, wills, and powers. (Redfield 1957: 84-110)

To understand the way in which the people of !bara collectively and individually organize their world it is necessary that their basic religious beliefs and behavior, their kinship structure and their political organization be explicated.

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CHAPTER V

RELIGION

The Skies Above and the Ground Below

One day I came to talk with Simon Adeola. I found him sitting under his bamboo frond shed, pouring some bamboo wine into a glass. Before he drank he poured a bit of the wine on the ground. He explained:

> We cannot tell if our God and our fathers are in the skies above or in the ground below. Either way, they must have theirs.

Like most of the other Yoruba peoples, the people of the orile believe that there is one supreme God and his name is Olorun (Owner of the Heavens). All other divinities (orişa) are intermediaries for the supreme deity, Olorun. Although the people offer up prayers to Olorun they believe that he is too remote and too powerful to concern himself with the mundane affairs of man. Yet, he is the supreme God, and must not be neglected. The orişa, Olorun's intermediaries, are responsible for the natural events and circumstances in which man finds himself. Through the recognition and propitiation of these orişa man hopes to find the means of attaining good health, good fortune, and peace of mind.

The literature (Idowu:1963, Johnson:1921) indicates that most of the orişa are actually deified ancient culture heroes. As the people of the orile have deified Eyinni and Ajiboyede, so has the Yoruba nation deified Ogun, Şango, Yemoja, Şoponna, and other famous gods of the Yoruba national pantheon in which there are hundreds, possibly

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thousands. Idowu (1963:67-68) discusses this confusion and notes that the number of orişa has been estimated to be between 200 and 1,700. The people concern themselves with only a few of the hundreds of orişa they could , potentially, worship. For this analysis, these deified ancestors can be considered in three general categories: (1) National Orisa, (2) Town Orişa, (3) Family Orisa.

Such orisa as Egun, Yemoja, Obatala, Şango, and Oro are among the national orişa currently worshipped by the people of the orile. These orişa are known throughout Yorubaland and are considered among the major cultural orişa of the Yoruba peoples. Some of these deities gain greater importance in some parts of the land and tend to be of lesser importance in other sections of Yorubaland. Thus, not all of the people of Ẹgbaland consider Yemoja as important as do their neighbors, the Ẹgbado.

At another level may be found the town and village orişa. Ajiboyede, the ancestor hero of the people of Ibara, is not recognized as an orişa by people who are not of the Ibara kingdom. Finally there are the lineage orişa, the deified ancestors of an extended lineage, who, at one time, exhibited great traits of character which their descendents still honor by sacrifices to the departed elders.

The popularity of the town orişa and the lineage orişa may endure for generations or an orişa may be neglected if worship of him proves of no value to the health and welfare of lineage and community. Lineage orişa seem to be particularly subject to fluctuations of popularity. A lineage or town orişa that might be falling into disrepute and neglect can be rejuvenated if a Babalawo[1] tells his clients that their ill-fortune

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Those orişa which form the great traditions of Yoruba culture are supported by cults which have been created for their continuing worship and propitiation. The Gẹlẹdẹ festival is the result of the organized activities of the priests and priestesses of the Yemoja cult. The concern of hunters with success in their activities insures the lasting propitiation of Ogun. In like manner there are large numbers of people who come together in organized fashion to participate in the worship of Egun, Ṣango, Ṣọponna, Oro, and other traditional orişa. The organization of these various groups and their expressions of worship differ. While the Egungun cult is highly formalized and requires organization and coordination throughout the town of Abẹokuta, people concerned with the worship of Yemoja are primarily involved with the organizational problems within the quarter of Ibara Omida. However, the worship of most orişa does not require such elaborate ritual.

Questions were asked for the purpose of learning something about the pattern of religious affiliation in the orile. The tally sheets (Table 5) show 562 of the people claimed to be adherents of Islam and denied any worship of the traditional orişa. One hundred twenty-five people claimed to be Christians. Only 42 people said that they worshipped the traditional gods alone and only 6 of these mentioned more than one traditional god. One hundred sixteen people claimed to mix traditional religious practices with either Islam or Christianity.

Although the majority of the people claimed exclusive adherence to either Islam or Christianity our experience led us to understand that a strong commitment to these religions did not obviate the

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Moslem Alone
Christian Alone
Totals

1- Egun
2- Yeroja
3- Obatala
4- Ogun
5- Ibeji
6- Sango
7- Oro
8- Osun

TABLE 5

EXPRESSED RELIGIOUS AFFILIATIONS
ACCORDING TO TOWN QUARTER

Religions	Ifatedo		Idofin		Isolo		Oke Afin		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Moslem and Traditional	13	7.6	11	6.0	7	3.1	65	23.9	96	11.3
Christian and Traditional	1	.5	7	3.7	4	1.8	8	2.9	20	2.4
More Than One Traditional	2	1.2	3	1.6	1	.4			6	.7
Traditional Alone	12	7.0	11	6.0	7	3.1	12	4.4	42	4.9
Moslem Alone	130	76.5	145	78.4	159	71.0	128	47.1	562	66.0
Christian Alone	12	7.0	8	4.3	46	20.5	59	21.7	125	14.7
Totals	170	100.0	185	100.0	284	100.0	272	100.0	851	100.0

CHART 2

NAMES AND ORDER OF POPULARITY OF
ORIṢA WORSHIPPED IN ORILE

1- Egun	35	9- Ifa	9
2- Yemoja	28	10- Ara Igbo	7
3- Obatala	20	11- Yoruba	6
4- Ogun	19	12- Oya	5
5- Ibeji	15	13- Erinle	2
6- Ṣango	14	14- Oṣoiṣi	1
7- Óro	12	15- Osanyin	1
8- Oṣun	10	16- Ṣaponna	1

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possibility of occasional reliance upon the traditional orişa. Most of these people do turn to the traditional orişa, although some who profess strong Muslim or Christian beliefs may only propitiate their ancestors once a year during the annual Egungun or Yemoja festival. The fact that the overwhelming majority habitually use Ifa divination implies that they are potential orişa worshippers. The saying, "Orişa fight with me" expresses the general belief that people who neglect the worship of their ancestors will get into many difficulties.

I also wanted to discover the variety of orişa worshipped as well as the order of popularity of these orişa (Chart 2). In response to our queries regarding the orişa they worshipped, we received only the names of the traditional Yoruba national orişa. No one offered us the names of their ancestors or the orişa of the town, although they frequently call upon and sacrifice to their ancestors and town orişa as part of their prayers.

Islam And The Muslims

Five hundred and sixty-two people claimed to be Muslims and to have given up their traditional Gods. The Muslims' mosque is made of cement and stones and is one of the largest enclosed structures in the orile. It was built by cooperative labor twelve years ago.

The first Immam, Gbadamosi, came from Oke Afin, and started teaching Islam some sixty years ago. Before he moved to Ibara Omida he appointed a relative named Lawani, also from Oke Afin, to succeed him as Muslim teacher [Alpha]. The next Immam was Mustapha, a man from Oke Afin, and, again, a relative to Gbadamosi. Fagbure, the present Immam was a student and relative of Mustapha.

Since Gbadamosi moved to Abẹokuta all Immams have lived in Abẹokuta.

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There has been some minor conflict between the Muslims of the orile and Omida concerning the proper residence of the Immam. Some of the Muslims in the former have wanted Fagbure to come to Ibara Orile every Friday to lead them in their prayers. The people of Ibara Omida have resisted the loss of their Immam and so Jimọ Adẹsola, the Alpha [Muslim teacher] was appointed to act for him.

Ganiyu Omoloku, an elder of Isolo, and one of the most devout Muslims in the orile tells the story of the succession of Immams:

> The chief Immam must stay in Omida so as to attend meeting of the people. Gbadamosi appointed Jimọ to be acting Immam here. Gbadamosi died ten years ago. Though being dead he appointed the rest. He wore the first ade [Muslim turban-like crown] which was used to appoint the other men. After one man dies we decide to appoint another man. It was Gbadamosi who brought Islam here and to Ilewo and Ịsaga. That is why he and his family are the leaders. That is why we say that he appointed the other Immams. The people in Ake Oko, Ijeun, and other towns in Abẹokuta had their Chief Immam and they were wondering why we had none. That is why we appointed our teacher Gbadamosi.

Ganiyu's discussion of the succession of Immams illustrates how a foreign title and the functions subsumed under that title can be inherited by the lineage of the man who first brought the title and the function to the orile. His speech also demonstrates the idea that dead lineage elders do, in fact, have relevance to the activities of their living descendants. It will always be Gbadamosi who appoints successive Immams and Alphas of his lineage for the township of Ibara Omida and the village of Ibara Orile.

The present Alpha, Jimọ Adẹsola, lives in the finest house in the orile. His home is in Isolo and he is the owner of the rice and soup shop located beside the paved road across the street from the three permanent market sheds. He is also the owner of one of the two rooming

houses built in 1966. Few will deny that he is one of the richest men in the orile.

It took Alpha thirty years to attain his knowledge of the koran. As the Muslim teacher he has one young student who lives with him and another adult student who lives in the orile and visits his house several evenings a week. The young student is Adeṣola's brother's son and it can be presumed that this young boy will eventually succeed to the position of Alpha as Adeṣola may eventually succeed to the position of Immam.

As the religious leader of the Muslims, Alpha Adeṣola presides over all Islamic ceremonies held in the orile or in the hamlets under the orile. If, however, the ceremony is of great importance, such as the funeral rituals for a highly respected elder, Fagbure, the Immam, will come from Omida to assist the Alpha. Adeṣola must also lead the daily prayers in the mosque. These prayers usually occur at 6:00 A.M.,2:00 P.M., 4:00 P.M., 7:00 P.M., 8:00 P.M., and 9:00 P.M. According to the Alpha:

> Usually these prayers take 5 to 15 minutes but on Fridays we start at 1:00 P.M. or 1:30 P.M. and our prayers may last till 3:00 P.M. or after 4:00 P.M. If we finish before 4:00 P.M., they must come back again at 4:00 P.M.

This is a lot of praying and not even the most enthusiastic Muslim is able to maintain this schedule. Rarely have I seen more than ten or fifteen men in the mosque at any one time. Most of the men who regularly attend the mosque are elders who, in their later years, approach their farm work at a more leisurely pace. They are able to devcte more time to the mosque.

Many Muslims who do not attend the mosque kneel on their ram skins, obtained from rams killed during the Ramadham festival. These

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skins also serve a decorative function for, when not in use, they are usually draped from a hook embedded in a parlor wall. The wives of the Muslim men also claim to be Muslim but they are less frequently involved in mosque attendance, Islamic ceremonials, and prayers. They are reputed to go to the mosque on Friday afternoons. In fact, we never saw an orile woman at the mosque.

There are nearly six and one-half times as many Muslims in the orile as there are Christians. Many elements of the Islamic religion are highly compatible with the traditional beliefs and practices of the people. For example, the funeral rituals which are traditional aspects of Yoruba culture are freely and frequently utilized as parts of Muslim burial customs. Such customs as the in-laws dancing the coffin around the village (see pages 470-471), occur in Muslim as well as traditional funerals, but are not considered acceptable contributions to Christian funerals. The one Christian funeral witnessed in the village consisted of a group of kin and friends walking solemnly behind the coffin to the burial yard behind the church.

The mysteries of Islam are firmly rooted in the beliefs they hold about the koran. The koran is considered a very powerful book. The people believe that if you read too much, you will soon go mad. As the people say, "You must know how far you can read and at which passage you must sacrifice a goat before you can read farther." They feel that the bible is simple to read and holds no hazards. "Even a small boy can walk into a store and buy a bible and read it. But only the Alpha and Immam can read the koran."

This is a belief which I encountered among a large number of the

inhabitants of some of the most remote villages in the far reaches of Ẹgbaland and Ẹgbadoland. A young educated Muslim who had attended Christian primary and secondary schools expressed this belief very emphatically:

> When I was in Baptist Day Primary School the teacher told us that in the olden days the bible is kept as we keep our eyes because if a person drops it or beats it the person will suffer disease. He will not die, but will suffer headaches. He said that if we go to the bookshop and gather the bible it will be wrapped with a special paper so that we will not use our dirty hands to hold it. If we hold it with dirty hands we would have headache. But now the bible is for everybody. Even a boy of five years. That is why it is counted useless. So far as everybody uses it, it is counted useless. Before a a boy can hold the koran he must be over ten to fifteen years because we have different kinds of it. We have pamphlets which go to six esu [chapters]. Before a child can finish that he must be over ten. So by that he will be given a big one with sixty esu. There must be sacrifices before certain of those esu can be read.

Complementary to this belief in the power of the koran is the belief in Islamic protective medicine which is often substituted for the more traditional Yoruba medicine or used as a supplement to the traditional Yoruba protective medicine. These medicines originated in Northern Nigeria, among the Hausa. The fact that the Hausa brought both Islam and protective medicine to the Yoruba causes the people of the orile to associate Hausa protective medicine with Islam.

Enhancing the attraction of Islam is the variety and quality of this protective medicine. From simple Arabic letters scrawled on a piece of parchment or leather this medicine can be elaborated into large ornamental affairs made of small bits of mirror pasted together to form a mosaic effect, causing small beams of light to

jump around the walls, ceilings, and floors of the parlors in which they are hung. There is nothing in the Christian tradition which can duplicate this.

The organizational structure of Islam is quite compatible with the lineage and community organization of Ibara. The titles of the Immam and Alpha remain in the lineage of the founders of Islam in Ibara. The structure of Islam in Ibara remains within the kingdom. There is no superordinate heirarchy.

A most important aspect of Islam's wide acceptance is the compatibility of the polygynous marriage customs of both Islam and the traditional marriage habits of the people. This contrasts with Christianity which prohibits polygynous marriages. Yet, the Christians of the orile do establish polygynous households. They explain this behavior as if they considered it a defect of character "It is our nature. We cannot have just one wife." The Muslims do not have to balance their beliefs and behaviors in this way.

Christianity And The Christians

Most of the Christians of Ibara Orile reside in Oke Afin. They were unable to say when St. Luke's Anglican Church of Ibara Orile was built although we did get some calculations which would suggest that the structure was erected about thirty-eight years ago. Unlike the stone walled mosque, the church is a mud walled cement veneered structure. It is a large, but old structure. The Christians are determined that they will replace this structure with a stone walled church. "We do not want to repair it. We want it to be like the mosque".

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For this reason they have begun to collect large amounts of laterite stone which they pile up in the church court yard. They have estimated that the cost of the church will be between $600 and $1000. Their plan is to collect and spend $50 and $60 at a time. They have decided to collect what little money they can raise among themselves. They will also collect the stones which will be used for the walls of the building. Once this has been done they will ask their families living in the surrounding hamlets, Omida, Lagos, and other parts of Yoruba-land, for help.

The question of leadership among the Christian group is of some interest in understanding the differences between the religious organization of the Muslims and that of the Christians of the orile. The Anglican church provides a preacher who has responsibility for the congregation at Ibara, Ilewo, Ilaga, and several other towns. The only time this preacher was seen in the orile was during the funeral ceremony for the only Christian buried in the orile during our period of investigation. On this occasion he stimulated much controversy and recrimination by reprimanding the Christians for not having a properly cleaned church with the proper cloths and rugs laid out. These poor people, untutored in the finer ceremonials of the church, were bewildered and angry at his scoldings. Respecting his authority, they could only rail among themselves and demand, "Why does he not teach us rather than scold us?"

Samson Adedoyin is the lay reader for the church. He is assisted by several elders and the teachers who are employed in the Anglican school. These people help Samson in the arrangement and carrying

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out of church ceremonies. Those who can read Yoruba also share preaching responsibilities. Samson is both a farmer and town carpenter, but, periodically, he travels to the Anglican Church Council in Ilaro to receive instructions at the lay readers' meetings.

Samson said the following about the organization of the Christians in the orile:

> Solomon Ọmotayo is the leader of the Christians. He was not in church today because he is old and sick. We can not take money. [i.e. they are not rich enough to hire a preacher.] We cannot take youth to be above old men. If someone comes who is older we cannot choose Solomon Ọmọtayo again. There is no one who is more active than the others. We give suggestions between ourselves. Nobody gives suggestions to us.

The lay reader and his deacons try to hold church services every morning and evening. They are usually more successful at holding their morning meetings. I attended one meeting:

> I rose early because of the loud praying of one of my neighbors. It was 5:00 A.M.; dark and foggy. I got out of bed and circled the Idofin area, taking an early morning walk. By 5:20 A.M. I had managed to let my curiosity about some lanterns I saw moving in the distance lead me right into the church. Sitting in the back of the church I noted that there were seven men and five boys in the church one of the men is the teacher living in the Idofin area. He is officiating at the service. A man gets up and goes outside and rings the bell. The ceremony begins and lasts about twenty minutes. The young teacher reads several passages and leads the small group in prayer. Throughout the ceremony one other man enters the building. No women attended this early morning meeting.

On Sundays the church services begin at 10:00 A.M. These services are more elaborate than the weekly prayer services. More teachers and more elders lead more prayer and there are, sometimes, as many as forty to fifty people attending Sunday services. The children are placed in the front pews so that their parents can control their behavior. The men sit in the right hand pews, behind their sons.

The women sit in the left hand pews, behind their daughters.

There are occasions when the Christians take their ceremonies out of the church. One night the Christians hired a drummer and went from house to house asking delinquent Christians to attend church and give money. Many people, Muslims as well as traditionalists, joined the Christians in their nocturnal parade. On another occasion the Christians marched from their church to a spot along the main road where they prayed and then gave their children sticks which were used to destroy an image of Judas Iscariot.

Being an active Christian means continuous involvement in organized activities. The Christian societies must maintain records of all their meetings and all dues collections. These records and dues are submitted to the Anglican Church Council in Ilaro where they are published in the Ilaro Church Council record. All members of the church get copies of the record and, in this way, can check to see that their church donations have reached the proper authorities.

But, Christian membership also means a certain amount of subjugation to the Anglican Church hierarchy. It means greater conflict with the traditional customs than is experienced by Muslims. There are no Christian protective medicines. Thus, the Christian who needs these devices must rely upon the traditional practices. Those few Christians who strongly correlate traditionalism with savagery elect to buy Islamic protective medicine rather than traditional Yoruba protective medicine.

The Prophets

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to develop congregations in the orile. So far these attempts have failed. These prophets generally claim that they come to their calling through visions. Unlike the Alpha, the Immam, the Christian Lay reader and his supporting elders, the prophets are always strangers in the village in which they attempt to proselytize.

The two prophets I met in Ibara Orile had no ties to any of the lineages of the place. The most impressive of these men was only in the town for one day. He was dressed in a dark red robe, pink sash, and white pants. The red robe was of good quality, though it showed evidence of fading. Around his neck was a blue chain from which a large cross was suspended. This prophet was very willing to discuss his calling with me. He claimed that he came to his profession through a series of visions which told him what he should do. At the time of these first visions he was already a disciple of another prophet. As a result of his dedication he now finds himself an outcaste. He complains that his family always asks him what his profit has been after his years of bell ringing. This does not bother him, for he prays for them and when he prays he sees visions of the things he should do.

He believes he can heal illness through the use of a wand which he lays upon the sick body. He likens this wand to the staff of Moses:

> It is with the wand that Moses parted the waters. This wand [his own wand] contains the spirit of God. After preparing it, it is taken to the mountain and prayers are being said into it and the spirit descends into it and God prays into it. I left it on that hill for several days. It is through visitations [visions] that we know of the hill. I left it there until I was told to remove it.

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This prophet had not visited the orile in more than eighteen months. He claimed that before he left the orile he had developed a congregation and a thatch covered meeting place in the Ifatedo quarter of the orile. He showed me this meeting place which had been neglected and was beginning to fall. He also said that he had left his disciple to attend his congregation during his absence. Although the disciple lived in the orile, the prophet had not seen him and worried because, "I do not know what my disciple has in mind."

Shortly after my talk with the prophet, Isaac Adebayo, his disciple, a resident of Oke Afin, revealed his plans. He threatened to crack the prophet's skull with a stick (okpa).[3] Isaac Adebayo, who was one of the three washermen in the village, accused the prophet of saying that the people of Ibara Orile were being punished for following the Action Group rather than the N.N.D.P. At this time Isaac was striving for a position as lieutenant to Dauda Aina, the area leader of the A.G. He lived only a few doors from Dauda. His loud accusation signalled the end of any hopes the prophet might have had for re-establishing his position of authority with his disciples and reorganizing a "flock" in the orile. The people of Oke Afin advised him to leave town.

Adebayo never did practice as a prophet in Ibara Orile. Like so many other prophets he did not care to proselytize among his own people. He preferred to mount his bicycle and travel to different villages along the Ibara Orile - Aiyetoro road. His circuit would usually take him away from home for several days.

Although the prophet and his disciple do not preach in the orile, there is another prophet who has a small following in the Oke Afin quarter of the orile. This prophet comes from Abẹokuta to preach in the house of Akanbi Ọmọtayo, a Muslim. Each day the prophet leaves his home in Abẹokuta to spend the night in the orile. Each evening, between 7:00 and 8:00 P.M., and each morning, at 5:30 A.M. the occupants of Akanbi Ọmọtayo's house and Elijah Faderin's house would meet to participate in the singing, dancing, and praying that characterize a Cherubim and Seraphim church service. The sounds of their efforts would resound throughout the immediate area. Many of the people of the orile considered all of them to be slightly mad to behave in such a way.

After the early morning services the prophet would return to Abẹokuta. During his overnight stay in the orile he would sleep in Elijah's house. Elijah is one of the most devout Christians in the orile. Each morning and each night, after attending services with the prophet, Elijah would go off to participate in the church services. Elijah does not believe that there is any conflict between his going to church and attending the Cherubim and Seraphim meeting. He sees a distinct difference between the efforts of the prophet and the church services. He says, "The church is for religion while Cherubim and Seraphim is for society."

Akanbi does not attend the mosque as often as Elijah attends church. Akanbi is younger than Elijah and has yet to develop the religious intensity and commitment which characterize so many of the elders of the village. These Cherubim and Seraphim services which are held in his house disturb him and, although he plays the drums at these services,

he literally shudders at suggestions that he is a member of the group. He says:

> Although I play for them and let them use my house, I am not of them and I do not pray with them. I am a Muslim. I only do it for my younger brother. It is because he wishes it.

Thus, it can be seen that the small group of Cherubim and Seraphim worshippers are made up of Christians and Moslems who think of themselves primarily as members of the church and the mosque rather than members of the Cherubim and Seraphim sect.

Orisa Worship

The worship of orisa is based upon the understanding of the traditional culture which the people carry in their heads. Unlike the many organized activities and biblical quotations which the Christians always have at hand, or the ceremonials, rituals, and customs which the Muslims practice, there was very little that the people could tell me about the traditional orisa which they worshipped. Orisa worship is so much a part of the entire fabric of their lives that what was to be learned came best through observation and participation. The pouring of bamboo wine on the ground, the quick movement of the hand as a bit of kola is touched to the forehead, a mound of dirt smeared with palm oil, or a broken pot covering pieces of kola. These were the signals which provided clues to worthwhile lines of inquiry.

To discuss the cosmology and general nature of Yoruba religious belief is not the purpose of this chapter. Rather, in keeping with our theme, this discussion will be restricted to those things which the people

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Egun. --Thirty-five people mentioned Egun as the God they worshipped. However, when they talk about Egun it is usually in the context of the yearly Egungun festival which is held in Ibara Omida. To become involved in worshipping Egun is to worship the spirits of the dead departed ancestors, and, in a very real sense, the worship of all orişa is Egun worship. Once a year the Egungun masquerade occurs in Ibara Omida, as it does in all the towns of Abẹokuta. This is the time when members of the extended lineage gather in the family compound from all the corners of Yorubaland to worship their ancestors and offer sacrifices to their departed fathers. The appearance of the Egungun masquerader symbolizes the collective spirits of the ancestors of the lineage. Afraid to neglect their ancestors, Muslims and Christians will also attend the Egungun festival. The more devout among them will protest that they merely contribute money and stand and watch, and do not involve themselves in the sacrifices and the prayers; at least that is their claim.

Yemoja -- Every three years, according to the Yoruba calendar, the people of Ibara gather to celebrate the Gẹlẹde festival which is given in honor of Yemoja. The story of the historical relationship between the people of Ibara and the goddess Yemoja has already been told (pages 35-36). The Gẹlẹdẹ Efe singer lives in Ibara Omida. He was able to tell the story of the deification of Yemoja and the beginnings of the Gẹlẹde:[5]

> Yemoja was human and she married Ogun. Yemoja was female. All those idols we worship [refers to the masks carried

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> during the Gẹlẹdẹ festival] were human. As you know, some people worship human beings and when Yemoja and Ogun died they worshipped them. This Omida [water-gone] once had water. The water came from a small pot. When Yemoja fought with Ogun [Yemoja's husband] she left his house with this pot of water. This Ibara Omida was the home of Yemoja and Ogun.
>
> Ogun begged the people to go and bring her back from Arikola [reputed to be a small village on one of the paths to Ibara]. When the people tried to grab her she went into the ground and water came out of the ground. It is now a big river which flows into the Ogun river.
>
> As I told you before, when those people died they are worshipped for rememberance. When Yemoja was alive they were singing songs. It is because she had so many children that they worship her all over [refers here to her worship all over Ẹgbadoland]. They used to call Yemoja Omijori. The name they used to give the wife of a king. So far Yemoja carried water along she was the owner of that Omida market where the Gẹlẹdẹ is performed.

Obatala.--The fact that twenty people mentioned Obatala was surprising for I had not known that so many people were actively involved in the worship of this orisa. In Idofin, there is a dimunitive house which is a shrine to Obatala. The people also keep their Ṣango shrine in this Obatala house. They claim that any orisa can be put there. The people could not tell me much about Obatala except for the fact that he was a great god who should not be forgotten.

Idowu's comments about the antiquity of this god and his position in the Yoruba pantheon serves as a guide to understanding the problem the people of the orile have in discussing this god in any significant way. According to Idowu:

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> Orişa-nla is the supreme divinity of Yorubaland. As his name implies, he is the great or arch divinity. It is sometimes said that he is the father of all orişa in Yorubaland and that it was he who gave each of them the name orişa thus naming them after himself ....He is also called Obatala, the name which has been variously interpreted as Oba-ti-o-nla 'the king who is great'; or Oba-ti-ala 'king in white clothing'.
>
> Orişa-nla is very ancient. He was the very first to receive a definite characterisation, and that is why he is described by some of our elders as the image or symbol of Olodumare on earth [1963:71].

The significance and importance of Obatala is apparent. As the "father of all the orişa" it is understandable that other orişa may share Obatala's house. The inability of the people to elaborate about him is not surprising, for they have a similar difficulty in discussing Olorun. As in the case of Olorun, the "Owner or Lord of Heaven" (Idowu 1963:37), the nature of Obatala, his position as father of all orişa, makes it difficult to attribute any special powers or particular interests to him.

Ogun.--Ogun is the god of hunters, iron, and war. Some of the farmers of the orile also feel that Ogun, as god of iron, and therefore, god of metal, is interested in farming activities by virtue of the metal tools which the farmer uses. The blacksmiths of the town are involved in the worship of Ogun because they must handle and shape metals. Although the blacksmiths do worship Ogun, their beliefs and rituals are not as elaborate as those of the hunters.[6] Simon Adeola is a hunter and the only person in the orile to own a European gun. It is a double barreled shot gun. In the following section he discusses the method which he used to worship Ogun:

> I satisfied my Ogun well. When I reached the Ogun sharing place I called all my ancient people connected with Ogun. I called Abogun, Lalu, Shusanyin, Mojoro, Ajibewe, Fagbemi, and Elegbede. I called Ija who is second to Ogun, I called Oşoişi who is another brother to Ogun. I prayed that they will keep watch of me and my family, that we should not have trouble throughout this year. I sliced kola and when I put it down with the left hand I had to stand up. I put it outside so that everybody can see. Then I open the kola and put one for his face [the phrase 'face' means either in front of or on top of the Ogun shrine] and added palm wine. Then I kill the goat. I do this by cutting off his head with one blow. Then when I finish these there is much playing and dancing. When the goat is cooked and finished some is put in front of the Ogun. It was the tail, heart, voice larynx , tongue, chest, and lungs that I put in the face of Ogun. After that all my wives have kola. After each kola is taken I call their names and ask them to give Ogun some of that kola. She must split it. If any woman is guilty of an offence or has committed adultery during the past year it will not open. They all opened.
>
> My first tree [Ogun shrine] was in Onikeikan [his old family hamlet] . I had to make enquiries [Ifa divination] before planting this one here.

The hunters' Ogun shrines were always quite elaborate and often showed signs of recent sacrifice. These shrines are usually stumps of the Ekika, Atotoro, or Akoko trees which have been put in river mud (possibly symbolic of Ogun's relationship with Yemoja) before replanting. The exact tree which the hunter uses is determined by Ifa divination. Such things as the head of a snake, snails, bones of elephants and buffalos, honey, and a variety of herbs and leaves are put into a hole in the ground in which the Ogun tree is to be planted.[7] Often, some iron object is either imbedded in the tree stump, rested beside the tree, or placed in the hole in which the tree is to be planted.[8] There is another "great hunter" in the orile who, following another tradition of Ogun worship, includes a dog

In his sacrifices and impales the dog's head on a piece of metal imbedded in the tree.

Surrounding the worship of Ogun are many beliefs which contribute to the hunter's feelings of security and his understandings of his world. Paramount is the confidence he puts in his Ogun to discern and punish liars. As Adeola reported, persons suspected of crimes will be asked to protest their innocence in front of the Ogun shrine. If the person then lies it is believed that he will be soon bitten by a snake or wound himself in an accident.

Ibeji.--Ibeji is the deity of twins. The worship of the deity of twins is often mixed up with the ritual designed for the preservation or prolongation of the twins' lives. Though fifteen people spoke of their worship of Ibeji, there was no evidence that there is an orişa named Ibeji.[9] Rather, the people participate in elaborate rituals to insure the survival of living twins and the propitiation of a dead twin so that the remaining child will not suffer.

The Ibeji shrine is usually found in the hallway of the house. These shrines usually consist of depressions in the walls or floors in which the sacrifices are placed. These shrines are often treated in the most casual manner, and it is not unusual to find old women or young children using it for a seat. The usual sacrifice involved in the worship of Ibeji is sugar cane, black beans, oils, bananas, and kola. The findings of the Babalawo are, however, most crucial to decisions regarding the particular behavior to perform and items to be sacrificed. Once a year, usually at

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the time of the twins' birth or at the anniversary of one or both the twins' death, a more elaborate sacrifice is offered to the Ibeji shrine. At this time a chicken will be sacrificed.

Some people will keep the familiar ibeji doll in their homes to represent the twins. The purchase of these dolls does not seem to be dependent upon whether the twins have survived or died. If one twin has died, it seems more likely that a doll will be kept in order that the surviving twin will have the departed twin's company. This habit has reference to the problem of shadow (ojiji) and Ara Igbo which will be discussed shortly (see pages 143-149).

Joseph Adetoro keeps three ibeji statues on a wooden bed which is located in his parlor room. He prefers to sleep on the concrete floor. "The bed gives me pains in the body." One of the ibeji statues represents Kehinde, the child of Joseph who died as a baby. A second statue represents another Kehinde, Joseph's own twin brother who died very young. (This would mean that Joseph also has the name Taiwo, for in Yorubaland twins are invariably named Taiwo and Kehinde. The subject of names and naming will be discussed on pages 275-276). The third statue represents another Kehinde, Joseph's wife's junior sister, who also died as a baby. In addition to these ibeji there is a shrine in the hallway. Joseph explains the presence of these statues:

> I made the clothes for the dolls. My wife takes care of her twin; that is why it is here. She brought it from her home because her mother who was looking after her [the statue] died and there is nobody there again [the old hamlet was abandoned]. It was felt that my wife would take care of Kehinde.

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Ṣango.--Fourteen people mentioned Ṣango as the god they worshipped. For the most part the people do not mention Ṣango very much, nor does he appear to figure importantly in their lives. Only a few people remembered where his shrine was located and, in fact, the shrine is so old that it has literally "sunken into the ground."

Oro.--Although only twelve people mentioned Oro as the orişa they worshipped, there is much greater elaboration of the beliefs about Oro and the behavior related to the worship of Oro than there is of some of the gods who appeared higher on the list which appears in Chart 11. The people of the orile say that those who worship Oro are actually doing the same things for the same purposes as the people who worship Egungun. They see little difference between the two. Both Egungun and Oro represent the departed ancestors. Actually, Oro does not masquerade as does Egungun. Oro, however, uses the bull roarer and helps to keep the peace of the town by punishing malefactors (see page 163).

Other Orişa.--In decreasing numbers the people mentioned Ifa, god of divination; Oya, wife of Ṣango and goddess of the Niger River (Abraham 1958:53); Erinle, associated with elephants and song (Church Missionary Society 1913:71) and a poor hunter who drowned (Abraham 1958:164); Ọṣọọṣi (or Ọṣọiṣi) a hunter; Osanyin, god of healing; and Ṣọponna, god of Smallpox.

As in most other instances the people were not able to elaborate their understanding of who these gods were. The only explanation

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that a young Ifa priest could give for his name Oyadara (Oya was good) was that his mother, being barren for five years, asked a woman for help and was told to worship the goddess Oya. She followed this advice and soon Oyadara was born. Oyadara did not know that Oya was the wife of Ṣango and the goddess of the Niger river. Oyadara is a young man and, like many of the other people of the orile, has just left his bush hamlet. As he continues to frequent Omida and learns more about Ifa divination and the great traditions of the Yoruba he will be able to say more about the gods in the Yoruba pantheon.

There are some orişa, seldom mentioned, who are important to the understanding of the way the people of the orile order their world. These gods are of sufficient importance to require separate discussion.[10]

Ẹşu.--Although no one said that they worshipped Ẹşu (Elegbera), there was sufficient evidence of Ẹşu shrines and sacrifices to Ẹşu about the town to suggest that the god Ẹşu is a very important consideration in the lives of the people. Mounds of dirt, covered with palm oil, and sacrifices in broken pots at the crossroads at the nearest entrances to the town were the usual shrines to Ẹşu. For many the worship of Ẹşu is clouded with fright and suspicion, for Ẹşu is regarded as malevolent and devilish. Abraham (1958: 188) describes him as the "supreme god of evil" who requires constant propitiation. ...There is a strong belief in his power and readiness to confer benefits on his worshippers." The people of the orile who do not worship Ẹşu tend to be suspicious of those who do.

Their feelings of fear and mistrust were very evident during the following conversation with three of the Christians:

> O.O.: How about Ẹṣu? Is he important?
> Christians: Laughter Nobody worships Ẹṣu.
>
> O.O.: But you are wrong. I have seen his shrine in several places in the village and at the crossroads to the village.
> Christians: It is impossible. You just saw a rock.
>
> O.O.: Not so. I have been told that there are many people here who worship him.
> Christians: Just a rock. Ẹṣu is bad and will cause trouble. If you want your enemy to suffer you call on your Ẹṣu. He is the opposite of good.
> Peter Omodele: I am a Christian. I know about those shrines but the next generation of Christians will not.

Michael Odeku, an old medicine man, living in the Ifatedo quarter, keeps an Ẹṣu shrine in his front yard. He also has one in his back yard. He says:

> It is the devil. Ẹṣu is my guardian. If the devil wants to enter my house he will meet my Ẹṣu. [This second use of the word 'devil' refers to his enemies and not to Ẹṣu, his protector.] Those others [refers to his fellow villagers] are ordinary people. They fear Ẹṣu. The native doctors have medicines. They can talk about it. Only the doctor has it in front of his house.

Michael's Ẹṣus are made of large upturned clay pots with holes in them, which form windows, through which can be seen a bronze image of Michael, pieces of laterite rock, native lanterns, and a few pence.

Ara-Igbo.--The concept of Ara-igbo (resident of the bush) seems to pervade the entire cosmology of the people of Ibara Orile, and appears

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to hold leads to the understanding of how the people of the orile arrange their social interactions. It has significance for their ideas of their destiny, their souls, their bodies, their social relationships, and the order of importance of all other orisa. In some ways Ara-Igbo is connected with the peoples' ideas about their ikeji (second) or ojiji (shadow).[11] And, in fact, whether or not this discussion of the meaning and significance of Ara-Igbo should be entirely relegated to this section of this dissertation remains problematic, given the diffuse nature of this concept. These beliefs, however, are presented in this section because the people actively worship Ara-Igbo, they have sacred trees and groves and make sacrifices dedicated to Ara-Igbo.

Investigations into the meaning of Ara-Igbo repeatedly forced reconsideration of understandings which had been made at earlier points in time. As I continued, the ideas subsumed under the term Ara-Igbo seemed to lend that term the stature of an all-inclusive explanatory concept. Because of the complexity and the multiplicity of concepts that became involved in our explorations of the meaning of Ara-Igbo, this discussion will be heavily documented with excerpts from conversations. A clue to this concept's importance was the very fact that more people seemed to know more about Ara-Igbo and its associated concepts than about the other Gods worshipped in the orile.

I first came upon this concept by accident. Sikiru Odunola, a young man of Oke Afin, was walking along the dirt road which bisects Oke Afin and Idofin. It was early morning and, after a few greetings, I asked him why he had not gone to his farm. Sikiru said that the wife of the acting

headman had divined for him:

> She told me not to go to the farm so that I should not meet my ikeji (second). No. I do not mean twins. According to the sayings of our elders ikeji is the 'placenta.' When a person is born his second in heaven comes to earth in the dead of night or in the broad day light when the sun is hot, more especially when the road is isolated. I should not meet my ikeji or it will kill me. I will fall sick and die.

This was all that Sikiru could tell me about his ikeji. He finished by saying that he was a youth and I must ask the elders if I wanted more information.

The following discussion occurred after a meeting of the Cherubim and Seraphim group. The prophet and I were engaged in a discussion of the subject of ikeji and ojiji. At first the prophet did not seem to understand the meaning of the term ojiji, but when he noticed his shadow he said:

> Here is my ikeji pointing to his shadow . Anything we do on earth he will witness in heaven. He is the witness on earth and the prosecutor. He will say what was done on earth. If it is denied he can say shut up. When he has said so the one on earth will not be able to speak again [to deny it] because his ikeji has seen all. That is why the elders say that if we stand he will stand with us, if we bend he will bend, and if we sit he will sit. Although the shadow is on earth, when a person dies it will turn into a human being. May God not let us meet with an accident. It is just like they hang a person or mistakenly shoot him. The spirit in the form of a human [anjonu] will report it and take it to the police and take the police to the place. Then the ikeji will disappear. God is not our ikeji in heaven. He is the maker and creator. Just like a woman who delivered twins. The mother is not the ikeji of the twins. God is our creator and he who creates something cannot be ikeji.

As my desire to understand the concept of ikeji increased I took my questions to the acting head man, whose wife, an Ifa priest like her husband, started this line of investigation by telling Sikiru not to go

to his farm.[12] According to this elder:

> Everybody has an ikeji. As we are here now we have one but it is not here now. It is our spirit. The day a man sees his ikeji he will die. The ikeji will appear to him in human form. When we are coming from heaven we make an agreement that he should stay there and we should come to earth. It will be agreed when the one coming to earth should come back. If the person on earth does not appear at the agreed time the ikeji will come looking for him. Although not born of human he will be in the form of a human. The spirit will search for his earthly counterpart. The spirit may come down in Abẹokuta and the party he may be looking for will be in Ibadan. The party may have a bad dream and when he consults Ifa he may be told that he should not go out. That is why they say: 'The sacrifice will not permit him to travel.'
>
> If the person is stubborn he will not follow the order of Ifa and will come to Abẹokuta. If he comes he will meet his ikeji and if he does not die altogether on that day he will surely die the next day. When he dies the ikeji will come down and live on earth and the one who died will be the ikeji.
>
> The abiku. When a woman's children keep dying it is thought that it is one child who keeps coming and going are not sure that they want to stay on earth. They do not behave well and the ikeji wants to stay in heaven.

Salami Ajani, a literate man, and sometime letterwriter explained the ikeji in terms of politics:

> Ojiji is the word for shadow and the shadow is our second partner. What Akintola [the late premier of the Western Region who was alleged to have used his power to steal the October 1965 elections] has been saying is that if you do not vote for the N.N.D.P. your shadow will vote for the N.N.D.P. The shadow creates us and we know the shadow because we do not know God. Akintola knows that they are going to cheat in the election that is why he says that our shadows will vote for his party even if we do not vote.

It was not long after this conversation that I came across a small ceremony which turned out to be part of a wedding ritual. I learned that the women were dancing and the food was being served as a sacrifice to Ara-Igbo so that the one who was to be married might have children. When I asked what caused them to celebrate and sacrifice to Ara-Igbo I was told that "It was Odu Egbe. They sacrifice for Ẹgbe so that she will conceive..."[13]

Karimu Delegbe, a Muslim and a successful elder of Isolo carved a grove out of the bush behind his home for the purpose of worshipping Ara-Igbo. A large tree stands at the center of the grove. He sacrifices bean cakes and other vegetables to Ara-Igbo. He says: "My daughter was crying when she was born. I went to the diviner and he said I should give her Ara-Igbo." Karimu continued his explanation of Ara-Igbo:

> You know the greeting when someone is eating and asks you to join him. They say 'Ẹ ṣa jeun' [Come eat with me]. When they say that to you your enikeji [used interchangeably with ikeji] will be playing with that person's ikeji in the bush and that person's ikeji will be inviting yours to come and eat. If that person's ikeji does not invite you to eat, your ikeji will be fighting with that person's ikeji. If that person is bad the Ara-Igbo will not wish to play with his ikeji and his ikeji will be unhappy. His ikeji will leave the bush and come looking for the owner. If that person should see his ikeji the person will die and his ikeji will accuse him of being bad in front of Olorun.

Karimu's explanation was compatible with the beliefs of many other informants. There is a very common Yoruba cultural trait which requires that people return to the scene of a previous day's festivities or favors to thank their hosts. If they are unable to greet their benefactor or host the next day they will greet them with their thanks upon their next

meeting. The expression of appreciation will be given despite the lapse or extended periods of time since the original favor was granted.

A young man of the orile defined Ara-Igbo as Ẹgbẹ or partner (see pages 407-408). He seemed to be speaking very symbolically when he said:

> When we sacrifice to Ara-Igbo or Ẹgbẹ we used to be calling the children to come and have sacrifice. We took those children to represent the partners in the bush. The Ara-Igbo is for making the children but not so common among adults [Apparently sacrificing so that children will be born. This ceremonial will include having children participate in the sacrifice so that the ikeji in the bush will see that there are already children in the compound and newborn children will have playmates].
>
> Adults used to sacrifice to the beggars and the beggars to praise the fellow. The praise comes from the partner of the beggar and not the beggar. If a person dashes [gives] anybody money the person will be praised right from the partner of the man that the thing is given to [and, as indicated above, the ikeji of the beggar and that of the donor will not fight].
>
> If anybody died, the partner is useless. If the partner does not die and remains in the bush, then something happens to the stars in the sky. [Refers here to comets, which indicate the death of people and the return of their souls to heaven.]

My landlady, the widow of an Ifa priest, believed that:

> Everybody has an ikeji. Even you have an ikeji. That one helps you to get your children. You and your children are playing in heaven and when you come down that one plays in the bush and anytime you need something that one helps you.

The relationships between Ara-Igbo, ikeji, ojiji, and Olorun become more clear. The Ara-Igbo are the collective ikeji who are seconds to the human being. The ojiji, the human's shadow is either the ikeji or a

representative of it. It keeps the ikeji aware of the human's behavior. At death the ikeji accompanies the human, his counterpart, to Olorun and reports on the behavior of his second. If the report is favorable the human may return to earth and his family; hence the names Babatunde (father returns), Iyatunde (mother returns). The social implications of these beliefs are also clear. A final example of the effect these beliefs have upon social behavior illustrates the importance of these concepts.

One day, while visiting Peter Omodele's farm, I noted that Peter was filling a large basket with corn and I asked him if he were going to sell the corn. He said that the corn was for his neighbors. When he further said that the neighbors for whom he collected his corn were farmers who had their own I wondered why he did not sell the large basket of corn. Responding to my confusion Peter said:

> They asked me. They want me to come and play with them. Arjoru spirit asked me to give it to them that is, Peter had a dream that a spirit asked him to share with his friends .
>
> That Ara-Igbo means our second person. He is living in the bush because that one cannot come out. We only see the shadow (ojiji) which will represent the enikeji in the town. And the reason why we call it Ara-Igbo is because that one cannot come out of the bush again because he has accustomed himself to that place. The reason we worship that one is because, as I heard it, the person in the bush is the one who is suffering instead of us in the town. So that anything that attacks us has to attack that one in the bush. That is why we go and worship Ara-Igbo every year.

Ifa.--Throughout this discussion of Yoruba religious beliefs mention has been made of Ifa, the god of divination. Many references have already been made to the fact that individual decisions to worship specific gods

at specific times are predicated upon the results of Ifa divination. In fact, all life decisions can be referred to the beads, shells and nuts of the diviner. Idowu (1963:77) puts it this way:

> "It seems absolutely impossible for a Yoruba whose soul is still fettered to his traditional beliefs to attempt anything at all without consulting the oracle by Ifa."[14]

Some of the people of the orile told me that their decision to move to the orile was the result of Ifa divination. Decisions to go--or, as in the case of Sikiru Odunola--not to go on trips; activities to increase fertility; the protection of individuals, families, or the town; the selection of a trade or apprenticeship for sons and daughters; the choice of names for newborn children; and decisions about future life activities can be, and, for many people, are, made through recourse to Ifa divination.

Ifa was human, like Eyinri, the orisa who, during life, made all sacrifices of the early Ibara people perfect (see pages 37-38). An elder of Idofin told the story of Ifa:

> Now this oracle is a spirit who simply comes to tell us how we are going to do in the world. He did not deceive anybody in the world. In his lifetime he would simply say bring two or three cowries and he will look everything up for you and will tell you then to bring two more cowries. You bring five cowries and you are finished. That is why our fathers used to say that if you want to do sacrifices 'Put two with three' [fi eji kun eta] ...Orunmila is the name of God. It really means Orun mo eniti yio la Only heaven knows who will be saved .

This connection between Ifa and Orunmila is similar to the findings of Idowu who states that:

> "The Yoruba believes that the priest, receives the questions and petitions of devout supplicants and vouchsafes the revelations which the priests declares." (1963:77)

The Head.--The people of the orile sacrifice and pray to gods in the sky, to their orisa in the ground, and to Ara-Igbo who walk the earth. They also consider the head an important object of worship. They believe that the head is the source of knowledge as well as "luck." There are actually two heads. One "head" is in the stomach and the other is in the skull. If a person is annoyed, it is the head in the stomach that "spoils" the head in the skull. If a man wants to go somewhere and somebody attempts to attack him but he passes the spot without being harmed, he believes that his head saved him (Ori mi vo mi). If he finds money he says, "My head is the one who gives me favor." (Ori mi fun mi iseun [abi kore]).

Isiaki Ogunbiyi is the son of the headman. He is a man of some seventy years of age, a Muslim, and a philosopher. He discussed Ori this way:

> You cannot tell your Ikeji what you want. Only your luck can tell him. If anybody gets bad things or good things it is their luck who gives them the thing. Only Ẹlẹda [Isiaka constantly interchanged ori with Ẹlẹda. Eleda means 'Creator' or 'Supreme Being'] can decide our luck. Yemoja, Ṣọ, Ikeji, Ogun, Ṣango, and all the others are supporters of Ẹlẹda.
>
> When God made us he made first the head, and good and bad are in the head. So far as a person has a head he has Ẹlẹda. No matter what we worship Ẹlẹda is the first because we have a head to worship. If a person goes to a diviner it is only his head which causes him to go there. So I can say that Sango, Ogun, and the others are the same, because they are living with ori and Ẹlẹda.

Isiaka's discussion is the best example of the several conversations regarding the meaning of ori [head or luck] which I had with the people of the orile. Isiaka's interesting, although occasionally confusing,

explanation of ori and its relation to Ẹlẹda (Creator, Supreme Being: See Church Missionary Society 1913:79, and Abraham 1963:172) suggests that the individual's life career is based upon his "luck" located within his own head, and intimately related to the Creator. Considering something which borders on a general tendency to interchange ori with Ẹlẹda, it would almost appear as if the individual carries, not only his own luck, but also the Supreme Being. It is not surprising that the people of Ibara often sacrifice to their own "head". Granted that there are points here in serious conflict with the previous discussion of Ara-Igbo, these conflicts will be disturbing if the reader thinks that the factors which comprise cosmologies must be logical, neat, well correlated, and perfectly integrated.

Before concluding this discussion of religious beliefs, some statements may be made about the physiology of the head. Joseph Adewale spends most of his days under the shade of his kitchen shed in Isolo. He is getting old and has been wracked with osteoarthritis for many years. He is now too weak to go to the farm. One day while he was giving me a lesson on Yoruba beliefs about physiology he made a distinction between the head, "luck," and the brain. For him the brain is in the head and the head is, essentially, the skull. But "luck" is not the brain. Inside the head are two things: the brain and "luck". Thus, Joseph helped me to understand that intelligence does enter the people's calculations of the factors which control their life experiences.

Witches and Wizards

This discussion of the central beliefs must include some comment on the part that witches (aje) and sorcerers (oso) play in the people's lives. The content in this area is rich and is formulated in such a way that the people are stimulated to indulge in long and arduous tasks, and spend a considerable amount of money to ensure themselves protection against the machinations of witches and wizards.

There have been some distinctions made between the terms "witch", "wizard", and "sorcerer". Bohannon says:

> It has been the tradition for some years for anthropologists to draw a distinction between witchcraft and sorcery among...the various techniques of bewitchment. The basis is a simple one: Does anything actually take place or not? In the case of witchcraft, any act that takes place is only a psychic act. It is obvious, then, that witchcraft is a system of thought for interpreting misfortune by assigning (by tradition) psychic acts of human beings as the cause of misfortune. Sorcery, on the other hand, is performed. It is a system of magic for bringing about the destruction of another person. Leaving the causal effectiveness to one side, we can say that sorcery is an act, carried out with attendant ritual.
>
> This distinction between witchcraft and sorcery is different from one sometimes made in traditional thinking, which says that witches are women and sorcerers are men (sometimes the latter are called wizards). [1963:347]

Wizards usually use some "foreign" substances, such as a stone or a piece of charcoal, on their victims (1963:352). Sorcerers are believed to "obtain a sample of hair, fingernails, or body dirt--any item that has been in close association with his victim." Sorcerers are reputed to use these things when they recite spells, or make and damage images of their victims. (Bohannon 1963:351)

For the purposes of this discussion the usual distinctions between wizards and sorcerers are not useful. The people speak of witches and wizards. They do not speak of sorcerers. And, in fact, they do not often make great distinctions between their terms for witches and wizards. Although most frequently they speak of women as witches and men as wizards. They tend to use the terms aje (witches) and Oso (wizards) interchangeably when they speak in English and Yoruba. The Church Missionary Society (1913:215) and Abraham (1958: 38, 491) have documented this usage.

Nobody sacrifices to witches, nor do they pray to witches, nor does the Babalawo recommend the witch or wizard as an object of worship. The Ifa priest may divine that a person's afflictions are caused by the machinations of a witch or a wizard, but he will not mention the suspected malefactor's name for fear of being sued. Nevertheless, this fear and the belief in witches are profoundly felt by all: Muslims, and Christians, male and female, educated and illiterate.

The first person to speak to me of witches in the village and the effects that the witches had upon its social structure was one of the young school teachers who lives and teaches there. One Saturday morning I found that he had not left for the weekend and asked him why he remained in the orile. He started talking about staying in his room to read and enjoy his radio. Then he said:

> Teacher: I shall avoid the people of the town because these people are not good. You see so many broken walls. This is because they do not work together. That old woman over there is a witch. She bewitched her neighbor woman by putting something in her soup [refers to my landlady].

She finally had to go to Lagos for an operation. It was removed. The witch did it because she did not find favor in her eyes and she remained here after her husband died. She tried to hold on to her husband's big farm. The witch was not happy with her presence. That is why she made her sick.

There is not any difference between a witch and a bad person. Only a witch's work cannot be undone. I suppose I should not believe this witch business as an educated person.

O.O.: We believe what we must believe. But then, since there are witches around here how can I avoid being bewitched?

Teacher: I greet people and am very courteous. I am quiet and do not get into any arguments. I do not let people think that I feel important. I try to be unassuming. I remain quiet. If they have such plans for me they might discuss their feelings with others who will have friendly feelings towards me and say how nice I am. Their friends will help me.

O.O.: Do you use protective medicines?

Teacher: No. I used it in the past but now I depend upon God. I burned my book of protective medicine when I joined the Apostolic church.

At the end of my conversation with the teacher, the very woman whom he had accused of being a witch came up to us and engaged us in a conversation. Throughout a long series of greetings and short conversation with this very pleasant woman the teacher remained transfixed. He did not move a muscle and was only able to whisper a goodby when the woman went her way.

It is generally believed that witches perform their evil tasks at night. They can be very mischievous and take pleasure in stopping a

pregnant woman from giving birth. Most often they cause sickness. It is agreed that they are most active at night. When a witch goes to sleep in her locked room a bird-like spirit in her bowels flies out into the night. After the bird has gone the woman will not be able to awaken until it returns. These birds cannot be seen by ordinary eyes, but some native herbalists can prepare medicines in order to see these birds. In one instance a young man pointed to some cuts under his eye into which some medicines had been rubbed so that he could see the witches.

These witches are believed to frequent trees in which they keep their calabashes, pots, and other magic implements. Some people believe that a calabash carried on the head can be an indication of the person's involvement in witchcraft or wizardry. One day I was taking pictures in the village when a meat seller approached carrying his meat in a calabash on his head. When he saw my camera he removed the calabash from his head, turned, and started to run. I called him and he returned. He explained:

> If people should see my picture with this calabash on my head they will not know that I am carrying meat. They might think that I am a witch. Witches steal people and put them to work with calabashes on their heads.
>
> Whenever the witch wants money she says a few words and the money will come out of the mouth of the stolen person.

One man said that it was wizards who stole people:

> Men are wizards. They make money from human beings. They steal at times to make money. Let us say that they are working at night. If they see a child they will take the child and run away and make money out of the child. They will cut off the child's head and throw the body away. But some do not do this. They

> use the whole body. The whole body will be cleaned and put in a corner of their house in a dark place. They will make the dead person kneel down and they will have a calabash on the dead person's head and they will have both hands in the calabash. Each time they go there and pray to the dead person's head money will be coming out of the calabash.

Witches can be very deleterious to the economic activities of the farmers. A large number of goats and sheep of the town are owned by women. These animals often break through the bamboo fences which farmers erect around their farms. In a couple of days these animals can ruin an entire farm. The farmers are often afraid to challenge the owners because of their beliefs that some of these women are witches.

There is also the belief that witches cause men and children to eat red laterite earth so that they will die. Witches can also cause children to die so that their parents will think that the dead child is actually abiku (see page 146). A diviner will often reveal the witches' involvement in the death of children and will suggest that the parents move to a distant town. There were several people in the town who spoke of not being able to keep their children alive until they moved from Ibara Omida to Ibara Orile. [15]

Suspicion and charges of witchcraft have torn asunder many co-wife relationships. Tajudeen Ogunfunwa tells this tale of witchcraft in co-wife relationships:

> This woman was married for fifteen years and had no children. Another of the husband's wives had a child of seven years. When the mother of the child was away from the farm to collect firewood the woman took the child and we did not know where she was going. In the afternoon she returned. The child was on her back by then. The child slept on her back. When the mother arrived she told the witch woman to wake the child,

> but the child was found to be dying. Everybody ran to try and help but by 3:00 in the afternoon the child died.
>
> The mother and every person in the compound cried but this witch woman did not cry. Later the mother of the child divorced the man, for that was the only child she had. This was four days after the child died. When the woman divorced the husband all the people gathered around and told the witch woman to leave the compound but she did not until later.

Beliefs about witchcraft also have considerable influence upon the movement of children between various households. As Moji Modakeke put it:

> If a person asks for a child it must be given. If I do not give my daughter to my father's sister she will be offended. She might be a cruel person and cause my child to die.

This was the most frequent response to my questions relating to the reasons why children were so often sent to live with distant relatives. Of course, like many other aspects of the culture, such moves are multi-determined (see pages 298-301).

Witchcraft is not always evil. Bolaji Olabeji of Idofin, spoke about the birds which the witches use to accomplish their tasks:

> Some people use their witchcraft for nursing their own child. Let us say that something is troubling their child. They give the bird water to drink. The bird will pour the water into the mouth of the child. That child will be alright.
>
> Many persons use their own bird for killing animals in the bush. Whenever their sons want to go to the bush for hunting they will tell that bird to follow that man so that all harmful animals shall not touch him. No matter how big the animal may be, through the help of that witch at the same time as he fired the gun the animal will be killed on that spot. After that, many people use their own for trading. Whenever they want to go to the market and sell their goods they will be the first person to sell their goods.

> Some people use their own [witchcraft] for their child when going to school so that no one shall get the first position in the school than their child. Whenever they are going to take the test that child may not go to the examination hall. That child will stay at home and that bird will appear in the hall like a scholar and will sit for that examination instead of that boy. After that, when they are marking the papers the bird will become one of those markers so that he can mark that boy's papers.

This informant, a young man who had gone to secondary school, continued to talk about the witch using the bird to protect her family from accidents, during long voyages, in fights, to help her sons to raise good crops, etc. Bolaji said that his father had taught him about witches and that they had no witches in their family.

The Social Organization of Witches And Wizards

It is believed that witches and wizards will sometimes work together to achieve common desires. When they have a collective goal they call a midnight meeting in order to discuss the things they wish to do. Sanu Akinrele, of Idofin, describes the social organization of witches and wizards this way:

> They may wish to kill somebody or get something from someone. They will make their decisions. If they want to kill somebody they will ask the wizard to kill that person. Although they recognize no individual as their leader the wizard is their chairman. The wizard who is chosen as the chairman is usually the strongest man in the native herbalist society. This wizard has no powers over the witches. He is just their chairman. When they are in their meetings they may tell the wizard to go out and kill somebody or they might bring the person to the wizard to be killed.

A man from Ifatedo:

> As I was told, after the death of a person they killed the witches eat the flesh of an animal. Before they can eat they need the wizard because they cannot cut the flesh of an animal.

A woman of Oke Afin:

> Yes. They have men called wizards who will act as their killers. They will drag that person before that wizard and he will kill that person. That wizard has no power of his own. He does what he is told. If he fails to do it, he may be turned to madness or killed by the witches.

In many ways the social organization of witches and wizards emulates the general pattern of other Ibara societies. The witches have a male chairman, as do other female societies in the orile. Their chairman is supposed to be powerless, as is the chairman of the female social societies. Actually, the male chairmen of most of the female societies are much stronger than any of the female members are willing to admit. It is doubtful that if the witches chose the most powerful member of the native healers' society to be chairman, such a man would prove to be submissive.

In Yoruba society, as in the witches' organization, women do not usually cut meat. This is a man's job. Interestingly, the wizards are also reputed to have a society and they also have a titled witch who is an important member of their society. Again, most male social societies have one female member. The subject of associations is discussed in greater detail in Chapter XIII.

It is difficult to differentiate between the function of the native healer (onisegun) and the wizard (oso). Most of my informants were adamant in their belief that the two were not the same. The native healer

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must go to the woods to gather his medications and he will only do this if somebody asks him for something specific. The wizard is believed to have "something" at home which he uses to empower the drugs he makes. Some of the people of the orile believe that the "something" the oso uses is a powerful stone which he drops into his 'medicinal soups".

There are some people who believe that, unlike the native healer, wizards do not belong to any societies. One of the men of Oke Afin indicated that wizardry is idiosyncratic behavior on the part of persons who have studied Ifa divination or native healing:

> He comes to his knowledge because he might have been in the family of a Babalawo or native healer but he prefers to pursue another trade like farming or drumming. He knows these medicines and tries to improve upon them. He tries them out and some of these medicines make people mad. He might try them out on a dog or a tree and the dog will die or the tree will wither.

In contrast with the native healer, the witch does not learn her trade through legitimate study or apprenticeship to Babalawos or native healers. Rather, she is seduced into joining the witches' associations where she learns her witchcraft. One of the women of Isolo told me about the ways of recruitment into witches' societies:

> Woman: If a woman is old and her children allow her to be going out, she will have old friend like her and she will be going to their houses to greet them and by that time they will invite her to their meetings. They will tell her what they are doing at their meetings and little by little they will be teaching her their work.
>
> O.O.: Can there be young women witches?
>
> Woman: No. Only old women.

O.O.: Can you inherit this?

Woman: Yes. If the witch has children one or two will become witches.

O.O.: How can this be? If a woman becomes a witch when she is old and she has to join an association to learn it how can she pass it along to her children?

Woman: She will not tell the children before she joins the association and she is not going to play witchcraft with her own children but to other children such as those of co-wives. That is why we use protective medicines.

You know that if a woman has about two or four children one or two will resemble her in appearance and manner. If the mother dies they will see old women coming to the funeral of their mother. The children will be going around greeting relatives and visitors. The members of the association will tell the children not to forget them and that they should come to them for help. Thereby, one or two of the children will join the society which their mother left.

The fact that witches can take collective action in order to effect their purposes stimulates the villagers to develop cooperative activities to neutralize the machinations of the witches. The people of the orile have always been concerned about the lack of harmony and occasional hostility which exists between various factions. At times they take dramatic measures to insure peace and cooperation in the town. At one time some of the elders of the town began to think that it was witches who were causing the strife.

One night, about 8:30 P.M., after a meeting of the Cherubim and Seraphim, Peter Omodele came into my room. He carried the long metal rod which he used for protection against the political thugs who were reputed to be in the neighborhood. His behavior was impish and he did

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not seem to be weighted with the usual fatigue of a long day's work in the hot sun. He popped into my room, leaned over my desk, and started to whisper in a very confidential voice:

> We are going to cut the tree down near the church tonight. We are going to use the wood for planks [this last piece of information was for the ears of the women sitting in the outer hall]. Peter gestured that the door should be closed .

O.O.: What are you talking about? Why cut down a tree on such a dark night? There is no light at all.

Peter: Because of the witches. It is where they play. We do not want them.

O.O.: But they will hear you and try to stop you from cutting down their tree.

Peter: The sawyers will be quiet. They will know how to do it and the Oro (see page 141) will be out tonight. It will keep the women inside and protect the sawyers.

O.O.: It must be very dangerous for them?

Peter: The Oro will protect them and they will get £ 10 for their work. [Even one half of this amount would have constituted a considerable expenditure for the people of the orile].

Simon Adeola: [Having just walked into the room.] Once there was such a tree in the Itoko area of Abeokuta. But the diviners said the Egungun must come out, not the Oro. After they cut the tree down they found a pot, a small bed, a mortar, and some women's bones.

The sawing of the tree did not do much to improve the social climate of the town. In fact, it caused a deterioration in the relationships between some of the elders, for nearly a week passed before the big tree was finally felled. Many of the men had wanted the tree felled the first night. Simon Adeola expressed their concern:

> They are lazy. It is still there. They must have slept all night. They will have to do it again tonight. It is too big and they are too greedy. There should have been thirty men but they wanted to divide the money among them. Only three men were involved in cutting the tree down .

Only half of the tree had to be cut before the weight of the trunk caused the tree to fall, tearing itself out of the remaining stump, and leaving a hole six feet deep in its middle. This stump rose four to five feet into the air and measured eight feet in diameter. I climbed upon the rim of the stump and looked down into the hole. I was not surprised to find pieces of an old pot at the bottom of the hole. Some of the elders and the teachers standing about said that the witches put the broken pots in the hole. Simon Adeola, an irrespresible realist, was of the opinion that some of the men of the orile put the pots there: "How else could they have gotten there?" Problems of individual responses to witchcraft are discussed under the subject of protective medicines (see pages 351-352).

Summary

Although 562 people say that they are Muslims, 185 people say that they worship specific traditional gods, and 125 people say that they are Christians. However, all the people of the orile have one religious commonality. In one way or another, at some time during the year, they worship their ancestors.

The people are pragmatic about their religion. They worship their gods according to the seasons and their circumstances. During the Gelede

they think of Yemoja more often than they did during the years prior to this triennial celebration. They are more considerate of their ancestors during the Egungun and Oro festivals. They listen carefully to their Ifa priests and worship according to their divinations.

Some of the people who claimed to be Christians or Muslims alone never really gave up their old orişa. Some of these people attempted to hide the fact that they still sacrificed at the shrines which they kept in their homes. Others openly worship at the shrines and then walk down the road to the mosque. Several of the Muslims say that the orişa is their religion and that the mosque, "is just for society".

Fewer Christians keep shrines in their houses. Although they do participate in the annual Egungun and Oro festivals by contributing money and appearing at the masquerade. In their beliefs and their behaviors both christians and muslims demonstrate conflicts over their allegiance to their foreign religions. The reasons that both Muslims and Christians gave for joining their respective religions were quite varied, but it was not unusual to hear them say that they were following friends.

Raji Jibowu, an Ifatedo Muslim, keeps shrines to Şango, Obatala, Yemoja, and Erinle in his house. Raji claimed that he got these orişa from his father and he now calls in worshippers of these orişa to help him, for he does not know the rituals involved in their worship. He says:

> It is what causes mental illness if a man does not worship the traditional orişa. Going to church or to the mosque is for society, but the traditional religion is for health, long life, protection, and bearing children. [Yet, Raji takes Islam very seriously .] I do say my prayers five times a day in the mosque or at home.

Raji takes no chances in his approach to the unknown. Neither does Samuel Salubi, a Christian of Isolo, who uses Islamic protective medicine. Nor does Michael Odeku, a Christian who keeps Ẹṣu in the front as well as the back of his house. They all continue to propitiate the gods who control their destiny.

Simon Adeola speaks of an incident which happened to him, and in so doing indicates how the traditional ways are ingrained in the beliefs and behaviors of even the most educated. Simon is a Christian and a hunter. He is also a very faithful worshipper of Ogun (see pages 137-138). One day I met him coming from his farm. He seemed to be in great distress:

Simon: Wonders of wonders. Ahhh!!! It's a wonder. I was bringing a calabash of bamboo wine home and twenty yards from here it jumped up in the air and broke on the ground.

Samuel Ọmọtayọ: [A Christian and elder of the church who was walking with me.] He must now sacrifice to Ogun. You know that he is a hunter.

Simon: Two weeks ago I consulted an oracle of what I should do. I was told to sacrifice a cock, bamboo wine, kola nut, and roasted yam. I was to worship Adiere, the great grandfather of my father's mother. I sent to my younger brother about the date but he has not sent word back. This was a sign of displeasure because I tied the calabash tight to the back of my bicycle.

As elder of his family Simon must wait until the members of the family are ready to join him in this major sacrifice, for he has the primary responsibility for propitiation of the lineage's ancestors.

Raji Jibowu was correct when he said that joining the mosque or church was "for society". Most of the young people I spoke to said

that they had become a Christian or a Muslim because they were following their friends, "So that we may be playing together." This is also the response to questions about a person's enikeji playing with a friend's enikeji in the bush.

One final consideration: Yoruba orisa have dual characteristics. They can work to the benefit or to the detriment of the people. Olorun is the Supreme God, yet it is believed that he is indifferent to man's plight. Yemoja brings the benefit of water but also causes drowning and flooding. Obatala created people but got drunk upon palm wine and made cripples, hunchbacks, and albinos. Eleqbara is the messenger of the gods, but he is also the trickster. (See U. Beier (1953:17-25) and J. Wescott (1962:336-353).)

NOTES

[1]Babalawo is the term for the Ifa diviner. Ifa is the God of Divination. The Babálawo is also known as the Ifa priest. Through the memorization of many verses called odu and the casting of either kola nuts, cowrie shells, opele or other devices the priest is able to divine the proper odu for the occasion. "After...16 main odu there follow 16 subordinate odu called omon odu giving a total of 256 odu. After each of these 256 follow a further 16 odu thus forming a grand total of 4096. For each of these 4096, there is a couplet or story..." (Abraham 1963: 375-376).

[2]According to Peel (1964), the Cherubim and Seraphim cult was largely founded by Moses Orimolade, an illiterate old man from Ikare, in Lagos in 1925. He had been preaching for about six years previously and had enjoyed contacts with leaders of the African Church. It was not originally planned as a separate church and attracted many clergymen and members of Lagos' Creole families. By 1928, however, it had taken on an independent existence. When Orimolade died in 1933 it had already split into four groups and has since suffered further fission. But in 1927 it spread inland and took root especially in Abeokuta and Ondo. Unlike C.A.C. Christ Apostolic Chruch it owes little to outside stimulation; its doctrines--particularly its use of visions and its aesthetically pleasing rituals--are largely indigenous.

[3]This okpa is a long, thin, strong stick with one or two metal rings encircling its top. It is used for killing animals in the bush. During the recent political turmoil it was also used for cracking the heads of political opponents.

[4]A.B. Ellis (1894) presents a useful discussion of the origins and relative importance of many of the orisa of Yorubaland.

[5]The efe singer is a person who composes and sings songs relating to social events of the past year including admonishing the people and the elders for bad behavior and reminding them of their obligations and responsibilities. U. Beier (1958) believes that there is also the feeling that Gẹlẹdẹ is to placate witches. The dancers of the Gẹlẹdẹ are men but the senior titles of the cult belong to women; "God gave the world to the witches They have permission to kill. Witches are mothers. All prayers to witches are to mothers addressed as awon iyawa."

[6]This might be due to the fact that they are involved in making and repairing hoes and traps. These are simple tasks with which they have had much experience. There is little chance and few unknown factors involved in these activities. The life of the hunter is far different, much more chanceful and subject to danger.

[7]The herbs and leaves which are generally put into the hole where the ogun tree is planted are the dundun, tete and rinrin leaves and ori butter which comes from the emi tree.

[8]An ancient Ogun shrine which I saw in one of the old abandoned family hamlets consisted of several tree stumps. One of these had a cowrie shell encircled by red beads which made the whole thing look like a cyclops. These stumps were surrounded by several iron blades lying on the ground. Behind all this was an empty beer bottle, reputed to hold special oils. All this was chained and locked together to one of the main supports of the shelter in which the whole thing was contained.

[9]Abraham (1958: 266) lists Ibeji as "the deity of twins". His discussion of the rituals for ensuring the survival of twins is substantiated by my findings.

[10]There were few really good Ifa priests in the town. I did not call upon the acting head man for information about Ifa divination because of his age and the constant interruptions by people coming to see why I was at his house. Other interruptions would occur because people wished to obtain his services as an Ifa priest. The man whom I had engaged to teach me some of the rudiments of Ifa divination died before I could really begin my studies.

[11]William Bascom (1956) presents an interesting discussion of this subject. Bascom's findings differ considerably from those presented in this paper. An example of this divergence is when Bascom says that "The second is the shadow (ojiji) which may also be spoken of as the 'cast' (idana) like the skin shed by a snake. The shadow has no function during life; it does nothing but follow the body around."

[12]It should be noted that Sikiru originally went to this woman because his small child was ill. He wanted to determine the reason for the child's illness.

[13]This means that an Ifa diviner cast his beads and the Odu Egbe came out. The Egbe goes something to the effect of "...your question is good...

[13] cont. There will be profit in your work and travels. You will have luck in your chilren, money, and travels. You will have luck in your children, money, marrying good women or husband and peace. If this odu comes out for the person who asks he will get titles and home. His life will be good and he will have victory over his enemies and bad things will become joy for this odu is good for every good thing."

[14] I subscribe to Idowu's opinion (1963: 137), The subject of divination and the odu is extremely complex and does not constitute the primary purpose of this paper. Therefore, little more will be said about it. For a more detailed discussion see Bascom (1942) and Clarke (1939).

[15] Because most of my work was done in Ibara Orile I could not determine whether or not people had moved from there to Ibara Omida because of the evil effects that the witches of the former had upon their families.

CHAPTER VI

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

As noted earlier (pages 7-9), the major part of this research was carried out in the village of Ibara Orile. The people also belong to the Ibara Omida township of Abẹokuta. It is in Ibara Omida that the full character and richness of the cultural life of the people of the Ibara kingdom occurs. All the important chiefs ritual specialists and elders who have the greatest knowledge of the history and families of the kingdom live in Omida. The decision to confine the major research activities to the orile made participation in the social, political, and cultural life of Omida practically impossible. In an earlier study of the social structure of the Egba, the Leighton group (1963: 290) was forced to make a similar lament:

> Undoubtedly the lineages and lineage segments would have loomed larger in the social organization had we been able to study at greater length in the religious and kinship ceremonial activities which are centered in the city compounds.

Forde (1951), Bascom (1942), Schwab (1955), Marshall (1964), and others have described various Yoruba groups as patrilineal, patrilocal, and exogamous. Increasingly, authors like Marshall (1964), the Leighton group (1963), and Lloyd (1962) have suggested that such terminology does little justice to the many options for affiliation, residence, and marriage which the Yoruba people can and do exercise.

Leighton et. al. have pointed to the differences between their expectations of strong lineage loyalties and the actual lack of interest in the

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patrilineal aspects of social organization which they found existing among the Ẹgba and Ẹgbado people in the villages they studied:

> Some of the questions systematically asked of all respondents were wrong questions in the sense that the phenomena to which they refer do not exist among the Ẹgba. The most important topic in which this happened was the lineage...At the same time there seems relatively little development of the lineage principle--the host of ancestors extending backward and outward in time and identified with a particular area of land. Not only is the usual Yoruba term for lineage--idile--unfamiliar, but so too is the concept. Unfamiliar also are the usual terms and concepts for matrisegment and patrisegment. It seems probable that the reasons for this difference in social organization are rooted in the widespread disruption caused by the Dahomean wars of the last century. [1963: 213].

In a later section of the same volume, Hughes returns to this problem:

> Among the Ẹgba, at least in those villages surrounding Abẹokuta, lineage is relatively less important in structuring social, economic, and political life than it is in other sub-tribes. [1963: 289-290]

In his recent discussions of the Yoruba social structure, Lloyd has been very cautious and has indicated that the Yoruba have both agnatic and cognatic descent lines among their various groups:

> But the northern Yoruba--Ọyọ, Ekiti, Ẹgba--have agnatic lineages while the southern Yoruba--Ijẹbu, Ondo--have cognatic descent groups [1962: 33-34]

Later, in a section devoted to the people of the Ẹgba Division, Lloyd first speaks of these people as a patrilineal in their organization. He then adds the following caveat:

> There is, however, a modern tendency for corporate descent groups to be formed. Two factors seem primarily responsible for this modification. For many decades Ẹgba men have been acquiring individual property--not only in houses and cocoa (see pages 102-106) but also in land..or by purchase. The acceptance of some English concepts, introduced by returned slaves...has led women to claim a share of their father's property which they not only hold during their lifetime but pass, in turn, to their issue. [1962: 232]

Lloyd continues this discussion of cognate descent by pointing to the fact that daughters now have legal rights of inheritance (upheld in court)

to their fathers' property, and they can pass it down to their offspring. Lloyd also notes that many men who have been brought up in their mother's father's compounds "develop close emotional ties with their mother's lineages and may be given land to build or farm but rarely lose formal membership in their father's lineages" (1962:232). In his discussion Lloyd shows that he is prepared to refer to the Egba as either cognatic or lineage in the organization of their wider kinship groupings.

The people of the orile are basically patrilineal in descent and patrilocal in residence, with marriage being outside their patrilineage. However, much of their social behavior suggests a secondary cognatic descent system exists, indicating that patrilineage, patrilocal, and exogamous definitions of their structural patterns are only the beginning of understanding their social organization.[1]

Most of the people I spoke to could say little about the names and histories of relatives above the second ascending generation. They were not interested in developing knowledge of their ancestors or of the corporate aspects of their lineage. They exhibited more interest in the elaboration of relationships with a wide range of people and, with the possible exception of property, often appeared to subordinate their concern for patrilineal relatives. This behavior is quite compatible with their emphasis upon individual freedom, success, and popularity, traits which can only be realized at the expense of the vigor and exclusiveness of familistically oriented groups.

In the following discussions it will be shown that the nomenclature of kinship groupings reflects both their patrilineal and cognative organization. Next, the basic patrilineal descent system will be analyzed.

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Then there will be a discussion of terms of address and reference with particular emphasis upon the manner in which these terms reflect the principle of seniority, support the cognatic organization, and suggest ways in which the people utilize familial behavior to modify the challenges of social change. The last section will include discussions of the marriage, landholding and inheritance patterns, and the organization of households.

Nomenclature of Kinship Groups

The kinship terminology of the people of Yorubaland has been explicated in publications of the Church Missionary Society (1913), Bascom (1942), Forde (1951), Lloyd (1955), Schwab (1955, 1958), and Abraham (1958). These writers interpret the term "idile" (root of the house) to refer to a corporate group of patrilineally related families. Forde points out that "...ideally an idile is localized in one town, but, if, as is not uncommon, some members have established a new compound in another town, they do not thereby establish a new idile." As long as members can trace patrilineal descent from a common ancestor they regard one another as "ibaton" (patrikin). Forde also uses the terms "isoko" and "origun" to denote smaller units within the wider patrilineally extended group:

> There are segments of wider lineage. An isoko is a recognized lineage of descendants of a patrilineal ancestor three or four generations back. Where the idile is small, it and the largest recognized isoko are coterminous. Segmentation, with the recognition of separate isoko units, tend to follow the passage of a headship to the third generation. An origun is a segment whose members are descended from a single wife of a patrilineal ancestor. The smallest origun or 'little origun' consists of the children of one mother by a man of the lineage. Schwab states that these two units are also recognized in Ibadan, Ife, and Ogbomosho, where the origun is known by the same name and the isoko as isori [1951: 12].

Schwab (1955: 352-371) also contends that the Yoruba kinship system is based on the segmentary lineage system traced in the agnatic line. For him the most important unit is the corporate patrilineage (idile) which "is the most extensive agnatic group comprising those persons, male or female, who are able to trace relationships by a series of accepted genealogical steps through the male line to a known or putative founding ancestor and theoretically to each other." Schwab defines "origun" as "the group within the idile defined by reference to a common progenetrix" (1955: 353) while "isoko" or "isori" is a segment descended from a common male ancestry.

For the most part, Marshall follows Schwab in her discussions of Yoruba terminology. According to Marshall:

> Idile embraces all patrilineally related descendents from the original founder of the compound and lineage, and since titles which rest in a compound should circulate among the patrilineal segments of the lineage which form the core of the compound, persons who want to claim the right to a title are concerned about asserting rights to affiliation with a given iko, if they are not too concerned that the people will know that they do not belong to the idile...Since women as well as men are part of the iko their sons can claim right to the property of their mothers. 1964: 62-65

"Ebi" (family or relative) is a more general term than "idile" and refers to relatives in both the mother's and father's lineages. In most daily conversation there seems to be little distinction in meaning between the use of "ebi" and "ibaton" (won ba mi tan) literally defined as meaning "related to me". As Simon Adeola insisted:

> Ebi or ibaton, there is no difference. They both mean family. If I have a family in England and I went there I would seek out first my ebi or idile baba mi my father's lineage if they were there and I felt closer to them.[2]

It will be noted that although my informant started his comments with comparison of "ẹbi" and "ibaton" he soon dropped the less useful "ibaton" and spoke only in terms of "ẹbi" and "idile". The emphasis upon "ẹbi" and "idile" is more compatible with the actual patterns of social interaction. In his discussions of Yoruba social structure Lloyd (1962: 31-37) avoids entirely using the term "ibaton". Relatives (ẹbi), no matter what degree, are very important because of the high probability that ego will wish to seek shelter and support with one of them (idile baba mi, idile iya mi, idile iya baba mi, idile baba iya mi, etc.). Simon's brief comments reveal his thinking on possible places of refuge in emergency.

Despite the possible analytic usefulness of the terms "idile", "ibaton", "ẹbi", "iko", "origun", and the like, in practice, people do not make many distinctions between them. For the most part, the people do notthink of their kinfolk and lineages in these terms. For example, I hardly ever heard them use the word "idile", nor did I hear them use the word "ibaton" except when I asked them the meanings of these terms. And I certainly never detected the use of the words "iko", "isoko" and "origun".

The dictionaries, several informants and a Yoruba linguist all indicated little familiarity with the term "origun" (sometimes confused and reinterpreted by my informants as "orisun"), used to define the founder of the lineage. Those who could respond to my questions insisted that the term "origun" meant "corner" while the term "orisun" is most often applied to the source of a river. This usage agrees with Abraham (1958: 481) and the Church Missionary Society (1913: 178). Most of my informants claimed that the proper term for children of one progenitrix is "omo iya".

Attempts to get more precise specification of such terminology as

"idile", "ẹbi" and "ibaton" were made. Generally the people included more relatives under the term "ẹbi" than they would subsume under the other terms. Lloyd has commented on this usage.

> The term 'family' is widely used by literate Yoruba today with as little precision as it is used in English; it may connote any group from the smallest nuclear family of man-wife-child to several thousand persons tracing descent from a common ancestor through many generations. The word is imprecise and would be better avoided. But it is no less precise than the Yoruba word ẹbi which it translates. 1962:31

Samuel Salubi of Isolo claimed that his daughter's children would be considered his "ibaton". Joseph Adewale of Isolo said that children born of the same father but different mothers are called "ibaton". Joseph's ideas conflict with Samuel's interpretation because Joseph would not consider his daughter's children his "ibaton". Joseph says:

> Ibaton and idile are the same. Born of the same father but of different mothers.

For Joseph, the term "ẹbi" includes children of his daughter's lineage. In speaking of Samson Adedoyin, of Oke Afin, and his children, the man his daughter married, Joseph says, "They are ọnọ (in-laws); they are ẹbi." Samson Adedoyin agreed that children of the same mother and father are to be considered "idile" while father's and mother's collaterals and the children of these collaterals are to be considered "ibaton". Abraham (1958:273) considers "idile" to mean "clan" and "major patilineal group".

Analysis of many conflicting statements suggests that Joseph Adewale and Samson Adedoyin are more correct than Samuel Salubi. Their reports indicate that they consider a consanguineal relation basis as underlying the proper definition of "ibaton". In this regard, they support the findings of Forde (1951), Church Missionary Society (1913), and Abraham (1958). However, several people joined with Samuel to give definitions of "ibaton" which included daughter's and sister's children within the concept. Samuel Salubi's error, if it can be called such, reflects the

tendency to generalize all relationships as "ẹbi" (family). Samuel's "error" also reflects the need to concretize relationships between the disparate cognatic relatives who live under the umbrella of "ẹbi" and to establish fictive relationships (see pages 192-193) in terms of inheritance of lands and titles.

Figure 1 represents a scheme of kinship categories as extrapolated from both informants' statements and the literature. Figure 2, page 180 represents a scheme of the most honorific language which the people use. This language reflects the principle of seniority which is an essential feature of all kin and non-kin relationships.

The Lineage

There are several means by which people can claim membership in an extended lineage. The most valid credentials a person has for inclusion in his lineage are his knowledge and the knowledge of his elders of the genealogy of his family. Following this, in descending order of importance, are the origins of the land he inherits and holds, the ownership of particular praise names (oriki) and praise songs (sunrara=a type of musical oriki), recognition of a common ancestor, and his taboos.

An extended lineage usually consists of an old man, his sons and daughters, his sons' children, his brothers and his brother's children, and the children of his father's younger brothers. It is possible that, through adoption and assimilation (see pages 202-203), a great variety of non-patrilineally related relatives can become members of the lineage.

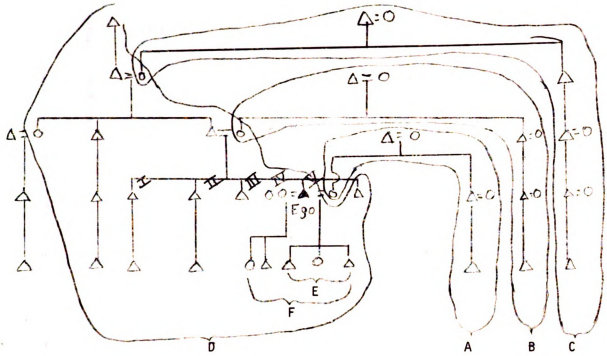
All members of a particular lineage trace their origins through a series of patrilineally related males to a common founder, now deified.

FIGURE 1

SCHEME OF KINSHIP CATEGORIES

FIGURE 1

SCHEME OF KINSHIP CATEGORIES
(EXTRAPOLATIONS OF INFORMANTS STATEMENTS)

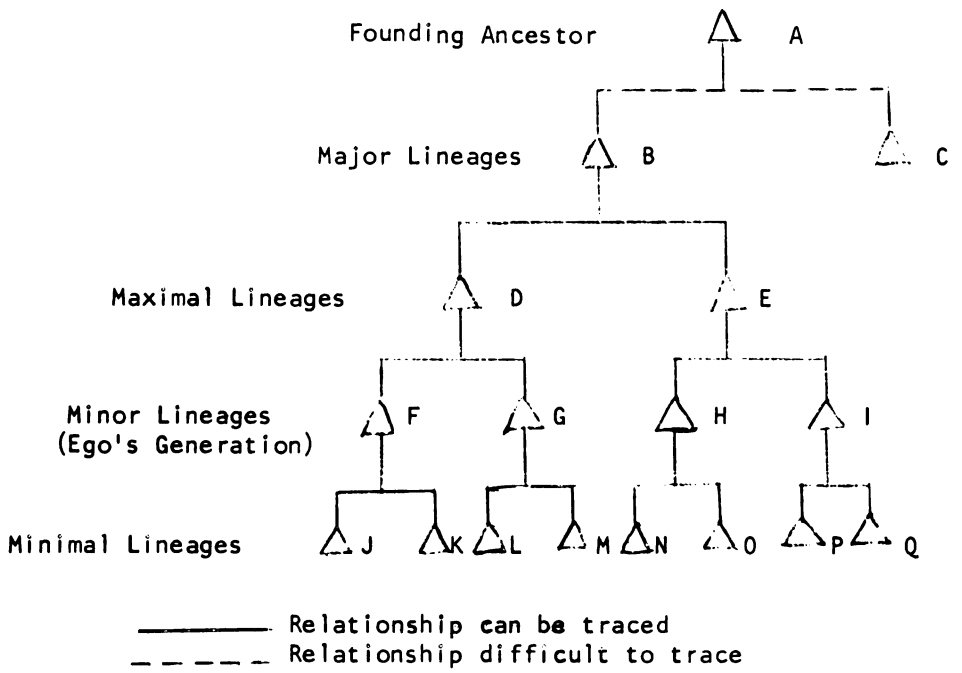


A = idile iyawo mi (family of my wife), or idile ano mi (my affines)
B = idile iya mi (family of my mother)
C = idile iyawo baba baba mi (family of my father's father's wife)
D = ibaton mi (implication of consanguineal relationships)
E = omo iya (children of one mother)
F = Obakon (children of one father)

Not infrequently, it is claimed that this ancestor was first to migrate into the countryside and was either a great warrior or hunter. Each of the males through whom the relationship to the founding ancestor is traced is the founder of a different segment of the lineage. Each current male member of the lineage is also potentially head of a new segment of the lineage and, in the future, all successive males will be potential heads of future segments of the lineage.

FIGURE 2

LINEAGE ORGANIZATION



Most of the people of the major lineage will not be able to specify their relationship to the founding ancestor. Thus, as illustrated in figure 2, the organization of a lineage may be thought of as comprising the long dead, distantly related, founding ancestor, the head of the major lineage who is the oldest remembered ancestor with whom ego can calculate a relationship, the maximal lineage (ego's father) the minor lineage (ego), and the minimal lineage (ego's children).

In bare outline, the lineage is segmentary, dividing at each generation, according to the number of males who marry and produce children. Each father is the head of a new segment of the lineage. Through him, his children relate themselves to the living and dead members of all segments of the lineage and to the founding ancestor.

Membership in the lineage is perpetual. Although a member of a lineage dies he remains a vital part of the lineage system. His origins, his children, his lands, and the orisa he worshipped become incalculably important factors in the lives of the people in the succeeding generations of his lineage. His survivors will remember him in their prayers and he will be called upon, through the medium of their prayers, for help and guidance. He will be remembered during their celebrations of the annual Egungun festival. In all likelihood the founding ancestors and later "hero" ancestors of the lineage have been deified and are actively worshipped as orisa. Shrines of the lineage's important gods are often kept in their houses in Ibara Omida.

Not all ancestors are equally important. Some of the ancestors of the lineage might not have had children and will, therefore, be of little

consequence. It would be as if they never existed. As one very old man said weeping, "I came to this world and left my children behind me. I do not know who will bury me". (see page 467).

Although some ancestors might have had children their lineage still might have eventually withered. In these cases they and their dead children will be of little help with the life problems confronted by the remaining segments of the family. Such ancestors, who were heroes or rich land owners, will be absorbed into the other segments of the lineage so that their beneficial qualities might provide guidelines for behavior; their properties might be meaningfully retained and redistributed to surviving members of the family; and so that their orisa might not be neglected.

Not all living members of a lineage are equally interested in their predecessors. Ancestors of the preceding generations, above their father's father's generation, might be dropped out of their genealogical reckoning so that the founding father's generation, or some "hero" ancestor's generation will appear closer to the present generation than is actually the case. This neglect is more natural for the youth of the lineage whose interest in remembering the genealogy has not been whetted by the responsibility of maintaining harmony with the departed ancestors; an activity which falls only to the elders. The youth's attention to his predecessors and the force these ancestors have in his life may be rudely awakened when he finds that the Babalawo attributes his ill fortune to his failure to sacrifice to a long neglected ancestor. Through divination the need for such sacrifices may be impressed upon him as an

appropriate means of insuring his future success.

The genealogical record of the Ganiyu Ọmọloku family of Oke Afin is a particularly interesting example of this tendency to arrange genealogies according to the surviving members' interests and involvements. Ganiyu is the elder of the various segments of the Ọmọloku lineage living in Ibara Orile. He was very cooperative about giving me genealogical information. He felt that the record of his family should be included in my notes. Yet, Ganiyu could only go back two generations to the ancestor hero of the family who stayed and farmed in the orile when everyone else ran from the Dahomean invaders during the latter part of the last century.

The fact that this ancestor was the only person to remain in the orile during those years and that he farmed land within the walls of the old kingdom has led to several problems of land ownership. The Ọmọloku lineage now claims large sections of the land within the town walls. The old lineages of Idofin and Oke Afin dispute this claim. The people of the Ọmọloku lineage invest most of their land claims, much of their honor, and a considerable amount of their prestige in the importance of the old warrior. They claim that they cannot remember ancestors of greater antiquity than old warrior Ọmọloku. Ganiyu, the family elder, cannot even say anything about his mother's family beyond his mother's own generation. Ganiyu claims that he was raised in the orile and, although his mother came from the Aṣegba township of Abẹokuta, he insists that he has never known his mother's people.

Succession--As the men of the family marry and start their own families they move out of their father's house to build homes of their own or to seek their fortunes in distant places. Although some may go to Ibadan, Kano, or Lagos they will continue to consider the oldest living male relative remaining in Ibara Omida, the village, or small hamlet as the elder of the family. When this man dies his position is ordinarily taken by the next oldest male in the family.

If there is no younger brother to succeed him, his oldest son usually takes his place. In any event, the oldest remaining male who can claim membership in the family would ordinarily become the nominal head of the family. This procedure is quite compatible with the people's concern about acknowledgement of seniority in their social relations (see pages 187-193). However, if the oldest remaining male in the lineage is someone who has not spent his life in the Ibaras, he would still have the position of the head of the lineage; however, his effectiveness would be considerably diminished. He would not have the requisite experience and knowledge of lineage history, affairs, and its position or that of its members in relation to the other lineages of the kingdom.

In these terms, considering figure 2, page 180, person B, the oldest living member of the lineage would be the acknowledged head followed by person C. When B and C die the oldest living male at the maximal lineage level would become the acknowledged elder of the lineage. If the oldest person at this level is D, his younger brother, E, would still be the head of his descendants although he would recognize the seniority, knowledge, and position of D, his older brother.

Titles -- The titles (see pages 250-251) which belong to the lineages are distributed according to seniority and talent. The death of a chief means that the bereaved lineage must eventually present a successor to the Olubara and the chiefs of the kingdom. Such an interregnum is often a time for much political activity between the members of the lineage. This competition will occur among the various segments of, as well as among the individual members of, the lineage. The title does not necessarily go to the oldest member of the lineage, nor does it simply rotate among the various segments of the lineage. Political talent and money are often equally important considerations.

Family Association -- It is usual that the members of the patrilineage meet in the home of their elder each fortnight. These meetings, termed "ẹgbẹ ẹbi" (family association) are devoted to the discussion of problems of mutual concern to the participating members of the patrilineage. Land disputes, the borrowing of money, farm problems, student problems, sickness, bride payments, and lineage participation in the celebrations of Egungun, Gẹlẹdẹ, and funerals are among the many items which are considered in these meetings.

As segments of Ibara patrilineages grow in other parts of Yorubaland and Nigeria the members living in these distant places continue to think of the lineage compound in Ibara Omida as their real home. If these people become wealthy and important, their general value to the lineage increases. They are the people who have the knowledge and literacy to deal with government agencies and they can give aid and advice to

lineage members. They are the people who will insure that the young men and women of the lineage have opportunities to continue schooling and secure good jobs. Their excursions back to Ibara Omida are important social occasions. Members of the patrilineal family living in the outlying hamlets and villages come to Omida to meet and talk, and to seek their favor.

Cognatic Features-- Although both sons and daughters have life membership in their father's lineage, there are cognatic characteristics of their social organization which also permit people to become 'members' in their mother's patrilineage. It sometimes happens that a child is raised in his mother's compound and has minimal contact with his patrilineally related family. In time, the child comes to know the people and customs of his mother's family, and, through lack of contact, becomes alienated from his father's compound. The child will come to participate in the affairs of his mother's family. In the case of a male child, if he is talented, as he grows older he might take positions of leadership in his mother's family. It is even possible that he might, in his old age, become the head of his mother's minor segment and his children's identity become merged with his mother's compound and, eventually with her patrilineage.

An example of this submersion of a minor segment in the mother's patrilineage is the case of the Olubara who came to his position through affiliation, adoption, and absorption into his mother's patrilineage. His case is discussed more thoroughly in pages 243-244 Long ago Jonnson noted:

> Some girls of noble birth will marry below their rank, but would have their children brought up in their own home and among their father's children and adopt his totem. An illegitimate child if not acknowledged by the supposed father cannot adopt his totem but the mother's, especially if a female. [1921:86]

The Principle of Seniority Social relations are predicated upon the recognition of positions of relative seniority. The classificatory terminology of reference and address reflects the importance of considerations of seniority as vital to the structure of interpersonal relations, the extension of which permits the use of this terminology, and associated behavior in non-kin, as well as kin, relationships.

The kinship terminology which is familiar and most symbolic of their understanding of social relationships is a language which recognizes and emphasizes differences in seniority. Bascom (1942:37-46) first discussed and elaborated the "Principle of Seniority" among the Yoruba. Following Bascom, seniority is here considered to imply more than relative age. In this discussion of kinship and in other sections of this thesis it will be shown that seniority is based upon such factors as relative time of affiliation with the lineage, as well as demonstration of superior talents in accumulating and distributing critical skills and materials. A rich man, a highly educated man, or a man with an important title may be elevated to a higher position over a person who may be his elder. An elevation in seniority often results from a personal or family history of pioneering. Thus, the people of Oke Afin will always be considered senior to the other people of the orile (see pages 36,88-93). The first wife of a polygynous household will always have unique privileges in her husband's house (see pages 356-358: the men of the first Imam's

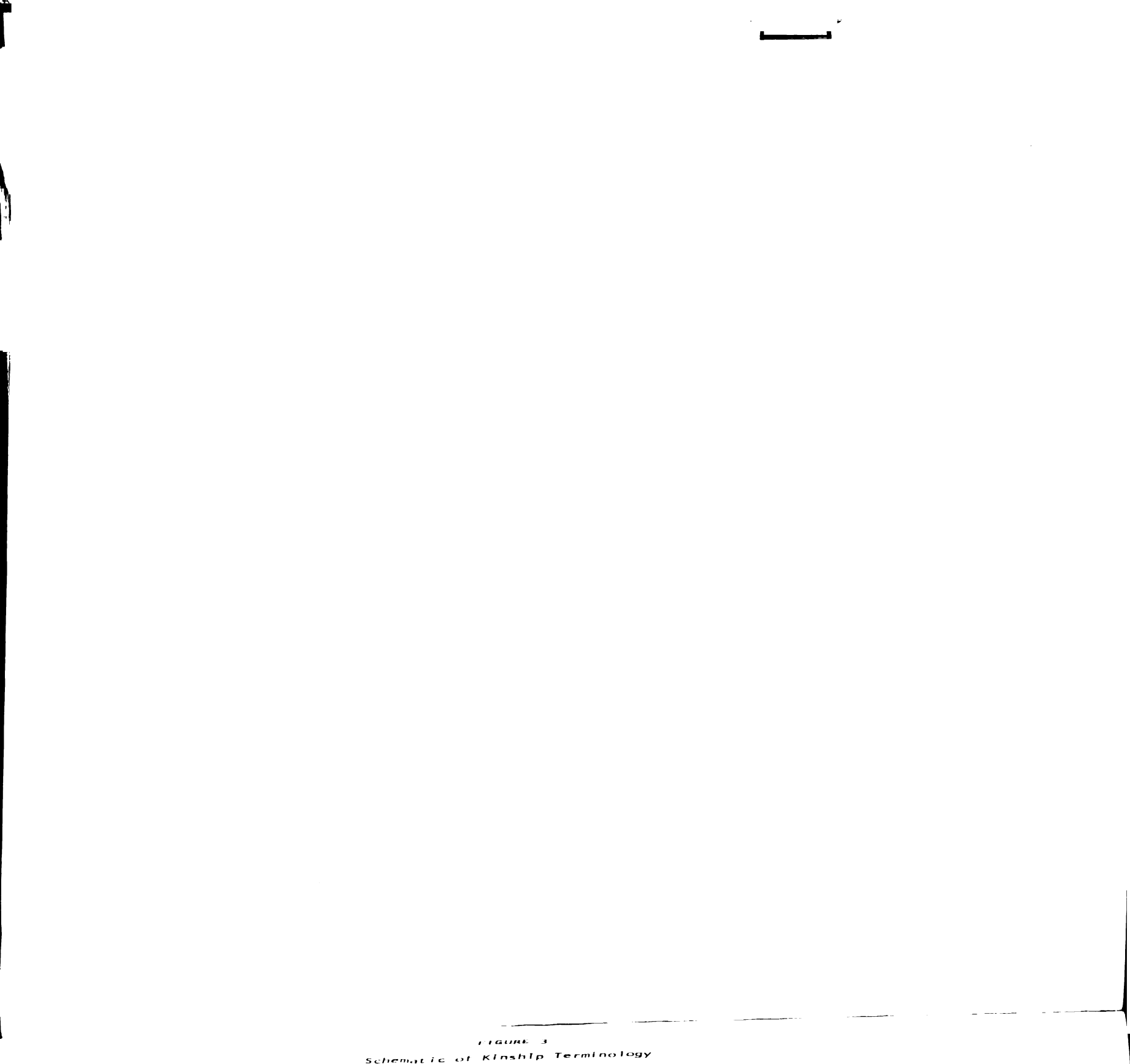
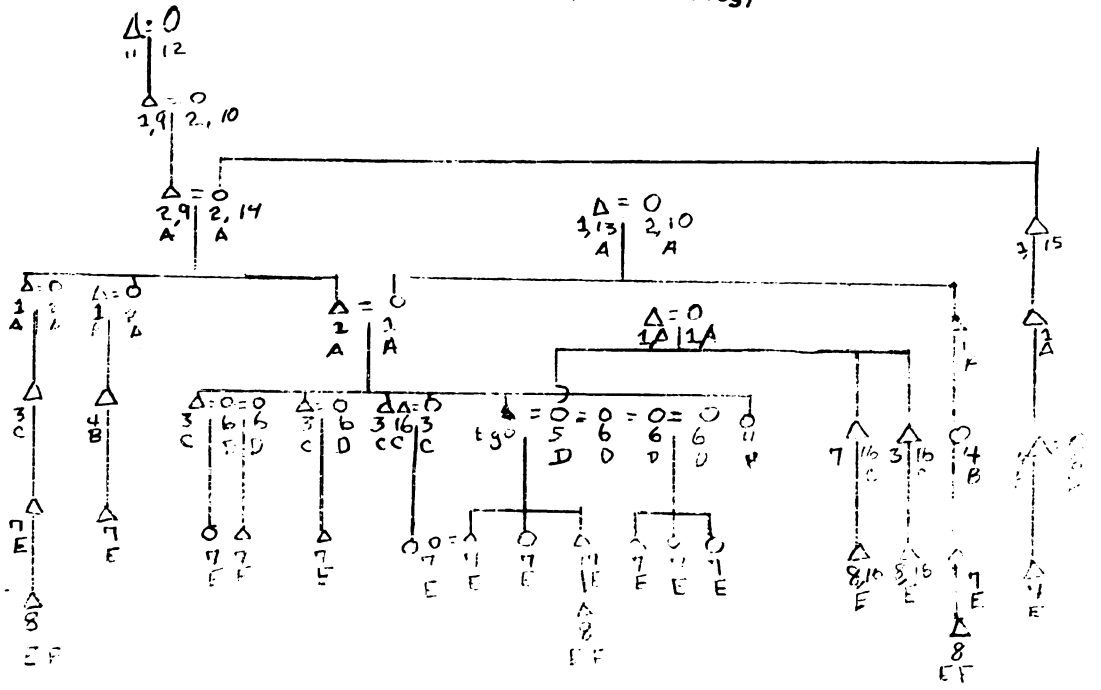


FIGURE 3
Schematic of Kinship Terminology

FIGURE 3

Schematic of Kinship Terminology



Note: The emphasis is placed upon the illustration of the honorific terminology which reflects the Principle of Seniority as it occurs in terms of address and terms of reference.

Honorific terminology is considered to be the highest level of respect in both address and reference as distinguised from the less honorific, descriptive, and derivative terminology and the use of personal names.

Arabic numbers indicate the terminology Ego uses in address and reference to others. Alphabetic designations indicate the terminology others use in both their addressing and referring to Ego. Roman numerals designate order of birth.

KEY TO FIGURE 3

Yoruba Terms*	English Translation
1. baba	father
2. iya	mother
3. ẹgbọn, ogboni**	senior sibling
4. aburo	junior sibling
5. iyale	senior wife
6. iyawo	wife
7. ọmọ	child
8. ọmọ ọmọ (mi)	child of (my) child
9. baba baba (mi), baba agba	father of (my) father, old father
10. iya iya (mi), iya agba	mother of (my) mother, old mother
11. baba nla	great father
12. iya nla	great mother
13. baba iya (mi)	father of (my) mother
14. iya baba (mi)	mother of (my) father
15. baba iya baba (mi)	father of the mother of (my) father
16. ano	affine

A. ọmọ	my child
B. ẹgbọn, ogboni	my senior sibling
C. aburo	my junior sibling
D. bale, oko	my husband
E. baba	my father
F. baba agba	old father

*Normally these terms are followed by genitive form, first person pronoun.

**Ogboni mi is really an Egbado term. I am told that it replaces egbon mi in the more traditional sections of Egbadoland. Egbon mi is not heard in Ilaro. Ogboni mi is not heard in Abeokuta with the exception of Ibara Omida.

patrilineage will always be considered the proper applicants for the positions of Immam and Alpha (see pages 122-123); the cocoa buyer at the Farmers' Cooperative Buildings justifiably assumes his father's position (see page 322); and the whole pattern of land law is based upon the rule of "Who came first?" (see pages 196-198).

For ego, in his family (ẹbi) relationships, the articulation of this principle is reflected in the kinship terminology he utilizes when speaking to, or referring to, family members in ascending generations. The most honorific terminology for the men of these generations will always be "baba mi" (my father) while the honorific terminology for the women of these generations will be "iya mi" (my mother). These terms will be sufficient for all senior members of the ascending generations in any household in which ego can claim some membership.

Ego can be more specific in his address and references by speaking of members of the second ascending generation in such more descriptive, but less honorific terms as "baba baba mi" (father of my father) or derivative terminology, "baba agba" (old father). An equally specific, but less honorific, language involves the use of teknonymic terms such as "baba baba Jubrila" (father of the father of Jubrila).

The most usual reciprocal terms which people addressed as "baba" and "iya" use is "ọmọ mi" (my child). If, for some reason the elders wish to be more specific, as in the instance when there are several children in the vicinity, who can be referred to as "ọmọ mi", they will use personal names or more descriptive and teknonymic terminology.

The principle of seniority also defines ego's social usages in his

interactions with people of his own generation. Thus, the terms "ẹgbọn", and the more honorific "ọgboni", are used in addressing and referring to all older "ẹbi" (family) of the same generation. The term "aburo" is used to refer to all younger "ẹbi" of the same generation. Again, these terms denote considerations of seniority and indicate respect and affection. Teknonymic, derivative, and descriptive terminology can also be utilized. Such pidgin terms as "broda" and "aunti" are finding increasing popularity and use among the people of the same generation.

Following the principle of seniority, children must adhere, most closely, to the terminology of honorific address. Like their parents they must call elders of the ascending generation "baba" and "iya" and they must use descriptive and teknonymic terminology. They must never call their elders by name. They can, however, call a young wife who has just married into the family "iyawo" (wife). When such a wife gives birth to children the terminology may be elevated to a teknonymic term such as "mother of so and so"; but this does not necessarily occur.

In most instances, with the exception of elderly women, a wife who has had no children is usually called "iyawo" by the men of the family and by their senior wives. If she has living children, she is usually known and addressed tecknonymically in terms of the name of her oldest living child.

Recourse to descriptive terminology is a very popular means of addressing and identifying senior women who have no living children. Thus, a woman who sells rice might be known as "iya onirẹsi" (mother of rice). Wives address and speak of their husbands as "bale mi" (father of

the house I live in) or they may use the elementary terminology "oko mi" (my husband). "Bale mi" is the more honorific of the two terms and is most likely to be utilized by very young wives. Wives also use teknonymy in addressing their husbands. The principle of seniority is again reflected in this usage, despite the fact of a polygynous marriage, for wives will call their husbands by the name of their husband's most senior child.

Young wives who enter a polygynous house must call their senior wives "iyale" (senior wife) or use teknonymic terminology such as "mother of (the senior wife's oldest child's name)". They must not call children who are in the house before their arrival by anything other than pet names. For this purpose the young wife will look for a special quality in the child and use this quality as a name. If the young wife finds a child of the house is going to school she will call this child "akowe" (clerk). As noted above, he will call her "iyawo" (wife).

Extensions of The Principle of Seniority Ego uses honorific address based upon considerations of seniority in his interactions with anybody who might be considered within the scope of the terminology "ebi", "idile", or "ibaton". Thus, if ego travels to a distant place and wishes to stay with relatives of some remotely related relative, knowledge of the proper kinship terminology, role behavior, and recirocals is immediately available to all participating parties and the relationship can be engaged with considerably less fumbling and exploratory behavior.

The principle of seniority is a structural rule by which the people of the orile arrange their social relationships. As a principle, it is a template upon which is drawn a configuration of alternatives to changing social situations. It is a beginning means of social and psychological orientation of ego vis-a-vis his interactions with other individuals. Its strength lies not in the rigidity with which it is interpreted, but, rather in the fact that it provides broad guides and tentative solutions to unique and challenging social situations. It permits the people to move from the familial social situations of the orile and Omida to the strange, more formal, social systems of contemporary Nigeria.

The people of the orile have long lived in a world of rapid social change where the assistance available from senior members of the family has often not been sufficiently effective to help them meet new and unfamiliar challenges in strange environments. It is behavior based upon the individual's understanding of the demands of the family-like senior-subordinate relationship which support him in his interactions with important strangers. It permits him to construct safe elder-junior relationships with people who can influence his life for good or evil.

Marriage

Among the people of the orile, marriage is exogamous, polygynous, and, allowing for the exceptions described in Chapter XI, virilocal. There are no cross-cousin or parallel cousin marriage proscriptions.

The people only say that relatives cannot marry. The major characteristics of their marriage patterns show elements of both the patrilineal and cognatic organization of their social structure. These marriage patterns are sufficiently varied to require separate consideration of their marriage and divorce practices (see Chapter XI). The present discussion will be limited to indicating the major structural characteristics of the marriage patterns.

The types of marriage familiar to, and practiced by, the people of the orile include traditional, levirate, Muslim, Christian, and seduction. All of these forms have traditional elements which emphasize the development of new relationships between the families of the bride and the groom. The definition of Muslim and Christian types of marriage include the presence of Muslim or Christian priests or the performance of the prayers and rituals peculiar to these religions at some point or points during the course of marriage procedures. Some of these marriages have only the barest vestiges of Christian or Muslim ritual. They are basically traditional marriages involving people who, at the time of their marriage, identified with either one or the other faith. Even marriage by seduction, as contrasted with concubinage, must include traditional elements; that is, the accumulation and distribution of bride payments.

Marriage is the establishment of relationships, primarily, between two patrilineages (ibaton) and, secondarily, between four idiles. The involvement of the four idiles are supportive of their cognative organization. The patrilineages involved are ego's patrilineage and

ego's bride's patrilineage. The idiles involved are idile baba ego (ego's father's idile), idile iya ego (ego's mother's idile), idile baba iyawo ego (ego's bride's father's idile) and idile iya iyawo ego (ego's bride's mother's idile).

Traditionally, it is expected that ego's father, representing the patrilineage, will provide the bride payment for ego's first wife. If ego has been raised in his mother's idile, ego's father is still expected to provide the bride payment. If ego is a daughter living in some house other than the house of her father, the father and mother of ego must receive their share of their daughter's bride payments before their daughter can be considered married.

The bride payment which ego presents to the father of his bride is divided into equal parts. One portion is divided among the idile of the bride's father and is called babagbo (father hears). The other portion is divided among the idile of the bride's mother and is called iyagbo (mother hears).

When asked whom ego can marry, the people state that it is forbidden to marry family (ebi). The functioning of the patrilineal principle can be seen in a study of the people ego cannot marry. Essentially, ego cannot marry anyone of his own patrilineage, nor can he marry into any family which has received bride money from his patrilineage. However, most of the people can calculate their relatives only as distant as the second ascending generation and bride payments can only be given to living members of the family.

Thus, there is the possibility that after the passage of three

generations marriages between formerly proscribed groups can occur. In fact, such marriages do occur. During the discussion of marriage rituals (Chapter XI) it is noted that in traditional marriages sexual intercourse can legitimately occur in the bride's father's house before the marriage arrangements are completed. Under such conditions if impregnation occurs or children are born to such unions before serious objections are raised, the marriage will be permitted to endure.

Despite the involvement of the various idiles in the marriage of ego and his bride, it is ego's ibaton which claims the wife and the offspring of the marriage. The continuing practice of levirate demonstrates that the husband's patrilineage exercises its claim over the wife even after the death of the wife's husband.

Land Holding Patterns

The study of patterns of land holding and distribution tells much about the social organization of a people. Bohannon has spoken of land as a basic dimension of social relationships:

> Land is useful to human beings in two ways. One of these ways is that it is a necessary dimension of society. Human beings are material and they must exist in space. For this reason all social relationships and all social groups have a spatial element or dimension. Individuals and groups demand space not only in order to produce their material needs, but to maintain privacy or cultural exclusiveness and integrity. [1963:222]

T. O. Elias has set forth the outlines of the basic land holding practices among the Yorubas:

> The real unit of landholding is the family, and...the ascription of the ownership of land to the community

> or village is only accurate if viewed as a social aggregate. For even with the community of the village, occupation and control are decentralized, so to speak, the family, rather than the community or the village in fact exercises acts of ownership. The chief interest of the community or village in the land is the purely social and political one of maintaining group solidarity. [1951:91]

The people say that the land of the kingdom belongs to the king. Actually, the Olubara holds the land in trust for the people of his kingdom. As the king he is the symbol of the Ibara people and the protector of all the lands and territories within the kingdom.

There are, within the Ibara kingdom, two types of land; claimed lineage land and community land. The elders of the extended patrilineal family administer the claimed lineage land and ajudicate land disputes between the segments of the lineage. Extrafamilial land disputes are settled in the Olubara's court and in the civil courts. In the Olubara's court the Ibara chiefs, who are also lineage elders, act as advisors and assessors.

In earlier sections of this thesis it was noted that the ancient fathers of the people came to the countryside in migratory waves. Each successive incoming group of people received permission to settle and use part of the land from the predecessors. These early people created a community and crowned a king, the Olubara. Since land was abundant new migrants could have it for the asking. Such land became lineage land as long as the family was willing to make some claim to it. If a family granted land to a migrant and then, after some use, the migrant let the land lay unused to the extent that it appeared to be virgin forest, it

would be assumed that the land had been abandoned and would, therefore, revert back to the community. If the original granting lineage remembered the history of the land and became interested in pursuing its claim it could repossess the land. Otherwise, some new migrant or another family could ask the community, epitomized by the Olubara and his chiefs, the lineage elders, for the use of the land. If lineage land is allowed to remain fallow, to the extent that its regrowth obliterated all signs of previous cultivation, it could be presumed abandoned and would, unless the lineage reasserted its claim, revert back to the community and the authority of the Olubara and the elders of the kingdom, who knew the history of the land. The fact that there cannot be any unclaimed land in the kingdom means that strangers cannot freely squat on any land of the Ibara people.[4]

Patterns of Land Transfer Land not only provides food, it is also a source of capital. As such, there are a variety of ways in which it can be transferred. It can be borrowed, granted, and used as collateral or as interest on a loan. Some people claim that land can be sold; however, there is little evidence that any land of the kingdom of Ibara has been sold. The responsible elders insist that the lands of the kingdom cannot be sold. Johnson (1921:95), the historian, emphatically stated "Lands are never sold (original in italics) but are granted in perpetuity", and there has, in fact, been little selling of the land. Although a man can grant lands which he acquired through his own efforts, he cannot alienate lineage land without the consent of the lineage.

As in Johnson's time permanent trees and their crops are seldom alienated, although the land upon which they stand may be given over. In cases where the user of the land claims that he also has use of the trees on the land, suspicion that the land was actually sold may be justified. However, it can also mean that a loan has been made and the fruit of the trees are received as interest on the loan.

There are, in fact, a large number of possible temporary, semi-permanent, and permanent land grant arrangements. All of them complicated. The following conversation, with Peter Ọmọdele, illustrates some of the problems involved in the determination of patterns of land ownership and the variety of arrangements which can be made:

Peter: Tiamiu owns this land. He has all of this down to Simon Adeola's farm. Others may give him either money or crops for the use of his land. My own? I will not give him anything. I used to work the land past that point [points to a distant coconut tree] but I went to the hospital for my back. When I came back the owner had given the land to another person. If I want the land now I could take it. [The land is not now being used .]

O.O.: Who cut those palm trees down?

Peter: I got the owner's permission.

O.O.: If that tree stood now could you get fruit of it?

Peter: It belongs to Tiamiu. So far I keep the land clear and the bush away from his orange trees I can use the land without paying for it.

O.O.: Who gets the fruit from that tree over there?

Peter: It belongs to the people of Ologbo village. Ologbo village is now gone. [Ologbo was one of the old patrilineal hamlets which broke up as people moved to Ibara Orile, Abẹokuta, and elsewhere.] Tiamiu of the Olukonku village

[now a section of Idofin in Ibara Orile] now owns the land and has the rights to the trees. Tiamu is the eldest of the Ologbo patrilineage living in the area. He administers the lineage land. My father came from Ologbo village.

O.O.: But I thought your father came from Madi village?

Peter: He was born at Ologbo but he went to Madi as a baby. People could use any land they wanted then.

Among other things this conversation demonstrates that the giving of money does not mean the permanent transfer of land. When Peter spoke about not paying for the land he was giving me the right answer to the wrong question. He was telling me something important about the variety of land lease agreements possible. He was also telling me something about the role of the lineage elders in the management of its land. He also revealed one of the reasons why he did not have to give Tiamu money for the use of the land. His own words indicate that he is probably related to Tiamu, for his father came from the old kin based bush hamlet of Ologbo.

When Peter speaks of people being able to use any land they wanted when he was a child, he touches upon one of the crucial issues involved in land transference strategies. What is apparently an important concern in understanding these manipulations is the extent to which the land has been cleared and regrowth of its former uncleared state inhibited. This would be true whether there is much or little unclaimed land available. Phillips (1961:173) finds that clearing an acre of land by traditional methods without stumping may take from thirty-nine to fifty-five man days. Clearing such a site with stumping may take from 150 to 300 man days.

This is a considerable investment in time and labor.

It frequently happens that a farmer prefers to relinquish land which he has permitted to lie fallow too long; land which has developed too luxurious a secondary growth. He finds it cheaper to obtain a less wooded plot rather than spend his money for laborers to clear his land. People who have been granted land may lose the land if they fail to use it, or, in these terms, keep it clear. Thus, Abosede Onikede, one of the widows of the orile, explains the loss of her late husband's farms as the result of her inability to work the land:

> When my husband died I was unable to go to the farm and keep down the weeds. The owner took the farm back. He gave me the corn my husband planted.

Community Land The chiefs, as such, rather than as lineage elders, and the Olubara, are not as concerned with the unused lands outside of the old walls of the town of Ibara as they are with the land located inside the broken walls of the old town. At one time, during a court proceeding, the Olubara tried to generalize about his responsibilities and the rules of land tenure within the old town walls:

> I am not the owner of the lands. I just settle arguments. There is communal land on which nobody but the king and the chiefs can decide. When those people ran away during the time of the abandonment of the kingdom the land became communal. After the wars when they came back they could get their land back. But some people have made their farms inside the walls. They cannot claim this land as theirs.

It has been the great influx of people back to the old town site which has caused the Olubara and his chiefs to focus their energies on problems of the administering of lands lying inside of the old town walls.

There is sufficient community land inside the old town walls that a person may obtain land simply by presenting some kola and bamboo wine to the Olubara and his chiefs.

Claimed lineage land, within the walls of the town, arises from the fact that many of the people who left bush hamlets and moved to the orile built their homes upon the sites where their fathers and grandfathers lived before the orile was abandoned. Through a continuing demonstration of their use of the land they were able to guarantee public recognition of ownership of their family land during the period between the destruction of the old town and their return. Although many years have elapsed since the Dahomeans destroyed the town, a considerable number of bales reputedly knew the "exact bush" where their old fathers lived. Raji Jibowu explained the source of his knowledge:

> When I came here this land was bush but I was able to build this house exactly where my grandfathers lived in the old days. My father showed me the land when I was a youth. My father's father told him that it was the particular place where his grandfather's father's father's father was born. The parents always show the children the land and cut the grass. Through continuous clearing of land we always have a good idea where the land is. I had only to tell my relatives [lineage elders] that I wanted to build there.

Not all lineages attempted to demonstrate continued use of their land during the period of the abandonment of the orile. Much unused land became heavily forested and permitted the family of Ganiyu Omoloku, (the hunter who remained in the orile throughout the period of the Dahomean raids) to make its, now disputed, claims to large tracts of land.

Because the people feel that the unclaimed land of the kingdom is, ultimately, community land, it is not difficult to obtain tracts of land

to build clinics, expand the market, set aside space for a motor park, plan a fish pond, and to engage in other cooperative community projects within the old town walls. It is also said to be impossible to sell community land as well as lineage land. Even the owner of the highly successful new corn mill was permitted to establish his commercial enterprise without having to pay for the land. According to the owner of the mill, "The elders gathered together and asked me to sign a paper that I did not pay for the land."

The vitality of this tradition is quite clear. The strength of the people's convictions that community land cannot be sold was maintained even at a time when the town was bushland, when they had no Olubara, and when there was little possibility that the people would wish to build at the old town site again. The Olubara once cited the following case as an example of the inviolability of community land:

> In 1920, when Akiode came to the Balogun of Ibara asking for land so that he could plant cocoa the people of the orile refused. They said that they did not sell land to anybody. That matter became serious and was taken to the court of the late Alake Ademola of Abeokuta. Before the matter was settled Akiode told the Alake that if they start to plant cocoa in Ibara Orile people would be coming there and meeting there. When he made this explanation the Alake and the council agreed to give him the land and they said that at Ibara Orile nobody may sell land to anybody. It may be given but not sold. If anybody wants to build a house in the orile they will not be charged but they must just bring wine and kola for we want the town to grow large.

Despite these sentiments and behavior, however, some "rascals" of the orile do attempt to "sell" and "buy" community land. These sales are personal arrangements between the people of the orile, and never include strangers. When these machinations are discovered the matter

is brought to the Olubara's court. In my observations of three of these cases the purchaser was always permitted to keep and develop his land. These rulings are compatible with the general desire for the development of the town. However, both the purchaser and the seller are fined. Although the purchaser will be able to keep and use the land, in the final analysis, the land still belongs to the community under usufruct. It will be as though the town granted the purchaser a lease on the land, but this grant in no way constitutes a "sale" of the land. This type of grant is considered no different than other methods of granting land. The price which the purchaser paid is considered a token of transfer of the use of the land. As in other grants the grantee can keep the land as long as he uses it or demonstrates his intention to use it.

Of course, all property is not equally valuable. Land lying some distance from a heavily populated community is not as important as land which is in easy walking distance, the use of which is more observable. Remotely located bits of land may be used for only short periods of time with little fear of the community exercising its right of prior claim. Today, the most valuable farm land lies within and immediately outside of the old town walls and immediately adjacent to the dispersed hamlets.

Summary In this analysis of the land holding and distribution habits the emphasis has been upon the ownership of land, the prohibitions against the alienation of land, and the relationship between these factors and the use of the land.

Much of the kingdom's land is claimed by its lineages. As long as

the lineage can demonstrate use of its lands its members will experience no serious challenges to their ownership. Since the inability to demonstrate continued use of the land may result in the loss of the land the lineages are often willing to grant their excess land to newcomers. Under the rule of non-alienation of land the granting lineage has the security of knowing that they have not given up their land.

The fact that, with the exception of the chiefs, most of the people can calculate their ascending generations only three or four generations means that proof of the original ownership of the land, although not actually forgotten, eventually becomes sufficiently obscured to require new determinations of ownership and rights.

For the people of the traditional society the difference between the sale of land and the granting of land is not great. Granted land can be used quite freely with few impediments from the original grantor. For these people the terminology of buying and selling land comes about when a piece of land is considered particularly valuable because it lies close to the center of the town or might be used for non traditional, commercial purposes. Such land must have a long lineage history. A proper sale of such land would require that all elders of all the segments who claim the land will permit the release of the land for sale. To get everybody concerned to participate in such a sale is usually not possible. Therefore, an individual who sells such land merely forces the issue into the courts.

Of course, the chiefs will not agree that the land is sold. If the complainant's case is weak the chiefs will define the land as

community land. They will fine both the buyer and the seller. The buyer is usually fined more heavily than the seller. Thus, the seller makes money, the chiefs get the benefits of the fines and reassert their control of the land. The purchaser gets the use of the land. (See Appendix D for an example of such a case.)

For the chiefs, the distinction between the sale of land and granting of land is important. If land is granted, the chiefs of the kingdom have not given up its control and it remains part of their kingdom. If the land is sold the chiefs lose all control over its future disposition and occupants.

Inheritance of Land and Other Property

According to current practices, the basic principles of inheritance have not significantly changed since Johnson wrote:

> When a man dies his farms are inherited by his children, and so from father to son in perpetuity, and, like the house are not subject to sale. If his children are females, they will pass on to the male relatives, unless the daughters are capable of seeing the farm kept up for their own benefit [see page 201] . If minors, they may be worked by their male relatives until the boys are of age to take up the keep of the farms. [1921: 95-97] [5]

Johnson's statement may be contrasted with Matthew Olayinka's comments about the inheritance of land:

> The whole head cannot be bald at one time. In the case of the death of the oldest male land will be transferred to the oldest brother born after him. It is permissible to give land to the females. It is as desirable for women to get land as it is for men to inherit it. If a woman's husband is good he will take care of her land. There must be an agreement between the wife and the husband so that the land will

> still remain in her family. She may sell the land or give it to her children. When the female inherits property or property is given to her it will go out of the family.

It may be noted that although the female inherits land both Johnson's and Olayinka's statements suggest some bias towards keeping the land within the male line. Johnson's statement that females might lose their land if incapable of using it and Olayinka's statement about the husband's use of the wife's land are suggestive of the previous comments about the need to demonstrate continuous use of the land and the type of solutions which might be utilized to prevent unused property from reverting back to the community. A wise husband will support his wife in the maintenance of her land because it is his children who will, eventually, inherit his wife's (their mother's) property.

Simon Adeola also speaks of the bilateral inheritance customs in the orile:

> You have your mother's side and your father's side. It would be rather difficult for your father to claim property on your mother's side and for your mother to claim property on your father's side. But you have rights on both sides and you must be able to prove it.

When a man dies his property is divided, equally, among his children. If he was a polygnist the oldest male child of each wife receives an equal share of his property. This child then becomes responsible for the equitable distribution of his deceased father's property among the children of his own mother. When a woman dies her property is divided equally, among her children. If she has no children her younger siblings receive her property. In no case can an elder person inherit from a younger person. The husband cannot inherit from the wife, nor

can anyone inherit who has not contributed to the deceased's funeral and funeral celebrations. In the event the deceased man's children are very young the wife and her husband's younger siblings will safeguard the property left by the deceased until his children mature and are able to utilize their inheritance.

Widows of child bearing age are inherited by the sibling next in age to the deceased. Such a woman may decide that she no longer wishes to remain in her husband's house. Such women must sue for divorce from their husband's brother. An instance of such a divorce did occur during my stay in the orile, the young widow did not wish to return the bride payments. The case was adjourned. Unfortunately the judge was murdered by political thugs before the case could be resumed.

As stated, it is expected that the oldest son, if mature, will take responsibility for the equitable distribution of his father's goods among the surviving children. In fact, it not infrequently happens that elders of the family must intervene to insure the proper distribution of the property. John Adekunle, a twenty year old youth, spoke of some of the problems which arose during the distribution of his father's property:

> In March 1958, after my father's death, his close relatives intended to share my father's lands and properties amongst his children. The reason why they wanted to do this was in case of a misunderstanding or fight between us. And it is true that this sort of fight could occur, especially between mixed children [i.e. children of different mothers]. But when we children discussed this we disagreed with the plans of the elders.
>
> We tried to share equally but the older people are so wise and can foretell about what is going to happen in the future. The fight and misunderstanding occurred among us as they had said. When the fight started we

> called on them and they helped us share all the lands and some other properties like guns, bicycles, clothes, and the iron sheets he had collected for the roof of his next house. With the exception of the house we found it very difficult and impossible to share. I got the bicycle, some clothes, and a piece of land.

Whether the survivors be youth or elders such arguments are inevitable. Fortunately, there is usually some relative, older than the deceased and therefore ineligible to inherit the deceased's goods, who can mediate the emerging antagonisms. In his typical self-effacing manner Ganiyu Ọmọloku tells of his role in the distribution of his younger brother's property:

> Ganiyu: The children will divide the land between themselves. Nobody divides it. Since Jimọ [Ganiyu's late younger brother] was younger than I, I have no right to divide the property. It is not good. If I was the junior person then I could go there and help his children divide the property among themselves. They cannot fight over property so far they are brothers and sisters.
>
> O.O.: But they are human?
>
> Ganiyu: I will counsel patience.

Other than land and the rare possibility of keeping the deceased's older brother's second wife there is usually little of value to inherit. There might be some minor household items, medicines, traps, a few meager farm implements, perhaps an old <u>dane</u> gun, and possibly, an old clock. John Adekunle was fortunate to inherit an item as valuable as his father's bicycle. It is likely that he received the bicycle because he had finished secondary modern school and would not require as much land as his siblings who will devote their lives to farming. But land is the most valuable part of the inheritance. It gives a man a place in

the community and helps him to establish his identity. In time of need it becomes a source of food and a man's children may sometimes require a bit of land. Thus, despite the fact that he may never become a farmer, John Adekunle also received a bit of land.

As John Adekunle pointed out, there is little question about the ownership of his father's house. The oldest male son becomes the bale of the house and his younger siblings may remain with the oldest brother as long as they wish. The question of the distribution of expensive clothing of deceased chiefs seldom arises. Chiefs are expected to live in Omida where they can participate in the ceremonials and community activities which are important to their lineage and to their personal reputation. There is only one traditional chief living in the orile. This chief does not become involved in the purchase of expensive items of clothing.

The question of the inheritance of money is closely associated with the people's usual methods of saving money. The people of the orile believe that the banks of Abeokuta are for literates, big business men, and Europeans. They prefer to keep their money hidden at their farms. If a man suddenly dies, therefore, his money is often lost to his survivors. Since a man may have many farms and some of these farms may be unknown to his family, the survivors do not even try to search his farms for lost money.

Women tend to hide their money in their rooms or in their clothing. Brassieres equipped with zippered pockets in which women may keep their money are becoming increasingly popular. More often the women prefer to

use the traditional, sock-like, sack tied around the waist and hidden under many underskirts. In this way successful women may carry a considerable amount of money about their persons. Busari Ogbohin, a youth of Omida, tells how money is kept and what might happen if a woman, reputed to be rich, should suddenly die. Busari is actually speaking of his mother's habits. His mother is a moderately successful trader:

> We do not use banks. How can a person who cannot read use a bank. We will not be sure of what is happening to our money. We will keep the money in our rooms or on our farms. My mother keeps her money in her room. I shall not know where it is. She will not trust me. She will think I shall steal it. She may keep it in a hole in the wall under a picture or some other place in her room. If she dies we shall all be watching each other to get into her room. A lot of money is lost this way.

The Oriki.--The oriki are a series of statements or titles which tell the history of a town, lineage, or individual, and they are also inherited. Lloyd (1962:102) defines "oriki" as it occurs in Ondo, Ijebu, and Ado Ekiti as:

> [Ondo] Praise names of as many of the ancestors from his descendent is recognized, whether in male or female line [1962:102].
>
> [Ijebu] But in traditional usage a man is saluted with the oriki [original in italics] of any ancestor in male or female line of descent [1962:142].
>
> [Ado Ekiti] Every person bears an oriki [original in italics] or appellation used in salutation, which is hereditary in the male line; thus each lineage has two oriki - one for the males and another for the females [1962:190]

Orikis are means of remembering and teaching the history of the nation and family. They are ways of recording the events which have occurred in

the lives of ancient members of the lineage. A person who wishes to trace the paths of migration of his ancestors can use his knowledge of his oriki to locate the towns and lost segments of his patrilineage which settled in remote villages or towns which his ancestors created along the paths of their migration.

Through the use of their orikis, the people of Ibara have been able to re-establish themselves with ancient segments of the lineage. In fact, during the study of orikis of the orile I found that many of my educated friends, from other Yoruba groups, maintained a continuing interest in their orikis. They devoted a portion of their free time, traveling to remote villages and hamlets, guided by knowledge of their orikis, hoping to find distant relatives who might help them learn more about their origins and add further content to their orikis.

There is often a meshing of the town oriki with parts of a lineage oriki. When a child is born he will receive an oriki which will contain elements of orikis from his father's lineage, his mother's lineage, and titles which will suggest his parents' aspirations for him. Similar to the town and lineage oriki, as he grows older his achievements will be noted in modifications of his original oriki.

Odunjo (n.d. 1957) gives several orikis for the people of Ibara. The first refers to Lafa, the Olubara, who permitted the Egba to settle at Olumo:

> Lafa who has power to collect Egba and is the person [who] can collect all the town to be living with him [p. 11].

Here he refers to Lalubu, the first Olubara:

> Man who has different titles. The first king of Ibara. The king who is more handsome than the antelope. The person who God has chosen to be king. The head of the king must be king [p.21].

Another oriki refers to Ajiboyede:

> Ajiboyede is a tough and strong man.
> He killed wicked people and threw their heads in
> their pockets.
> A neat king who is always beneath.
> Before we see animals like the elephant
> we shall go to the bush.
> Before we can see tiger we go to the bush.
> Before we can see king like Ajiboyede it
> will be heaven.
> The king which takes his first son to
> sacrifice.
> He loved Ibara very much and everyone of the
> world is serving him both in the
> house and farm.
> To Ijanna and Legun Ajiboyede is the
> faithful man in Ibara.
> And he died and they still make sacrifice
> to him [p. 15-16].

This last oriki not only tells the story of Ajiboyede but places him in heaven as a God. The reference to Ijanna suggests that he represented his people well in the courts of that ancient Ẹgbado kingdom.

The people of Ibara cite the following oriki as evidence that an Ẹgbado man called Ogunmola Olodogba gave a portion of his land to the people who were the first Ẹgba settlers at the place where Abẹokuta now stands:

> The person who makes Ẹgba become tapper.
> And he makes the children to be servant in the farm.
> And he is the one who broke Ijaye entirely.
> And he makes Ẹgba to be calling their family.
> Before they come to Olumo [pp. 34-35].

Throughout his little book Odunjo gives orikis of the history of the people, of the ancient kings, and the culture heroes of the Ibara kingdom.

Many of the orikis are quite long, others only require two or three lines.

Taboo.-- It has been previously noted that one of the basic avoidances still adhered to by all the people of Ibara is the restriction against the planting of the bara seed within the town walls of Ibara (see page 34). This is a town taboo which is connected with one of the early migrations to the town site. All subsequent settlers have had to recognize this taboo.

The extent to which the people of the orile accept ancient taboos as relevant to their contemporary patterns of living is inconsistent Those who speak of their family avoidances are quite serious about the meaning these restrictions have to their lives and their welfare. The pattern that does appear is one of avoidances being inherited from both the father's lineage and the mother's lineage. The taboos inherited from the mother's lineage are optional in contrast to those inherited from the father's.

If a person chooses to neglect his mother's taboos (and such choices are always responsive to the findings of the babalawo) he will not give his mother's taboos to his children. However, unless the taboos a child inherits are specifically identified for him he might think that all of his taboos are in his father's lineage. The most usual avoidances consist of restrictions against capturing certain animals and eating certain foods. One of the villagers spoke of his mother's taboo:

> There is nothing like taboos in my house or family. Only my mother is not eating snake or boar. I eat it because it is not compulsory for me since it is not of my father's lineage.

Clan

This section would not be complete without some mention of what appears to be a clan organization underlying the social organization of the orile. Despite many efforts designed to clarify the definition of "clan" there yet remains some difficulty in specifying the exact meaning of the term. Radcliffe-Brown and Daryll Forde state that the term remains unclear and that there are many different kinds of clan systems:

> But that the term should be used only for a group having unilineal descent in which all the members regard one another as in some specific sense kinfolk. One way of giving recognition to the kinship is by the extensive use of classificatory terminology so that in a system of patrilineal clans a man regards all men of the clan as being his classificatory 'fathers', 'brothers', 'sons', 'grandfathers', or 'grandsons'. Frequently, but not universally, the recognition of the kinship bond uniting the members of the clan takes the form of exogamy which forbids marriage between two members of the same clan. Where clans are divided into subclans it may be only to the smaller groups that the rule of exogamy applies. [1953:40]

Murdock (1949:68) specifies that a clan must be based on a "unilinear rule of descent", a rule of "residential unity", and "must exhibit actual social integration". Murdock's rule of "residential unity" is not considered a necessary part of clan organization in most other definitions. Ottenberg says that:

> A clan is a unilineal descent group whose members claim common descent from an original ancestor but are not able to trace all the generational steps between the living members and the founder. The founder may be either human or mythical, sometimes in the form of a totem that is a symbol of the group. A clan is usually larger than a lineage and may or may not be made up of a number of component lineages. Although the size of these descent groups varies greatly in different societies, the membership of lineages usually numbers in the dozens

> or hundreds, while that of clans may number in the thousands". [1960:30]

It can be seen that each author chooses to emphasize different characteristics of the phenomena he calls "clans". These excerpts have been selected for inclusion here because, collectively, they present most of the elements usually considered to define a clan.

For the Yoruba, Schwab has noted that:

> A genealogical unit larger than an idile, composed of lineages between whom an agnatic relationship is acknowledged but can not be precisely traced and who ascribe their origins to a real or putative male ancestor can be viewed as a clan. [1955:353]

Schwab further specifies that clan membership is by myth or remote kinship, rules of exogamy, common praise names and honorific titles:

> Rights and duties among the component lineages of the clan are not rigidly defined and can be variable. There is no acknowledged formal jural or administrative head of the clan. [1955:354]

The historian, Johnson, spoke of the concept orile in terms suggestive of a clan organization:

> The term orile denotes the foundation or origin, and is of an immense importance in the tracing of a pedigree... The orile is not a name, it denotes the family origin or totem. The real meaning of this is lost in obscurity. Some say they were descended from the object named, which must be a myth; others that the object was the ancient god of the family, the giver of the children and other earthly blessings or that the family is in some way connected with it.
>
> The totem represents every conceivable object e.g. Erin [the elephant], Ogun [the god of war], Opo [post], Agbo [a ram], etc...Intermarriages within the same totem was originally not allowed as coming within the degree of consanguinity but now the rule is not rigidly observed. [1921:85-86]

Considering these various definitions as they relate to the history and lineage and organization of the people of the orile, some investigators might conclude that there is some type of clan organization, however vague, in the social structure of the people of the orile. In view of Schwab's and Johnson's comments some considerations should be given to this possibility. However, this type of organization does not currently have an important function in the lives of the people.

Keeping in mind that Radcliffe-Brown and Forde (1953:340) have noted that the term "clan" remains unclear, a composite of the elements of these different definitions would suggest that a clan must be composed of a major portion of the following:

1. Unilineal descent groups.
2. Extensive use of classificatory terminology.
3. Clan Exogamy (although the importance of this rule is not consistently maintained in all definitions).
4. Members claim common descent from an original ancestor or totem though they are unable to trace the genealogical steps
5. Recognition of common kinship bonds uniting the members of the clan.

Since Schwab, Abraham, and Johnson have already noted clan characteristics in the Yoruba social structure it now becomes possible to compare the social structure of the people of the orile with the specifications of clan.

It has been shown that the people of the orile organize themselves into patrilineal descent groups. Most women come to live in their husband's house during the first years of marriage (see pages 356-359) and though

there is lineage exogamy there is no clan exogamy, at least in current times. However, Johnson noted that as early as the late 1800's this rule was not rigidly observed. The extensive use of classificatory language has been previously noted (see pages 174-178). The rule that members of the clan recognize a common totem or founding ancestor though they are unable to trace the genealogical steps in this relationship is met by considering the very generalized recognition of the bara taboo, and their tendency to think of themselves as omo Ibara (children of Ibara), and the relationship which most people claim towards Ajiboyede, their founding ancestor. Though the newer settlers of Isolo and Ifatedo practice the bara avoidance and, at times of community unrest, sacrifice to Ajiboyede, they do not and cannot claim any family relationship to Ajiboyede except through intermarriage with the peoples of Idofin and Oke Afin.

Finally, the people of the Oke Afin and Idofin sections, the descendants of the original founders of the orile, do recognize common kinship bonds which unite them and make them separate and apart from the members of the newer groups of Ifatedo and Isolo peoples.

Notes

[1]Bohannon (1963:127) defines "cognatic kinship groups" as including "all of the descendants of an ancestor or ancestors (the omnilineal descent group) or else they include all the kinsmen, on all sides, of a contemporary ego, limited only by degree of kinship."

[2]The selection of the mother's patrilineage conforms to a statement a Yoruba student at Michigan State University made to me some years ago: "You must understand that despite the patrilineal kinship system of the Yoruba I know more about my mother's family than I know about my father's family. This is because my father died a strange and untimely death. His death generated interfamily suspicion and hostility. I was brought up in my mother's father's house Because of the equal position of females and the practices of polygyny in Yoruba society many children may know more about their mother's family than they know about their father's family."

This student's wife's history represents an interesting variation from the history of her husband for she claimed to know more about her father's family than her mother's family. Actually, upon genealogical investigation it was found that the wife knew about as much about her father's family as she knew about her mother's side. And, in fact, as noted previously for the people of the orile, neither of them could go back more than two generations in their accountings of their genealogies.

[3]It is interesting to note Elias' propositions concerning succession among the Lagos Yorubas:

a) When the founder of a family dies, the eldest surviving son called 'Dowadu' succeeds to the headship of the family with all that that implies, including residence and the giving of orders in his father's house or compound;

b) On the death of the eldest surviving son, the next eldest surviving child of the founder, whether male or female, is the proper person to succeed as head of the family;

c) If there is going to be any important dealings with family property all branches of the family must be consulted, and representation on the family council is also per stirpes according as there are wives with children.

d) The division into equal shares between the respective branches, regard being had to any property already received by any of the founder's children during his lifetime.

e) The founder's grandchildren only succeed to such rights as their immediate parents had in the family property.

f) The founder's compound or house is usually regarded as the'family house' which must be preserved for posterity (1951:217).

[4]Forde (1951:25) states that land was held by the patrilineages. The elders distributed the land such that everyone received a share. Land could not be alienated though crops could be pawned. His statement that, "Land hitherto unclaimed, when cleared by an individual, belonged to him and his patrilineal descendants. If he were a member of the tribe he did not need to seek consent before clearing land and taking possession of forest land. If he vacated it it would revert to forest but he would still have right to re-occupation," does not seriously conflict with the findings reported here. The important point is that if a person clears and plants land which previously belonged to another lineage that lineage would have great difficulty reasserting its claim. The original lineage's legal rights might be upheld in court but its usufruct rights would be lost (See in this regard Appendix D).

[5]Johnson's contributions should be considered in terms of the time the data for his major historical contribution was collected. Most of the original work was done in 1897. Through a series of mishaps the actual publication date became 1921. The antiquity of Johnson's data must be considered when reading Forde (1951:24-25). Forde has said that "Formerly according to strict custom the principal beneficiaries of the deceased were his full brothers and sisters, children having only residuary rights to their father's property. Over the past generation, at least among the Ẹgba and probably elsewhere, it has been held that a man's goods should go to his children and be distributed equally among his sons by different wives and, as appropriate, among daughters."

This statement may be contrasted with Johnson (1921:95-97) and is clearly inconsistent with the practices of the people of the orile. It might have happened that Forde came to this conclusion because of the tendency for brothers of the deceased to take the social role of father and the deceased's children.

CHAPTER VII

HOUSEHOLD ORGANIZATION

Before turning to a more detailed study of the households of the village of Ibara Omida some consideration must be given to the composition of Ibara Omida. . The social organization of the people living in Ibara Omida was never a central focus of this investigation. For this reason sufficient data to permit detailed discussion of Ibara Omida is lacking. A more comprehensive exposition of Omida must await further field study.

Ibara Omida.

The people of Ibara came to Omida during the second half of the nineteenth century. They were refugees fleeing from the pillage and murder of the invading Dahomeans. At first they thought their stay in Omida would be temporary; that they could soon return to their homeland. As the years passed and the surrounding countryside remained unsafe they determined to join their Egba neighbors and to make Omida their permanent settlement.

It is difficult to make authoritative statements about the construction of their original houses. The traditional housing of the Yoruba was a compound composed of an outside rectangular wall with many rooms around the inside of the wall and a veranda around the front of the rooms. The whole structure enclosed an inner courtyard with only one passage leading to the outside. Lloyd (1955:235-251)

and Forde (1951:15) describe compounds which suggest that this type was, at one time, common throughout Yorubaland.

Only a few of the houses in Omida retain vestiges of the old compound type of construction. Even these few remaining compounds have been so elaborated that it is difficult to identify their original form. Today, most people prefer to build one or two storied houses, often close to other members of their patrilineally related relatives.

Many of the houses of Omida are occupied by the elders of the patrilineally extended families. It is to the elders living in these houses that members living in other quarters of Abẹokuta, Ibara Orile, the small hamlets under Ibara Orile, and other towns and villages of Yorubaland come to visit, to seek advice, to obtain treatment of their ills, to discuss family matters, or to participate in family rituals and ceremonies. It is here that the head of the family usually presides over the family meetings, and it is in these houses that members of the family temporarily visiting Abẹokuta seek shelter.

Alternatively, the elder of the family might elect to remain on his farm. In this instance, family members who wish to consult with him must travel to his farm. Such an elder might, periodically, visit Omida and take temporary lodging in one of his children's houses while he attends to the business of the family. Whenever he enters the house of one of his children he becomes master of the house.

For the people of the kingdom, Ibara Omida is considered to be the center of their lineage's corporate activities. Some families have preferred to establish themselves in other sections of Abẹokuta; but, generally speaking, Omida is the home of the Ibara people's

lineages. It is in Omida that such lineage ceremonials as the Egungun festival, the Oro ceremonials, and the triennial Yemoja festival take place. It is there that they establish and maintain their membership in the Ogboni and Olorogun societies. There, too, they meet in the Olubara's palace to decide important political questions and to settle land and interlineage disputes.

Many of the lineage shrines are kept in the houses of the elders of Ibara Omida. The Ẹgbado babalawo who are familiar with the traditions of the Ibara people are to be consulted in Omida. Important visitors who wish to meet with the Ibara people also find Omida the most suitable gathering place.

Ibara Orile.--

The people of Ibara Orile do not live in compounds. They live in houses (see pages 335-343). For the most part, occupants of these houses are nuclear and polygynous families consisting of a husband, his wife or wives, and his children. Surrounding this basic family unit are a scattering of other relatives who, for a variety of reasons, come to live in the house and associate themselves with the head of the house. The fact that the people of the orile live in individual houses does not mean that they do not recognize relationships and responsibilities towards other lineage members living in the orile. They have many close relatives there and accept the same obligations and responsibilities towards these relatives that they would if they lived together in a large house or compound in Ibara Omida. Each male is the head of his segment of the lineage and, if he lives long

enough, has the potential of becoming the elder of a major segment of the family. If he has a father or elder brother living in the orile, he will recognize this elder person as the head of the local segments of the lineage. This older relative will help him with sacrifices, and, as he grows older, teach him the family lore. He will stand in relation to this older person as the older person stands in relation to still older lineage members living in Ibara Omida.

In an earlier section of this study it was reported that Oke Afin, the oldest section of the orile , contained the largest number of people (see table 1 page 92).. Ifatedo, the newest quarter of the orile, contained the smallest number of people as well as the smallest number of houses. In the study of the various quarters' population characteristics it was noted that none had any unusual characteristics in terms of its male-female ratio.

At the end of the second census it was found that there were 871 people living in 143 houses in the orile. The number of people in any one of the houses varied from as few as one person to as many as seventeen people. There was an average of 6.1 people per house.

The primary concern of this section is a closer specification of the households' population. The figures utilized to demonstrate population characteristics are small and not significant for any purpose other than to illustrate the variety of people who compose the households.

Descriptions of the Yoruba as patrilineal and patrilocal are true for Ibara Orile's household organization. However, such descriptions tell little of the true variety and complexity of these households,

nor do they reveal the manner in which the living patterns contribute to the Ibara people's independence and freedom of movement.

The first, and simplest, question is that of patrilocality. For the orile, Table 6 shows that as much as 14% of the bales occupy houses built on their mother's land, or on land which they can claim by virtue of their maternal affiliation. One of the people living on his mother's property is an elder who said that the land upon which his house was built belonged to his father's mother's lineage. This admission raises the possibility that many of the other bales who claim to live on property of their father's lineage might actually have inherited the property, through their father, from some distant female relative. Such relatives always have the right to shelter in the house.[1]

It should be remembered that most of the people of the orile are not usually concerned about relatives of more than two or three ascending generations. The fact that a person can become part of his mother's lineage and can inherit property from both his mother's and his father's lineage lends support to this possibility.

Only 5.6% of the bales of the orile did not claim to have received property from either their mother's lineage or their father's lineage (see Table 6). Rather, they claimed to have asked the elders of the orile for the land.

TABLE 6

SOURCE OF BALE'S PROPERTY

Source	No.	%
Father	115	80.4
Mother	20	14.0
Community	8	5.6
Total	143	100.0

When the source of the bale's property, according to quarter, is studied, (table 7), some interesting results are obtained. With 93.3% of the bales of Idofin occupying houses built on their father's property, the Idofin quarter is found to be the most responsive to the rule of patrilocality. Isolo falls nine percentage points behind Idofin , with 84.2% of houses built on the fathers' property. Ifatedo quarter is the least responsive to the rule of patrilocality with only 65.2% of the people building on, what they claimed to be, their father's land. However, Ifatedo has the highest percentage (21.7%) of people who built upon land given to them by the community elders. These Ifatedo figures reflect the recent migration of the Ifatedo people to Ibara Orile. The fact that as many as 65.2% of the people of Ifatedo claim that they have built their houses upon their father's property may possibly reflect the long history of intermarriage between the people of Oke Afin, Idofin and Ifatedo. The old Ifatedo villages were situated less than a mile away from the western walls of the old Ibara town.

TABLE 7

SOURCE OF BALE'S PROPERTY
ACCORDING TO QUARTER

Quarter	Father		Mother		Community		Total	
	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%
Ifatedo	15	65.2	3	13.0	5	21.7	23	100.0
Idofin	28	93.3	2	6.7			30	100.0
Isolo	32	84.2	4	10.5	2		38	100.0
Oke Afin	40	78	11	21.1	1	1.9	52	100.0
Total	115		20		8		143	

The low percentage of Oke Afin bale's whose houses were built upon their father's property cannot be easily explained. It must be remembered that Oke Afin and Idofin are the oldest quarters in the orile. There is the possibility that the fact that more bale's of Oke Afin have chosen to build upon their mother's property than their father's property reflects the greater antiquity of the Oke Afin quarter resulting in more complex ramifications of lineage ties. According to this hypothesis the antiquity and complexity of Oke Afin lineages would mean that more women have had a greater chance to own more property and, eventually to pass on the property to their children than have the women of other quarters.

When I asked the elders of Isolo and Oke Afin why so many Oke Afin bales built their houses on their mother's land, I was told that the people of Oke Afin had more daughters. It is true that, in absolute numbers (see table 3) there are more women in Oke Afin. In fact, Oke Afin only has 4.5% more women than the Isolo section of the orile.

It is possible that this belief that Oke Afin quarter has more women than other quarters is based upon the fact that, in terms of social structure these women are the most desireable women in the orile. For the people of Isolo and Ifatedo marriage to Oke Afin women means greater linkages with the oldest lineages and traditions of the orile. The children of these marriages will have greater opportunities to obtain traditional chieftaincy titles and land there.

However, an equally valid explanation for building houses on the mother's land in Oke Afin is that there has been more cleared land in this area. The people like to build close to each other and the large number who have built upon their mother's land might be a reflection of this tendency to congregate. The Idofin area houses, in many ways, can be thought of as an extension of the older Oke Afin houses. These houses are much newer and represent more recent clearing of the bush which has given people greater opportunities to build upon their father's land. Table 1 illustrates the fact that Oke Afin was developed before other quarters of the orile. In 1956, the year that Oke Afin attained one-half its present growth, there were already twenty-six houses in Oke Afin and only nineteen houses in Isolo. In 1956 there were only nine houses in Idofin and nine houses in Ifatedo.

The exceptions to the rule of patrilocality appear to indicate a need for further study. The consideration of the following pages will be determining which persons, other than the <u>bale</u> and his wife or wives, his children, and his unmarried brothers and sisters actually

live in the house.[2] Chart 3 illustrates the types of people who would, more usually, be found in such other places as their own homes (if married patrilineally related males), their husband's homes (if married females), or houses of their own patrilineally related relatives. The 211 people in this category comprise about one-fourth of the orile's population.

An important aspiration of every male is to be the master of his own house. If he should inherit his house from his father his ambition is directed towards improving it by cementing and painting the floors and walls and putting up a metal roof. If he has no opportunity to inherit a house and is financially strong he constructs his own. Most men who are bales of houses which have been built on their mother's land were the actual builders of the house. There were many instances of married brothers living apart in separate houses, but only one instance of married sons living apart from their fathers.

This aspiration to be bale of the house means that married men try to separate themselves and their families from a subordinate position in a senior relatives house. The study of household composition demonstrated that there were twelve married sons living in ten houses. This is a generational problem. The question is whether the sons expect to inherit their fathers' houses or are too poor to build their own houses.

CHART 3

PEOPLE LIVING IN HOUSES OF ORILE ACCORDING TO RELATIONSHIP TO BALE

Relationship To Bale	Number of People	Number Of Houses Involved
Married Sons	12	10
Married Brothers	19	19
Married Daughters	9	7
Married Sisters	14	12
Mothers	29	29
Father's Other Wives	9	9
Mother's Relatives	19	14
Wife's Relatives	7	7
Father's Relatives	54	27
Tenants	24	12
Friends	15	7
Total	211	

Although there were many instances of married brothers living in separate houses, there were also nineteen houses in which nineteen married younger brothers lived with their older married brothers. The question of inheriting an older brother's house or looking forward to building one's own house is an important aspect of older brother-younger brother living arrangements. This is a problem of relative age. If there is little difference in relative age the younger brother is more likely to look for opportunities to build his own house and become independant. If he is very much younger than his older brother, their

social interactions will be more like a father-son relationship and the younger brother will think in terms of inheriting his older brother's house. In only one instance was there a married son and married younger brother living together with the bale.

Discussions of the Yoruba patrilineal extended family and their habit of virilocality after marriage usually indicate that married women leave their father's house to live in their husband's; considering that the husband might still be in his father's house, their husband's father's house. Following this pattern of virilocality it is to be expected that married daughters would not be in their father's house, nor would there be married sisters in a brother's house.

During the time of the second census there were a number of married women visiting their fathers' and their brother's homes. Following the rule of defining residents of a household as people who have been there at least one month, women who did not qualify were not counted; they were considered visitors. Excluding these visitors it was found that there were nine married daughters living in seven households and fourteen married sisters living in twelve households (see chart 3). Unlike married sons and younger brothers living with their fathers and older brothers these women are, almost always, separated from their husbands.

Men are not usually found living in their in-law's homes. There is a strong avoidance pattern which restrains a man from remaining too long in the houses of his wife's patrilineage. This avoidance is supported by many sanctions. These sanctions include the highly

pejorative proverb, "A shameless man who went to his in-law' house and died there." It is reputed that such a man's body must be beaten three times and carried through the window, rather than the door of the in-law's house.

Quite unexpectedly, in view of the patrilineal social structure, was the fact that as many as nine women had their sons and daughters living with them in their fathers' and brothers' house. Although the number of these married daughters and sisters living with their children in their fathers' and brothers' houses is not large it does indicate that these married women have an option which they do exercise, to return, with their children, to the house of their patrilineally related relatives.

Considering the fact that the orile is, archetypically, a farming community it can be concluded that an even larger number of married daughters and sisters, estranged from their husbands, are to be found in their fathers' and brothers' houses in Ibara Omida. Support for such a hypothesis is found in such factors as the general migration from smaller communities to larger communities; the general belief that the traditional trading occupation of Yoruba women can be more profitably pursued in the city rather than in the country; that it is not unusual for wives to remain in Abẹokuta while their husbands remain on the farm; and, that some of the wives of the men of the orile are town women, born and raised in Abẹokuta, not used to the hardships of orile life.

Another consideration is the effect patrilinea' ties have upon

the wives of the bales or, approaching the subject from another point of view, the effect they have upon the stability of the family. Because women, like men, are more closely tied to the family of orientation than the family of procreation (Lowie 1960:13), the social organization of the Ibara people's families have structural characteristics that tend to weaken the saliency of their ties to the family of procreation. There is much separation and divorce and much movement of women from one husband to another. For this reason there were, at the time of the second census, twenty-nine bales without wives. (see table 8).

However, this situation is always fluid and most men and women are always actively involved in finding and arranging new alliances. Only men in the latter 80-100 age group have concluded that they can have no more children. Women who have living children usually wish to stop child-bearing when they reach the 35-40 age group. During our stay in the orile there were numerous separations and divorces which, combined with the rapid movement of people from place to place, the problem of defining and differentiating separation from divorce, and distinguishing between the absence of wives due to marital discord as contrasted with wives' usual prolonged visits to relatives or friends, proved too difficult to record.

The condition of some wifeless bales was due to the fact that wives prefer to stay in Ibara Omida where they can continue their trading activities and provide more opportunities for their children. Again, an accurate accounting of this phenomenon was not possible because the informants, themselves, were vague about their status.

Some would not know if their wives had actually divorced them until their wives had decided to take another husband and begin court proceedings against them (see pages 376-383). Others would be so intent upon acquiring new wives that their response to questions regarding their marital status would be, "She is coming." It would be hard to determine if the man was referring to a new wife or his former wife. Very few of these men were wifeless because they were widowers. However, statistics relating to differences in the life expectancy of males and females were not available. In any event, a man can always marry a new wife.

This is not the case with older women. Since the main purpose of marriage is procreation an aging widow who has had children does not wish to marry again. Some of these women remain in the orile, in their husband's house, taking care of their children and their children's children. Chart 3 shows that there are twenty-nine such bales' mothers living in the orile. Other aged widows might decide to go to the house of their deceased husband in Ibara Omida or return to live with relatives of their own patrilineally extended family.

Some aged widows of good character and with many friends in the orile decide to remain in their husbands' homes although their husbands' sons, by another wife, may be the current bale of the house. There are nine of these bales's fathers' wives living in nine of the houses.

TABLE 8

WIFELESS BALES ACCORDING TO

AGE GROUPS

Age Group	No.	%
20-29	4	13.8
30-39	5	17.3
40-49	5	17.3
50-59	3	10.3
60-69	4	13.8
70-79	4	13.8
80-89	2	6.8
90-100	2	6.8
Total	29	100.0

The doors of the house are open wide enough to accept anyone who can make the claim of family. The prerequisite for inclusion in a household located on any limb of the family tree of either the father's or the mother's lineage is desire. Even the bale's mother's relatives can make a claim to a position in the house. As chart 3 illustrates, there are nineteen such relatives in fourteen different houses in the orile. These relatives include mother's sister's brother, mother's father's son, mother's brother's son, and the wives and children associated with mother's male relatives who come to live in mother's son's house. Also among the bale's mother's relatives living in the house are mother's brother's daughter and mother's father's sister.

An assortment of bales' wifes' relatives are also to be found

ne bales' house (see chart 3). There were seven such relatives
even houses in the orile. These relatives included wife's junior
ners and sisters, wife's senior brothers and sisters, wife's
her's son, and, in one instance, wife's son from a previous marriage.
According to Yoruba custom, it is not unusual for a wife to have
unger relative living with her to help with household tasks.
pattern is more popular in the larger towns where the wives
ire the services of a junior person to help them in their trading
vities and the care of their children. The surprising aspect of these
ings is that some of the wives' relatives living in their husbands'
e are wives' senior siblings.

Considering the essential, if at times obscured, patrilineal
nization of the Yoruba family and household, it is not surprising
ind that the largest group of secondary and tertiary relatives
ng in the household are patrilineally related to the bale. There
fifty-four such relatives living in twenty-seven different houses
ne orile. These relatives include father's sister, father's
er's daughter, wife of son of father's brother, and an assortment
ther relatives.

Finally, there is an assortment of tenants and friends who live
ne orile and must be included in the analysis of household com-
tion. There were twenty-four people living in twelve houses who
identified as tenants (see Chart 3). Most of these people were
rers (see Chart 3) who engaged in such tasks as clearing farm
and helping the farmers to harvest their oranges, Kola, and cocoa.

he tenants worked in flour mill and four of the tenants were
eachers. The laborers were not expected to pay rent. The
they performed for their bale were considered sufficient re-
ient. The school teachers were considered to be engaged in
work, the definition of which is the receiving of a salary
ular basis. Such tenants are expected to pay rent.
ne of the fifteen people who were indentified as friends might
appropriately regarded as laborers. But the seven bales
tered these people claimed that they were friends. Some of
iends did have their own farms but it is difficult to say whether
hey combined labor on their own farms with labor on other people's
ee page 335).
oser inspection of the people falling into the categories of
and friends revealed that more than half of these people live
es which, but for the presence of the tenants and friends, the
uld be living alone.
en of the people in the position of bales or "apical heads"
nales. There were some twenty-six people in these matricentric
ds. In only one of these households was there an adult male
However, the female apical head was some fifteen to twenty
s senior. Three other male family members of these households
all children. Three of these female bales lived alone. Eight of
nty-four tenants living in the orile lived in these seven matri-
houses. The other seven occupants of these houses consisted
daughters, a sister's mother, a brother's daughter, a mother's

sister, a sister's daughter, and a friend.

The affiliations spoken of in this chapter may be the result of numerous factors including sentiment, economics, marital discord, and the desire for new relationships. At times relatives seeking new opportunities for work, schooling, farming, medical treatment, and emotional support may spend a few months with distant relatives who can offer them advice and assistance. The households described in this section are not static. This study was done at only one point in time. The occupants of the houses, and particularly the women, continue to search for situations they feel provide them with the best opportunities. Although the numbers and percentages presented in this study of the characteristics of the households of the orile may be small and may remain virtually unchanged for a period of years, the people whom these figures represent will undergo considerable change.

In later sections of this thesis it will be further demonstrated that the occupants of these households maintain obligations towards each other which permits each individual a large amount of personal freedom.

NOTES

1

For the people who returned to the orile building a house was not simply a matter of clearing any bit of land and erecting walls. Many of the people of Oke Afin, Idofin, and Isolo reported that they had built their houses upon the exact spot where their father's and their father's father's house stood at the time of the old kingdom. When Ibara was still bush and the present bales were still children their fathers would bring them to the site of the old kingdom and show them their own piece of land. The people of Ifatedo speak of building on their father's or mother's land but many of them were not able to say that their house is on the exact spot where their forefather's home stood. It is more likely that their relationships, through intermarriage with the people of Ibara gives them a right to land in the orile though not to any specific bit of earth.

2

The rationale for this approach is based upon the belief that these people usually form the basic household rather than the Ibara Omida compound; unmarried brothers and sisters being included in the organization of a patrilineal family where the father has died and the oldest son assumes primary reponsibility for the feeding, socialization, and shelter of his younger siblings.

CHAPTER VIII

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

The Governmental Infrastructure

The programs of the Federal Government of Nigeria, and the governmental policies of the Western Region and the Egba Division, are administered in Ibara Orile by the civil servants employed at the Ikereku District Council, the smallest of the several district councils which comprise the Egba Division. When the people of the orile travel to Ibara Omida, they come under the jurisdiction of the Abeokuta Urban District Council.

These local districts were established by the Western Region Government in 1955. Prior to that time the area was administered by the Egba Native Authority. The Ikereku District Council is located along the Abeokuta-Ilaro road, just outside the little hamlet of Ikereku, strategically situated midway between Isaga, Ilewo, and Ibara, the three main towns under its jurisdiction. Located at this site is a maternity center, the local government police station, and the headquarters building of the council. All of these structures have been erected since 1955.

Ordinarily, the district councils are comprised of three different groups of people: the President, elected members, and traditional chiefs. The President of the council is the Olubara, the paramount chief in the Ikereku district. At one time there were as many as twenty-one elected members of the council. The traditional chiefs were never more than one-fourth of the total membership.

Because of the political crisis of the last few years the councils have not been meeting, however, the organization has been maintained in order to transmit information to the people. These days the members of the council are appointed by the Minister of Local Government in Ibadan, the regional capital. Eight chiefs, including the _obas_ of Ibara, Ilewo, and Isaga, are among the twenty-one members of the appointed body. The members of the council supervise such government projects as sanitary inspection, roadwork, voting, census taking, tax collection, the maternity center, the maintenance of records, and the planning and execution of development projects.

In 1965, the people of the orile were not sure of the real benefits they could derive from the Ikereku District Council. They fully understood that the council was created so that they might have better representation in the government bureaus in Abeokuta and Ibadan. Nevertheless, they could see little improvement in their situation, and were dissatisfied with the composition of the council's members. Furthermore, the majority of the people were members of the opposition Action Group party. The Minister of Local Government had picked members of the ruling N.N.D.P. as council representatives. This caused the people to feel that they no longer had a voice in the council's deliberations and decisions.

Anticipating an A.G. victory in the October, 1965, elections, the people came to think of the council as a temporary arrangement which would soon undergo radical change. They considered it a "caretaker council" and refused to support it. Although the _obas_ sympathized with their people they found that they had no choice but to support the ruling party or

be defrayed.

The result of this situation was that the people felt they had no chance to obtain a water system, electricity, rediffusion, and other improvements until the ruling government was overthrown. They also felt that their tax payments would go into the ruling party's coffers to be stolen by the politicians or be dispensed to towns and villages which supported the N.N.D.P.

Lack of support for the government resulted in an increasing refusal to pay taxes. By 1965, the council was practically bankrupt, its programs had faltered, employees were unpaid and subject to retrenchment, and the roads were falling apart. Rather than being the source of progress, the councils had become the fountainhead of friction and persecution.

There was little appreciation of the sanitary inspector's efforts. His duties were often coercive. He would peer into the water storage pots looking for mold and bacteria, or search the market place to be sure that food sellers kept their pots covered. He was the one who insisted that the householder keep weeds cut low and pick up the trash around the house. He would insist that the foundations of new houses be dug to a one foot depth and that there be a window in each room. Although he was not responsible for the smallpox control programs, some people associated the behavior of the sanitary inspector with the Abeokuta-based vaccinators who periodically invaded the orile, sending men, women, and children running in all directions to escape the dreaded inoculation. The sanitary inspector's coercive powers were fully respected because of his authority to issue summonses to people he considered recalcitrant.

Even improvement programs generated considerable conflict. The people of Ibara Orile remembered what happened to the people of Iṣaga:

> We do not want what happened in Iṣaga to happen here. The politicians put in piped water and rediffusion. Then they raised the taxes. Most of the people could not pay and the Italian contractor wanted his money. The regional government asked the Olubara to get the money. The Olubara has to work with the government of the day. He called the people ten times but the people never showed up. The water was shut off and now they are having the rediffusion shut off.

The Iṣaga water system caused much ill feeling and confusion among the various towns and villages of the Ikereku District. The responsibility for the project's failure was placed upon the Ikereku District Council. According to the people of the district, powerful N.N.D.P. politicians were responsible for locating the water system in Iṣaga. When it was found that the people of Iṣaga could not pay for the system these politicians wanted to increase the taxes of the people throughout the district. Their refusal to pay for amenities which they did not receive caused the government to shut down the Iṣaga water system.

It was not until after the January 1966 military coup that confidence in the government returned. The N.N.D.P. politicians were removed from office, political thugs forced to find other sources of employment, and people began to pay their taxes. The roads were repaired, the Ibara branch of the Ikereku District Loan Board reopened, and a general feeling of confidence in the Orile's future began to pervade the discussions of the elders.

The Olubara of Ibara

The present Olubara, Lalubu II, came to the throne in 1952, eighty-

eight years after Ọba Adubiwaju was killed trying to escape from the Dahomeans. This long interregnum was attributed to intrigue and murder among the members of the ruling houses of Ibara and to the reluctance of the Ẹgba kings to have another Ẹgbado king among them.

The current Ibara rules of succession recognize only four houses. These houses are those of the descendants of Lalubu, Lafa, Ajiboyede, and Adubiwaju. The next Olubara will come from the house of Lafa. If the Lafa family fails to present a suitable candidate it will then be the responsibility of the Ajiboyede family to offer a candidate. If the Ajiboyede family fails, the responsibility will then devolve upon the Adubiwaju family. As Lalubu II, the present Olubara elaborated.

> They can only take a candidate from the male line but if they can find a suitable candidate from the female line and no male candidate is available, then they will present the candidate from the female line. Olukoye was the person who begat Lalubu and Lafa's mother and Ajiboyede. Olukoye also begat Adubiwaju's mother. Lalubu the first begat Ige. Ige begat my mother, and my mother begat me.

The determination of what constitutes a suitable candidate is left to the elders of the house whose turn to rule has arrived. Once a candidate has been selected, he is presented to the chiefs of the Ibara Ogboni and Olorogun societies. Although the actual installation of the Olubara takes place in the Ibara Ogboni conclave in the presence of all the chiefs of Ibara, Ilewo, and Iṣaga, the Obajio and Oṣorun Ibara chiefs of the Ibara Ogboni are the real kingmakers.

To the Ẹgbados of Ẹgbaland, the Olubara is their paramount chief and the ruler of all the people; the holder, although not the owner, of all their lands, the symbol of all their past grandeur and

glory, and the embodiment of their present rights and honor in the councils of Egbaland. They often recount the hardships and dishonor they had to suffer before they were permitted to put the beaded crown upon Lalubu II. Many of the elders think that it was the Action Group which really helped them in the fight to crown their king. This is one of the reasons they give for their loyalty to the Action Group.

The people of Ibara have not yet constructed a palace for their Oba. The present Olubara uses his family compound in Ibara Omida as his palace. There he meets with his chiefs to decide the cases of land disputes, and other causes of discord which occur among his people. The presence of these chiefs is vital. His judgments are held in abeyance until they have examined and cross-examined all the witnesses, defendants, and plaintiffs involved in litigations. He waits while the chiefs reveal the history of the problem and the past behavior of the people involved. They will recount, for his consideration, relevant incidents and precedents which have occurred in their long lifetimes. Then, solemnly, they stand and, according to their rank, progressing from the lowest to the highest title, give their analyses and judgments of the case. When they have finished the Olubara will have all the pertinent facts and a range of choices relating to the judgments he might make. He will also have learned something more about the history of his people, their laws, and the wisdom he must exercise as ruler of his people. In this way the Oba will mediate lineage disputes, decide land cases and divorce cases, and punish petty criminals.

Like many of the Obas who rule in Yorubaland today, the Olubara

spent much of his adult life away from his home, his people, and their traditional institutions. He was a clerk and salesman for nearly twenty-five years. He was a member of the Grand Lodge of Ancient, Free, and Accepted Masons of Scotland and he was also a foundation member, secretary, treasurer, and president of the Lagos based Egbado Union. As part of his preparation for the throne he spent a short time traveling in England. He had come to know European institutions as well, if not better, than the institutions of his own people. But, as a man of the world, well spoken, literate, and experienced in the ways of western society, modern government, and business, he was considered more suitable for the position of oba than a man who, although thoroughly indoctrinated in traditional lore, had little familiarity with the social, political, and economic transactions which occur in the wider world of which the kingdom of Ibara is an integral part

The contemporary oba must be a man uniquely able to participate in two worlds. He must not be so much a part of modern Nigeria that he is disinterested in learning the ways of his fathers. As the embodiment of the spirit, character, and meaning of his people, the oba must remain responsive to all segments of the political, religious, and economic thought of his people. He must celebrate traditional, Moslem, and Christian religious occasions. On Fridays he should be in the mosque; on Sundays he is expected in the church. He must officiate at all the important traditional ceremonies and festivals. He must not show any partiality.

He must not be so disenchanted with the modern Nigeria that he

retreats into the traditionalism of the people he comes to serve. As he depends upon the chiefs to interpret the traditional customs and social facts to him, so, too, they depend upon him to interpret the modern institutions and social processes to them. He must be prepared to tell his chiefs what has been reported in the newspapers. He must be alert to opportunities for economic investments in his towns and territories. He must deal with visitors, explain laws, anticipate new government regulations, interpret the activities of bureaucratic personnel, and activate his people to take advantage of the few opportunities that are available to them. He must help them to become good citizens in a changing Nigeria. Together, the chiefs and the oba must fabricate new ways to meet the challenges of social change which confront them and their people.

The Olubara is respected and revered by most of his people. Many fear him. Some of his people have such a high regard for his power that they hesitate to come before him. Instead, they ask an elder of their family to present their case for them. When a case is brought before him the defendants and supplicants must prostrate. All accusations and defences are presented from this prone position. When the oba walks among his people they shout their greetings, "Kabe'si!" (Long live the king). The men prostrate themselves on the ground and the women genuflect.

The following description suggests the high regard in which the oba is held. The incident occurred as the Olubara was leaving the orile after a short visit to discuss the possibility of an agricultural improvement project:

> People have gathered about in a small cluster as the Olubara prepares to leave the orile. He gets up to a chorus of "Kabeisi". Many people are prostrating. When the Olubara enters his car there is more prostrating and shouting of "Kabeisi". This ritual is performed a third time as the car moves away. At this last shout and prostration a group of children across the road are heard to comment that they must practice how to show respect in this manner. Some of them are already on the ground doing the pushups, which, when they grow older and more graceful, will be more identifiable as prostrations. The men laugh in appreciation of the fact that the children want to be respectful.

No King As God --But there is the saying: "No king as god" and the Olubara knows this to be true. He has little leverage to enforce his will. He must be careful not to frustrate their desires. As in the case of the water system at Isaga, he knows that his power to encourage or even to enforce the collection of taxes is limited. If he attempts to sponsor the construction of a building he must look forward to many painful months and years before he can extract sufficient money from his poor subjects.

The amount of influence he can exercise is directly related to the extent of the traditionalism within each of the individuals who must deal with him. Those who have a greater traditionalistic orientation will be more inclined to respond to his desires than those who have a more contemporary orientation.

The more western oriented individual will be less willing to submit to the edicts of the chiefs and the oba. He will be less respectful and more aggressive towards them. He will not be responsive to their decisions and will refer his grievances to the civil authorities rather than to the traditional courts. He will not attend when the oba calls for groups of men to participate in the work of the town. Rather, he will denigrate

these efforts and complain that he pays taxes for others to do this work The people who are most disdainful of the obas and chiefs are that large group of young Abeokutans who have been "corrupted" by town life and a few short years in primary school. They think of themselves as literate and find it difficult to respect the less literate chiefs and the old traditions.

It is not unusual to hear the obas complain that their people are losing respect and referring their cases to the customary and civil courts. But the obas and the chiefs are not powerless, for they are the expert historians. They know the history of the kingdom and the lineages which comprise the kingdom. In the case of divorces and land disputes in which they have taken an interest, they can obtain information which may not be available to the court judge If there is a dispute which a litigant refuses to settle in the oba's court they are the ones whose testimony will be most respected in the civil courts. The litigant must have very good evidence if the judge is to overthrow the decisions of the traditional court The litigant who takes his case to civil court finds that the court expenses, which he must pay if he loses the case, are much higher than the costs of a lost case in the traditional courts. And, if he decides to hire a lawyer, he may end up bankrupt.

Even the Alake has suffered a loss in the integrity and absolutism of his decisions. It does happen that he must arbitrate cases arising between the different sections of Abeokuta If the chiefs who bring the dispute to his court are not satisfied with his decisions, they might take the matter to the legally constituted customary and civil courts

In fact, the ọbas and their chiefs do handle most of the divorce cases, and land, and inheritance disputes which occur among the people of Ẹgbaland. Most of the people can neither read or write. They are dependent upon their chiefs to interpret customary law and traditional practices. As one successful Abẹokuta lawyer put it:

> Barring Lagos, the majority of the people in the provinces are illiterates. The bulk of the cases are customary law comprised mostly of inheritances and distribution of estates. In Abẹokuta it is mainly land disputes where native law and customs prevail. There are few literates. Anything that crops up goes before the ọbas. They hold illegal power. It has no legal consequences. If the Alake grants a divorce it will not hold up even in a customary court.
>
> I am not sure that the ọbas are aware of this. They think they can divorce people. It is something the law connives at. I do not know if this goes on in some other towns like Ibadan. I am not sure, but they do a lot of this here. They can even lock up people.
>
> You know that the constituted civil courts disregard any other authority. But you see the customary law closes its eyes to the behavior of the ọbas. The customary court is statutory. Customary law is exercised by the ọbas and the chiefs who related the customary law to the judge. They are called assessors.

This is precisely the point. Although the ọbas and chiefs hold extra-legal power and their traditional courts have no legal status, they do hold power. They can exercise this power in their own traditional courts and in the legally constituted customary courts through their roles as court assessors. They can also exercise informal influence upon the court president who is likely to be a resident in the area.

The Chiefs

The chiefs of the Ogboni cult have always been concerned with the

administration of justice and the maintenance of peace and order in the kingdom. In the Ibara kingdom most of the important chieftaincy titles are inherited lineage titles. The fact that the lineages of Oke Afin own the Olubara title, that the lineages of Idofin own the Odofin title, while only the Isolo people claim the Osolo title is suggestive of the relation of titles to the social and political organization of the orile. In contrast, the Olorogun cult (military society) titles are not inherited and are open to all qualified candidates.

Paramount among the prerequisites for the assumption of any of these titles are good character, popularity, and sufficient money to meet the initiation costs of the title. The higher the title the higher the initiation costs. A man does not usually hold more than one title at a time. He must vacate his lower title when he assumes a higher title.

In Abẹokuta, the activities of the chiefs remain vital factors in the lives of the people. When asked what modern function the Olorogun chiefs now serve the Olubara said:

> Do you remember during the last riots when the people could not trust the rediffusion and were turning in their rediffusion boxes? I called my Olorogun chiefs together and told them how they should instruct the people how to behave so that they should not get into trouble. It was these chiefs who kept the people off the street.

Only one Ogboni chief lives in the orile. His title is Aṣipa (messenger). In past years it was his responsibility to carry messages back and forth between the orile and Omida. He has now tired of this activity and has become engaged in more lucrative tasks; but when matters concerning the orile come before the chiefs he silently takes his place

among their council. Very seldom is he present at the meetings of the people of the orile. On those few occasions when he does attend orile meetings he is seldom heard to speak.

When the people have an interfamily problem they go to the elders of the houses of the disputants. If the matter is not settled at this level the dispute will be taken to the village headman Sometimes elders from all sections of the orile gather together to settle a neighborhood disagreement. Serious attempts are made to avoid taking the matter to the chiefs in Omida. If the chiefs become involved the problem may eventually be settled in the oba's palace. Witnesses and defendants will be summoned to Omida. The case may be called several times before the matter is finally settled. Involving chiefs and obas in the resolution of disputes is costly in time and money. Fines and gifts will be exacted. The litigants could very well lose much more than they expected to gain.

It must not be thought that these chiefs are only involved in the petty concerns of narrow family interests. They are dedicated to the growth and development of their orile But they have little idea of what they can do to see that improvements come to their homestead They have no technical knowledge and many of them are illiterate They do not know what is possible When opportunities are presented to them, they have problems mobilizing themselves and acting appropriately to secure these opportunities.

With the exception of the oba they seldom travel to the orile. They have their responsibilities towards the members of their family living in Ibara Omida. Omida is a large area and requires many meetings and

consultations to ensure the peace, tranquility, and proper administration of the community. They must also see to the development and progress of Omida, and they must also be about the very serious business of securing their own "daily bread". These tasks are time and energy consuming. They themselves, are old and the orile is far away. They do not wish to risk the hazards of traveling to the orile. Transportation is so erratic and the drivers are so independent that a taxi driver may decide to put them out of his vehicle at any point along the road. Or, once the business has been completed, there might not be convenient transportation out of the orile.

The chiefs also have problems of imagery. They do not know how they should think and act towards the orile. In their minds the orile is not only their homestead; it is also a farm. The problems of Omida are more immediate and understandable. Many of them have no real idea of how large the place has grown. It has already been noted that some of the people of the orile think that the development of the orile was hindered by these very chiefs. They believe that some of the chiefs did not wish to see people move from Omida back to the homestead. Moreover, the chiefs (as well the people of the orile) do not know the operational implications involved in the developmental projects of which they so frequently speak. They have seen electricity and telephones come to a town. Yet, many of the people of Abẹokuta have not been able to afford these amenities. Although everybody wants to see the orile develop and have running water, electricity, and telephones, they are seriously concerned about the costs of such improvements and wonder if they could really

afford these services.

The problems of the social, political, and geographical distance between the people of the orile and their chiefs in Omida is compounded by the traditional features of their interpersonal relationships. The chiefs feel that they are fully informed about the things which transpire in the orile. If they do not always trust the accuracy of the messages which come to them, or the validity of the complaints which are brought to them, it is not for them to impugn the integrity of the messenger. Nor, is it their habit to initiate ameliorative procedures unless specifically requested to do so by some other individual. They do not go looking for trouble and are unwilling to involve themselves in investigative procedures. If the youths have a problem, it is their duty to bring the matter to their elders. The elders must not go to the youths

The Olubara receives a salary from the regional government. He does not have to find or devote his energies to the task of finding his "daily bread". It is his duty to devote himself to the management and development of his kingdom He does not hesitate to travel to the outlying regions of his kingdom in order to consult with and advise his people. But, in the end, the real burden of the management of the affairs of the people of the orile is left to the elders and the youth of the orile.

Village Level Politics

For the people of Ibara Orile, the daily activities and intrigues of the oba and the chiefs are played out in the palace and compounds of Ibara Omida. Their lives are more mundane, their interactions less

ritualized, their habits more regular, and their conversations not quite as profound. The finery, beads, drums, parades, conclaves, and ceremonials, are more the life style of the elders of Omida. Theirs is the hard life of the peasants: dull, uninteresting, and seldom satisfying.

The headman is the person whomthe people of the orile consult when they wish to settle serious interhousehold disputes, discuss community problems, or execute a community project. Ordinarily, he would be the person to greet and talk with the strangers and dignitaries who visit the town.

For the people of Ibara Orile, their headman, Babatunde Ọmọkuro, no longer remains with them in the orile. He is reputed to be 132 years old and has become blind in recent years. In 1963, he moved to his house in Ibara Omida and now spends his days in bed, in a small, dimly lit, cluttered room.

When Ọmọkuro went to Ibara Omida, the people of the orile started to go to Bamidele Fayomi, of Idofin, with many of the problems they had formerly taken to Ọmọkuro. Bamidele is a man of a reputed 110 years of age and, with the departure of Ọmọkuro, became the oldest man in the orile. Following the "principle of seniority", (discussed on pages 187-192), the people of the orile now consider Bamidele their Acting Headman. This transition was made easier by the fact that Bamidele, a child of Idofin, is from one of the oldest lineages of the orile. Ọmọkuro will retain his title as headman (bale, see page 114) until he dies. It would have been considerably more difficult if the oldest man in the orile had been an Isolo or Ifatedo resident.

Unfortunately, Bamidele claims he is sick and cannot walk. He spends most of his time seated on the floor of his parlor with his back against the wall. He has not been to the market or the courthouse in years. Many of the more outspoken men of the town are annoyed with him. They feel that he quite capable of walking to the courthouse for the meetings which they occasionally hold when there is an important matter to discuss or when a dignitary comes to the town. And, indeed, when Bamidele has to go to the toilet in the bush, his stride is exceedingly sprightly.

Babatunde Ọmọkuro claims that when he had to leave the orile he chose Matthew Olayinka to be his representative. Matthew Olayinka is a man of about fifty-five to sixty years of age. He is a tall, quiet, conscientious man who has had some success as a farmer and is considered one of the more wealthy men of the town. As the headman's representative Matthew has the title of Alaga (chairman). It is his responsibility to preside at all meetings of the youths of the village. He is the person who gathers people around to perform the work of the town (see pages 422-424), and it is his duty to report all of the things which occur in the village to Ọmọkuro. If Ọmọkuro believes that Matthew's report indicates a developing conflict or problem he will see that the report is forwarded to the oba or to those chiefs who might be eventually involved in the particular situation. In this way the chiefs can prepare themselves for the time when the matter is brought before them for their consideration and judgment. The messages which the Alaga carries do not go in just one direction. If the headman or the oba has anything to say to the people of the orile they will call upon the Alaga to carry their messages.

Despite these associations with the headman, the oba, and the chiefs of Omida, Matthew never neglects the acting headman. It is his responsibility to keep the acting headman informed of his activities and to seek the acting headman's opinion of matters affecting the orile. The headman and the Olubara also depend upon the acting headman to encourage the people to participate in work projects and solve community problems.

There are many people in the hamlets who have come to feel that the acting headman is as important, if not more important than the headman. The acting headman is in the orile while the headman is in Omida. The acting headman is also considered to be one of the most expert healers and diviners in the orile. These skills permit him to use divination in the solution of domestic and community problems. The headman is also one of the few talented native healers in the orile. Throughout the day people can be seen entering his house, seeking his support and advice. It is not considered wise to ignore this old man.

The Elders and The Youth

It is often quite difficult to distinguish between an elder and a youth. The principle of relative seniority in social relationships requires that an individual modify his behavior according to the age composition of the people in his immediate environment. If ego is the oldest person in the situation he is put in the role of the elder. If there are a number of more elderly people present he must assume more of the role behavior of a youth. It is a peculiarly situational phenomenon that a man of sixty or seventy years of age might, in some situations,

be thought of as a youth, while in other situations he might be identified as an elder.

Another consideration which is important to the determination of a person's placement in one class or the other class is the life style the person wishes to portray and the degree of acceptance which people will accord his portrayal. The ideal elder is the person who takes a chieftaincy title, assumes the burdens of settling family squabbles, succeeds in getting other people of the community to come to him to discuss personal and public problems, learns the history and traditions of his family and kingdom, speaks wisely in the councils of chiefs, and contributes generously of his time and money to community projects. The oldest members of the community will regard a young man of forty with respect if the young man can successfully carry out these behaviors. Alternatives to performing all these requisites would include becoming very rich, very popular, or very old. Without a title it is difficult for a person to elicit the same respect and regard as an elder who is also a titled chief.

The few elders who live in the orile have received their position by dint of living longer than most other people in the orile With the exception of the Aipa and a minor Egba Olorogun title held by Simon Adeola, there are no other traditional titles in the orile. Most of the untitled elders of the orile seldom attend the village councils and do not participate in decisions affecting the development of the orile These are considered, more properly, activities for the youth of the orile Their interests are more related to concerns for the health and

welfare of that segment of their lineage living in the orile (see pages 343-352). They are family elders; little more. There are only three or four people of the village who have a generalized or inter-quarter leadership influence upon the people of the orile.

Therefore, most of the adult males of the orile must be considered and will tend to consider themselves as youth. They have no money and no titles. They have not devoted time to learning the traditions of their family and the old Ibara kingdom. They know little about the history of the land. They say:

> I am just a farmer and must work to earn my daily bread. You must ask our fathers.

They are not being uncooperative. They really do not know. They have spent a major portion of their lives in the bush hamlets and have not had an opportunity to interact, discuss, and learn the history of their people.

There has been, in the orile, no generalized social milieu in which the people of the village can interact. Essentially, they have brought their habits of lineage corporateness and exclusivity which served them well in their hamlets to their new settlement in the orile. The people of the orile are stymied in their attempts to plan and act together, for theirs is a recently established village with no widely accepted chiefs, no generally accepted elders, and few traditions of cooperation. There had been some attempts to form a town council but these efforts were aborted when people began to fear that these meetings would be associated with the political activities of the Action Group or the Nigerian National Democratic Party supporters.

The Question Of Leadership

There are a few people, who, at times, manage to exercise an influence which ranges beyond their own family and quarter of the village. One of these is Matthew Olayinka, the Alaga, who is generally respected and liked by most of the people of the village. It is recognized that he has an interest in the development of the town and that he is sufficiently successful in his personal and business activities to resist the temptation to use community funds for his own purposes. In his long history of public service he has never been accused of dishonesty. He is quiet and unassuming. He does not argue, and he does not make too many demands upon the people. He knows his people well and says that if he tries to work too fast the people will stop their own small efforts and let him do everything. He says that they will begin to respond to all questions by saying, "Take it to the Alaga. He knows everything." The very requirement that he behave in such a circumspect manner and the fact that he is so well suited to this prescription severely circumscribes his effectiveness.

Other people of the town do not wish to become involved in local leadership activities for fear that they might be accused of seeking personal aggrandizement and fortune at the expense of their fellow villagers. The most literate people in the town are the four teachers. Two of the male teachers take active leadership roles in the church. The female teacher and her daughter have lived in the orile for years. They have become closely associated with the people of the village. But these teachers refuse to become involved in the problems of the village. They

protest that they are not "sons of the soil":

> We never attend these meetings. We are not sons of the soil. We are only temporary here. The people would not like us interferring in their business. We do not know their ways here and do not wish to cause trouble.

The young teacher who believed that the witches of the orile would harm him also believed that they would not listen to him because he was educated. They would feel that he was trying to force them into things. This would lead to the use of sorcery and witchcraft to get rid of him.

Dauda Aina is made of more aggressive stuff than the Alaga and the teachers. There are few people he fears and few situations in which he hesitates to involve himself. He is the leader of the local branch of the A.G., a position which required courage and ability during late 1965, a time when political thugs of the opposing parties roamed the countryside looting, harassing, macheting, and burning houses and people. Dauda's position was strengthened by the fact that he was the leader of the political party to which the majority of the people of the orile subscribed. During the days when the Action Group was in power, Dauda and his senior wife were the village representatives on the Ikereku District Council. It was during their tenure that the permanent market sheds were erected. Dauda does not hesitate to remind the people of what he has done for the orile and what further benefits would come if the A.G. returned to power.

Dauda's energy and charismatic personality had a hypnotic appeal for many of his followers. As election time approached the danger of his position as the local opposition leader became more apparent. As the political situation in the country became more confused his popularity increased. People from all sections of the town began to walk over to

Dauda's house to find out what the national political leaders were doing and how they should respond

Admittedly, much of Dauda's popularity was the result of the larger political processes occurring in the region and the crude machinations of the ruling party. Increasingly, the people of the village refused to accept the news that would come to them through the government controlled news media They did not believe what they read in the newspapers or heard on the radio or rediffusion in Abẹokuta They believed that the N.N.D.P. controlled all news media and would not tell the truth The source of truth became the leaders of the A.G. party. Fortunately for Dauda, the acting leader of the A.G., Alhaji Dauda Adegbenro, lived in Abẹokuta

With much fanfare Dauda would frequently leave the orile creating that he was going to consult with Adegbenro or some other important leader. His position was always further enhanced when known leaders of the Action Group would drive to Dauda's house The people of the orile could not help but notice the important visitors who would come to his door After these meetings the people would come to Dauda's house in an attempt to determine what had transpired By revealing a little, withholding a little, and by suggesting that he was at the center of a great intrigue, Dauda always managed to keep his supporters' acceptance of his interpretations of events in Lagos, Ibadan, and Abẹokuta They followed his every suggestion

Dauda was also an astute organizer. He actively recruited lieutenants and supporters from every quarter of the village He was

also respected for his fearlessness and was considered a very bold man. In fact, many of the people were afraid of him because he was known to be a very powerful medicine man. He did not hesitate to show visitors a room in which he kept a great variety of drugs and protective medicines. It was also known that he kept a very powerful sorcerer in an enclosed section of the kitchen area behind his house.

After the October, 1965, elections Dauda's political supporters began to falter. The Action Group had not won and his source of funds was gone. The people lost interest in politics and some of them blamed Dauda for causing them the hardships of traveling to a distant village to vote on election day. They felt that he should have known that the N.N.D.P. would not give them a chance to vote. To some of the people his greatest sin was leading them to support a losing cause. They felt that a real leader would have told them to join the N.N.D.P. Their dissident slogan became, "Vote for the party in power".

With the coming of the January military coup all political activities and political parties were interdicted. For the people of the orile, Dauda's continuing political behavior was irrelevant. They thought that the military heroes would maintain the peace in the land and they looked forward to a period of prosperity. Many of them became increasingly critical of Dauda's drinking and their worst fears were confirmed when he attacked one of the Ifatedo elders with a machete.

As Dauda's fortunes diminished, the attacks upon him increased and he was eventually accused of prohibiting the people of Oke Afin from participating in clearing land for a clinic which was to be constructed

in the orile. He was also accused of not turning in the money which he had collected from the people of Oke Afin for the construction of the clinic Many people began to insist that he was "off the roles of the village" and should no longer speak in village councils. Of course Dauda was irrespressible and he continued to speak out in any forum he cared to attend

Like Dauda Aina, Simon Adeola, an elder of Idofin, is one of the few men who has the potential for gathering people from other sections to participate in activities directed towards the common good Simon has an ease and sophistication which is unfamiliar to most. Because of his many abilities, Simon is one of the main links between the orile and outside agents of social change He is the person who is best able to organize the town meetings which are held in the court house. He knows how to admonish the people to behave properly in the presence of these strangers. He makes sure the courtroom is cleaned, sufficient chairs are available, bamboo wine is served in clean glasses, and as much information as possible about the matter to be discussed available. He is impressive as he demonstrates that a villager can act as an equal with Europeans. His influence in these interchanges is so highly regarded that the villagers will refuse to meet with Europeans if Simon is not in the orile.

Simon said that he came to the orile in order to develop the place. He feels that he would have had much more progress but for the machinations of Dauda Aina whom Simon considers a troublemaker. One elder, Samuel Ọmọtayọ, gave this unsolicited testimonial, praising some of Simon's efforts

and indicating some of the problems which exist in the social structure of Ibara Orile:

> It is only in this town that it is different from other towns and villages and the reason is that everybody wants to be master of himself. It was about twenty-one years ago that Ajaba [Simon Adeola's title] came back to this town and since that time he has been working and worrying about the improvement of this town. A man who worked restlessly for their town in Abẹokuta and, more especially, when they said they will not have an ọba, he fought tooth and nail and succeded in letting them have an ọba. Will he not be able to do something for this place when he comes back?
>
> Bẹfore his arrival here there was only a shed remaining in the market. It was through his activities and influence that this market started developing like this. During the time Simon was trying to revive the market a few people were behind him, but Dauda Aina was against him. Had Simon not exercised patience there would be no market here again. Formerly they had a council here and it was through the uncooperativeness of Dauda that they do not meet here again.

I have quoted these comments at length because they illustrate several aspects of Simon's character as well as some of the social processes which have occurred in the kingdom. The reference to the ọba related to the fight over the Alake's reluctance to permit the Ibara people to crown an Olubara. It is Ọmọtayo's belief that Simon can successfully win a difficult argument in the traditional and government courts and that he has demonstrated his willingness to put aside his own affairs for the benefit of the community. The question is rhetorical: If he can be successful with difficult cases, how much more successful will he be in developing the town?

Simon does not hide his dislike for Dauda. He thinks that Dauda's behavior is a hinderance to the development of the town. He refers to Dauda as, "That bloody fool." It is his impression that Dauda is not

only a detriment to the town, but also his personal nemesis. Simon believes that before Dauda got involved in politics he, Simon, was the person who brought A.G. to the village. "But now the people have forgotten all that." When Dauda put a lock on the courthouse door, Simon's interpretation of Dauda's behavior was that it was a personal affront. He claimed that it would hinder the work of the visiting doctor and nutritionist who used the courthouse for their clinics. He never mentioned that it also caused him considerable inconvenience when he wished to hold a meeting in that place. He would mutter angrily as he looked for a messenger to send to Dauda for the key.

Simon anticipated the day when the people would become disenchanted with Dauda. He never attacked Dauda directly, for he was convinced that Dauda's "real character" would be revealed to the people and they would come back to him. Simon was right. As the people turned away from the troubles of politics and faced the problems of development, they found that Simon was the person who could be most useful in helping them to understand what to do to encourage strangers to take an interest in their town. Dauda's prohibition against people of Oke Afin's participation in clearing the clinic site convinced many people of his "worthlessness".

Unfortunately, the people also saw serious flaws in Simon's character. They consider him to be too bold. But his boldness is quite different from that which Dauda displays. Nobody is afraid of Simon. He does not use protective medicines or boast of his abilities as a sorcerer. He is, generally, helpful. But he is aggressive and does not like to lose an argument. The trouble with Simon is that he is usually right and does not

hesitate to humiliate and upbraid those who disagree with him. He sees himself as surrounded by fools and the people know that this is his opinion of them.

Simon is also a very independent and successful individual, involved in many activities. These activities often take him away from the orile for extended periods of time. It often happens that he leaves at times when people expect to meet with him to discuss problems of developing the town. More than once meetings with strangers who have come to the village had to be postponed because of Simon's absence.

Simon's very success detracts from his potential as a leader of his people. He is the contractor for laborers working on a large experimental farm in the neighborhood. He also claims that this farm is on his family land. His house in Ibara Omida dominates the Omida market place. It is a two story house, completely painted with electricity and running water; a superb structure. Simon's accomplishments are considered astounding, for he has also been able to send a son to England

Such luck is not to be taken lightly. If a man's luck is so good, then his neighbors must either try to associate with him in the hope that they might receive some secondary benefits, or they might decide to shun him, fearing that such luck could only be obtained at their expense. Most people in the village are equivocal. It is interesting that some of the people of Isolo once accused Simon of being a thief. They were soon proved wrong, but the hard feeling still exists. Some people have also accused Simon of stealing, like Dauda, some money he collected from the people of his area for the new clinic.

Summary.--There remains a serious question of the real morphology of the orile's political organization. The evidence indicates that the people have not yet developed a viable political organization. The people who would ordinarily be the political leaders live and work in Omida. The Olubara has been very active in trying to develop the orile, but without a locally based and accepted political structure his efforts are usually frustrated.

The people of the orile have become accustomed to the habits of life in a small, patrilineally organized hamlet. They have not yet been able to give long term allegiance and decision making authority to any broad-based leader. When a person seems to be taking some community wide leadership position, he must expect to have his growing power undercut by suspicions and accusations of dishonesty, self-interest, and poor judgment. The people are aware of these problems and, frequently, upbraid themselves for their "uncooperativeness".

PART THREE

HOW THEY LIVE THEIR LIVES

The first chapters of this thesis were devoted to the consideration of the basic historic, geographic, cultural, social structural and demographic parameters of life in the orile. For the people who now live there these parameters constitute the physical and psychological realities upon which they base their thoughts and acts.

Although the individual bales of the various households and the elders of the various quarters emphasize their own ancestors' heroic contributions to the growth of the orile, there is, among them, no dispute about the major outlines of their history. To them Ibara was once a great walled town, the center of a large kingdom. They believe that they are the true owners of the land on which Abẹokuta now stands.

During the wars of the last century they were forced to desert their old town and to build new homes beside the people who were once their guests. For eight-eight years they devoted their energies to establishing themselves in Abẹokuta. They have been busy creating their kingdom on their new Omida site. Yet they never forgot their past glory and they have always looked forward to increasing their prestige and improving their position among their Ẹgba neighbors and rulers. In 1952, after much dissension and strife, they were able to crown an Olubara, their first king since the disastrous loss of their town in 1864. This success, combined with an improvement in the price paid for their cocoa, prompted

the Ibara people to leave their small, dispersed, kinship-based farm hamlets and gather together to build new homes at the site of the old walled town.

It has not been easy for them to develop a new community. They lack organization and habits of cooperation which are necessary to the creation of a viable and progressive town life. Some of them believe that it was this inability to cooperate and coordinate their activities that caused them to lose their old empire. As we have seen, their social, political, and religious institutions have few elements which are conducive to the development of extra-kinship patterns of cooperation Dispersed in the bush for more than three generations, they have relied on their kinship ties which emphasize the authority of their elders in the hamlets and in their homes in Abẹokuta. The people who inherited lineage chieftaincy positions were primarily responsible for the maintenance of the integrity of their lineages, lineage land, and lineage property. No one person symbolized community interests.

The following sections will be concerned with discussions of how the people of the orile live their lives; how they grow up; how they learn to participate in the social and cultural systems in which they find themselves; how they grow old; and how they are buried. These discussions will include such topics as their childrearing and socialization beliefs and practices, their methods of production and distribution, their characteristic marriage and reproduction practices, their associational habits, their middle age, and their old age.

The people's own claims that lack of cooperation and interpersonal hostility have inhibited the development of the orile will be considered.

In this summary discussion the findings of earlier sections will be used to present an integrated cultural, social and personality approach to the understanding of the genesis and characteristics of what they consider their central problem; that of community cooperation.

CHAPTER IX

IN THE BEGINNING

Childbirth

Through malnutrition and infections many of the children die before their fifth birthdays. Sick people are usually taken to Omida, to the clinic at Ikereku District Council, or to the hospitals of Abẹokuta. It is in Abẹokuta that those who cannot be cured will die and be buried. At the time of parturition women go to Abẹokuta to their husbands' or fathers' homes. They are coming to rely more and more on the maternity clinic at the Ikereku District Council and the hospitals and maternity clinics of Abẹokuta. They say, "Too many children die in the village".

The belief that the orile is not a good place to have children is generally accepted. The few births that do occur there are usually described as accidents This is possible because most women are not able to calculate their anticipated date of delivery. In addition, in many instances, even in the history of primiparous women, there were no prodromal signs of parturition The morning after the unexpected arrival of her first child Abeke Adewuyi told me of her delivery:

> Abeke: I just felt this pain down my left thigh and when Laisisi observed my condition he asked what was wrong and I told him. Since this was the first time this happened I thought I would take the lorry to the hospital in the morning. Then I had a sharp pain and severe wetting and immediately I had the wetting, the baby came. Nothing else happened. They took the baby and watched him and cut the cord.

O. O.: What hospital was this you talk about?

Abeke: A maternity clinic on Ibara Road in Abẹokuta I usually go there every two weeks. The last time I went there they urged me to come back in one week. Today was the day of my visit.

Like many others, Karimu Delebe believes that, "God does not reveal when the child will arrive". He told us about the way his sister accidentally gave birth near the site of the proposed Ibara Orile clinic:

My younger sister was going to get water and she just gave birth to her child right in the middle of the road. There was nobody there to help her and she delivered before people rushed to the place.

It is often difficult to determine whether the women's daily activities cause them to ignore the advanced stages of their pregnancies. According to Samuel Olabeji:

I was born by the road. It was at Ifọ on the way to Lagos. My mother was a petty trader and she had to go there. It was a market day and not knowing that her delivery was coming, I was born there.

The women usually squat when delivering their children. At the time of her first delivery the woman will have the assistance of those about her. A woman who has had some experience in midwifery might also be invited to the house.

After the birth of her first child a woman is normally expected to deliver her other children by herself. She is not expected to seek assistance or to cry out. Samuel Olabeji speaks of his sister's death; she did not survive one of these solitary deliveries:

Samuel: She got married and had six children. When she was about to deliver the last one she had trouble before she could deliver it She died a few minutes after the birth.

O.O.: Who was taking care of her?

Samuel: She was old enough to take care of herself.

With the exception of deliveries in hospitals and clinics or accidental births along the road, a woman is, traditionally, expected to deliver her children in her husband's house. Disputes with her husband and his family may cause her to leave his house. In such instances she may be in her father's house at the time of her delivery; despite where the child is born, he belongs to his father and his father's patrilineage. The placenta and in the event of a still birth, the body, are always delivered to the father. Even when a child is born in a hospital or clinic these items are still sent to the father who buries them in some isolated b u s h The usual response to questions related to the secretiveness of these burials is, "I cannot say That is what we are doing." Some of the elders believe that the placenta is the enikeji (see pages 143-149).

A woman is expected to remain in or about her house for ninety days after her first delivery and at least forty-five days if she has had more than one child. Some of the people emphasize the seclusion of the child rather than the mother. Considerable variation does exist in the actual adherence to these rules of seclusion. However, most women faithfully follow the rule that they remain in their houses with their newborn until after the child's naming ceremony. This usually occurs seven to nine days after birth. Peter Omodele and Miniratu discussed these restrictions:

Miniratu: We keep the women in the house to prevent the children from getting colds. During the time they are in the house the mothers are not allowed to go more than a mile from the house.

Peter: If we did not have these rules they would be running here and there all over the place.

The Naming Ceremony

Although the practice is changing, it is usually expected that both the mothers and their newborn children remain in the house until after a child's naming ceremony. Fathers find it increasingly difficult to keep their wives in the house during the longer ninety and forty-five days of seclusion. Wives wish to go outside to talk with friends or engage in household chores, food processing, and trading.[1]

Traditionally, the naming ceremony occurs nine days after birth in the case of a boy, seven after that of a girl, and eight days after birth for Muslims. Today, however, regardless of the child's sex and the family's religion, the eighth day ceremony is becoming standard. This change probably reflects the growing influence of Islam in the orile

At the time of the naming ceremony the child may receive names from his father's and mother's parents Important visitors may also give the child a name. The ceremony will consist of prayers offered up by the religious officials who attend the occasion. Ifa priests will divine a proper name for the child and may direct that he or his parents worship and sacrifice to a particular god. In the case of Christians a name from the Bible will be given; however, this custom is slowly changing.

Names are given to denote some historical event or to mark some hope or wish. Olatunji (A child born at the time the family loses its wealth) or Olarewaju (A child born at the time the family regains wealth which it had formerly lost) are examples of names given to document particular aspects of the family's history at the time of the child's birth. A name like Akindele (A bold child enters the house) suggests the parents' hopes and aspirations for the child.

The problem of abiku (see page 146) inspires names like Malọmọ (Do not go back again) and Ọmọtunde (Child returns). Oyedara (Oya has been good) and Ọṣunmakinde (Ọṣun bring bold child to me) are examples of names of children who are thought to have been born through the intercession of gods.

Perhaps the largest category of names are those thought to have been "brought from heaven". These names are prompted by the circumstances of the child's birth. They specify the most naturalistic and sometimes other-worldly aspects of the child's birth. These names have nothing to do with the family's history, its aspirations or its particular religion. Any first born child is properly Dauda. The first born of twins is known as Taiwo and the second always as Kehinde. Both twins, as a pair, are called Ejire.[2] The first child born after twins is called Idowu if a boy, and Alaba, if a girl. Of course, names given to children because of the particular order of their births only apply to those born of the same mother. Abiọna is the name given to children "born by the side of the road".

Among the people of the orile there is some dispute as to whether such names as Babatunde (Father returns) and Iyatunde (Mother returns) are actually names from heaven. They feel that these are given names.

As a child matures he will receive many more names. Incoming wives will give him pet names, he will also receive names more descriptive of his life activities or the style of life he adopts. A student may be known as akọwe (clerk), and a female seller of rice will be called iya onirẹsi (mother of rice).

The First Years

The Back and the Breast

Infants spend most of the first two years of their lives strapped to their mothers' backs. Indeed, the infant is so thoroughly wrapped in the binder which his mother wraps around her waist, his head protected from the sun by his mother's shawl, that it is sometimes difficult to tell that a baby is actually positioned there.

The naked infant's proximity to his mother's naked back constitutes a tactile relationship which is crucial to the child's developing sense of security, feelings of self confidence, and learning capacity. Although little understood, the importance of affectional relationships based on bodily contact cannot be underestimated. In his studies of the social capacity of primates, Harry F. Harlow (1959: 40-53) has considered the importance of both the variables of tactile stimuli and breast feeding in relation to the developmental capactities of his subjects. He found that:

> Body texture is a variable of overwhelming importance in the development of affectional responses, and lactation is a variable of negligible importance whether this relates to innate responsiveness to the pseudo breast or to any learned or derived motives built upon the response of nursing. Indeed, it is possible that the only function of nursing as an affectional variable is that of insuring frequent body contact. [1959:47]

Harlow has found that primates with sufficiently satisfying bodily contacts with his experimental cloth pseudomothers were able to learn faster and were more exploratory in their behavior than those subjects without satisfying bodily contacts with surrogate mothers. Although Harlow's experimentation was with monkeys, he deals with a subject which

has been long neglected, i.e. the meaning of prolonged tactile relationships to the social and cultural systems. In view of the abrupt and fear-stimulating characteristics of the weaning period in Ibara (discussed on pages 280-284), understanding the nature and emotional concomitants of the earlier strong mother-child tactile relationships is of considerable importance.

Sewell (1952), in his study of infant training and personality development in children, contrasted gradual weaning, bowel training, demand schedule feeding, early and late bowel training, breast feeding and sleep security. He found that none of these factors were as significant to the personality development of his subjects as sleep security (i e those who slept with their mothers during the first year of life). Although La Barre questioned the theoretical basis of Sewell's study (La Barre, 1952), Sewell's approach to the problem and his findings remain significant.

In Ibara during the first twenty-four months of life the relationship between mother and child is close and constant. When the child is not on his mother's back, he is riding, in the wrapper, astraddle his mother's left hip, sucking and fondling her left breast This arrangment is most satisfactory for both; it permits the infant the security of close contact with his mother's body and close proximity to his major source of food. The constant motion of the mother's body provides the infant with a continuous gentle rocking. If the child is irritated or uncomfortable and begins to cry, his mother will move her hips in a dancing motion. The mother finds that an equally satisfactory solution to the child's discomfort is to sling the child around in her binder to her left hip, lift her blouse and give the child her breast. Either or both of these activities

is usually sufficient to keep the child quiet and pacified.

On those occasions when the mother is not available to comfort the child some other woman of the house may provide this attention. My notes on child care indicated that:

> One day as I walked about the Isolo quarter I saw an old lady with a young infant strapped to her back. This old lady was very jolly and busily hopping about trying to quiet the crying child When this failed she attempted to stick the nipple of her left breast into the child's mouth. The child cried and resisted for a while but was soon contentedly sucking at the nipple

As the baby grows larger and stronger there is less need to cover his head to protect him from direct exposure to the sun. He becomes more interested in the activities about him and more familiar and free with his immediate nurturing environment. The child makes his first observations and contacts with the world from this intimate and protecting environment. When he is tired of swiveling his head around and becomes bored with the passing scene he can rest his head against his mother's back or manipulate himself around her body in an attempt to find her breast.

Even when the child begins to take his first faltering steps or toddles, the back and breast remain available. If the mother is seated or lying down in the house, or if she is selling in the market place, the toddler can always find his way to his mother's breast. The small child is seldom discouraged from, or punished for, this familiarity.

Carrying children on their backs is a skill women practice from the time they learn to walk. Little girls who have barely reached their fourth and fifth years are actively encouraged to carry younger siblings on their backs.

Within a few months after birth the mother attempts to feed the baby

gruels of various kinds. If the child does not readily accept these foods there is a method of forced feeding. This consists of placing the child, face up, across the knees, cupping one hand around the child's mouth, pinching off the nose with the thumb and little finger, and using the free hand to pour gruel through the cupped hand into the child's mouth.[3]

The variety of foods the child learns to eat is increased so that by the time he is sixteen months old his diet is supplemented with rice, cassava, yam, corn, oranges and bananas. By this time some children have given up the breast, others continue to use it primarily as a source of comfort and security, while still others continue at the breast.

Growing Up

The time for weaning usually comes when the child is about two and a half years old. The most frequent motivation for weaning is the desire to have more children. However, a woman's strong desire to have many children is always tempered by the requirment that she keep her last born child at her breast for at least two years. This social requirement is supported by the strong belief that if a woman is impregnated before her baby is weaned the baby will sicken and die. Some women, who do not expect to become pregnant immediately, will abbreviate the breast feeding because they wish to leave the child with some mature person while they pursue their trading.

Weaning consists of making the breast undesirable. This is done by putting bitter herbs on the breast or strange objects on the nipple and telling the children frightening things about these objects. Sarah Omodele, Peter's wife, explained this latter procedure:

> Before we can get a new baby we have to wean the old one from the breast. We must make the breast so that the baby will not like it [quickly grabs a leaf, spits on it and stick it to her right nipple]. We tell the child it is an insect and the child draws away.

For a variety of reasons a woman might prefer to prolong breast feeding. She might find it neither uncomfortable or inconvenient; she might, in fact, find it pleasantly stimulating. (Many women were seen to caress or flick their right nipples as the child sucked at the left.) Alternatively, she might be growing old and think of the child at her breast as her last baby. She might have left her husband or he might recently have died or gone to some distant place, making intercourse and impregnation impossible. Finally, the child at the breast might be particularly sickly and would, therefore, require extra care and consideration.

Once the decision to wean the child has been made, the process of establishing independence in the child and a regard for his individuality, and that of his mother, is rapidly and vigorously pursued. His mother's back is no longer so easily attainable. He must find other resting places and sources of comfort. His mother actively attempts to establish greater emotional and physical distance between herself and her child. The child is asked to assume responsibility for his own behavior and care. He is also asked to go on small errands and perform simple tasks. He is actively and aggressively prohibited from accompanying his mother in the earlier and familiar manner. Two observations, made in a single day, illustrate these types of behavior.

> Here is a mother slapping her daughter for attempting to follow her out of the house. No one other than the child is left in the house as the mother leaves her to go to the river. The child is about four years old.

> A woman is pushing her two and a half year old child back into the house. She wishes to leave him alone there while she goes to get water from the river. The child wants to go with her. The woman shuts the child behind the gate of the house and goes about her business. The child is crying loudly. The mother leaves. Jimo Akişomo wanders across the road and cautions the child to be quiet He turns to me and says, "This is what the mothers do. The child must play and fall asleep." Jimo turns and wanders off. I do the same. The child continues crying.

The problem of understanding the child's psychic responses to this agressive and fear stimulating disruption of his previously secure close physical and psychological relationship with his mother is great. Much further study of this period is needed. However, the fact of sudden and dramatic weaning is not entirely unfamiliar. There is a literature which deals with the problem of the increasing distance which must develop between the mother and growing infant which can be utilized in developing understanding of personality development among the people of Ibara. Erik Erikson (1962: 185-225) has developed a theory of personality development which is especially useful because of its apparent cross-cultural applicability. In referring to the weaning period he says:

> This point in the individual's early history provides him with some sense of basic loss, leaving the general impression that once upon a time one's unity with a maternal matrix was destroyed. Weaning therefore, should not mean sudden loss of the breast and loss of the mother's reassuring presence too, unless, of course, other women can be depended upon to sound and feel much like the mother. A drastic loss of accustomed mother love without proper substitution at this time can lead [under otherwise aggravating conditions] to acute infantile depression or to a mild but chronic state of mourning which may give a depressive undertone to the whole remainder of life. [1962: 193]

If applied, <u>in toto</u>, to the people of the orile these words would be prophetic. It has been shown that the mothers often wean their children abruptly, most frequently with the aid of fear producing stimuli. They also, at weaning time, leave their children alone, for varying periods of

time, without a substitute mother.

Although the importance of Erikson's comments on the developing personality of the child in the orile is not to be denied there are some mitigating factors. Erikson's weaning period occurs at the end of the first year while the people of the orile typically wait twenty-four months before weaning. This longer suckling period permits the child an opportunity to develop his walking, observing, and communicating skills. Therefore, he has much more maturity and command of his environment at the time of weaning

Erikson's statement about the destruction of "one's unity with a maternal matrix" is not unique Sullivan's (1940: 79) use of this terminology is more explicit, although more psychoanalytically oriented. In dividing the mother's behavior into that of the "Good Mother" and the "Bad Mother", Sullivan has illuminated some aspects of the infant's relationship with his mother and has offered some suggestions as to how the trauma of infantile disappointment and frustration is resolved and permits the child to carry on through the next developmental stages. According to Sullivan (1940) the infant understands the mother as a "vague cosmic entity".

> The discrimination of the Good Mother pattern of events and the Bad Mother pattern of events constitutes the primary bifurcation of interpersonal experience, evidences of which persist in most people throughout life. In later infancy there is a synthesis of experience which dulls this primary discrimination and graudally evolves an adequate perception of the mother as a person who is sometimes good--giving satisfactions and security--and sometimes bad. [1940: 79]

Although the child is devastated by the sudden and irrevocable loss of his mother, as he knew her from the old vantage point of her back and

from toddling about the house, he has come to understand and recognize many of the tasks in which he must now responsibly engage, Benedict (1962: 522-531) has asserted that in many of the world's communities the continuity of children's and adults' behavior is much greater than that of children and adults in many western communities.

In the context of the orile the emphasis upon the discontinuity of the mother-child relationship should not be permitted to obscure the continuity between what the child has learned while on his mother's back and the behavior he will show when his peculiar and private relationship with his mother is discontinued. The fall from his mother's back facilitates his acceptance of an already familiar role.

Toilet Training, Cleanliness, and Adornment

At this early age children also learn the toilet and beauty practices that they will maintain throughout their lives. At first they are permitted to soil the floor of the house. As they begin to walk they learn, through gentle instruction and guidance, that it is best to relieve themselves outside the house. As they grow older they venture into the near bush to defecate and urinate. Baths are frequent and bath water is often blackened by the medicinal soaps which the father makes from herbs (see pages 343-352).

Little girls soon get used to having their hair braided and their brothers are, very early, introduced to the barber. Pepper is popularly used to clean the mouths of small children but later they begin to use the chewing stick (a twig used as a mouth cleaning device). Antimony is used to outline the eyes of both males and females and powder (such as

camwood) is used on their necks and bodies, or according to whim, to outline certain parts of the body. One woman used camwood powder to outline the soles of her feet. Infancy is the time when the girls' ears are pierced so that they might wear the delicate gold earrings woven by the artisans of Abeokuta.

Circumsion and Clitoridectomy

To be circumcised is part of growing up in the orile. The circumcisor is a specialist who also makes the scarifications for the tribal markings. He also tatoos the complex beauty designs which the women and, to a much less extent the men, affect (see Figure 4).

The father decides when the circumcisor will come to the orile to circumcise his children. Circumcision may be performed during the child's naming ceremony (i.e between seven to nine days after birth) or anytime before the child marries. What the people of the orile say about circumsion gives the impression that it is done for the purpose of preventing trauma during intercourse. Sikiru Oduntola gave this explanation:

> A boy is circumcised because if he is not the thin skin covering the penis is a danger to him. The first intercourse with a maiden or those with hard and thick hair will cause him injury. The thin part of the penis will be cut. If a man is not circumcised there will always be a tear or two.

Women are circumcised because of fears that an uncircumcised woman will harm her children in childbirth. These fears are combined with considerations of beauty, appropriateness and pride. Simon Adeola and Karimu Delegbe discussed some of the characteristics of clitoridectomy for me:

Simon: There is a lot of circumcision of girls but it is done in secret. If the parents do not want the child to feel pain they will do it at three months or before.

Karimu: I had my son done at nine days. It is up to the father. He might have it done at twelve to fourteen years. Some do not do it because something happened to the first child. He might have died entirely or an ulcer might have been formed.

Simon: They are not doing this among Ẹgba girls but they are doing it among Ẹgbado girls. It always covers the vagina and if it touches the child's head at birth then there will be a certain mark called oka [a mid-line linear depression] which will not get bone and air will be sucked in and the child will lose weight. Women want to be circumcised because they are attended by other women during the births of their children. After birth one of them might say, 'You are not circumcised'. This is considered a slur.

Most of our female informants agreed with Simon and Karimu. While there are no special ceremonials surrounding circumcisions they felt that there was a great tendency to be secretive about clitoridectomy. They could not explain the reasons for this secrecy.

Except for the female teacher at the Anglican School, Miniratu Ọmọyemi is the most literate woman in the orile. She is the only woman there to have graduated from Secondary Modern School. Of her newborn baby she says:

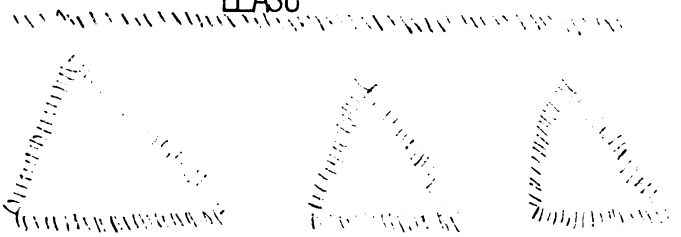
No. I am not going to have my daughter circumcised. I myself was circumcised when I was one week old.

Miniratu did not say why she will refuse to have her child circumcised. She just claims that she will not have it done It is not really unusual to hear educated girls talking this way for mission schools often teach that female circumcision is bad.

Of course, Miniratu is wrong. Her husband and her husband's father will determine whether or not the baby will be circumcised. These men are the real owners of the children born to the wives of the house. The

FIGURE 4

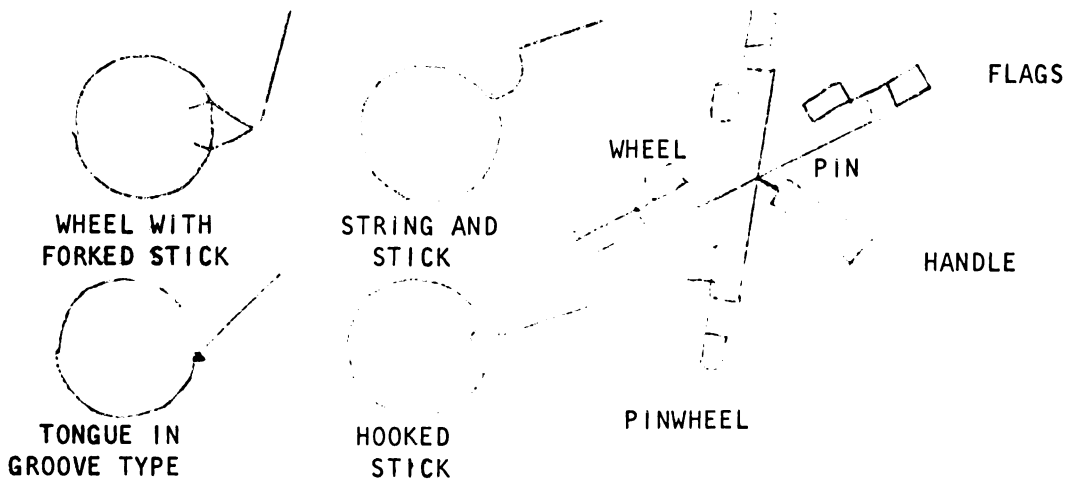
BEAUTY SCARIFICATIONS
LEFT WRIST SCARIFICATIONS
LEASU



LEFT CALF SCARIFICATIONS

FIGURE 5

TOYS



child will be circumcised. The fear of the damage an uncircumcised woman would do to her children will move them to make this decision. The girl herself, when she grows older, will want to be circumcised.

Circumcision and clitoridectomy are usually performed in the rainy season because of the general belief that such surgery bleeds more if done during the dry season. After the operation the juice of a snail is poured over the lesion. It is believed that snail juice facilitates healing.

The presence of the circumcisor in the orile provides the young women, particularly girls in their teens, with an opportunity to have the various parts of their bodies tatooed. These girls often have extensive beauty scarifications made without the knowledge of their parents. The procedure consists of drawing the design on the body with lampblack. Then four needles, tied together, are pressed against the skin with sufficient pressure to inoculate the individual with lampblack. In this way mottos, names, and intricate designs are placed on the arms, legs, chest, and back. Often small vertical slits are made under the eyes and medicines (ostensibly to enable the person to see witches) will be rubbed into these lesions.

Sex Education and Sex Play

Children receive no sex education from their parents. Despite the fact that there is much interest in the color and regularity of menstruation as an indication of fertility, girls are not usually prepared for the time of their first menses. When they do begin to bleed it is treated in a matter of fact manner and they are given a clean cloth to wear.

A small amount of sex play does occur. On one occasion I happened to be in a room with a group of young men (all in their late teens) who were joking and pushing each other. A young girl, about twelve, entered the room on an errand. The play stopped. Immediately after she left the boys began to tease saying that one among them had expressed a desire to have intercourse with the girl. This assertion caused much laughter and more playful pushing and shoving.

On another occasion a young, well developed, girl between eighteen and twenty passed by, carrying a calabash on her head. I was conversing with one of the men of Isolo. This man, about fifty, reached out and playfully pulled at her breast. She jerked away and asked him why he had grabbed her. He responded, "A young girl like you should be glad that a man looks at her."

Responsibility Training and Interpersonal Conduct

For the people of Ibara Orile the reason for marriage and, indeed, one of the primary reasons for being, is to have children; children who will honor and remember you through the generations. Therefore, children are greatly desired. Their good health is a constant concern and their premature death a cause for great distress. Yet in many ways the treatment of children appears more casual than their importance to their parents would seem to indicate.

As the child spends less time on his mother's back he has more time to toddle about the house and to get to know something about his environment and his place in life. Until this time he has had little contact with his father who now becomes a more meaningful force in the child's

life. Fathers begin to take time to play with their children; hold them on their laps or swing them about in the air. The time for socialization and training has come and the few tasks the child has to master are quickly, gently, and effectively taught. Even three year olds are taught simple techniques of survival and environmental mastery:

> The child is about three years old. He is seated on the ground eating his food out of a leaf wrapper. A duck wanders by and starts to peck at the food. The child cries. The mother comes along and lifts the child. She feeds the remaining food to the child. She then gives him a stick and with a few gestures shows the child how to chase the duck away. The child immediately masters this trick but does not show any delight in this new game. He stays by his mother and just waves the stick rather aimlessly, but effectively, at the duck's approach.

Parents teach their children by giving them specific instructions. Encouragement and assistance are also important means of teaching children the techniques of living:

> Alimi Adeboya's three and a half year old daughter, Alaba, is being taught how to carry her young sister on her back. Her mother has tied the baby to her back. Alaba looks confused, but as the crowd shouts encouragement she becomes more confident and takes a few faltering steps forward to test her balance In a short time she is strutting about the small area demonstrating her ability to carry her sister. The onlookers applaud her. Her mother soon takes the baby off her back and some of the people pat and compliment her.

I had heard that Yoruba fathers often resorted to flogging as a method of socializing their young. Lloyd supports this view when he says:

> The father is distant and authoritarian, often seeing little of his children if he is at the farm and they in school. Wishing that his sons should achieve at least the same status as his, and believing that such a status is the result of obedience to norms and hard work he flogs his children, often viciously, for their misdeeds. (1965:567)

In my experience I found the fathers neither distant nor punitive. They were authoritarian, but they were also warm, accepting and interested

in their children.

A father might beat a child for refusing to go to school. A mother might beat her child for not leaving the road quickly when a speeding vehicle roars through town Such "rascally behavior" as forgetfulness, general disobedience, negligence in the performance of chores and failure to be considerate of elders, is rewarded by a rap on the head, a slap on the bottom or a whack on the thighs with a stick. Yet these aggressions are limited by the generalized fear, related to beliefs in abiku, ara-igbo and luck, that severe punishment will result in the child's death (see pages 146, 143-152). Yesufu Egbeleye comments on his attempts to get his son to return to school are suggestive of these fears:

> Ramoni is headstrong and does not listen to me. I cannot say why he behaves this way. I punish him but if anything happens to him they may say that it is my own fault because I forced him against his will. He may create trouble for me which I shall be responsible for. He may fall ill and do as abiku.

Samuel Olabeji, a high school student, put it more directly, and in so doing suggested an important motivation for the moving of children from one house to the next (see pages 298-301).

> According to Yoruba custom it is believed that if one's child lives in one's house it is not wise because the child might be obstinate and parents might take too much pity on the child and release the child from punishment or not punish the child at all.

It is hard to say to what extent a child's first fumbling activities constitute cooperative play, competitive play, or parallel play. Like their parents, they do not engage in play activities which could contribute to the development of physical and mental skills and patterns of cooperation and competition. Rarely do the children run about the village in boisterous play, seldom do they travel about in gangs looking for fun and adven-

ture. Those small groups of children which do form seem to have no structure or viability for any extended period of time and soon break up. Most play is solitary, characterized by fleeting moments of the child's indulgence of his curiosity about particular items of his environment. The noise of children at play is seldom heard.

In the three years that the headmaster of the school has spent in the orile he has decided that:

> There is little room for playing in this town and the parents prefer to send the children on errands anyway. The parents do not like to hear the noise the children make.

A small number of fathers do take the time to make a variety of bamboo toys for their children. One child was seen running along the road in an effort to make the four pinwheels on his highly elaborate bamboo toy spin. Two children were seen playing with a toy which consisted of a bamboo steering wheel attached to a steering shaft and wheels. Another infant had a roller toy made of a wire handle threaded through a corncob roller. There were several instances in which children were seen manipulating a variety of sticks and strings in order to roll bicycle wheels along the ground. (See Figure 5)

However, this is rare. There are, in fact, very few toys which the children can manipulate and investigate. In most instances the children have only the implements of life: brooms, cooking utensils, and farm tools. The children use these materials to practice their future work roles. They spend their time mimicking their parents' activities; they make fumbling attempts to sweep the floor, run errands inside the house, attempt to pound cassava or yam or learn to balance increasingly large objects on their heads.

Soon the skills practiced and refined in the house are put to more useful service. Small children, as young as four years old, are found trudging beside their mothers carrying small basins of water quite like the latter who balance five gallon cans of water on their heads. The children are now also used to carry messages to and from the market and, as their horizons broaden, throughout the village. It is at this point that the distinctions between men's and women's work begin to make an impression upon them.

The basic role behavior that young girls must learn are really elaborations on that which they have already learned and will probably continue until their dying day:

> A young girl of about four years old is using a large pestle to pound yams. Between each stroke she stops and talks to her small friend. In a short while a woman about twenty or thirty years old walks up. This woman takes the pestle from the child and begins to pound the yams. The baby on the woman's back seems to enjoy this rocking sensation, for the mother is using the strength of her arms and shoulders to do this work; her body remains erect and moves only slightly, with a rhythmic gentleness. Hardly five minutes elapse before a seventy year old woman relieves her of this task.

Little girls must learn such housekeeping chores as washing clothes and dishes, preparing food and trading. They must learn to care for their younger siblings, for by the time they are five years old they may have a large share of the responsibility for this chore.

By the age of five, girls are skillful at cracking palm kernels and have begun to sell foodstuffs and provisions about the town. By six, they have become sufficiently strong to accompany older women to the farms to buy farm produce and help carry it to the storage areas in the orile. At nine, a girl can usually carry dirt and gravel from quarry sites to

housebuilding sites. Although her loads are smaller than those which larger girls and women carry she gets the same two pence per load that the older women do.

Throughout their early years of constant and close association with adult women these young girls are able to learn and practice the important techniques of bargaining and trading. They witness, understand, appreciate and absorb the fine nuances of wholesaling and retailing. Friendliness, haughtiness, disdain, anger, joking, manipulation of prior agreements, refusal, or sudden unexpected acceptance of an offer, are all skills which the young girls learn and spend the remainder of their lives using and perfecting. Characteristics of the trading encounter will be discussed in greater detail in pages 397-401.

Boys must learn farming skills outside the home and the village. At the age of four many boys begin to accompany their fathers to the farm. At first they play or sleep under the shade of a tree. After a few visits they begin to distinguish between weeds and other plants and are soon pulling the former in their fathers' farm plots. By the time they are five and six years old they are making their own solitary trips into the surrounding bush to collect wood for the kitchen fires. Progressively they learn how to help their fathers build fences, hoe the land, plant seeds and cuttings, and harvest the crops. By the time they enter their second decade they have become skilled farmers.

Regard for seniority is the basis for the mimicry and role playing which constitute the most normal means of socialization and education. The children and youth of the orile recognize this vital aspect of their

training when they say:

> I follow the elders.
>
> I believe what the elders tell me. They have been able to live long this way.

Children and young adults, especially males, can be found in any of the meetings and Ifa consultations held in the orile. They sit silently, listening and watching. As long as they create no disturbance they are welcome. As spectators at the gatherings held to resolve community disputes or to develop community projects, they soon learn the major social and cultural norms which guide the behavior and thinking of the people. This freedom also provides them with opportunities to observe the wide range of behavior permissible in the orile. They can compare successful behavior with that which elicits ridicule and disdain.

As they enter their late teens they begin to express their own views in family and public meetings. Adults listen with equal attentiveness to the youngest as well as the oldest persons present. In this way youths begin to test their knowledge, ideas and experience by the reactions which their contributions evoke. They quickly learn if they are likely to become a force in village affairs, and adults learn which youths among them show potential and are worthy of consideration and future financial support for further schooling.

The Fathers and their Children

The men of the family are the "real owners" of the children born to the wives of a house (see pages 178-183). Despite the fact that a child may have left the father's house at a very early age the principle of

patrilineality is never obscured. Thus, even if a daughter has been born, raised, and betrothed in another house, before she can get married her father must receive his portion of the bride payments. A father may wish to assume responsibility for the bride payments of a son who has been raised outside of his house. In such situations the factor of sentiment which exists between father and son is of considerable importance to the father's willingness to assume this expense.

Moji Modakeke's relations with her husband and her husband's older brother illustrates both the principle of patrilineality and relative age. Moji's husband's father is dead and his older brother, barely five years older than he, is now responsible for the family and its fortunes. Moji's husband, a civil servant, works in the Northern Region of Nigeria. Moji's husband's older brother would not let her go with her husband because he did not wish the child exposed to the dangers of a strange environment, a place devoid of Yoruba traditional native medicines and healers. Moji now lives in her husband's father's house. Each week she must take her child to the Abeokuta compound of her husband's brother so that the child might be inspected and any illnesses treated. In his letters Moji's husband asks about the care of the child and wishes to know if the other wives of his patrilineage like her.

Fathers do not get involved in the daily physical care of their infants and young children. They are, however, very concerned about the care their children receive. They are most concerned about their children's health and, as fathers, they are particularly responsible for the proper preparation and application of both preventive and protective medicines. If they have not learned about household remedies and preventatives from

their own fathers, they may obtain this information from a variety of senior advisors within and outside the family. The structural characteristics of seniority and corporate responsibility of the patrilineally extended family theoretically requires that the males of the family be consulted, in ascending order, according to their seniority, if the disease remains resistant to treatment. In actual practice, however, much violence is done to this rank order. Some senior males who have no interest in medicines will be neglected, while medical specialists of the family will be quickly consulted. The subject of the treatment of disease is discussed in greater detail on pages 343-352.

The father also takes an interest in the socialization and training of his children. He will caution the mother about the child's safety. His distant, yet constant, supervision of the child's behavior and environment reflects his very basic belief that the mother's role is really ancillary to his own and that she merely holds the child in trust for him. Legally there is sufficient evidence to support this belief. If a wife leaves her husband she may, and sometimes must, take small children with her. This is particularly true if the child is still at her breast. However, any time after the child reaches the age of four, the father can regain the child on demand. The feeling is sometimes expressed that such fathers should wait until the child reaches six years old before making their claims; but there is no question about the fathers' right to regain such children. Interestingly, I saw and heard of several boys who were claimed by their fathers, but I never learned of fathers making similar claims on their daughters. This underlines the greater tendency of fathers to let daughters stay with their mothers since they are the ones who can teach

the girls about food production and trade, the usual activities of women. Fathers teach their sons farming and require their sons' assistance on their farms.

The Movement of Children

Despite the occasional use of force noted above, parents have fears of being too harsh in the training of their children. They wish to avoid forcing their own desires on their children, making them do things which are not part of their destinies. Such force, although motivated by love, could cause the child's enikeji to be unhappy and come to collect the child.

At the same time the parents fear that without some guidance their children will not grow up properly and will become "proper rascals". There are also many, although less frequently mentioned, fears of harm to the children by the machinations of witches, irate neighbors, and jealous co-wives. Intermingled with these fears are strong desires not to hinder their children's progress as well as to find better opportunities for their children by locating situations in which they may learn skills and obtain knowledge not readily available in the orile.

The combination of these fears and desires results in the movement of the children out of their fathers' houses into other households. Children who are initially placed in an unsatisfactory situation will be returned to the orile for some time while their parents try to locate more suitable households.

Children who leave the orile may be placed with a great variety of relatives, including households of the father's father's family, father's

mother's family, mother's father's family, mother's mother's family, mother's father's family, father's siblings, mother's siblings and trusted friends. Most parents appear fatalistic over the loss of their children in this manner. Bolaji Aina speaks about the loss of his children:

> One child has already gone away and other might go. I shall not force them to stay with me. Maybe in time we shall have other children. If they do not want to go we shall not try to convince them.

Some parents fear that to deny the relative who asks for a child is an insult. Mojisola Oluwasanmi, of Oke Afin, expressed this fear:

> My father's sister asked for my child and if she does not go to live with her aunt it might be considered a sin and I am afraid of witchcraft.

There is also the idea that other towns offer greater opportunities for the children. Peter Omodele told of the disposition of his children:

> Clement was two years old when he collapsed at Madi. I was in Ijaiye. By the time I reached there he had died. Then there is Deborah living with Silifatu in Mushin (a suburb of Lagos). Silifatu is not a relative. Deborah works outside of Silifatu's house selling provisions--beer, stout, ice water, and mineral water (soda). Silifatu wanted to pay Deborah, but I said no. I asked that Deborah learn how to sell so that if I get money I can open a shop for her. Silifatu is doing well for Deborah giving her clothes, shoes and jewelry. She had these things when she came home at Christmas. If Silifatu gave her money she would not do all these things for Deborah.
>
> Deborah is fifteen years old and has been with Silifatu two years. They do not like me to visit her because they are afraid I shall take her. I send messages with the women from this place who go to Mushin to sell the vegetables and fruits from our farms.
>
> Anna lives in Isaga and is going to school there. She was living with my sister, but the latter does not want her to go to school. She was going to school here before she ever went there. I told her, 'No school, no Anna'. Anna is going to school now. They thought that Anna would just be working for them there and be going about selling <u>eko</u> and <u>ogi</u>. I told my sister that all my children had an education and Anna must too.

My son Solomon is also living with some relatives in Mushin. He is an apprentice in a motorcycle shop.

Through death and distribution Peter Omodele has lost all his children. For a long time there were no children living in Peter's house. However, he finally arranged to have a girl, the daughter of the woman who housed Anna, live in his house, thereby making a rather rare direct exchange of children.

From Peter's story it can be seen that Deborah has been very fortunately situated. A visit to the Mushin shop proved that Deborah was happy and loved by her mistress. Her mistress' wish to keep Deborah from too much contact with her father and mother illustrates the desire of the adult who stand in loco parentis to exercise full control over the development and training of the child. There is also the fear that the parents will tell the child to do things which might jeopardize the close relationship between the child and surrogate parent.

Anna's position illustrates some of the problems which a child will confront when sent to live in another house. It might be noted that Deborah is better cared for in a stranger's house than is Anna in her father's own sister's house. It is hard to say if most parents are as diligent as Peter about the proper treatment and care their children receive after leaving their own homes. The messages and occasional visits between parents and their children indicate that this pattern of child placement cannot be considered a form of abandonment.

Adults are not the only people who make decisions about the disposition of children. The children themselves may decide to live with some relative or stranger. As one man who lost his very young daughter put it:

> We were visiting my brother and she liked it there and wanted to stay. I could not force her to come home. It is her fate. Maybe in time we shall have other children.

Peter Omodele's arrangements to obtain a child to replace his own lost ones shows that children do go both ways. A house is not a complete social, economic and food producing unit without children, particularly girls. It can be expected that the man who lost his young daughter will soon obtain a female child, perhaps older and more useful, than the daughter he lost.[4]

Schooling

The Ibara Orile Anglican School consists of two narrow buildings situated at right angles to each other. These buildings are divided into the classrooms in which 116 children are taught. In these rooms the children are exposed to such subjects as English, Yoruba, mathematics, religion, physical education, writing, weather, history, civics, nature study, farming and handicrafts. Beside the main building there is a latrine, and a rock garden designed to illustrate the important political outlines of the Republic of Nigeria. There is also a very large and successful farm plot.

The ladder of opportunity has many rungs and the people must start climbing from that point at which their fortune has placed them. Many of the people living in the hamlets and small villages in the area send their children to live, work and go to school in the orile. They do this because their own settlements have no schools or because they believe that the school in the orile is better than those in their immediate community.

A large number of the people in the orile alsc send their children to the Anglican school. Yet finding themselves no longer in bush hamlets, some parents look still higher. These parents, believing that village schools are not as good as town schools, send their children to live with relatives in their Omida houses so that the children might attend the "better" schools in Abẹokuta. In Abẹokuta some parents move their children from township to township hoping to get their children in the best schools.

According to the headmaster, only three graduates of the Ibara school have managed to enter Secondary Modern School. Most of the people of the orile are too poor to send their children to school on a consistent basis. The continuing movment of the children from one place to the next, the demands of farming and food processing, feelings of the futility of education as a means to increased earning power, the desire to pursue apprenticeships, and the costs of uniforms, books, and other school supplies result in irregular attendance and considerable numbers of abbreviated school careers. After one or two years in school, many children, particularly girls, refuse to continue their educations.

Children can enter school after the age of six and progress through the grades according to their interest, financial and intellectual ability. Some children leave school for a year or two and then re-enter to complete their studies. This freedom to drop in and out of school makes it possible for considerable variation in the ages of students in any one class. However, the headmaster and his teachers have attempted to keep this variation to a minimum. Observations of age composition of grade six indicated that the ages of the students ranged from twelve to fifteen.

Chart 4 illustrates the number of boys and girls and the total number of pupils in each grade in the school. The fluctuation of the population according to sex and absolute numbers varies greatly from grade to grade, suggesting no overall pattern and strengthening the conclusion that a variety of factors constantly influence school attendance.

There are considerably fewer girls than boys in the school and, as shown by the figures in Table 3, there are also fewer girls than boys of school age in the orile. Although there is no evidence to permit conclusions as to the ratio of girl to boy births or the survival rates of these infants, there is considerable evidence--informant statments-- that parents send more daughters than sons to live outside the orile.

CHART 4

Sex Composition of Ibara Orile
Anglican School according to Class

CLASS	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL
Class I	6	15	21
Class II	3	14	17
Class III	10	14	24
Class IV	7	18	25
Class V	7	8	15
Class VI	2	12	14
Total	35	81	116

The people send their children to the school because they believe that educated people make more money, are more influential, and live better lives than uneducated people. Nevertheless, an educated child does not fit in well with the traditional system. He can not help his father on the farm and attend school at the same time. Financially, continued schooling

becomes increasingly burdensome, causing his father to spend money which might be used for such other expenses as accumulating wives and building houses. A mother who supports her children's schooling finds that these costs inhibit the further capitalization of her trading activities. In addition, they fear that educated children are not as respectful and responsive to the wishes of their parents as those raised in the traditional manner.

Most fathers want their sons to become something other than farmers. They usually try to find good apprenticeships for them and think of schooling as contributing to their sons' success as apprentices. If their sons cannot become "great scholars" the fathers know that a literate apprentice is more valuable to his master.

Mothers want their daughters to become traders and wives and the girls have the same expectations and desires. Only one mother said that she wanted her daughter to get a good education. The people of the orile see no clear relationship between success in school and success in trading. For this reason daughters tend to resist schooling and remain home in order to engage in household chores, hoping to find some opportunity to begin trading in the local market in Abeokuta.

Notes

[1] It is possible that the change in living structure from open compound to houses has contributed to the erosion of this traditional pattern of seclusion. It is easier for a woman to remain inside the large inner courtyard of the old compound type structure than it is to remain inside the walls of a small, often dark, house. An additional consideration is the fact that most men have only one wife and the household chores must be done.

[2] According to the belief of the people, although he is the last born twin, Kehinde is actually the oldest of the two children. Kehinde peeks out into the world to determine if it is safe. He then sends his younger brother, Taiwo, out before he leaves his mother. Therefore, although Taiwo is first born, it is Kehinde who is the elder. The younger always proceeds his brother along the road.

[3] This is a particularly messy and dangerous feeding procedure. Much of this fluid gets into the child's respiratory system. Not unexpectedly, the child coughs and sputters all during and after the feeding. The possibility that a number of babies die as a result of pneumonia caused by this type of feeding is not easy to dismiss.

[4] I am suggesting as a hypothesis for future study that the movement of these children is, as usual, multi-determined, and that there is the factor of utility involved in these arrangements. A consideration for further study is the idea that the freedom in leaving the father's house and, in some instances, the child's desire to leave his father's house, might be related to the sudden loss of his mother's breast and the rapid change from a dependent to an independent entity.

CHAPTER X

THE MEN

Most men would readily shun farming to become drivers, mechanics, bricklayers, or electricians. In their more ambitious moments they think of becoming employees - working as laborers - or, even better, as clerks of the government or a European establishment. Nevertheless, the men of the orile are farmers. As such they are concerned with the changing of the seasons, farm life, their crops, farm labor, and the market. They are also the blacksmiths, carpenters, hunters, tailors, washermen, and medicine men of the orile.

The Seasons

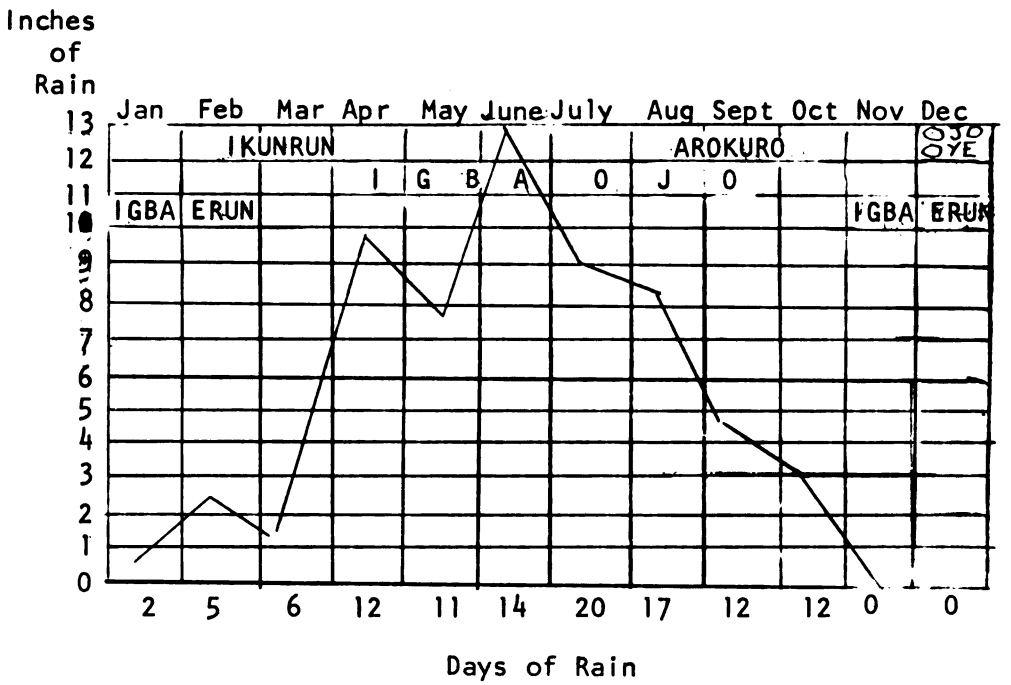
The farmers divide the major dry season (igba erun) and the rainy season (igba ojo) into several sub-seasons which are more descriptive of the actual weather patterns and permit them to speak more accurately about the effects of weather upon their crops and farming activities.

For the farmers, the first season starts about mid-February when they start to anticipate the end of the dry season and the beginning of the rains. The first rains (ipkunrun akoko) are characterized by more thunder and lightning than are the very light rains which may fall only in isolated rural areas. These rains are not unlike the December harmattan((ojo oye) and are sometimes called by that name.

FIGURE 6

VARIATIONS IN SEASONAL RAINFALL - 1964

ABEOKUTA URBAN DISTRICT COUNCIL



Over a period of weeks these rains gradually increase so that by April the frequent heavy showers of the main rainy season (igba ojo) are falling. Igba ojo continues through June when it is, imperceptibly, replaced with a season of lighter, more steady rains, intermingled with periods without rains. The rains of this season become so light and intermittent that the period is known as the little dry season (owore erun kekere).

In late August the second and last rains, or little rainy season (ojo arokuro, ojo kekere) begins. Arokuro ends about November, the beginning of the harmattan season (igba oye) comes in December. The harmattan rains (ojo oye) begin in late December and soon give way to the suffocating heat of the dry season.

The average annual rainfall for the Abẹokuta area is 47 inches. The average temperature for the year is about 80° F.

Farmers

Traditionally, most young men expect to follow their fathers to their fathers' farms until they are married. During these years they work under their fathers' supervision. At some point, determined by their fortunes, fathers begin the initial negotiations for their sons' future wife. Soon after their marriage the sons are given a portion of their fathers' farms. Eventually, as the sons become fathers they are expected to build houses near their fathers' homes and to raise their children in their fathers' hamlets.

Many of the youths still follow this pattern. Nevertheless, with the increasing movement to the orile and Abẹokuta there is a greater tendency for discontinuities to occur in this traditional father-son relationship.

Children now wish to try their luck in school or in an apprenticeship located in larger metropolitan areas. Many fathers actively encourage their children to follow some life other than farming.

In other instances, mature sons are not willing to subject themselves to their father's authority or to wait until they are about twenty-five years old before being permitted to marry and have their own farms. It frequently happens that a son will run away from an authoritarian father who wishes to keep him in the bush.

Peter Omodele told me about some aspects of his early life and his relationship with his father.

> I was living and working with my father in my father's hamlet. When I was five or seven years old I got tired and I ran away to the junior sister of my father. I did not inform my father. I just went there. I had visited there before. After I spent three years there I went to live with a friend in Otta.

Peter spent some years traveling from one place to another. When he was about twelve years old he returned to his father's house and gave his father the nine pounds he had saved during his years away from home. Together they used the money to "buy" a cocoa farm. Peter's father soon died and therefore was not able to help Peter get a wife. In the years since his return home Peter has cultivated farms in various towns of Egbadoland. He now has three farms in the immediate vicinity of Ibara Orile and lives on his mother's land in Oke Afin. He could have built his house on his father's land which is also in Oke Afin, but he felt that his father's land "was too crowded".

Although some farmers speak of having five or six farms, most farmers work only two or three farms during any one season. These farms are usually small plots of one-half to an acre. Though most farmers had their farms

situated no more than three to four miles away from the orile some boasted of large farms (usually cocoa farms) as far away as forty miles.

It is not unusual for a man to have his farms situated in several different directions from his home. Thus, Peter Omodele has a farm some thirty minutes' walking distance, due north, from his home. He also has a farm another thirty minutes' walking distance southwest of his home. His third farm is northeast of his home, within the walls of the village, about ten minutes' walking distance away from his home.

The basic farming implement is the short handled hoe. The hoe and machete are used for preparing the ground, shaping the mounds and rows, and weeding and harvesting. When not in use, the hoe is kept hidden under some bush on the farm. The farmer treats his machete differently. He always carries it with him as he moves back and forth between his home and farms, anticipating the possibility that he might be able to kill some wild, edible animal, and as protection against snakes. During the months of our investagation the farmers also thought of the machete as protection against possible attack by political hooligans.

Any time after 6:00 a.m. farmers can be seen walking to their farms. During the dry season they are particularly anxious to get an early start so that they can return home before noon, where they will remain until much later. During the rainy season their schedule is more irregular. They can remain in the fields much longer and there is much more work to be done. During this season the farmers maintain shelters on their farms. These shelters provide protection and serve as places of rest. Those farmers who have important farms in more distant sections of Egbado and Egbaland may spend many weeks away from the orile.

The farmers estimate that one-half of the products they grow are consumed by their families and that the other half of their produce is sold in the market places of Abẹokuta and Lagos. When they say this they are thinking of the green vegetables, corn, cassava, and yams which form the major part of their diet. They are not including the vast amounts of oranges, pineapples, coconuts, cocoa, palm kernels, and kola which they grow primarily for market rather than personal consumption. Nor do they consider the large amounts of cassava, in the form of gari, which they send to their many children living in distant cities. On one of his visits to his son and daughter, apprenticed in Lagos, I observed Peter Ọmọdele taking supplies to them consisting of nearly twenty pounds of gari.

In the past, the main subsistence and internal market crop was yams. Cassava has now become the most important crop in the peoples' diet and in the local market system. Although cocoa is the most important cash crop, it is harvested only during a short period of the year and is soon out of the local market system. There are some people who feel that kola is the most profitable crop currently raised in the orile.

Farming

There is no general pattern to the local farming techniques. The techniques a person develops depends upon what he learned from his father and his own willingness to borrow ideas from friends. One farmer pointed to the relationship between a man's farming practices and his apprenticeship under his father when he made this classic statement about corn, an important cash crop:

> I do not plant corn because I do not know it.
> It is not what my father taught me.

Hoe agriculture is combined with field rotation and intercropping. Some farms are used from three to five years and then left to lay fallow as long as ten years. There is a growing tendency to shorten the fallow period to seven years.

Most planting of cassava and yam is done in mounds which may be built as high as one and a half feet in order to prevent erosion by the rains. Rows are used on farms which are devoted to the raising of green vegetables. Different crops are planted according to prior use of the land, the season, the farmer's beliefs, his experiences and inclinations. Some farmers express the belief that cassava should not be planted with corn, or tomatoes should not be planted with yams. The different opinions are innumerable.

A farmer's use of any one plot of land also depends upon the conditions of the land and his use of his other farms. No farmer wishes to devote all of his land to one crop. He prefers to raise that variety of crops which most satisfactorily meets his own personal needs and the demands of the market. He also wishes to insure himself against failure of one of his crops or one of his farms. Diagram 7 illustrates that during any one period of time there are wide variations in the manner in which different farmers use their land.

There are some generalizations which can be ventured about the local farming practices. Some crops stay in the ground for a relatively long period of time and can be planted only once a year on any one plot of ground. These crops are yams and cassava. Yams require good soil and are usually the first crop planted on newly cleared land. Cassava does not require such rich soil and is easier to cultivate. For these reasons more farmers plant cassava more often than they plant yams. Corn is a crop which can be harvested twice

FIGURE 7

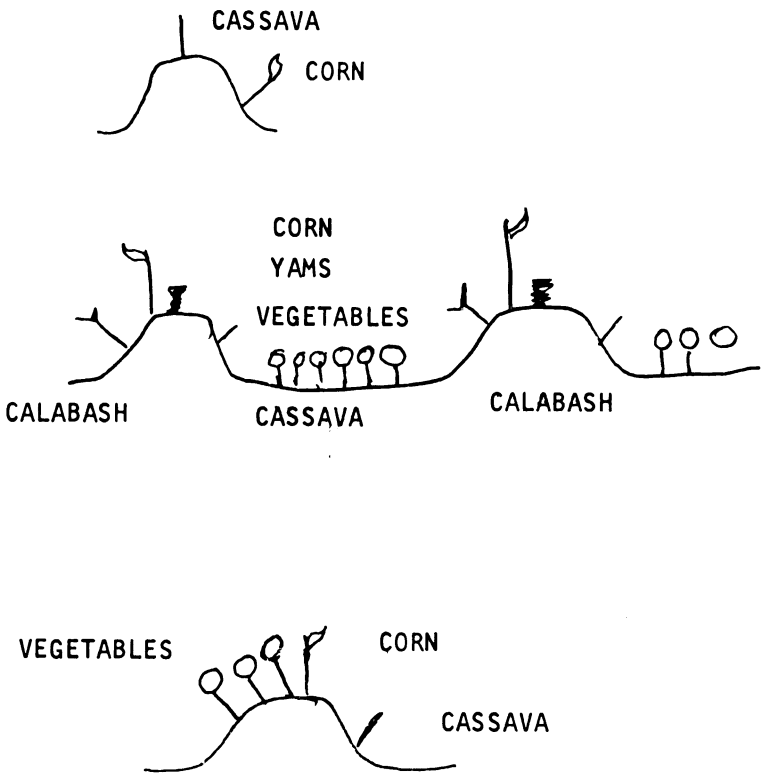


DIAGRAM OF INTERCROPPING AND USE OF LAND ON THREE FARM SITES, JULY 1966

a year. Other crops, such as the great variety of green vegetables and peppers, can be planted throughout the year.

When land is first cleared a farmer must decide whether he wishes to put the land to long or short term use. If he decides to use the land over a long period of time he will be more conservative in his planting than if he wishes to use it more briefly. Thus, Samuel Ọmọtayo cleared and planted his land with the variety of crops shown in Figure 7. In future years he will decrease the number and variety of crops on the land so that in another five or six years he will retire the land. Samuel feels that he can plant yams and cassava in the same mound because, "yams grow down while cassava grows up."

Dry And Rainy Season Farming

It is also possible to make distinctions between what can be called dry season farming, which takes place along the river banks during the dry season, and rainy season farming, which must be done along the higher slopes of the undulating countryside during the rainy season. During the dry season corn and short-term vegetable crops are planted near the river banks with the farmers taking advantage of the water stored up in the soil. As the rains begin to come these short term crops are moved, progressively, up the side of the hill.

As the rainy season wanes the crops can be brought, progressively, down the hill. This can be done because these vegetables are planted almost any time of the year and take only about three months to mature. Corn and long-term crops must be planted more cautiously and are usually found planted from the middle to the top of slopes or on level land. A farmer discussed

some of the different uses to which he put his dry season and wet season farms:

> I have a dry season farm and a wet season farm. This is my dry season farm. I got it from my father. Last year I planted cocoa and maize on my dry season farm. The maize has been plucked. Okra and ewedu are planted in the wet ground (of the dry season farm).

Cultivated and Bush Farms

There is also a distinction to be made between the cultivated and bush farms. The cultivated farms consist of land which has been cleared and hoed. Crops requiring cultivation, such as corn, yam, vegetables, and cassava are planted on these farms. Bush farms are usually found in the forests which run along the valley bottoms or in higher places which maintain a similar luxurious growth. Under the canopy of these forests can be found the orange, kola, banana, and palm trees which typify the bush farms.

The Crops

Yams (Isu) are planted in mounds. Their importance has been largely superceded by the more easily planted and cultivated, less demanding, cassava. It is planted before the heavy rains and may be put in the ground as early as November and as late as April. It is not usually planted during the hottest months of the dry season heat, when the ground is too hot, dry, and hard, to permit the building of the large mounds.

These mounds are built from one and a half to two feet tall, and are kept at least three feet apart. A portion of the tuber is put in a hole at the top of the mound and covered with dirt. A mat of straw is then placed on top of the mound to protect the yam from the direct rays of the sun.

The vines of the growing plant must be eventually supported by stakes. The work is hard. Peter Omodele stated that it took him four days to plant fifty tubers. Yams may be harvested within nine to twelve months.

Cassava (Ege, Paki)--Cassava is the most important staple. Once processed it can be easily stored and transported. It is easily cultivated and grows in relatively poor soil. It can be planted any time during the rainy season and is ready to be harvested within twelve months, although some people pick theirs in nine months.[1]

Cassava may also be stored in the ground for as long as two years. When stored this way cassava is considered a source of wealth and a form of savings. Some people plant their cassava as early as January. Because it can be planted in relatively poor soil it is very amenable to the intercropping habits of the farmers.

Corn (Agbado)--There are usually two crops. The early crop is planted at the beginning of the rainy season and is harvested from late June through August. The second crop is planted during late August and early September and is harvested during late December and January. The quantity and quality of the early crop is far better than the late crop. Corn is very popular and is prepared in a variety of ways. Farmers try to keep the corn on their farms as late as possible so as to be able to command the higher dry season price.

Vegetables (Efo)--This category includes a variety of edible plants; ila (okra), oyo, ewedu, somosola, ata (pepper), bara (melon) and igba (gourd). These plants are harvested within three months after planting

although the best harvest comes in June. In the dry season they are planted close to the river and streams and in those areas which would normally be swampland during the rainy season.

Pineapples (Ope Oyinbo)- On page 301 it was noted that there is a school farm program. This program is entirely devoted to growing pineapples. The plantings have been very successful and the popularity of pineapples as part of the diet is increasing. Pineapples are a good source of income for their price ranges from nine to fifteen cents a piece. There is also a market for pineapple suckers.

Pineapples are sold locally and also to the canning company in Ibadan. However, no farmer spoke of having a pineapple farm as he would speak of his cassava or corn farm. Pineapples are found growing individually, in small groups in the forest, low bush near the river, or on the hilltops. The impression is gained that many farmers are testing the cultivation of pineapples and its effects on the land. Sometimes pineapples are used for such mundane purposes as outlining boundaries of farms. Even so, there is a lot of talk about growing them as a source of income.

Oranges (Osan)--Oranges are an increasingly important domestic product. This fruit is sold in Abeokuta and Lagos. The people actively cultivate this tree on both their cultivated and bush farms. They do not, however, develop orchards. Following their traditional farming patterns, they prefer to intersperse the trees among the other crops of their cultivated farms and among the flora of their bush farms. The main crop is harvested at the end of the rainy season. A second light crop is harvested about March and April.

Bananas (Ogede Wewe) and Plantain (Ogede Agbaba)--For the most part, these plants are permitted to grow wild on the bush farms and are not cultivated. They are eaten and a number of people sell them. However, they are not considered an important food or trade item.

Coconut (Agbon)--The coconut grows wild although some people point to trees which were planted and cultivated some years ago. A small quantity of coconuts are sold to the local market women to be transported and used in Abeokuta. The husks are sold to the prison in Abeokuta where they are used to make mats and ropes.

Cocoa --The earlier analysis of the correlation between housebuilding and cocoa production is illustrative of the importance this cash crop has for Ibara Orile. Yet the country immediately surrounding it is not good cocoa land. Most cocoa is grown in the lowest parts of the many valleys in the area. Here there is the necessary moisture and shade for the propagation of these delicate plants. Many of the men own cocoa farms far from the orile; it is not unusual to hear someone speak of spending time on a distant farm. The main harvesting season runs from November through January.

Kola (Obi)--Kola is becoming an increasingly important export product. Some people claim that they make more money from kola than from cocoa. They cultivate the kola tree as they do the orange. The kola tree takes eight to ten years to bear fruit, but the people feel that kola is easier to grow as it is not as susceptible to disease, and lasts longer. They believe that its price is not subject to the machinations of the govern-

ment. Reports coming to the village from their relatives in Hausaland suggest that the market for kola in the Northern Region is expanding.

Oil Palm (Ọpẹ)--Palm products are very important to the economy of the orile. However, most of its trees are wild. People do not speak of planting them. "They just grow." The palm kernel is important because of its many uses. For religious reasons the wine of the tree is not popular. This contrasts with the wide acceptance and popularity of palm-wine in most other sections of Yorubaland. (See Raphia Palm section below.)

Tomatoes--Tomatoes are usually planted in June and harvested in September. They are considered an important cash crop; so much so that some people believe that they are better than cocoa and kola. As Yesufu Adeşino put it:

> We sell it the best of our crops and we get good money for it. We sell it to the Europeans.

And, indeed, a lot of tomatoes do go out of the orile. Interestingly, the people themselves use canned tomatoes in their cooking rather than fresh ones.

Raphia Palm--(Ọgọrọ) The raphia palm is found in the swampy lowland river bank areas. It grows wild, is not cultivated, and is the source of the the bamboo wine which is preferred over palm wine. Its leaves are used for roofing cooksheds and the fronds in the construction of the cross members in the latticework of the walls and roofs of cooksheds and other buildings. Parts of this plant are also used to make brooms. The people of the orile do not participate in the thriving palm wine trade which

exists between the hamlets and villages, to the west of the orile, and Abẹokuta. They claim that they do not know how to tap these trees.

Farm Economics

The people of the orile have learned farming through apprenticeship to their fathers; through following his examples and their own experiences. There is some question as to whether, using the tools they have, they could produce more. A radical improvement in their level of production would require a mechanized technology and would necessitate redistribution and consolidation of land. This would be disruptive to their entire personality, social, and cultural systems.

Although they are, essentially, hoe cultivators who use a combination of slash and burn and land rotation techniques they are highly productive. They feed themselves as well as the large populations living in the cities of Yorubaland. During the harvest season, buyers from as far away as Ibo-land are found purchasing foodstuffs in the orile each market day. In a less dramatic fashion, throughout the week, large headloads of foodstuffs are taken for sale at Ita Ọsin and the markets of Abẹokuta.

Yet the very activities of the people suggest some directions in which they are ready to change. Peter Ọmọdele indicates a readiness for fertilizers and his understanding of shade requirements when he explains why he drops the weeds he has pulled from his yam mounds in the rows between them:

> If I drop these weeds here they will go into the ground to be rich again and they will not let the sun reach this place again.

Similarly, Samuel Ọmọtayo explained his reason for leaving grass on his newly cleared lands:

> I shall wait until November to plant yam. I shall leave the grass here. It will decay and make the land good.

Many are thinking about growing more kola because they know what it is used for and also who uses it. This can be contrasted with the cocoa market which, through the years, has remained foreign to them. The men and women with whom I discussed the uses of cocoa displayed an ignorance of its processing and ultimate utility.

Wary of the recent fluctuations in the cocoa market the people have hesitated to become involved in the potentially profitable raising of pineapples because, like cocoa, they are considered to be European foods. Yet many farmers are watching the pineapple market and learning, through experimentation, how pineapples may best be grown.

They have made a nearly complete transition from raising yams to cassava. Large quantities of cassava are sold in Abeokuta and Lagos, or sent to relatives in these urban areas.

There is the generally accepted measure of a good farmer; that is the ability to keep cassava in the ground more than twelve months. Actually, this has little to do with a person's skills as a farmer; it is closely linked to a person's other financial obligations. In fact, the "greatest farmer in the town", the man most able to keep his cassava in the ground, is widely reputed to know absolutely nothing about farming.

Cassava in the ground is like money in the bank; the longer it stays in the ground the larger it grows and the higher a price it will eventually bring. Only a few elders can afford to keep their cassava in the ground for more than twelve months.[2]

Farmers Cooperative Building The Farmers Cooperative Building is a large, dark brown, mud building located on the main road across the street from the court house. It consists of four rooms with doors which open directly to the outside. There are no inside corridors, windows, or doors. It is primarily a storage area in which the buyers of cocoa and palm kernels keep their scales, measuring basins and sacks. At one time the farmers attempted a cooperative scheme for buying and selling cocoa but they argued and the scheme failed.

The building is only open on market days. Here the buyer, Ladipo, comes for the local cocoa and palm kernels. In 1928, Ladipo started coming to the orile with his father, the first buyer of cocoa in the village. Elijah Faderin, one of the elders of Isolo also does some buying. Although he has been buying cocoa for fourteen years he considers himself an apprentice to Ladipo.[3] As an apprentice buyer he sells the cocoa he buys to his master, Ladipo. Ladipo sells all of the cocoa he buys to the agents employed by the companies which control the Abẹokuta storage and transportation facilities.

Cocoa and kola are the only products completely controlled by men. In addition to tomatoes they are the most profitable products raised. However, tomatoes are sold in local markets therefore the women control the prices the farmers receive for this product.(see pages 401-405).

The cocoa is brought to the orile by large and small producers. Some farmers use their extra cash to buy more cocoa from smaller producers. They in turn sell their accumulated cocoa to the buyers at the cooperative building.

Kola is bought by the Hausa for shipment to Northern Nigeria. The buyers of the Farmers Cooperative Building have been traditionally concerned with palm kernels and cocoa. They know the potential profit involved in handling kola but have not yet been able to participate in the kola market. Elijah Faderin explains their hesitancy:

> We do not buy kola. That is for the Hausa. We deal in cocoa and kernels. Kola does not fit our luck. If we buy cocoa for sixty cents and sell it for sixty-three cents then the three cents is our gain. That is better than buying and selling kola. Some people buy kola and make $2.80, others may lose. It depends upon luck.

O.O.: Do you mean luck or knowledge?

Elijah and Ladipo: It is luck, not knowledge. It is what Gods have in store for you. You cannot change your fate. It is the way we are made.

Busari Akinlabi is a tailor-farmer who lives in Idofin. In his adventurous youth he spent many years as a trader in Hausaland, so he is familiar with the language and the kola trade. In addition to his other work he now buys, cleans, and grades kola which he sells to the Hausa buyers living in Lafenwa, Abeokuta.

Pineapples are another potentially profitable product sold both in the local markets and to the canning factory in Ibadan. The pineapples sold in the markets are handled by the women of the orile; those sold to the canning factory are marketed by Aliu Lanlokun, a man living in Oke Afin.

Farming And The Growth Cycle

After the weed pulling apprentice farming stage, A young man hoes

and cultivates his farms for a long time. Today, if he is adventurous and earns money, he plants cocoa, oranges, and kola trees on his own bush farm.

Most boys are not able to make such an investment. They will, more probably, try to develop good cassava, yam, and vegetable farms. As a man grows older, acquires a wife and has children, he becomes more and more involved in cultivating his farms and in the problems of accumulating sufficient money to build his house and send his children to school. By this time he will also have inherited his father's bush farms. If he is not this fortunate he will save his money until he is able to establish such a farm.

The establishment of a successful bush farm often means that an aging man can retire to his home in Abeokuta. If he does not, he will be forced to prolong his stay on the farm. At retirement age every man looks forward to relinquishing his cultivated farms to his sons and daughters and assigning to them the management of his bush farms.

The management of a successful farm by an absentee landlord requires a variety of arrangements with other family members and laborers. In the following section Busari Akinlabi explains how one old retired man still manages to gain some profit from the large farm holdings he was able to accumulate in his youth.

I had accompanied Busari, a tailor, farmer, and dealer in kola nuts, to a bush farm where he expected to buy some kola. As we were walking through Bandelè's farm we found his younger sister Jubrila, his son Badaru, and some laborers working together to harvest the old man's oranges.

Busari understood my interest in the people's customs and did not hesitate to offer the following explanation:

> This land belongs to Bandele. He has retired to Abẹokuta and does not come here. That is his younger sister [points to Jubrila] and his young son [points to Badaru]. Jubrila is taking care of Bandele's interests and Badaru is helping her but he has his own farms. Jubrila will sell the oranges for her brother. Old Bandele knows how many sticks [trees] he has here and he also knows that he should get twenty hundred to forty hundred oranges a stick. Those laborers who are throwing the oranges down will get fourteen cents for a hundred. They will be sold for sixty cents a hundred. Jubrila will take her own out of the whole [i.e. Jubrila will take some money for organizing the laborers, transporting the oranges to the market, and selling the oranges]. Badaru will also know what has happened [i.e. Old Bandele will get an accounting of the number of oranges collected from his sister and from his son].

Busari, warming to his subject, spoke of certain land manipulations in which the elders engage when they wish to supplement their earnings:

> Consider Aliyu. He just told us he has to take his daughter to the hospital. If he needs money and has trees he can give some of those trees to somebody until he gets the money. That man will keep those trees until he pays back what he has borrowed [i.e. the trees and the fruit from the trees will be interest on the loan]. Or an old man without sons, without any family, may sell land away; both trees and grounds. There is a lot of paperwork involved in such a sale. He might sell for $280.00 or $560.00.

Busari is correct in what he has said although I never asked if he referred to land inside the orile when he spoke of land selling. His emphasis upon the selling of land only where there is no family supports the general statements about family owned lands discussed in the earlier section. However, it must be added that the sale of land still remains a highly remote possibility. It is rare that an old man would be so devoid of relatives that he should have to sell rich land in order to feed himself. A gift of land to even a remote relative will insure that

he will be remembered and will have force and vitality in the lives of his surviving relatives, no matter how distant these relatives might be.

The variety of farming methods practiced are also affected by the age of the farmer. Although a father tries to inculcate his sons with proper farming habits, there are, understandably, some differences in their actual techniques. James Ṣola, an elder of Oke Afin, speaks of these differences and also discusses some reasons for them:

> There is a difference between the farming of the youth and old people. The difference is that if there is a tree between the ridges the old people will cut the tree and pull out the roots. But the young people will not do so. When my father was with me I would pull out the roots, but when he was gone I would cut them.
>
> Old people plant more cocoa, oranges, kola, and coconuts. Older people plant it because they can take out of it [live on it]. If the old man dies the family will have it. He plants for himself and his children. So if a man builds a house he must have four to eight rooms. One is for himself, the rest will be for his wives and his children. If he dies part of the farm goes for his burial and the rest for his family.

The Hunters

All of the men of the orile are farmers. Most of them are also, in varying degrees, hunters. All men look forward to an opportunity to machete some small animal as they walk to and from their farms.

Many farmers set traps, hoping to catch bushrats (ọya), on their farms. In their attempts to guide the rats into their traps, some farmers construct runs of little bridges and fences. A popular sport is chasing rats, snakes, and other small animals against bamboo frond fences; the trapped animal is then clubbed. These fences, commonly called "roads", sometimes run for quite a distance along the forest floor. These types of hunting

activities are a very popular dry season sport for the village youth.

A few of the men take a more active approach to hunting. Although more usually engaged in farming, these men consider themselves, primarily, hunters. They worship Ogun, the god of hunters. They belong to the hunter's society and maintain the Dane guns, miner's head lamps, powder bags, and other paraphernalia peculiar to the hunter. They claim that they can hunt buffalo, deer, squirrel, hedgehog, and a variety of other animals. However, there are few wild animals in the vicinity. I did see the hind quarters of one small deer (ekulu) but no other animals in the area.

At one time Simon Adeola traveled to distant Otta to try his luck. Simon attributed the lack of animals in the orile's vicinity to the growth of the population, the creation of more farms, and the political disruption in the region. Simon also offered a bit of his own philosophy as an explanation for the poor hunting:

> You see that this year we could not get much fish and there are no animals. These things come in cycles. Last year was the year for fish killing. We caught a lot of fish then. This year we are killing people. Next year we will be killing the animals in the bush. You wait and see.

Professionals prefer to go hunting at night. They leave the orile at 9:00 P.M. and return between 2:00 and 4:00 A.M. This type of hunting is usually done during the dry season and especially during the full moon. On the day of a hunt the hunter goes into the bush to be sure the paths are clear and nothing blocks his way. Then he prepares his miner's lamp which he attaches to his hat in the fashion of a coal miner. He depends upon this lamp both to light his way and to catch the eyes of

the animals who are transfixed while the hunter makes his kill. For protection against thorns and rough, dry, grass the hunter usually includes long pants or puttees among his hunting equipment.

Fishing

Although some of the tributaries of the Ogun which course through the countryside contain eel (ẹjịjị) and fish known locally as aro, ebe, and ṣẹfo, the orile's inhabitants do not do much fishing, nor do they eat much fresh fish. However, they do import dried fish, an important ingredient of one of their popular soups.

The women of Omida reputedly control the fresh fish trade in Abẹokuta (see page 40). The Ibara Omida market is an important center for the sale of fresh fish in the region. It is conceivable that fresh fish becomes a more important part of the people's diet when they are visiting in Omida than when they are in the orile.

Craftsmen and Tradesmen

A few of the men find part-time employment in some craft or trade. There are three blacksmiths in the orile. Only one of these men regularly lights his fires to repair the hoes, machetes, and traps of the farmers. One other blacksmith lights his only to satisfy his own needs and those of friends. The third seldom practices his craft and does not maintain a blacksmith's shed. Whenever he wishes to repair something he uses the other smiths' sheds. There is one carpenter in the orile. The demands for this man's skills are heaviest during the dry season. This is when

new buildings are constructed and there is a need for wooden windows and doors. The carpenter gets his apprentices from Omida and his dressed lumber comes from the saw mills of Abẹokuta. Because he must import his labor and materials, his prices are no cheaper than those of his competitors: the Abẹokuta carpenters. They maintain a year-round practice: control a corps of trained apprentices and journeymen: remain familiar with the latest styles: and are able to command more resources.

Tailors and Washermen

There are five tailors in the orile. These part-time tailors are very active; repairing as well as making clothes. Each market day two of these men bring their machines to the market place where they spend the day meeting heavy demands for the quick repair of torn items.

At one time there was a tailors' association which met in Isolo in the home of the oldest member; the teacher of two of the other members. This association engaged in fixing prices and exchanging information. Their work and habits have become so regular that they find little value in the meetings of their association. These tailors go to their farms at 6:30 A.M. and return home about 10:00 A.M. They then sew until 4:30 P.M. at which time they return to their farms.

There are two washermen in the town. These washermen belong to no society although there is a washermen's society in Abẹokuta. Following a schedule similar to that of the tailors, the washermen intersperse their farming with washing and ironing clothes.

Livestock

Sheep, goats, dogs, cats, ducks, and chicken constitute the animal population of the orile. These animals must forage for much of their diet. They eat wherever they can find a meal; their rumaging takes them to the garbage dumps, the market place, the farms, the grinding mill, the hallway of their master's home, or the neglected pots of some careless cook. Their efforts contribute much to the cleanliness of the village, by insuring rapid removal of all discarded edibles and much, seemingly, inedible debris. Some owners regularly feed cassava, corn, or other food to their animals; others show considerably less concern.

Hungry sheep and goats are a serious threat to nearby farms and there is an informal understanding that farms located within a half mile of the orile must be fenced. However, these hungry animals often weaken the fences, enter the farms, and destroy the crops within a few days. The farmer who loses a field of cassava to these marauding animals must blame himself for not keeping his fences in good repair. Farms beyond the half-mile limit need not be fenced. The owners of the livestock found there are responsible for the damage caused by their animals.

Owners take a matter of fact, almost indifferent, attitude towards their animals. If the beasts become too insistent they are fed; otherwise, they are ignored. They do not interact with their masters as pets, nor do they live in corrals or pens. They walk about freely and live their lives parallel to humans in their environment. They come to the villagers' attention only when they get in the way or when they do something disturbing such as sneeze or cough. An animal killed by some

passing vehicle is liable to get no more than a glance from its owner and an indifferent burial by a passing roadworker.

Animals are kept for food, profit, and sacrifices; to be sold in the market places of Abẹokuta or slaughtered for some local festival or sacrifice. Chickens are particularly useful for the last which are often made in the orile.

Dogs-- Dogs are kept as companions and are allowed more access to the human presence. They are accorded no other special privileges and are liable to be rejected if they become annoying. Like the sheep and goats the dogs also participate in keeping the orile clean. Little children who are not "toilet trained" relieve themselves in the areas about their homes; as soon as a child bares his bottom some half-starved dog will appear, as if by magic, to consume the feces.

Dogs are also of value to hunters and as watchdogs. Once when I returned to the orile, after a few days absence, the people told me of the night visit of some thieves. Akanbi Ọmọtayo's story illustrates the value of dogs and some of the characteristics of the other animals:

> You know we were telling you that the black taxi is used for stealing sheep during the night. Those thieves came here last night and started to put the sheep in that taxi. You know I told you those sheep are useless. They will not say a word. They will just go quietly. The goat cannot be stolen because they will not permit themselves to get caught. But the dogs started barking and it got so noisy that people started to get up and they started firing their guns in the air. Those thieves drove away. That is why we keep dogs.

The Organization of Labor

Cooperative Labor -- In the past the people depended upon a variety of patrilineally-oriented cooperative work groups and, therefore, had no

need for laborers. Cooperative activities based upon blood relationships still do occur but the more onerous and time consuming work is now done by laborers. As expected, cooperative work groups based upon agnatic relationships are more active in the more isolated patrilineally organized bush hamlets. Ojo (1966:59-60) divides cooperative farming groups into three classes. The first is based upon the patrilineal group (including wives) which works together throughout the year and shares the fruits of its labor. "The father of the group, at his discretion, provided clothing and wives for the male members at the appropriate time by bartering the farm products". This describes the social and economic organization of the bush hamlets which have been frequently mentioned throughout this thesis.

Aro, according to Ojo, is "rotation of communal labor mainly by agnatic men." A man who received labor from agnatic kin was expected to put himself at the disposal of this relative when needed. Owẹ is a variation of the aro. It is kin-based but is comprised of larger groups of people who gather together for such heavy tasks as clearing land. The reward for owẹ labor is properly food and entertainment since any attempt to effect rewards on a rotational, exchange-service basis, as in the case of aro, would be unwieldy.

I found no evidence of either practice in Ibara Orile. In fact, some people tended to use the term aro for the type of cooperative labor which is more correctly called iṣẹ ilu.

Town Work (Iṣẹ Ilu) -- Iṣẹ ilu calls for a type of cooperative work

which is more familiar in this area. The term includes such disparate activities as attending town meetings, collecting money for town projects, and helping to clear and burn bush for the projected clinic building. These projects always interfere with the farmer's desire to go to his own farm or to attend to some other, more personal concern. Invariably, calls for assistance in ise ilu, based upon one volunteer from each house, are the bases for personal and intergroup recrimination.

Pawning (Iwofa) - - The acquisition and utilization of pawns constitutes an efficient means of maintaining a cheap labor supply. Although the term "pawning" is popularly used in the literature Lloyd (1962:28) and the people of the orile use the terms "pawn" and "slave" when they speak of Iwofa, these terms are not at all appropriate or descriptive of the system. Long ago Johnson advised that:

> The term Iwofa has no equivalent in English. It denotes one who serves another periodically in lieu of the interest on money lent. In short, it is one in service for interest... An Iwofa is a free man, his social status remains the same; his civil and political rights are intact, and he is only subject to his master in the same universal sense that "a borrower is servant to the lender." [1921:126]

So it is in the orile. The Iwofa, generally a male of the household, may borrow money from a rich man then the borrower is obligated, on a periodic basis, to work on the farms of the lender. The more money he borrows the more time he must spend on the lender's farms. The rest of the time he is free to work his own lands or to pursue his own interests. His work is considered as payment of interest upon the loan, the principle must be paid out of the borrower's earnings from other sources.

Lamidi Ayodele, one of the big iwọfa holders, described aspects of the iwọfa system as it is practiced in the orile:

> When the people want money for something they wish to do like building a house or a funeral or wedding ceremony and they have no money they come to us. They may ask for $28.00 or $140.00. When they get the money they must work for us for two weeks in a month and they spend the rest of the month for their own purposes till the money is balanced [As mentioned above these arrangements are flexible and are related to the amount actually borrowed]. But if the money is not balanced the man must work for us till he dies and the son of the man must carry on till the money is balanced. That is what I meant before when we spoke of a son, 'hiding his father's secrets'. The son must not reveal his father's debts or his father's faults.
>
> That borrower must pay money out of his own pocket to get rid of the loan. If he needs more money he can borrow more. He may die in debt.

Although the practice has been outlawed there are three men of the orile who use the labor of iwọfa to work their vast farm holdings. Many people abhor this practice and they whisper the word "slave" rather than use the more acceptable term "pawn" or the more accurate term "iwọfa" when they speak of this system. They express their hostility towards both the system and the few rich landholders who maintain it:

> It is bad when twenty men work on one man's farm [the number twenty is an exaggeration]. It means the perishment of the town because people's money goes to one man and not for the development of the town.

Yet the people are unable to rid themselves of the iwọfa system because it is a vital part of their economy. The iwọfa system constitutes one of the most readily available sources of large sums of money. People who need money to meet some domestic emergency or for the performance of ceremonies can go to the lender for loans. Such loans may be large or small and may be paid off in years or in days.

The iwọfa-lender relationship is not always purely economic; it can also be social. There are people who prefer a relationship with a rich man who will be a continuing source of funds. Such a relationship means that the lender will meet all of, or contribute to, the major life expenditures of his iwọfa. He will contribute to his iwọfa's bride payments, naming ceremonies, funeral ceremonies, and housebuilding costs. He may also render such additional services to his iwọfa as finding suitable apprenticeships for the members of the iwọfa's family or sending a talented child to school.

There is the common Yoruba saying:

> Lack of discretion makes six brothers die in pawn on the farm of a creditor to whom they owe three shillings.

Transient Laborers -- Through the year the population of laborers does not fluctuate greatly (see page 236). All laborers are strangers. They are usually Yoruba although they may come from as far away as Igbirra, Nupeland, and French Dahomey. They are employed for such heavy work as clearing farms and harvesting the fruits of orange trees, coconut trees, palm trees, cocoa trees, and kola trees. The fact that most of the laborers live in houses in Oke Afin reflects the antiquity of this section and the many elders of this quarter who have retired to Ibara Omida.

Housebuilding and Houses

House construction commences with the beginning of the dry season. A man builds his house according to his needs and his financial power.

If he wishes to build on family land he must seek permission to use it from family elders. If he wishes to build on town land he must ask the acting head man or the chiefs in Ibara Omida.

The wealthy builder erects the mud walls, puts in the windows and doors, completes the roof, cement veneers all exterior and interior walls and floors, and paints the entire structure in one season. A less wealthy man - this is usually the case - will erect only his walls and put on the metal roof during the first season. He will consider himself fortunate if he is able to put the shutters and doors in their frames during the first building year. Not unfrequently he finds that he has to erect a makeshift door and to seal up the shutterless windows with bits of galvanized metal.

As he accumulates more money he will put shutters on the windows and finish such interior wood work as putting doors on each room. He then tries to cement all exterior and interior walls and floors of the house. In a few years he might have accumulated sufficient money to put ceilings in the rooms.

Finally, he will consider painting the house; however, many people never really expect to attain this height of success. Others believe that there is another order for building; they feel that as grass roofs and mud walls are sufficient for houses built in the bush hamlets, cement walls and metal roofs should be sufficient for houses in the Orile, while painted houses belong in Abẹokuta and Lagos

It may take years or generations before a person is ready to cement his house and put up a metal roof. Such modernization is not simply

the reflection of a man's financial ability. Some of the oldest houses in the orile remain unthatched and uncemented; they show the owners' traditionalism and lesser involvement in the aspirations for development and progress which have caused so many newer residents to move to the orile; Figure 7 page 342 illustrates some of the characteristics of the houses there.

The houses in the orile are built by contractors who live in Ibara Orile and the surrounding hamlets. In recent years the Ikereku District Council has taken an increasing interest in how the buildings in its jurisdiction are constructed. In the past many of the houses were built without adequate footings and without windows in the rear rooms. The Ikereku District Council has assigned building inspection duties to the sanitary inspector. He now enforces the building of a one foot deep foundation to support all outer and inner walls. He also insists that the window and door frames be built before the walls of the building are constructed.[4]

Many women consider the building season a time to earn extra money. The women bring water, sand, and laterite to the building sites; this is "yoyo" work which pays from one to two cents a headload. The price is determined by the distance between the source of these materials and the site of construction. Little girls, some as young as seven years of age, also engage in this work. Although they carry lighter loads they earn as much as older and stronger women. During the heat of the dry season this work becomes progressively enervating; even the strongest women carry no more than ten to fifteen headloads a day. At times these

women seem to be working only on will-power yet, they carry on. The following description illustrates the strength and tenacity of these women:

> The women and girls are dumping the water inside the area demarked for the mixing of laterite. They are tired and are dumping the water too fast for the men. The water is spilling over the area they have reserved for mudmaking and is running into the foundation ditch The foundation is ruined. The men start to scream at the women to stop. The women do not seem to realize what they are doing. They follow one another, in single file, lifting the pails from their heads and pouring the water on the ground. The frantic men finally get the women to stop. It is so hot that the whole affair seems to have happened in slow motion.

Most often the mud laterite used in the construction of the walls is obtained in the immediate area of the building site. Home builders who can afford to be concerned with the quality of their building seek out the reddest dirt they can find Such dirt contains more laterite and less sand than much of the dirt found in some sections of the orile. Consequently, upon drying, walls constructed of rich laterite will not crack and become crevassed to the same extent as poorer soils. Proper mixing of the mud is also important to obtaining strong walls.

The workmen mix the water with laterite and begin to construct and shape the walls in progressively higher tiers. Every so often they stop for a few days or a week to be sure that the lower tiers are dry before they continue their work. At the appropriate time window and door frames are positioned and sealed in place. When the masons are finished carpenters attend to the forming of roof struts. These struts can be either wooden beams brought from Abẹokuta or simple long, freshly cut, straight branches. The galvanized metal roof is then nailed to these struts.

Four of the houses in the orile are built of mud, brick, and cement. This type of construction has been shown, through experience, to be stronger than straight mud wall construction. Houses of laterite brick have fewer fissures because the bricks are permitted to dry and shrink in the sun before they are used to form walls. Because all the bricks dry at one time this type of construction is faster than straight mud wall construction. For this reason it is more frequently used in the construction of buildings erected during the late dry-early rainy season.

Well constructed mud wall houses with good roofs are reputed to last up to forty years with a minimum of dry season repairs. If the walls are covered with a veneer of cement the houses are said to last as long as sixty years. Mud walls covered by metal roofs last even longer than houses with thatched roofs. Metal roofs are also considered more pleasing than thatched roofs.

The completed house is then covered with cement veneer. The builder might also specify cement relief designs such as scrolls, hearts, names, mottos, and crosses sculpted around the frames of his windows and doors. These designs are primarily decorative.

A financially strong builder usually wants to construct a platform around his house. Such a platform protects the walls of the house from erosion caused by heavy season surface water run-off. A well constructed platform consists of laterite stone cemented together with laterite mud and covered with a thin layer of cement. Women living in such a house are considered quite fortunate, for such a cement covered platform provides a perfect site for drying cassava.

A house may cost from $450 to $600 depending upon the size and number of rooms it contains. Laidi Oguyemi of Ifatedo provided a breakdown of the various construction costs of his recently built house:

> Cement was $102.40. The roof cost $130.60 for the iron sheets, nails, and wood. The wood for the doors and windows was $33.60 and the carpenters costs were $47.60. Each room is $19.60 [construction of mud walls] and there are four rooms so that it cost $78.40 for the masons. Then I must include the feast for everybody which cost $42.00. The whole was $434.60.

Most of the houses have either four or six rooms. There are only three houses with fewer than four rooms and about seven houses with eight rooms. The four room houses tend to be square in shape while the larger houses are oblong.

Usually a hallway, with outside doors at each end, runs down the center of the house. All rooms of the house open into this hallway. The two front rooms of the house are the parlors (arowa). These rooms, belonging to the men of the house, are the rooms with the largest windows and are often the first and only cement veneered rooms in the house. The men perform all of their household activities in these rooms. The men sleep, eat, keep their personal belongings, entertain guests, hold meetings, pray (if Muslims) and sew (if tailors) in their parlors.

In a few instances a man and his wife occupy a front room together. Most often this happens when the couple has recently married and not yet had children. In four instances women were found to be living in parlor rooms. In each of these cases there was evidence of an overcrowded situation and a largely female population in the house.

Women, girls, and small boys of the house live in the interior and rear rooms (yara). Each wife has her own room which she shares with

her children. She also stores her personal effects in this room. Boys of five years or more join their fathers in the parlor, while young girls continue to sleep in their mother's room.

The windows of the wives' rooms are always smaller than those in the parlors. The men's reluctance to enlarge their wives' windows reflects an earlier tradition of having no windows in the rooms. It did happen that a builder recently constructed a house with unusually large windows in the interior and rear rooms. His mistake resulted in these rooms being flooded with a large amount of light and sunshine. The bale of the house commented on the builder's error saying:

> I must catch him and make him repair the damage he has done to my house.

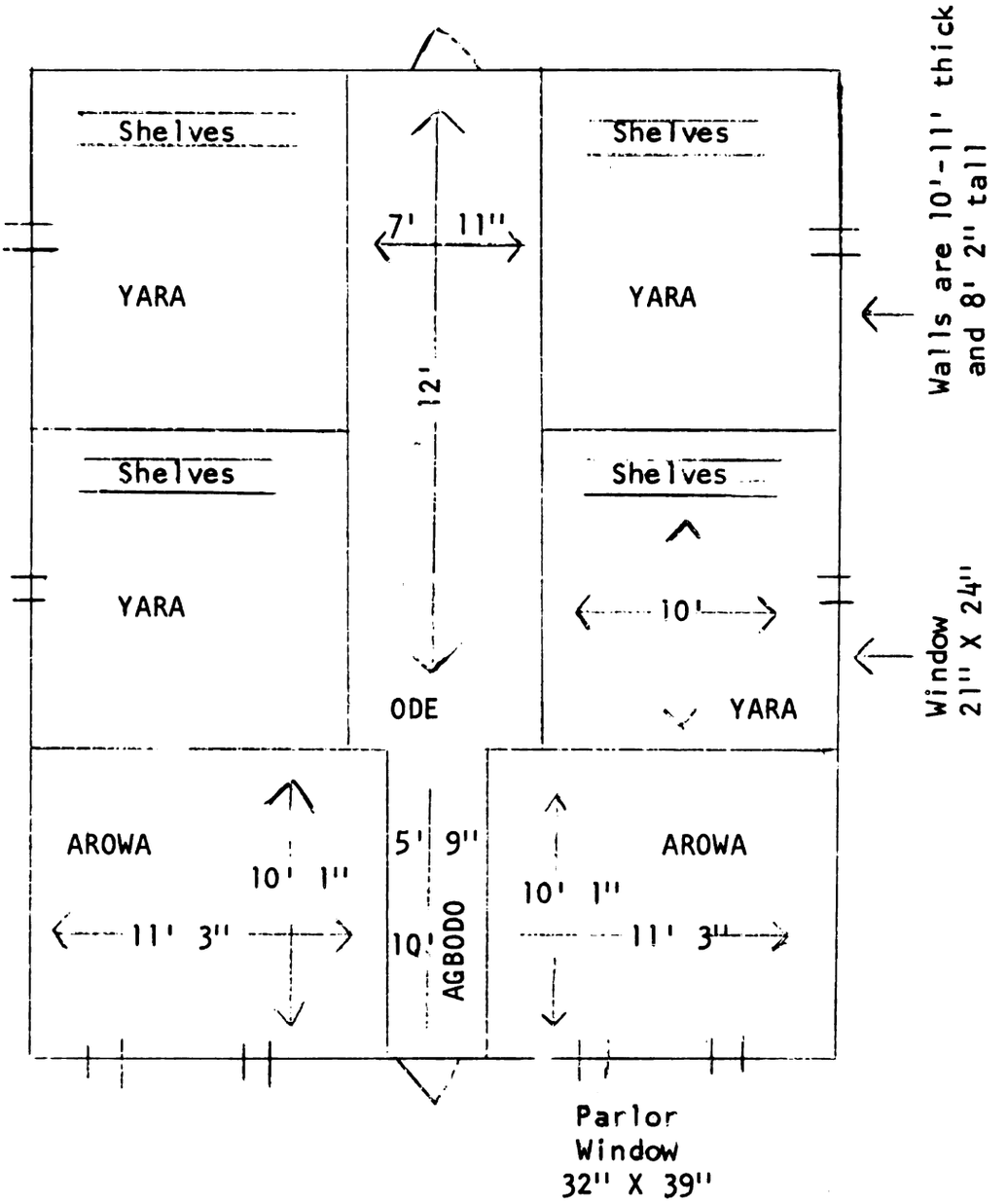
In most of the houses one or two rooms are set aside for storage purposes. This need for storage space is such a predominant feature of most houses that those without such facilities also show evidence of severe overcrowding. This is particularly evident during tomato harvest time. At this time the paucity of storage space is so acute that the farmers who have no storage rooms spread their tomatoes across the floors of their parlors. They are found either sleeping among their tomatoes or in the hallways of their houses

In the six room houses the halls between the parlor rooms (agbodo) are usually narrower than the halls between the interior and rear rooms. The wide hallway (ode) is the place where the women of the house entertain their guests, prepare food, or take an occasional nap.

There is only a superficial difference between the structure of these

FIGURE 8

SIX ROOM HOUSE
(Floor Plan)



houses and the old traditional compound type of construction. As in the past, the wives of the house have their own rooms. However, these rooms now open on a common hallway rather than the inner courtyard of the compound type of structure. The women use the inner halls as they would use the inner courtyard of the compound. In fact, the term ode means "outside". The reluctance to put windows in the rear rooms of the house corresponds to the traditions of the windowless walls of the traditional compound.

Although metal roofs are most popular for houses, thatch roofs are cheaper and provide a cooler environment. Thatch roofs do require frequent repairs and are subject to infestation. However, thatch roofs are preferred for the kitchen sheds. The cooling shade of the thatch is more desirable than the frying pan effect of the metal roofs. The kitchen smoke effectively keeps insects out of the thatch. The walls of these kitchens are made of latticed bamboo fronds. This type of construction provides shade from the sun, protection from the rain, and easy escape for the smoke. It also permits the women to observe the events occurring in their area and to socialize freely with passing neighbors.

Sickness And Health

Whatever the cause of sickness it is the man of the house who has responsibility for the protection, treatment, and cure of the members of his household. The people of the orile appear healthy and strong. They are well built and are often engaged in the most arduous tasks. The general impression of good health and vitality is due to the fact that

many of the sick people leave the orile for treatment in Abẹokuta. The old enfeebled headman who has retired to Omida is an example of this custom. In the village itself there is no clinic and few truly active native herbalists.

It was neither possible to evaluate the true health status of the people nor was such a task considered a part of our research problem. Our concerns were with descriptions of styles of medical practice and the activities of the custodians and practitioners of the medical arts. Fortunately, much of the work of the Cornell-Aro Mental Health Research Project was done in Abẹokuta and in villages and hamlets of the Ibara kingdom. The report of the project Psychiatric Disorder Among The Yoruba 1963, constitutes an excellent source of information regarding the status of the general health and health problems of the people in the area. During his activities as Medical Assistant with the Cornell-Aro Mental Health Project Dr. Collis found, "that there was a great deal of physical disease, though little grave illness in the villages." Dr. Collis concludes that, "When one contemplates the number of diseases to which the people are exposed, one is continually amazed that there are so many apparently healthy people to be seen." (1966:5.7-8)

Suffice to say that the people of the orile are constantly plagued with sickness or fears of sickness. Infection and infestation in great variety are common. Those who suffer from temporary weakness caused by malaria, or some other infection, lie down in their rooms for a day or so until they can return to the farm or their other chores. As we began to become more familiar with each other, the people began to show me

massive infections which, otherwise, remained hidden underneath their clothes. The exudates from these infections sometimes flowed for months. Healing was slow and great gaping holes were sometimes left in the body. Swollen lymph nodes, treated with ointments, vanished only to reappear in some other portion of the body. Sickness and death are a real and constant threat to the security, well being, and lives of these people.

It is believed that illness can be caused not only by disease but also by the machinations of witches and wizards. Even neighbors or co-wives living in the same house are thought to wish to do each other harm. Fear of neighbors' evil intentions can be stimulated by the most innocent behavior. These fears sometimes cause great chiefs to suspect the behavior of little girls:

> The young girl had served ǫǫrǫ to all the chiefs and babalawos participating in the sacrifices for the cooperation of the town. The young girl took a clean glass and poured some ǫǫrǫ for the important visiting chief. As is the custom, she knelt as she offered the drink to the chief. The chief waved his hand in refusal and harshly spoke to the girl telling her to sip the wine before he drank it.

O.O.: Why did you do that?

Chief: Though she is young and kneels so nicely I do not know why she served me from this special glass. Maybe someone told her to poison me

Girl: I served you the special glass because of your high position.

Chief: I could not know. One must be careful.

Concern about the evil intentions of others cause them to take numerous precautions. Locks and bolts are very popular items in the market place. At night, when people retire, they lock all doors and shutters so that the

exterior of the house presents a formidable wall for the protection of the occupants within. Only a few people will venture out of their homes during the night hours. Even a large fire that occurred in the market place one night failed to draw more than a few people from behind the protection of their walls.

A further look at these generalized fears can be seen in the precautions which bamboo wine tappers must take:

> The young wine tapper was walking by. He greeted us, set his calabashes down, and started to talk with us. Simon Adeola sent him on an errand. When he returned I was surprised to hear Simon chastise him for leaving his calabashes about, "Lest someone put poison in them and thereby poison ten or twelve people."

Fear of poisoning and witchcraft also causes individuals to leave their homes and families. A couple who have had a series of abiku (see page 146) may be advised, through Ifa divination, to move to another town or village. A wife who does not feel well or who has children who are always sick may decide, unilaterally, to move back to her own village.

A Single Hand Cannot Carry Good.--Whatever the cause of the sickness the men of the house have responsibility for the protection, treatment, and cure of the family members. Learning the composition of the various drugs and protective medicines takes time and is the perogative of the elders of the house. It would be presumptuous for a young man to practice medicine when there is an elder in the house. Bolaji Olabeji's response to my question concerning his lack of knowledge about protective medicines was:

> It is for my brother to know. It would be an insult for me to ask him such information.

Most elders learn their basic medical knowledge from their fathers. As they grow older they observe the remedies of other elders. They become increasingly interested in medical problems and begin to participate more actively in the treatment of family illnesses.

Yet, most of the men are farmers and have taken time to learn only the simplest of home remedies. They are unsure of the validity of what their fathers taught them. Since they came out of their bush hamlets to join together they have found that their practices differ and that there are benefits to be gained from hospitals and clinics.

Laidi Oguyemi was a good friend of mine. He often came to visit and talk with me. But it was Peter Omodele, the elder of our neighborhood in Oke Afin, who told me that Laidi's daughter was very sick. I visited Laidi's house and found that his nine month old daughter had an infection of the face which resulted in an erosion of skin tissue to the extent that a hole had been created through the nares and the upper palate, exposing her mouth. The child could not take food and was very emaciated. Laidi had been treating the child with herbs. Peter said:

> He [Laidi] did not know to ask you. He told me about this several days ago and I told him to take the child to the hospital. He refused. He does not know about these things. He just came out of the bush three years ago.

As the Alpha remarked, "A single hand cannot carry good." So it is that the bales do not rely upon their skills alone. When confronted with an illness they will utilize their own knowledge and experience and consult a wide range of trusted relatives and friends. For resistive diseases or

those illnesses which manifest unusual symptoms the bale can ask the babalawo to divine the cause of the illness. He can take the matter to more experienced men of the family living in Omida, and he can also consult one of the professional native therapists (onisegun) living in Abẹokuta. In addition he can seek out literate members of the family and friends in order to obtain patent medicines. He can do one or all of these things at the same time. While he is applying herbs and other nostrums another member of the family might be consulting an Ifa priest. Lineage elders will have been alerted and will have begun to prepare their medicines and send advice.

A growing number of people find it increasingly easy and desirable to go to the hospitals and clinics of the area Women who have been to maternity clinics return to these clinics for the treatment and care of their own and their children's illnesses. Despite the fact that members of their family are hospitalized, the efforts of the family elders do not cease. They will not neglect their responsibilities and will continue their traditional, more familiar, efforts.

The patient's presence is not required for divination or animal sacrifices as means of curing his illness. Native medicines can be administered to the patient even as he lies in the hospital. Simon Adeola's visit to Ibadan illustrates the extent of an elder's involvement in these matters:

Simon: My sister is in University Hospital. Her husband just sent word to me. I must go there and see her. When I see her I will know what to do.

O.O.: But she is in a hospital Will not the doctors take care of her?

Simon: You know I am the elder of the family. It is my duty to see that she gets well. I will look at her and know what must be done. If she is seriously ill I must bring her home and treat her.

Simon's concern about the health of his married sister illustrates the extent of his family responsibility and his willingness to assume this responsibility. Although a husband is responsible for the welfare of his wife, he must involve his wife's family in the treatment of the woman's illness, so that, if his treatments fail, he will not be accused of neglect. If a wife refuses to take her husband's medicines or fails to respond to treatment, it is his duty to notify her family or send her back to her father's house so that he cannot be blamed for neglecting her.

Through experience with many of the problems of the people of Ibara orile the Ifa priests of Ibara accumulate knowledge of the people and their habits which they use to enhance divination. They also develop a high degree of sophistication in the matter of protective and curative medicines. However, the truly professional native healers are found in the urban center of Abeokuta. These herbalists maintain a powerful society which allows them to control the practice of their profession. Although one or two people in the orile do have membership in the native herbalist society they do not maintain an active practice.

Many people find native healers very frightening. They live surrounded by strange looking calabashes, saucers, containers filled with a great variety of herbs and animal parts, and the strange looking devices used to prepare medicines and insure their efficacy. One very old, wizened man owns a miniature coffin, about two feet long, in which he keeps his most

precious medicines. These healers also keep a great number of strange and exotic shrines, including Esu, in and about their homes. Such men can benefit the ill but the people believe there is also the possibility of their practicing wizardry.

Dauda Aina is such a man - a herbalist and wizard. He has accumulated medical knowledge which goes far beyond the home remedy level of practice. His interest in protective medicines has made him a popular person in the treatment of abiku, (i.e. keeping children believed to be abiku alive). Yet, when one of the young men of his area displeased him he was heard to proclaim loudly that he was the person who caused the rains to interrupt the youth's ceremonies for his departed father.

There is a very active trade in patent medicines. These drugs can be bought in the numerous shops of Abeokuta. Young salesmen, in jackets, white shirts, and ties carrying a few patent medicines in brief cases, frequently visit the orile. They move from house to house selling aspirins at a penny a piece: "fever pills" at six pence a piece: and more exotic drugs, such as penicillin lozenges, for whatever traffic will bear. Some of these young men are in business for themselves, while others work for drug companies in Abeokuta or Lagos. Whether they are independent or employees of larger concerns they did not prove to have much knowledge of the drugs they were selling. As one of them commented while popping a penicillin lozenge into his mouth:

> The villagers do not know about these tablets. I sell them when I can but I take most of them myself. I use them to clear my throat. You can never be sure of what you are eating when you are in these villages. These pills are quite tasty.

Notions And Nostrums

Fear of harm from witches and wizards stimulates the production of the protective medicines which can be found in every house. These medicines can be seen hanging from the rafters, doors, and walls; partly buried in the floor; or placed on shelves. Individuals, including little babies, wear protective amulets around the neck, waist, arms, and in the pockets of skirts and pants. These medicines are contained in bottles, belts, bags, brooms, and even inside the barrels of guns. Some of these medicines have been passed from father to son, through the generations, and are of great antiquity.

Although the men treat most of the illnesses, the commercial traffic in traditional medicines is in the hands of the women. The village women collect the barks and roots and sell them to the market women of Lagos and Abẹokuta who specialize in medicinal products. These women supplement their stock of herbs with rare earths, stones, and various parts of many different animals. They gain considerable knowledge of their products and freely supply this information to potential customers.

As witches and wizards do good as well as evil, so also do native herbalists create good and bad medicines. And, as it is difficult to distinguish between the good and evil intent of these practitioners, so is it also difficult to make easy distinctions between good and bad medicines. There are medicines which have been compounded to cure specific and general diseases. There are also many prophylactic medicines which the men compound to insure their own health and the strength and vigor of their wives and children.

There is also a category of medicines which can be, at times, exceedingly troublesome. Potions compounded to capture the love of a husband will mean the alienation of his affections from his other wives. Such medicines have, on occasion, proved to be poisonous. In a society where there are suspicions that one man's wealth might be gained at the expense of another the use of medicines to get money also proves troublesome.

The use of such medicines also symbolizes points of antagonism and frustration which exist in the community. One market day I found Kalu Akinrele vigorously rubbing himself with a solution which he poured from a small calabash:

O.O.: What is that you are using?

Kalu: That is filled with medicine for making money.

O.O.: Does it help you?

Kalu: I am sure it does.

O.O.: Did your wife use some when she went to market today?

Kalu: It is made only for men. Women do not need it. There is no such medicine for women.

Notes

1
A considerably shorter period than the October to January main crop and the May to August light crop discussed by Phillips (1964: 99-106).

2
Picking at nine months might have been the result of the continuing disorders reputed to cause many farmers to stay in the towns, causing a shortage of cassava and, consequently, a rise in the price of cassava. Most farmers claimed that they would prefer to let their cassava stay in the ground for twelve months.

3
This master-apprentice relationship is a reflection of the functioning of the principle of seniority in social relationships.

4
In the past, fearing thieves and the possible unfaithfulness of wives, the people of the orile have been reluctant to put windows in the rear rooms of their homes. The sanitary inspector's insistence that the window frames be built before any other work is done insures that the farmers will use the frames which have been so expensive to build.

CHAPTER XII

MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE

Marriage

Among the people of the orile the preferred pattern of marriage is polygyny. The only restrictions upon the selection of marriage partners is that the wife be not of her husband's patrilineage. There are no forms of preferred cousin marriage.

Although most men would prefer to have many wives investigations of the polygynous status of the bales leads to the conclusion that only a small percentage of the men actually attain this marital ideal. Table 9 indicates the true polygynous status of the bales of the orile at the time of the study. Our findings indicated that only 14% of the bales had more than one wife and a mere 4.2% had more than two wives, while 7.0% of the bales were women.

These figures are not really surprising. They complement the data presented in the earlier discussion of the pattern of movement of the wives of the orile (see pages 110-113). This earlier analysis suggested that a large number of wives do not stay with their husbands more than one decade. The statistical evidence indicates that, at any one point in time most married men in the orile will have only one wife. However, our interactions, observations, and interviews further indicate that during the course of their lives most men will marry more than once.

TABLE 9

NUMBER OF WIVES PER BALE
(AND FEMALE BALES)

Number of Wives Per Bale	No.	%
No Wives	29	20.7
One Wife	84	58.7
Two Wives	14	9.9
Three or More Wives	6	4.2
Female Bales	10	7.0
		100.0

At the time of our survey many of the men who had only one wife stated that they were currently, and actively, seeking another mate. Of course the large number of men of marriageable age without wives were also seeking mates. Table 8 illustrates that only 13.8% of these wifeless bales were in the 20-29 year age group The major proportion of men in this group have not previously married. All of the other bales in the wifeless group have been previously married and, with the exception of the men in the 80-100 group are currently looking for wives.

This invidious comparison between the men's marital ideals and their actual marital experiences must be interpreted in terms of the fact that the majority of the bales have only recently built their houses. It is assumed that these bales are correct when they state that a number of the houses built in the orile were constructed with money which might otherwise have been used for bride payments. There is also the increasing

tendency to use savings to send children to school. A further consideration is that some of the men who represent themselves as wifeless actually have wives in Omida or some other Nigerian town.

Household and Marital Style.--The problem of defining the population was discussed in earlier pages of this report (refer to pages 101-105). The subject of household composition was discussed in Chapter VII. These discussions are closely related to the present topic. The people often choose to affiliate themselves with any one of a number of different kinsmen living in different villages and towns. Thus, it is that wives and husbands may live in different houses and, even different towns.

A man normally lives in the houses and on the land of his father or his father's family. He may, through circumstances or through personal option, live in the houses and on the land of his mother's family. The latter is most likely to occur if he is brought up in the houses and on the land of his mother's family.

Like a man, a woman also has membership in her father's and her mother's family. Upon marriage she also can claim membership in her husband's family, establishing for a time a "family of procreation" (Murdock 1949:13). The strength of this claim, however, will depend upon such characteristics of her marital career as the birth of children and the social ties which she establishes with her husband's family Relationships based on marriage are seldom as strong as blood relationships.

A woman spends her early years in her father's house. By the time she is married she has already attained seniority over the wives and children

who enter the house or are born there after she was born. When she enters her husband's house she finds that she is stripped of all her seniority and becomes, in many respects, junior to even the smallest child of the house. The terminology of honorific address discussed on pages 186-192 is suggestive of the young wife's plight.

Many women do not thrive under such circumstances of status deprivation. They find it difficult to learn the habits of a strange household and to subjugate themselves to their husband's mother and their senior wives. For this reason some wives spend long periods of time in their father's house.[1] For economic reasons some women will always remain in their father's house except for periods given over to childbirth. Before marriage a woman may have built up a good trade and may find it difficult to duplicate this success in her husband's house and village. Therefore, she may want to return to her familiar customers and sources of supply.[2]

The introduction of a junior wife into the household often frees senior wives of many obligations towards their husbands and husbands' house. Some of these women go to Omida where the economic activity is more brisk. They may live in their husbands' Omida house or their fathers' family's house. There are instances when the acquisition of a second wife permits the senior wife an opportunity to remain in the orile while the junior wife remains with the father-husband on distant bush farms. To the western observer the Egba-Egbado marital style often seems to exclude feelings of sentiment. In this regard Prince has said:

There seems to be no romantic element, wives being of value

> as status symbols and as bearers of children rather than for warmth of relationship (1961:804).

At the time of menopause many women feel that their responsibilities towards their husbands and their husbands' family have been fulfilled. They will return to their fathers' house where they will assist their elderly fathers and their brothers who, like their own husbands, have lost their wives. In time, as their fathers and mothers die, they might choose to spend their remaining days in their sons' homes, cared for by their sons' wives. Their mothers returned to their father's house (now their brother's house) to be cared for by their brother's wives and children. Of course, these women might prefer to remain in their husbands' house throughout the remainder of their lives. Some of them have acquired sufficient money, as a result of a lifetime of trading, to build houses for themselves and their young children. That is, they might establish their own household and become, themselves, the "apical head".

An additional pull away from the husband and his house occurs when the wives become successful traders. Such wives are financially independent of their husbands; their own families expect them to make large contributions to family ceremonies and enterprises.

Thus, a woman has many alternatives and can live in many houses for long and short periods of her life:

1- Although married, she may never really leave her father's house.

2- She may go to her husband's house where she may remain with her children even after her husband's death.

3- She may leave her husband's house to return to her father's house.

4- She may return to her husband's house to live with her sons where she will receive her sons' support, the services of their wives, and the high status which she was, formerly, denied, but which her seniority now demands.

5- She may become the bale of her own household in which will be found her own children and the wives and children of her sons.

Though the figures in Table 9 page 355 are small they must be considered in terms of the high rate of seduction (divorce) and the fact that an undetermined number of mothers, daughters, and wives of the men of the orile live in Omida.

Motivations And Obligations

The primary purpose of the married relationship is the production of children. The unvarying answer to the question, "Why do people get married?" is, "To have children." Children are a source of social and economic wealth. They help to form an integrating network of social relations between various groups. As parents grow older they also become a source of security and comfort. Finally, they insure proper burial, continuity of the family line, and, therefore, continuing spiritual viability after death.

In a society without engines, oxen, horses, and other economical sources of power the load carrying and work capacity of the head and hands becomes important to the maintenance and progress of the group. The more children a man has the greater is his potential for wealth and honor. His sons will help him in his farms, permitting him to increase his farmlands, sell more produce, acquire more wives, build more houses,

join more associations, and, eventually, to assume a title. When his sons and daughters marry he will be able to make claims of relationship upon a wider group of people. If he is fortunate, his daughers will marry into rich and powerful families.

Some of the considerations involved in marital affiliations were revealed in a conversation with Afisatu, a young married girl of Isolo. I met Afisatu helping the widow Kehinde, a female bale of Oke Afin, crack palm nuts. As these women saw me walking by they started to tease me:

Afisatu: I like him. I want to marry him. Is he married?

Kehinde: But he says that he has need of only one wife.

O.O.: What would you do with me? I already have a wife.

Afisatu: We would have many children for you and our children will have many children so that when you die there will be many people there at the funeral celebration. There will be a fine gathering and people will enjoy themselves. You will be happy.

Kehinde: You will be very proud to have so many people there to celebrate your funeral.

O.O.: But I will be dead. How will I enjoy such an occasion?

They: But you will know that your children are doing these things for you. You will have done these things for your fathers before you and you will know that your children take you in their arms and do the same for you. You will be pleased and satisfied.

O.O.: Yes. But what good will co-wives be to me when I am alive? That is my interest.

They: The same thing. Your name will be known all over the town and down through time. Your children's children, and their children will speak of you.

[Dauda Aina who has been seated across the way comes over

and elaborates upon what the women have already said.]

Dauda: Your children will spread your name and fame and when you are old they will take care of you and feed you.

O.O.: Yes. But many wives are troublesome. They will always be looking at each other to see if one got more than the other. They will tear me apart.

Afisatu: Ah! He knows

Kehinde: Not so. They will give you no trouble because you will share everything equally. The woman without co-wives is considered selfish. She is frowned upon because her husband will not have sufficient children to take care of him in his old age and provide him with a good funeral.

Afisatu: My husband is looking for one co-wife for me. Then I shall have someone to send on all the errands, someone to go up and down for me [smiles when she thinks of these benefits] I would like many co-wives.

This conversation needs little further comment. However, it should be noted that a woman married to a prestigious husband not only receives prestige, but also receives certain benefits from her involvement in a successful polygynous marriage.

Women's marital motivations are quite similar to those of the men. A woman wishes the economic and social security which children provide. She anticipates her daughters' assistance in the market and home and that, as they marry and have children, her grandchildren will be sent to relieve her of the burdensome chores her daughters once performed. She knows that in her old age she will be able to live in her sons' houses. Her children will bring her comfort and honor.

The obligation to have children falls equally upon both husband and wife. A woman's first obligation is to provide her husband with children. She is obliged to be respectful and helpful to members of his family and

his other wives. She is expected to maintain good character and take good care of her children.

Although a measure of affection may exist between a man and his wife their married relationship does not usually endure if they are unable to create children. It sometimes happens that a couple does have children who live for a while but eventually die. Such children, "born to die" (abiku), are also a common cause of marital instability. Thus, the primary motivation for marriage is also the basic cause of separation and divorce.

A woman without children is considered a failure and a legitimate object of pity. Her plight will provoke family and community prayers. Such a woman is usually unable to maintain the positive regard of her husband and his family. Her relationships with his house will eventually deteriorate. In the course of time she will find another husband.

Rarely does the relationship between a childless couple develop to the point that they are able to remain together. The husband will have to marry another woman In a polygynous house the childless wife is a potential threat to her co-wives and their children. It will be concluded that she is jealous and wishes to harm her co-wives and their children. She will be blamed for the illnesses and accidents that occur in the household. She will become the focus of accusations of witchcraft.

The importance of children to the stability of marriage can be seen in the story of Atoke, wife of Lamidi Olowu of Ifatedo. During a discussion about her marketing activities Atoke revealed some of the difficulties she was experiencing in her desire to sell in Mushin:

I cannot go back to Mushin to sell my vegetables or visit

> until I have a child. I was married to a man there and had three children but they all died. I was married to him for eleven years and he loved me. I left him two years ago although he wanted me to remain there without children. It is not good to live with a man without children. I was the senior wife of two wives. Neither of us had children.

Although the public assumption is that the wife is at fault in a childless marriage, most people admit that the truth will be revealed when each member of the couple remarries. Atoke's experience indicates that her husband was not lucky and that she and her co-wife had to conclude that they would never have any children as long as they remained in his house. Her story indicates that she has not repaid her bride payment and, therefore, legally remains her first husband's wife. He can still make claims upon her, and this is the situation which makes it difficult for her to go to Mushin. He now has no choice but to continue to marry other women in the hope that his luck will change. Atoke's story also illustrates that emotional ties do exist in the marital relationship.

A woman may also leave her husband's house because of his failure to provide proper living quarters, his cruelty, and his inability to provide her with sufficient funds to enable her to continue her trading activities. Despite protestations to the contrary, there are women who become jealous and leave their husbands when they bring a junior wife into the house. Although women usually do form good associations with their co-wives a husband's continuing preferential treatment of one may cause the neglected wife to leave the house.

James Adebiyi contributed his ideas about the means a polygynist might apply to keep his wives happy:

> By watching my father I learned how to live with many wives. My father had fifty-two wives. I now have three. You must treat them all alike. I call them all together and I give them $2.80 [one pound] and I ask that they share it among themselves. After that I call my senior wife and give her thirty-five cents and say that I give it to her because I love her most of all. When she is gone I call the next wife and do the same, and after that I call the youngest wife and do the same. I tell them all not to tell their co-wives about the extra money lest it cause trouble. That is how I keep them co-operative. It depends upon how you treat them. You do not want them fighting. You want them playing together.

A good wife wants her husband to acquire many wives; she receives immediate tangible benefits from the presence of junior wives in the house. Her seniority increases and she is relieved of such onerous household duties as bringing water from the stream, sweeping the area, washing clothes and feeding her husband. Her constant presence in the house is no longer as necessary or important as it is when she is the only wife. She becomes freer to pursue her trading activities, and, in time, she might move to her husband's house in Ibara Omida or, if she wishes, return to her father's house.

Some wives, anxious for the companionship and assistance of a junior wife, actively encourage their husbands to marry other women. These wives seek out a suitable junior wife whom they introduce to their husbands. They may approach either virgins or discontented married women who wish to leave their own husbands for a more satisfactory alliance. The first wife befriends her prospective co-wife; she determines the candidate's character, possible cost and her desirability as a junior wife. She then discusses the matter with her husband.

It does happen that the senior wife, of a junior wife seduced from her previous husband, accompanies her new co-wife to the divorce courts. The occasion of Moji Oluwasami's father's taking a second wife provides an example of some of the arrangements which can occur in the

marrying of secondary wives.

> My father chose the junior wife but he spoke to my mother about it before he started talking with that wife. My mother told him that his choice was all right for she was friendly with that woman. My mother went with her friends to visit the wife before the court day. They both wore the same clothing to court. My father sent his junior brother to go with them to court. He did not go himself because he thought that he might be given a dangerous medicine by the divorced husband. The court ordered my father to pay $56.

In many seduction-divorce cases a refund of bride payment of $56 may be considered high. In this instance the woman was quite young and had not yet given birth. Her youth was the reason for the high payment. The failure of her husband to provide her with children was the reason for her leaving his home.

Traditional Marriage

In the old days and, in rare instances even today, some fathers choose their son's first wife. This practice is rapidly changing and most young men tell their fathers whom they will marry. A traditional custom which has more contemporary support is the fathers' wish to acquire wives for their sons. Raji Jibowu is an elder of Idofin. Although he has had three wives he is also one of the men who, during the period of our stay in the orile, had no wife. He has been thinking of another marriage, but now finds that he must delay this in order to obtain a wife for his son. He explains this fatherly concern:

> My son has seen a girl over there in Oke Afin. He wants to marry her. He has courted her for three months already. I must get him this wife so that he will remain in the house and continue to help me with the farm chores. If I do not get her for him he will go away. I would be without help.

Raji's desire to keep his eldest son in his house reveals only one aspect of a father's motivation for getting a wife for his son. If he is able to keep his son in his house he will be assured of care in his old age and a proper burial when he dies.

The elders of the orile complain that their children are marrying much earlier these days than in the past. They say that boys used to marry when they were thirty years old and girls when they were about twenty-five. But today girls are marrying at sixteen years and boys at twenty-five. Mabogunje supports this contention:

> In the social field, the effects of the colonial regime were no less potent. Before the 20th century a young man had to work for his father until he was about thirty years old. By then, he might perhaps be economically strong enough to set out on his own. In the meantime, however, his father provided him with a wife when he was old enough to have one and also allotted to him rooms within the large compound to house him and his wife [1962:12]

Most young men will know the young lady they wish to marry and will have made advances toward her before notifying their fathers of their intentions. The prospective bride is expected to have good character and to be unrelated to her future husbands lineages. Once the boy has made these determinations he will speak to his father. The father will send a matchmaker (alaring) to visit and talk with the prospective bride's family.

The alaring is often a male member of the suitor's family or, occasionally, some respected experienced elder of the community. It is most desirable that the alaring have some familiarity, and possibly a friendly relationship with the bride's family. Such a person will be more easily accepted for he will be judged to have both families' interests at heart. When the alaring's mission takes him to a distant

bush hamlet or a small township of Abeokuta his identity, established and accepted, will make his mission more successful.

It is during the meetings betweeen the alarino and the girl's family that the rules of the marriage and the amount of the bride payment are established. At this time the true identities and character of the participating families are established. The possibility of pre-existing interfamily disputes are studied and resolved. As these arrangements progress the amount and manner of payment of the brideprice are discussed and fixed; consultations through Ifa divination, are sought to insure the potential compatibility of the marital partners.

After a previously established portion of the dowry has been paid the young man may visit the girl and stay overnight in her house During this period, depending on the girl's age and their mutual desire, the couple may or may not have sexual intercourse.[3] One aspect of this intercourse in the girl's family's house is the wish to determine whether she is fertile. In time, it is expected that the young man will take his bride to his house.

There is considerable variation in the elaborateness and timing of the different phases of the marriage formalities. In some cases all of the payments might have been made years before the girl is considered old enough to go to her husband's home. In other instances all payments will be rapidly made and the girl taken to her husband's home within a month after the time of the first negotiations. Still some payments are completed but the girl's removal to her husband's house is delayed because the husband has not accumulated sufficient money for the welcome ceremonies.

Anytime after the final bride payments have been made the man can gather together some friends and go to collect his bride. The bride is taken to her husband's house where the wives of the house have prepared a feast. These women greet the young bride and make her welcome. The men sit about drinking, eating and entertaining friends while the young girls of the community and the bride sit together and sing through the night.

On the next morning the wives of the house and the bride dress in their best clothes. They take brooms and some treasured china and they start to visit each house in the village. At each door they go through the motions of sweeping the fronts of the house, then their leader, the oldest of the co-wives present, knocks on the door. The occupants of the house usually give the leader a few pence which is deposited in the china teapot which is carried on the head of one of the group.

Each house is visited in this manner. The new bride accompanies her co-wives, but periodically stops to change her clothes so that she might appear in all the clothing lent to her by her co-wives as part of their display of co-operation and solidarity. This "sweeping of the town" ritual is reserved for a woman's first marriage. Abeke, the leader of one of these processions explains the procedures:

> Her co-wives honor her by giving her these clothes so that she can change. She will use these clothes for fifteen days At that time she can return to her father's house to greet her parents and get her clothes. She may greet her parents today as we go about the town, but she cannot enter their house for fifteen days. You know she belonged to us [i.e. the bride payments had been completed] but we did not take her until we were ready. The arrangements were made some five years ago Yesterday we took her [when she came to greet her husband's sister on the occasion of the latter's freedom ceremony].

> This money that I collect at each door is to let the people know that there is a new bride in the village. If we were in Abeokuta we would just go to the houses in our section [Omida]. I shall put money in these saucers and it will be counted and kept by the most senior wife of us all. When the young wife delivers she will get the money. Also her husband may borrow it.

There is considerable variation within the category which the people call traditional marriage. Much of this variation is due to differing family traditions, the results of Ifa divination, and the influences of the wider cultural, social, economic and religious national context in which the people of the orile participate. The question of who shall choose the first wife is suggestive of some of these changes.

Nowadays young men prefer to make these decisions for themselves. They display a fine appreciation for beauty in women, but for marriage the important consideration is character. The following discussion with some of the men illustrates that, for them, the essence of beauty is always in "good character". It will be noted that as the conversation progresses the men get more serious and begin to think of the subject in terms of the type of character they expect in their wives.

O.O.: Do Yoruba men think more about women being beautiful or about their character?

The men: Laughter.

Bolaji: We look for beauty and not character. We marry for the beauty and find out about the character when we take the girl home.

O.O.: How can I tell a beautiful girl from one who is not so beautiful?

Bolaji and friends: We do not look for just the arms, legs, and face. We

B & Friends
cont.: look at the whole person to see if she is complete like the toes do not overlap.

O.O.: Would you all agree that a particular type of girl is beautiful or do you think that you might have different ideas?

The men: When we see a lady going along we might ask if she is fine. If the others think that she is fine they will look at her from head to toe and if nothing is wrong all will say so.

Raji: If they see only good, they will go to her house and ask for her. If her character is good then she is good, but if her character is bad then she is not beautiful. If I see a girl and I say she is beautiful and another man says she is not beautiful then he knows her character.

O.O.: What could she be doing that would cause him to say this?

The men: When you see a beautiful girl and her toes do not overlap there remains character. You go to the girl's house and ask about her character. Her parents must say her character is good. Then you must go to the people and if her character is not good they may say that she goes out with men, steals, uses abusive language, lies, and acts troublesome. If you know these things you know she will not be faithful. She will insult your friends, refuse to serve and abuse them.

Dauda Aina was much more direct in his evaluations of female qualities:

It is not beauty alone. Family is important. We hope that the girl will copy the character of her parents. We marry character and not beauty How beautiful a girl may be is not important. It is character.

The constant theme of, and variations in, the traditional marriage pattern can be best appreciated through consideration of how the people of the orile actually construct their marital relationships. Simon Adeola speaks of traditional marriage in terms of the general configuration of the developing relationships and the function of bride payments and gifts in the legitimization of the marriage:

> If a man befriends a girl he may visit the girl and pass the night with her. If the girl is immature he will not sleep with her, but if she is mature he may or may not be having intercourse with her. He will probably be bringing her gifts all this time. He must pay her brideprice before removing her from her home to his. She may have a baby in her father's home. This will stimulate him to take her to his home.
>
> If he does not pay the bride price the father may send his daughter and her child to the man's house. She is considered a free gift. Since the bride price is not given the kola is not passed among all the members of her family on both her mother's and father's sides. Thus her mother's and father's families can not recognize the marriage and the wife and the husband can say nothing in the councils of the wife's family. They will say to the the couple, 'Who are you to speak? I have not seen your kola.' The wife will be shamed.
>
> If the wife runs to the husband out of love he will probably pay the bride price to keep her from being shamed. In the old days there was not as much running away to get married as there is today.

In these sentences Simon confirms that marriages are considered to be the establishment of new relationships between two families. The kola is a symbol of the new alliance. In these days of rapid social change it sometimes happens that a man will admit to fathering a child but will not take any responsibility for him. Dauda Aina speaks of such a case and in doing so, again demonstrates that the child is always considered a member of his father's family:

> Things are changing and so are the youngsters. Girls are delivering at fourteen years old. In this village there is a schoolgirl who delivered and lives with her parents. The father was working for the government here as a roadworker. He does not visit but his parents visit because they have feelings of responsibility. A man's thing can not become two and then be angry about it.

John Akọnji, Jimọ Akinṣọmọ and Peter Ọmọdele spoke about their marriage experiences in some detail, providing an opportunity to compare and contrast their varying experiences:

> John: Whenever a man or boy wishes to marry a girl it might be difficult to do so in the same town for some person might

challenge them that they are related. When we leave our town for another then we may be married and have a child If they later say there is a relationship between the husband and wife nothing can be done.

When a man comes across a girl in whom he has much pleasure he will tell her that he will choose her to be his future wife. If she agrees to this then in her reply she will say that she will think about it. On the third day or fourth day the man asks her again. She may reply that she is still thinking about it. In a months time she may give a better reply Then he will start giving her some money; maybe thirty-five cents or sixty cents, depending upon his riches. He does this so that she may have his love in mind. I call this the money for private discussion /owo iba soro/ for such a matter is still private.

By doing this if the girl is not teasing or deceiving the man she will tell him to come to her house three or four months later She will introduce him to her parents, family, and relatives. After doing this the girl herself may be anxious to be going to the man's house.

After this the man has to pay a certain amount called money for father's ear /owo baba gbo/ and money for mother's ear /owo iya gbo/ and some money for the wife which may be called money for marriage of wife /owo ife iyawo/.

The wife may keep her money but the father must distribute his money among all his relatives and the mother must distribute her money among all her relatives Not all people have the matchmaker, but if they seek one they ask a relative. As for the money that is distributed even a small boy must get out of it. This happened to me once but if I was to say my relationship to the woman who got married I would just say the father of the daughter, the father of the daughter and so on like that.

Jimo Akinsomo tells a similar story but uses different terminology and is more explicit about the payments:

First the boy asks the girl to marry him. When she agrees he must give the girl the first dowry $30 /owoho/ That money may be given to her the first time he asks her or after he has asked her three times If she accepts he can then go to her house any time to salute her and he can have intercourse with her. She is in her house at this time and she cannot go to his house. Then he will tell his father. Until he tells his father, the latter does not know that his son has a wife

The husband's father will send the alarino to the girl's house to find out who she is. Then the fathers will meet. She will not come to her husband's father's house. She will be ashamed. The

husband's father will buy kola, pepper, sweets, two schnapps, orogbo [bitter kola] and also give $30 which is called Iyagbọ-Babagbọ. The girl's mother gets half for her family and the father gets half for his family. The alarinọ gets $1.40.

Yet the wife is ashamed and will not go to her husband's house. After Iyagbọ and Babagbọ she must get $3 everytime he goes to her house. He must go to her house at least two times a month This money is given for the food and drink he receives. This is the money for speaking [owo iba sọrọ].

Then he tells his father that he wants to bring her to his house. The final preparations are made for bringing her to my house. [At this point Jimọ started using the first person and the possessive pronouns, suggesting that this entire description is of his own marriage]. Some money of about $15 was sent to her house. The final money [owo ẹru] was paid when I went to get her. Then my mother and father will know my wife. She will no longer be ashamed.

Jimọ has most probably mixed up the earlier sequence of the events he describes, for it is highly unlikely that during such formal marriage arrangements he would have had intercourse with his propective wife before the visit of the alarino.

Peter Ọmọdele's story follows:

I chose my wife. I met her and I spoke to her. I knew her a long time before I married her. When I told my father he sent a relation as alarinọ to the parents of my wife. They all agreed and they asked her if she wanted me. She agreed.

Today if a man enters the village of the wife he must pay $49 to the oracle for advice on the goodness of the marriage. He must pay $28 the first time he talks to the wife and the wife agrees. The parents of the wife and the wife agree. The wife's parents must get three schnapps, 40 orogbo, 40 kola [obi abata], 40 kola [obe gbanja] 40 pepe, 8 bottles ọgọrọ and $70 for my parents. Every time I went to her village I had to bring a loaf of bread to distribute.

The difference between the marital experiences of these three men only suggests the many variations in the procedure and price of a traditional marriage. Subidatu Akande, wife of Lajidi Akande, of Idofin spoke of the peculiarities of her wedding and permitted us a view of

the female side of these arrangements:

> The man and woman probably will have met before. The man sends the alarinọ to the woman he wants to marry three times. This alarinọ will be asking questions about the character of the girl and what she does for a living He will also ask about her family.
>
> The woman will not send anyone to the man's house to ask about his character. She will go into his area and ask about him. These are things she would want to do herself.
>
> When the man is satisfied about the woman's character and vice versa she will invite him to her house. The parents will ask the man if he has seen the girl and he will say yes. Then the parents will agree to the marriage. The man gives $28 to the wife in the presence of her parents.
>
> But before this money is given the wife goes to the priest and asks if she should marry the man. This priest could be Ifa, Muslim, or Anglican. The priest will tell the woman what to do as an offering. Some priests may ask for a cock, bitter kola, or palm oil. The husband has already given the $14 for the sacrifice.
>
> He has also given 8 bitter kola and 8 regular kola, one schnapps, and one bottle of honey. The kola and honey are divided into two parts. One for her father's family and one for her mother's. Then the husband comes every two weeks if he lives nearby. But if he does not live nearby he comes every month's end. When he does come he gives her about $3 and some presents. He comes to play and eat with the family. He spends the night and leaves the next day. He does not sleep with the girl. He comes until the girl is of age and ready to go to his house.

Subidatu's comments correspond, in general, with much of the other evidence collected However, it might be noticed that the money, gifts and kola do not seem similar to the usual dowry. This probably reflects a woman's tendency to depreciate her bride price, a defensive strategy utilized in the event of divorce.

The amount of money a man may eventually spend before he brings his wife to his house varies considerably. The money spent for divination as to the propriety of the marriage, the owoho, the owo iba sọrọ, presents to the wife and her family during courtship, the owogbọ payments,

payment to the alarino, the costs of schnapps, gin, pepe, etc., are all variable expenses; the amount spent depending on the prestige of the husband, of the girl, and the type of marriage; Christians claim to pay less. In the three divorce cases I witnessed the husbands claimed to spend as much as $140 for their wives, the assessors tended to calculate the costs at about $70 and to assess the wife about $35 for her freedom. According to her own reports Subidatu Akande's husband must have spent at least $65 for her. As noted above she has probably given very conservative estimates of her costs to her husband. She has not said how often he visited her during the courtship or how much he spent for her reception at the time she came to his house.

Levirate -- Traditionally, a marriage involving the payment of bride prices is as much a marriage between two families as it is between two people. If the wife is still of child bearing age at the time of her husband's death a younger brother of the deceased may inherit her. If the woman prefers to return to her family or to marry someone other than a member of the deceased husband's family she must pay back the bride price.

Muslim Marriage -- Muslim marriages are not much different from the traditional marriage. There are usually some prayers said by the Alpha at the time the wife comes to her husband's house and the Muslim diviner, rather than the Ifa priest, is consulted during the initial stages of the wedding arrangements.

Christian Marriages -- There were no Christian marriages in the orile during the period of field study. My informants described Christian marriages as somewhat similar to traditional marriages, with the addition of Bible readings in the church. They did not mention the ring ceremonies and visits to the town clerk which are reputed to be a usual part of Christian marriage in Abẹokuta and Lagos.

Bride Capture - - It does happen that after the boy and girl have accepted each other and some of the initial arrangements and payments have been made the boy finds himself financially insolvent. He might then meet the girl in the market or on the road and take her by force. In such circumstances the girl feels ashamed and wishes to go back to her father's house. Although she might prefer to stay with her husband it would be shameful to do so because all the bride payments have not been made. The boy's family will try to give her a little money to placate her and keep her in the house. If the girl is adamant she will escape or be sent back to her father's house. The girl's father will call the police if he believes his daughter is being kept by force. In those instances when bride capture fails the boy's family lends him the money so that he can quickly retrieve his wife.

Seduction -- Although most men attempt to marry their first wives in the traditional manner, the most popular means of acquiring secondary wives is by seduction. Marriage by seduction can only occur (formally) if a wife divorces her original husband. Without divorce, which consists of returning an agreed on portion of the bride price, the relationship is considered concubinage[4]

Before the wife leaves her husband's house it is usual that they have both discussed their problems with the elders of their respective families. These elders attempt to ameliorate the situation and reduce the causes of marital discord. They advise the couple about proper behavior and consult the babalawo. It is possible that the acting bale or some of the chiefs in Omida may also have been asked to adjudicate the matter. When these efforts have failed and the wife remains unsatisfied she beings to look for another mate. By this time members of her family, her friends, or a man looking for a wife will have become aware of her plight and will be instrumental in helping her to develop a new alliance. In other instances, as in the case of Atoke Olowu, the woman will just disappear from her husband's house.

Men do not usually sue for divorce. Such behavior is unprofitable. Their wives claim to be destitute and their wives' families usually prefer to counsel patience and seek cures rather than to return the bride payments. Occasionally a man dismisses his wife because of the discord he feels she creates in his home. Promiscuous women, argumentative women, and women suspected of witchcraft will all be sent away. Men do not usually send childless women away. They simply marry other women. Childless women eventually make their own decisions to leave their husbands' houses.

A woman who wishes to remarry must sue for divorce and return a portion of the original bride price to the aggrieved husband. She does not usually have the money and it is often difficult for the family to obtain the necessary funds to release their daughter. The family's

money is frequently committed to marrying off a son or building a house.

Without the refund of the bride payment the wife may only go to another man's house as a concubine. The wife must find her own solution. This is usually to find a suitor-seducer who has the money and the inclination to pay for his future wife's freedom. It is her prospective husband who must absorb the financial responsibility for her divorce. In so doing he, in effect, marries her.

John Akọnji warns against too early and indiscreet spending of the bride payments:

> They may do as they like with that money, but if they are wise they must keep that money for some time before using it because any sort of misunderstanding may occur after the marriage. It may happen that the wife may have to leave the husband very soon after going there. If she is not so fortunate to get a husband who can refund the dowry to the first husband the wife has to remain until she pays back the dowry to the husband. It is by then she can leave the husband.
>
> But if the girl and her parents have not spent their amount the wife can easily leave the husband without getting another man to marry.

The seducer supplies the money for a woman's divorce, however, it is she who must take the matter to the courts. It is her duty to make the husband she is divorcing appear so villainous that the judge and his assessors will both agree to the divorce and considerably reduce the bride payment refund.

The prospective husband seldom accompanies his wife to court. It would put the wife in a bad light and be considered proof of her bad character. Although he is probably well known, the prospective husband also wishes to keep his identity secret. He does not wish to engage in disputes with the aggrieved husband's family, and he is afraid of being

poisoned.

In the early stages of a childless marriage divorce can occur simply and amicably on mutual agreement of the participating families and a return of the bride price. As in other types of disputes, if there is difficulty in the divorce proceedings the matter is referred to the elders or chiefs in Abẹokuta. A difficult divorce suit is heard in the Olubara's court. If at this high level the divorce remains unsettled the matter will eventually be decided in one of the legally constituted courts; of course, some people prefer to short circuit the traditional courts and go to these immediately.

The first thing the judges will wish to do is to establish whether the marriage can be saved. In so doing they also learn something of the problems which resulted in the family discord. If they conclude that divorce is inevitable they must then ascertain how much the husband actually spent during the courtship of his wife. It is here that the payments of iyagbọ and babagbọ once again become important. Members of each family will be present to testify how much was given and how much received during the several marriage rituals. The alaring will also testify to the amounts given and the characteristics of the marriage agreements which he helped to formulate.

The judges will then assess the wife and make their judgment as to how much of the marriage payments she should return to the husband. Their judgment will include estimates of how much was paid initially less considerations based on the validity of the wife's case against her husband, the number of years she lived with him, and the number of children she bore for him. In most instances the wife must refund at

least half of the amount of the original bride payments, for the court will know that her new husband has given her at least this much to secure her freedom. Two-thirds of this amount will go to the divorced man while one-third will go to the court.

A woman who is properly divorced will be respected and will receive no invidious treatment when she comes to her second husband's home. She is received in the house as a woman of good character. It is assumed that she had a valid reason for leaving her husband.

In going from one husband to the next a woman actively seeks an opportunity to better her condition. She is, in effect, trying her luck. She will look for a husband who has the respect of the community, who is rich and who can give her children.

Peter Omodele is such a man. He is about seventy-five years old and has been married several times. His first wife is living in his house in Ibara Omida. When I first arrived in the orile Peter was seeking a young wife who would bear him more children and help to care for him during his stay in the orile. By "seduction" he soon acquired a young woman who came to his house accompanied by her two year old daughter. This woman was quiet, hard working, and very courteous. She welcomed her husband's guests graciously and followed her husband's directions faithfully. She was, in all respects, a proper wife Approximately a month after she came to the orile Peter Omodele asked me to accompany him to one of the houses in the orile:

> We entered the house and found quite a few women, including Peter's new wife, seated around the floor talking. Peter knelt to one of these women and greeted her. He then passed through the room and led me into one of the smaller bedrooms where we sat quietly for a few minutes. He then got up and led me through

the outer room again, bowing to the same woman as we left the house. He asked his wife to follow him in the next few minutes.

O.O.: What was that all about and why did you bow to that woman?

Peter: That is the mother of my new wife. She was passing on a lorry and heard that the new husband of her daughter lived here. She got down off that lorry so that she could see who I was. I urged her to stay in the house with me but she said she had family here.

I had to go there to show everybody that I was not stubborn. When I speak to my wife we shall decide how much I shall give to her mother. It will be about sixty cents. If she takes it...good. If not...oh well.

I got that woman because I am a responsible man. There was much unhappiness in her husband's house. There was much hunger.

Peter had proved himself to be a man of some wealth. His ability to have children was already well known. He had saved the new wife from a miserable situation and his reputation was considerably enhanced when he appeared before his wife's mother bringing me with him. The fact that I accompanied him on his visit to his wife's mother must have been impressive to the extent that he could validly reduce the gift to a token gesture of sixty cents.

Sikiru Abina, of Ifatedo, is an elderly man who married Aduke, a woman some forty years his junior. They now have a fourteen year old child. Since the birth of the child, Aduke has not slept with her husband. Their marital career illustrates some additional peculiarities of marriage, separation and divorce. It illustrates the intermixture of family desires as well as those of individuals. And finally, it points up the richness, variety and freedom of choice which characterize the marital habits of the people.

My wife is Yetunde. She is now living in her father's house in Isolo. I courted her when I was very young We were married in 1920 by traditional marriage. She left me in 1931. My second wife came to me in 1929 and left me in 1945. With these wives I had eighteen children. All abiku. I tried everything. I went to diviners and elders and native doctors.

Yetunde left me in 1931. She paid back her bride price at that time. Morenike left in 1945 and paid me back much of the bride price. Since that time she has been trying to come back but I will not let her. She has had several husbands but no children.

Wives without children must leave to try another place. Since she left me Yetunde has also had many husbands but no children. All her other husbands were my juniors but she is known as my wife. People did not know her with those husbands. She will come to visit me here and I shall go to eat from her pot over there in her father's house.

She calls me baba-mi and I call her iyawo-mi She sends me things and I eat meals there. She does this because it is our tradition. We labored together for these children and if she or I die perhaps we shall meet in heaven.

In telling this story Sikiru speaks of the sentiments which can develop in the marital relationship He also indicated that during the time of abiku he was living in his wife's house. This seemed strange because such behavior is considered taboo. A man who lives in his wife's house is considered shameless Sikiru, himself, indicated that this might have caused his troubles because it was only after he left his wife's house and Omida that his son, now fourteen years old, was born.

A woman may also dissociate herself from her husband without seeking a divorce. Although she may maintain this separate state for many years she will still be considered married to her husband. If she had many children or if she has passed menopause she will ordinarily think of herself as "retired". Samuel Olabeji tells of the retirement of his mother from his father's house:

> My mother and father started to argue. What caused these arguments is unknown to me. According to what was said when their relatives tried to settle the arguments I understand that they were both very hot tempered My mother left my father because she felt that her children were old enough to maintain themselves and that she was too old to have any more children and nurse new babies. Therefore, she wanted to retire. She also had regular quarrels with her co-wife. My father always seemed to take the other wife's side. My mother then determined to live in her father's house until her children can erect a building for her or until she can do it herself.

Sexual Relations

As the various phases of the marriage ritual are successfully completed and, providing the girl is of age, the man may have intercourse with his prospective wife. The decision is left to the couple.[5] Today when the man makes decisions about the initial contacts with his future mate he has a reasonably good idea if the girl is a virgin.

If the girl is a virgin she is expected to ask for a sum of money (owo ibale) before he has intercourse with her. If she is not a virgin she can not ask for this money. If her husband expects her to be a virgin and she has asked for the money she is expected to place a white cloth on the bridal bed so that the husband may have evidence of her previously virginal condition. Specifications of virginity in the bride are most likely when the husband's family has contributed to the bride payments. In this event the honor of both families becomes heavily engaged and the proof of the bloodstained sheet is a more serious and public concern.

Until the time of the first pregnancy it is expected that she will sleep in the same room as her husband. After she becomes pregnant she will expect her husband to provide her with her own room There are a variety of opinions about intercourse during pregnancy Some people

consider it permissible, others say it is forbidden.

There is more general agreement that, after childbirth, at least two years must elapse before sexual intercourse can again occur. This abstinence is in accordance with the belief that the mother's indulgence in sexual intercourse before the child is two years old, the time the mother begins to wean the child, will be a serious threat to the child's health. Such behavior is considered an abuse of the child who is still at its mother's breast. Abiku is often attributed to the premature performance of the sex act.

This two year abstinence from sexual contact with his wife is a direct threat to the husband's desire to have many children. It is also the time he begins to consider acquiring a second wife. When a second wife enters the house it is expected that the husband will cohabit with her until she is impregnated. The husband's primary sexual responsibility toward his wives consists of providing them with children. Therefore, wives do not compete for their husband's sexual favors as much as they compete for their rights to have children.

Summary

Among the people of the orile there is no single point in time at which the couple makes a transition from an unmarried state to a married state. The marriage process is gradual. Over a period of time the married woman establishes her identity and position in her husband's house. In the early days of her marriage her role is that of child bearer and housekeeper. Her relationship is primarily to her husband. She has, however, a strong obligation to broaden her responsibilities

and social linkages. She must accord respect and assistance to the elders of the house.

In time she begins to engage in more economic market-oriented activities. Her success in these activities means that she can assume more of the financial responsibilities for herself and her children. Her husband, his family, and her own will look upon her with increasing favor.

A woman may obtain such success in her marriage despite the fact that she does not remain in her husband's house. As long as she does not seek divorce (i.e. return of her dowry) or does not enter anothers man's house (i.e. engage in promiscuous behavior) she can maintain her position in her husband's house.

Finally, despite a divorce, if she has had a child by her husband and this child has survived, she can always make some claim upon her husband's family. Even though antagonism exists between her and her former husband she can always enter his house. She has a right to visit her son and participate in such occasions as his freedom ceremony, his wedding festival, naming ceremonies for his children, and if she survives him, his funeral ceremonies.

NOTES

[1]Okediji and Okediji (1966:152) believe that, "The traditional lineage structure has been breaking down with the consequent loss of its authority over its family units. This has been brought about by the supercession of the interests in the latter over the mutual security function of the former within a rapidly growing market system." They find that the formerly strong kinship ties erode before the growth of the industrial and economic units.

[2]The fact that married women continue to live with their own kin has been noted in other West African groups. Fortes (1949:77) in his discussions of the Ashanti notes that "...during the first two or three years of wifehood the great majority of young wives continue to reside with their own kin. Young and inexperienced, they clin to their mothers. As they advance in maturity the pull of conjugal ties increases and reaches its maximum at the peak of the child bearing years."

[3]Some unscrupulous girls take the owo iba soro and then refuse to continue the relationship. One of the men of the village complained that this had happened to him several times.

[4]Okediji and Okediji (1966:152) have found that in Ibadan township 105 cases (of the 112 in their sample) of divorce were initiated by women. In an attempt to reinforce their findings they studied 708 divorce cases which were brought before the Grade B Customary Courts between June and August, 1965. Of these 708 cases 646 were initiated by women. The men divorced their wives because of adultery on the latters' part. The Okedijis believe that the women seeking divorce is a new trend due to female responses to the general socio-economic and value changes in their environment.

[5]Ward (1938:11) notes that "As a rule a Yoruba who has not yet been formally married, but who is about to take a girl in wedlock has already cohabited with her. Usually the same holds true for the man who has only one or two wives. But the polygynist of standing, far from having had sexual relations with his betrothed, sometimes may not even have met her."

CHAPTER IX

THE WOMEN OF THE HOUSE

The Daily Routines

A woman is related to the household in which she lives either by blood or marriage. In either category she is expected to perform a part of those activities requisite to maintain a respectable and orderly household. Women in any one of these categories also participate, individually and collectively, in satisfying the needs of the males of the house.

In their roles as housekeepers the women of the house usually rise about 6:00 or 6:30 A.M, and immediately engage in such activities as cleaning the house and sweeping the area around the house. At this hour they are frequently seen walking about the crile collecting the animal dung which is an important ingredient of the solutions they use to eliminate insect infestations and harden the laterite walls and floors of their homes.

By 7:00 A.M. the women have made the first of several trips to the river to obtain water for cooking and washing. The scheduling of such other household chores as feeding the children, washing clothes, and preparing meals are determined by the particular food processing and trading activities in which the women of the house are engaged.

Their day is not broken by prescheduled family meal periods. The men of the house eat some of the food left over from the previous day or break their fast with a bit of kola, a banana, or some other morsel which

they find on their farms. A great variety of hot prepared food can be cheaply purchased and eaten in the market place or brought home to supplement the remains of a meal cooked at some earlier time. Once processed, the popular foods of _eba_ and _gari_ need only mixing with hot water. They are eaten with meat, fish, and vegetable soups. Meals of this type can be stored for more than twenty-four hours without fear of spoilage.

The women of the orile participate in a wide range of activities which are vital to the familial and economic life of the community. Many of their activities are debilitating. They are the carriers of the society. They carry the children both in pregnancy and in infancy. They transport the produce from the farm to the market. They bring the water from the rivers and the firewood from the bush, and they haul the sand, laterite, and water for housebuilding.

They seem to live their lives apart from, yet parallel to, their men. They eat, work, and socialize apart from their men. Male-female interactions are limited to buying and selling exchanges, sexual intercourse, information and order giving and taking, and the discussions at family meetings. Even when they attend festivals and ceremonials they tend to play apart, but parallel, to each other.

Much of the work of the women seems harsh and unrewarding. Yet, through their control of the marketing system, most of the people have come to agree that the women control a good portion, if not most of the wealth of the orile. Although they engage in many activities, the occupations most peculiar to the women are food producing and trading.[1]

This is not to say that such roles as mother and homemaker are deprecated. They are important. The successful performance of these roles insures women respect in their community and a haven in their old age. In considering the women's roles it is not possible to speak of a housewife's role except as it is a residual of the more important mothering role. It has been shown that a woman can be a mother without being a housewife. hat, in fact, wives and mothers can, and do, live with their fathers, their brothers, or more distant relatives of their fathers' and mothers' lineages, leaving their husbands' care to junior wives, husbands' sisters, and husbands' mothers. Husbands may even be left to fend for themselves (see pages 356-359).

The activity which permeates all phases of most women's lives is trading. The trading orientation of these women is so all-encompassing that most of their activities, including food processing, are associated with the market. From the time they are able to walk until the day they die they will be engaged, in one way or another, in marketing activities, most particularly, trading.

As young boys learn farming through apprenticeship and mimicry of their father's activities, so it is that young girls learn trading through apprenticeship and mimicry of their mothers or their mother surrogates. As daughters grow older they may be sent to live with some other female relative who will teach them trading skills or the secrets of some craft. Sometimes, as in the case of Peter Omodele's daughter (see pages 299-300) a contract is made such that the child might be sent to a distant town to live and work with a successful and responsible

trader or craftswoman.

Unlike the farmers who wish to see their sons obtain less fatiguing, more rewarding, work, most women feel that trading is a highly desirable and rewarding activity for themselves and their daughters. The daughters soon learn to participate in this high evaluation of trading and quickly learn the subtleties of survival in the market place.

At first the young girls merely sit around and watch their mother's performances. Occasionally they try to balance some object on their heads, preparing for the day when they, too, can begin to participate in carrying headloads. As they grow older the little girls are left to care for their mothers' market stands for short periods of time. By the time they are four or five years old they may try their luck at hawking petty goods and cooked foods about the village. At first they do this for their mothers but, very soon, the more ambitious of these children will have invested their own money in a couple of products which they sell along with their mothers' items.

As these girls grow stronger they begin to help in carrying loads of foodstuffs from the farms to the central processing and storage areas located in and about the village. Increasingly, they become involved in the processing of the wide variety of foodstuffs which are important to the economic activity of the market place.

The women of the orile process much of the cassava, palm tree products, and corn grown by their husbands, fathers, and sons. These foods are destined for their own household use. They also purchase and process large quantities of cassava, palm tree products, and corn which

they eventually sell in the market place.

Food Processing

The popular foods of gari and elubǫ are two of the possible end products of cassava processing. Palm oil, palm kernels, iha, and oguso are the end products of palm nut production, while corn is made into such food products as ogi and ẹkǫ. Many of these end products are more easily shipped to the urban centers than the raw products from which they are obtained. Equally important is the fact that village processing provides opportunities for employment, higher cash returns for the raw products the women purchase from the farmers, and control of the market system.

As the raw products go through various processing and cooking stages name changes occur to correspond to the varying changes in the character and texture of the products. One of the women at the cassava mill spoke of these changes:

> You see rice does not change when it is cooked so we do not change its name. When cassava [ege, paki] is processed it will not be cassava again. It will be gari or elubǫ. When it is cooked it will not be gari or elubǫ again, it will be eba or amala. Yams [iṣu] are called iyan after they are cooked and pounded and, according to what you do with it. Corn [agbadǫ] can become ogi or ẹkǫ.

Elubǫ.--Elubǫ is the flour which is the end product of yam processing. The people process cassava in a similar manner to obtain cassava elubǫ which is more properly called lafu. To obtain this the tuber, whether yam or cassava, is peeled, placed in large pots and allowed to soak for several days. It is then pounded into shreds and spread out to dry in the sun.

The dry straw-like substance is then pounded further into a powder which is milled and sifted. The resulting elubo (lafu) is mixed and cooked with water to form a ood called amala.

Gari.--Gari is the result of another type of cassava processing. To obtain gari the cassava is first peeled and then grated. It is then put in native woven bags and tied. The bags are placed in a press of large laterite rocks. The rocks press the fluid out of the cassava for three or four days. When the cassava has been drained enough so that it can be touched without its sticking to the fingers it is placed in a large, wide, shallow basin which has been treated with a little palm oil. The cassava is fried in this basin. During the frying process the cassava is constantly moved about. It is crisp and has a dry fried taste. Gari, mixed and cooked with hot water forms the food called eba.

Ogi.--Ogi is a processed corn product. The kernels are separated from the husk and soaked for three days. They are then washed and milled. The milled product is mixed with water and filtered so that the chaff separates from the finer particles of corn. The chaff [eri] is fed to animals. The remaining product is then mixed with water. It can then be filtered out of the water or allowed to collect, through sedimentation; the excess water is poured off. The sediment is the ogi and the residual fluids are discarded though many people enjoy the lime-like taste of this fluid.

Palm Kernel Processing.--The processing of palm kernels is quite

complicated and requires a higher level of organization and more complex patterns of cooperation than is necessary in the processing of cassava and yam. The many by-products of palm nut processing means a wider array of workers and traders will be involved in the production and distribution of the various palm products.

The fibrous pericarp of the palm nut is impregnated with oil. A combination of boiling and pounding is used to extract the oil from the fibrous pericarp. Laborers take the bunches of the palm fruit from the palm trees. These fruits are allowed to dry for a few days in order to permit the easy removal of the nuts. The nuts are then softened by boiling, and pounded in a mortar or treaded in a large, water filled, concrete basin. The pounding - boiling process breaks up the oil impregnated pericarp. Bits of loosened fibre, oil, and broken shells from this stage are gathered together to form fibrous cakes (ogusc) which are sold as fire starters. The kernels, with their bruised and battered outer shells are again boiled in water. The oil which floats to the surface is removed and further refined by boiling. This boiling continues until the oil has the desired taste, color, and consistency. The residue of this final stage (ha) is also used as a fire starter. The denuded shells, containing the palm kernel (endocarp) are sold to the many women of the orile who crack the shells and sell the kernels to the buyers at the Farmers' Cooperative Building. The broken shells are sold to the blacksmiths who use them as fuel for their forges.

Traders

Some women are highly motivated in their engagements in economic activities. They can be found in the market, at the processing centers, or working around the mill from early morning until late evening. Others are economic dilettantes, whimsically moving in and out of the economic sphere, motivated by the most temporary personal and family financial needs.

The strategic character of the womens' trading role is that they are not obligated to show a profit. According to their pleasure they may or may not participate in any of the available economic opportunities. Husbands are responsible for providing their wives and their wives' children with their basic housing, food, and clothing requirements.

A husband must also capitalize his wife's economic activities. Failure to do so might be considered sufficient reason for desertion and divorce. However, a working woman may, and usually wishes to, supplement her husband's efforts by purchasing clothes for herself and her children. A working woman is also expected to purchase condiments and other dietary supplements. Most women also want to help buy their children's books and pay their school fees.

A village trader is not expected to be so successful that she saves money, meets her economic responsibilities, amortizes her debts, and capitalizes her business without her husband's periodic financial support. Although it rarely happens, an astute village trader might save enough money to insure her economic security after she leaves her husband or he dies. Such a woman may eventually build her own house or establish

her children in some business.

Most men consider the periodic capitalization of their wives' businesses part of their marital obligation. They want their wives to be economically successful and expect them, through their economic independence, to supplement their own expenditures for food, clothes, and school costs.

The range of economic activities in which the women can indulge is great. Most women do not hesitate to participate in the whole spectrum of these activities, if such behavior promises them maximization of their profits. Some women specialize, for a time, in buying and selling particular items. Others similarly specialize, for a time, in processing certain food products. During the rainy season some women shun their previous occupations in order to participate in moving vegetables from the farm to the market place. There are some women who participate in the market only at the simple level of cracking palm kernels and selling the nuts to the buyers at the Farmers' Cooperative Building.

There are others who trade products obtained from the larger urban centers and from other countries. This trade is not large and is dependent upon the market cycle. These goods are brought into the village on market days by the women who follow the markets and by itinerant petty traders. Some women of the orile will purchase a few of these products for the purpose of dividing them into smaller units and selling them from their homes, or hawking them about during the time between the orile market days. Transportation costs and the involvement of additional middlemen cause these products to be a bit higher in cost than they would be in Ita Ọsin or Abẹokuta.

These village petty traders have no means of calculating their daily or weekly profits. Illiteracy and a lack of incentive to capitalize, personally, their own businesses results in minimal consideration and calculation of daily or weekly profit. Kosenatu Ọmọyemi tried to help me understand her system of determining whether she made a profit or lost money during the course of a long market day. Her comments demonstrate the style of financial reckoning utilized by village petty traders:

> I cannot say how much I shall earn. The money I make from sardines goes to buy stockfish. I must cut the stockfish so that I can sell it for one or two cents profit. I cannot say how many pieces of sugar are in a box. I only sell it according to how I know they are doing it in Abẹokuta.

The level of Kosenatu's product turnover is such that if she opens a pack of cigarettes it might be three or four days before she sells the entire pack. From Kosenatu's responses to my questions the impression is gained that profit is a matter of chance and that profit and loss is calculated on the basis of each sale, or the fact of selling, rather than on a long term basis.

Much trade is transacted between the farms, the village and urban market places. With the exception of such tree products as cocoa and <u>kola</u>. the women of the orile buy and control much of the farm produce before it leaves the farm. In fact, some astute and financially able women will control a portion of the food stuffs even before it is harvested. Women who are not financially self-sufficient make arrangements to help the farmer harvest his crops (see page 325). In this way their labor gains them a portion of the crop. They are, in addition, strategically situated

to negotiate and receive payment for the removal of his crops to the market or village storage places. Through consignment and credit arrangements the women control most of the produce which comes to the orile.

The activities of these traders are highly complex and dependent upon a dynamic interplay between the independent female entrepreneurs who engage in the varied economic processes. The actual negotiations are sharp and unremitting. The margin of profit is so low that a woman who is not astute and aggressive will find herself repeatedly asking her husband for more capital.

The women, whether engaged in food processing, or trading, live in a "penny ante" world. They calculate their profits in pennies and, even, fractions of pennies. They must quickly become socialized and learn to enjoy the nuances of trading. They must be alert to all possibilities and limitations in the trading encounter.

Too great a focus upon the profit motive as the primary incentive for economic activity obliterates appreciation for the fact that selling, itself, is also an important social experience. Women enjoy selling. They participate in the market not only because they want the money, the economic freedom, and the security their efforts bring. They also want the opportunities to interact with other people which their participation in economic activities provide.

The Trading Encounter

The interactions between the buyer and the seller are usually tinged with both aggression and comedy. They sometimes take on the appearance of

a charade with a structure which is the result of the unique pattern of interactions which develops between the buyer and seller. The kidding behavior which appears so frequently in these encounters seems to serve as a tension-aggression reducing mechanism.

Underlying the distinctive personalized aspects of these transactions is a more universal pattern common to all purchases and participants. Although the market price for any particular item is usually fixed by the marketing societies in the orile and in Abẹokuta, it is always good form for the seller to attempt to get as high a price as possible for her products. The point of flexibility lies not only in the amount of money which actually changes hands, but also in the quantity of goods actually sold. The kernels heaped in a basin, or _elubọ_ heaped in pails can be considered too much or too little. Moriamọ Aina's behavior at the _elubọ_ mill illustrates some of the antagonisms which arise during these commercial exchanges:

> Moriamọ is buying cans [five imperial gallons] of _elubọ_ at the mill today. This seems to be one of her better, more argumentative days. She has been sold two cans and the third is now being filled. The seller fills in the corners of the can and continues to pour the flour in till it forms a peak a half foot above the sides of the can. It looks high and seems to be a fair and full measure. Moriamọ is not satisfied. She takes some more flour and adds it to the peak. Most of this flour falls back into the calabash in which the can has been placed. The seller screams, "Enough! Enough!" The seller then starts to jump up and down. Moriamọ remains unmoved and continues to insist upon more flour for her money as she tries to pile the flour even higher.
>
> During the filling of a fourth can the same argument occurred. This time Moriamọ is completely dominating the situation, for as the seller screams in outrage, Moriamo takes the seller's flour ladle and starts to pour extra flour into a sack in which she expects to deposit all of the flour she has purchased.

The following observations of conversations made during selling encounters between the women of the orile and the cocoa and palm kernel buyers at the Farmers' Cooperative uilding suggest the types of aggression and calculation which the low profit margin engenders. These observations illustrate the behavior which typifys most selling and buying:

Ladipo[The buyer]: "The men use the scales to weigh the cocoa they sell. The women do not like to use the scales. They want to use these basins as a measure of their palm kernels. The large basin [eregbe] holds about three pounds. They get eleven cents for it. The smaller basin [ipebi] holds about half as much as the eregbe."

A young girl of about seven years old handed her half gallon pail of palm kernels to the buyer. As he weighed kernels she sat on the empty pail and watched him. He handed her sixteen cents. She looked at the money for a long time. Then she shook her head in disgust, picked up her pail, and walked away.

A woman comes along and sells her kernels for fifty-six cents. She sits and looks at the money as if weighing it. She then gets up and goes over to the buyer who has been watching her with his one good eye while shoving the kernels into his large sack. She speaks to him and he gives her a penny which he had been holding between his fingers as if in anticipation of her request.

Buyer: "I gave her that 'dash' because I wish to compensate for bad feelings. I give all the women that dash."

A twelve to fifteen year old girl comes along carrying a sack of kernels which he weighs. The sack weighs fifty-six pounds. The girl watches him closely. He gives the girl her money. She does not get the extra penny. She seems satisfied with the payment.

A woman, about twenty-five years old, receives eleven cents and asks for another penny to make a shilling for her basin of kernels. The buyer refuses to give it to her. She leaves.

A woman of about fifty-five years of age is seated on the buyer's bench waiting to sell her palm kernels.

> When she leaves her place is taken by a young girl [about fifteen years old] who straddles the bench, occupying the whole seat. There are several elderly women standing, waiting their turn The young girl does not move. Nor does anyone ask her to make room so that they, too, can sit down. The buyer weighs her kernels and throws about forty-eight cents into her outstretched hands. She throws the money on the ground, looks at him and says that she will not accept it. He throws another shilling [fourteen cents] on the ground. She still acts unsatisfied, but she gets up from the bench, picks up the money, and slowly walks away.

It is not because of their illiteracy that the women refuse the scales. The men are equally illiterate, yet they use the scales to weigh their more expensive cocoa. Women do not use the scales because scales are too exact and leave too little room for bargaining based upon individual calculations of the amounts the measures actually hold. Scales also limit the amount of interpersonal activity which can occur during a transaction.

Even the seven year old girl has already begun to individualize her particular pattern of selling interactions with the buyer. Her youth confines her aggression to body and facial movements. In time she will develop her selling technique and the buyer will respond, in a more personalized way, to this style

The evidence shows that, contrary to the testimony of the buyer, all women do not receive an extra penny to "make up the difference between weight and bad feelings." The twenty-five year old woman did not receive this benefit. Despite the weight of the sack the fifteen year old girl sold she, too, did not receive it Only during the interaction with one particular woman did I note the penny-giving behavior.

The shilling which the young girl demanded was too much to be included

in the normal pattern of buying and selling. Her lounging about was very defiant and the whole pattern of both his and her behavior suggested that they had adopted this pattern of teasing as part of their usual business dealings.

The Market And The Men

The men of the orile support the trading activities of their women. They not only capitalize their wives, they also respond to their wives' requests to construct sheds and shade stands in the market place. Despite this support the men dislike the women's control of the market. They feel that the women do not give them a fair price for their produce. They also resent the fact that the women do not allow them to transport their goods to the Lagos and Abẹokuta markets or permit them to sell their goods in the various markets of Yorubaland.

The Yoruba marketing women have a vast complex of societies which effect their personal and collective marketing habits and the prices which they can charge in the small and large markets throughout the land. These marketing societies are organized according to the products the traders sell. Thus, there is a society for vegetable sellers, sellers of native pots, sellers of foreign made pots, sellers of fresh fish, sellers of cloth, etc. The members of the society fix the price and enforce the sale of all items at this figure. A trader who is not a member of the society may not sell in the market A member of the society who refuses to obey its rules or attempts to cut prices will be run out of the market.

In one of their moments of frustration Peter Omodele and Alu Lanlokun

discussed these problems:

Peter: You see these vegetables? Those women will only give me a penny a bunch but they sell it for six cents in Lagos. We could sell it for four pence in Lafenwa but they will not let us do it. They will boycott us and set hoodlums upon us. They will take our food stuffs for free. Even if we tried to sell it in this market they will not buy it from us. No man can sell these things in the market. The best he can do is contract to have it brought to his house and sell it from his house. That is why you see so many houses with tomatoes and pẹpe in the rooms.

Atoke: [Atoke, Aliu's wife enters the house. She is one of the people who will take the vegetables to Abẹokuta. She agrees that they will get six pence a bunch for the vegetables in Abẹokuta. She speaks to Peter.] Sell me your vegetables for two bunches for one and one-half cents.

Peter: [Very angry] You will buy it at one for two cents. If you will not pay for it I will let it spoil. I cannot spoil the price for others. [Some of the men have tried to set a basic price for their vegetables in order to resist the low prices offered by their women.]

Atoke: I cannot agree. You will not sell for more than I offer. [Leaves the house.]

Aliu: [Atoke's husband]: That is how they do The price is too poor.

Jubrila Bandele: [Enters the house and starts to bargain with Peter. She had previously asked Peter to bring the vegetables to his house and had promised to buy it at one bundle for two cents. Now that it is in his house she changes her offer.] I will buy two bundles for one cent

Peter: I will let it rot.

Jubrila: You are wrong. I will pay one cent for two bundles and sell it at one cent a bundle.

Although the men of the orile find the women's control of the market onerous there is nothing they can do about it. Aliu claims that his wife would treat him the same way she treated Peter Ọmọdele. In fact, most of the men believe that in dealing with their wives and sisters they will

receive worse treatment than they would receive from strangers. Even when they make firm agreements for the transport of their produce to the village the men believe that the women, "will take out of it. They must take out of it. That is their way."

One day I met three Ifatedo men waiting for transportation to Abeokuta. Close by them were eighteen bushel baskets of tomatoes. My curiosity was aroused by the fact that it was not a market day and there were no women or little girls about. I was walking with Sikiru Abina, an elder of Ifatedo. I asked him about the things I saw:

Sikiru: They are going to Lafenwa and want to try to sell their tomatoes there.

O.O.: I thought that only women sold in the markets.

Sikiru: They may not sell but they can sell [i.e. try their luck]. They may not sell retail but they can sell wholesale. If they sell here they will be forty-four to ninety-eight cents short for each basket. A basket here is worth $2.10, but will be $2.52 in Lafenwa, and about $3.08 in Lagos. They will not try to sell in Lagos because they will not be known there. If they try to sell there they might lose. These men take their produce to the market themselves because they do not trust the women. But they have to wait for the market to be over before they can sell.

O.O.: Not even their wives?

Sikiru: They are afraid that they will short change them.

In their angriest moments the men express the belief that their women are involved in a monolithic market system which, at its worst, was specifically designed to rob them of the reward. of their efforts. During a meeting with an agricultural agent they spoke of their desire for a change in the marketing system:

Issac Adebyo: We plant good tomatoes here but there is no market except for the women. If we go to Lafenwa to sell our tomatoes they will make us wait till market is over and then there might be no one to buy. They know us here and will think that we are trying to interfere with the market here.

Samson Adedoyin: Those women are our wives but when they take the stuff to the market they may sell it for one pound but they may not get their money for a month. The association at Lagos sets the price and pays the next market day.

Raimi Akinbamiwa: From all the farmers there are four groups which get money from us and it will be difficult to get away from them. There are our wives who buy from us, there are the lorry owners and drivers, there are the lorry touts [The men who help the women get their goods from the lorry park to the market.], and there is the Lagos marketing society. If we sell our goods here for one pence it will sell to the Lagos market women for six pence and will sell in Lagos for eight pence.

As the men are confronted with the problems of dealing with the women's marketing society, so their wives, who take the goods to Lagos, are confronted with problems of dealing with the Lagos Marketing Society. When the agricultural specialist asked them if they thought they could form a marketing cooperative most of them had to nod in agreement when Aliu Lanlokun stated:

> Not possible because they will not let this happen. Those women in Lagos will learn of the system and will not let the stuff be sold at a good price. Even the late Alake's wife took her own salt to the market to sell it. She said the Alake told her she could do so but she did not belong to the market society and they warned her away from that place.

In a market system controlled primarily by the females of the society even the exploitation of the oil palm appears to be disadvantageous to the male owners of the trees. Women happily claim that they realize

twice as much profit from palm tree products as the male owners of the trees. Simon Adeola spoke of the distribution of the wealth from palm products:

> When a man goes to my farm to reap palm kernels he gets half and I get half. The women extract the oil for us. They will get the kernel, ogusọ and iha. Of course they will put a bottle of that oil aside for themselves. They should not do so but they will. They must.

Because they feel cheated and economically harassed by their wives and sisters many of the farmers refuse to sell their products to these female relatives, When they say that female relatives are particularly prone to take advantage of the male members of the family they complain, "They do this because they know that we will not argue with them."

And the women are right. The pattern of kidding, tension-reducing behavior that female sellers can erect in their interactions with other traders and buyers has no parallel in the usual circumspect and respectful patterns of interactions which exist between family members.

Notes

1

The orile is a farm community. For this reason many of the trades, arts, and crafts peculiar to the Yoruba are not practiced in the village. Weaving, pottery-making, dyeing, calabash carving, wood carving, and metal working are among the crafts which flourish in the more urban settings of Abẹokuta and other large towns of Yorubaland. The rural communities, such as the orile, supply these urban centers with food and manpower. In turn, the urban centers supply the rural communities with goods and services. However, the peculiar relationship between the orile and Omida means that the people of the orile usually receive these goods and services during visits to the shops and markets of Abẹokuta; most particularly the Omida market and shops in the Omida section. The few urban products which do filter into the orile market are considered expensive. Most people prefer to make their purchases in Abẹokuta.

CHAPTER XIII

THE ASSOCIATIONAL LIFE

The people of the orile have a rich extra-familial life. The entire spectrum of their associational activities is covered by the word egbe. This term refers to their individual friendships and loyalties as well as to their many societies and trade organizations. It refers to very temporary associations as well as to organizations which may last generations. For the Church Missionary Society (1913:75) egbe is defined as company, party, rank, companion, equal, society, association, guild, class, and fraternity. Abraham (1958:178) defined the word egbe as club, society, guild, person of one's own age, person of equal status, and companion.

These definitions demonstrate the wide range of meanings associated with the egbe. This word is actually a generalizing concept of the same magnitude and used in a manner similar to the more familistic concepts of ibatan, ebi, and idile discussed in pages 174-178. The concept egbe is indicative of relationships based on choice rather than on blood or marriage; it is a generalization of all forms of extra-familial associational relationships.

The wide application of the term egbe creates problems in the determination of the number and characteristics of the extra-familial associations which exist in the orile. Excluding associations based on personal friendship there were a confusing number and variety of societies in which the people claimed membership.

As with old friends, a man does not consider himself uninvolved in an association merely because it has ceased to meet. He still considers himself a member of organizations which have not functioned for several years. It was only after arraying lists of named and un-named societies and investigating the membership and activities of these societies did I come to understand that some of the mentioned organizations were latent associations having little possibility of future functioning.

Still there is an amazingly large number of currently functioning societies in the orile. A standardized organizational configuration of these societies is hard to construct. There is great variation among and within the various types. Indeed, many of these societies have no regular order of business. Periodically, the members visit their leader's house to deposit their dues and socialize for a short while. Then they are off and about their own concerns.

Although their organizational pattern seems loose and their charter informal, these societies perform a great many functions and have a wide range of meanings for their members. When my assistants and I asked about the officers of these societies we often received different lists of names for the same society. Some people claimed their egbe to be a Christian society; others claimed the same egbe to be a Muslim society. Still others claimed it as not a religious organization at all. Ẹgbẹ Ifẹ Lo Dun (Love is Sweet Society) is an example of a society which actively engages in Christian activities. However, its main officer is a practicing Muslim.

To compound the confusion some people claimed their organization was a male society while others claimed it to be for females. Still

others would say it was for both males and females. Chart 5 shows that the names of many male and female societies duplicate each other. Later in this chapter it will be noted that males can participate in female societies and vice versa.

Chart 5 also illustrates how many societies the few active Christians have been able to elaborate. It shows that one hundred and one active (i.e. dues paying) members of the Protestant congregation were able to proliferate nine organizations. It shows that the organization of these societies reflects that of the typical interpersonal relationships which exist between males and females. They are, in there associational activities, together, yet apart. There is a feeling of affiliation between male and female societies but, as in other aspects of orile life, their activities, interests and styles are divergent.

The many societies which the people have organized may be conceived of as threads which bind the familistically oriented households into a community. The membership of these societies always consists, in part, of people who live in the surrounding bush hamlets. In fact, referring again to Chart 5 none of the people of the orile claimed membership in the Ẹgbẹ Awon Oluko. This society consists of individuals living in the hamlets who have utilized the church as a focus for some of their common interests.

CHART 5

LIST OF CHRISTIAN SOCIETIES EXISTING IN IBARA ORILE ACCORDING TO NAME OF SOCIETY, NUMBER OF MEMBERS, AND AMOUNT OF CONTRIBUTION TO IBARA ANGLICAN CHURCH[1]

Name Of Association	No. Of Contributors	Contribution (1965)
Ẹgbẹ Inọ Olorun Tan (Male)	12	$ 27.60
Ẹgbẹ Inọ Olorun Tan (Female)	17	29.50
Ẹgbẹ Ifẹ Lo Dun (Male)	11	17.24
Ẹgbẹ Ifẹ Lo Dun (Female)	10	19.63
Ẹgbẹ Binokonu (Male)	14	27.79
Ẹgbẹ Binokonu (Female)	11	21.99
Ẹgbẹ Araromi (Male)	14	25.37
Ẹgbẹ Araromi (Female)	8	8.96
Ẹgbẹ Awon Oluko	4	3.92
Total	101	$182.00

The types of non-kin associations that occur in the orile can be divided into general purpose societies, religious societies, savings societies, co-wives societies, town societies, trade and craft societies, and individual friendships. The activities of the many groups subsumed under these categories are not to be considered mutually exclusive. Although some groups may appear to have specific functions, they all provide a structure and an opportunity for individuals and groups of people to join together to discuss and resolve problems and experience some feeling of group solidarity and common identity.

General Purpose Societies

The multipurpose societies are the most popular type in the orile. These societies have such provocative names as Ewenla (A Big Leaf Never Produces A Small Leaf), Ọmọ Bi Owo (Child Is Above Money), Fi Owo Ṣere (Use Money To Play) and the previously mentioned Ifẹ Lo Dun.

Some members emphasize their multipurpose society's religious functions, while others emphasize their societies' social functions. Although these are less often stressed, the multipurpose societies also have financial and psychological functions. Samuel Salubi readily admits to the social and psychological functions of these societies. He also alludes to some of the financial problems which confront the ambitious joiner:

> It is customary to belong to as many societies as possible. This is a mark of an individual's popularity. However, one must be cautious about how many of these organizations he belongs to lest he overextend himself financially.

These multipurpose societies help their members celebrate such important occasions as the birth of a child, marriages, freedom ceremonies, and funerals. Although a society, as such, may not celebrate all of these occasions, the solidarity of the members and pride in their organization leads to the expectation that informal groups of members, uniformly attired, will attend each of these occasions. In this way they demonstrate their support of, and show their "love" for their fellow members.

Funeral ceremonies, commonly called "outing ceremonies", provide particularly strategic opportunities for the demonstration of the sentiments existing among the members of a society At such times the members gather together, as a society, to visit the home of the bereaved

member. In their preparations for an important funeral ceremony the members demonstrate their solidarity by wearing identical colored cloths (aṣọ ẹbi). They meet at their leader's house and then, walking behind hired drummers, dance through the village until they arrive at the bereaved member's house.[2] They then dance in front of and around the house until the family of the bereaved member serves them refreshments.

During the dancing there are several exchanges of money. Placing coins or paper money upon the foreheads of the musicians and dancers is the way in which an excellent performance is rewarded. This show of appreciation is also an important means of supplementing the wages of the drummers and singers. The society gives the family of the bereaved an amount of money which is based upon calculations of the proximity of the kinship relation which existed between the deceased and the bereaved member. Thus, in one instance, when Ẹgbẹ Ewenla went to celebrate the death of a member's husband's mother, the contribution was $6.00. If the member's own mother had died the contribution would have been closer to $15.00.

Analytically, the supportive and prestigious aspects of these social occasions must not be confused with the financial benefits, in the form of gifts, which the members of the society may give the bereaved's family. Clearly, the costs of such a visit to the member's family is much greater to the bereaved than it is for the society The society, as a society, pays the musician's fees and the gift to the bereaved. These monies are usually paid out of contributions and fines the society has collected. All dues must be returned to the contributing member for the purchase of

his cloth. Usually members of these societies try to purchase at least one set of clothing of similar color and style each year. If the treasury is not sufficient the members supplement the additional costs out of pocket. In this way the society acts as a savings association for the yearly purchase of a portion of the members' wardrobe. Even though a person attends ceremonies as a member of a society, he spends his money as an individual. Thus, he gains prestige as an individual and lends prestige, through his personal generosity, to his society.

The family of the deceased must give each of the visiting members of the society some money. This money is considered the family's gesture of appreciation for the visit. The fact that it is given can also be used to document the occasion as an act of interpersonal social cohesion, as in the instance of the passing of kola as part of wedding rituals (see Chapter XI). In the case of Ewenla's visit to the funeral ceremony of its member's husband's mother (see previous page), the family gave each member of Ẹgbẹ Ewenla three pence. If it had been the member's own mother who died the ante would have been six cents for each member. The food which the wives of the house (Ẹgbẹ Iyawo) prepare for the visitors is very expensive and includes beer, schnapps, candies, and other refreshment.

The number of members who attend the celebration, the desire to wear new clothes, the extent of uniformity of dress, the amount of money spent by the members, the energy and excellence of dancing, the proficiency of the drummers and singers, the duration of the festivities, and the amount of money spent by the host, his relatives and the co-wives all combine in

calculations of the prestige and honor which the society brings to itself and the house of its member. If the member is popular and belongs to several societies these societies will compete in their attempts to honor their member.

A man's or woman's popularity, and, indeed, an entire kin group's popularity and prestige are often measured by the number of societies which come to participate in these types of occassions and celebrations These displays and expenditures become quite circular. Expenditures on the part of the bereaved may call forth even greater expenditures on the part of the members of the society. Individual spending competitions may be stimulated. It is for this reason that some men may wait many years before they are able to celebrate, "properly", the death of their father or mother.

Ẹgbẹ Ewenla members do not engage in religious activities as members of Ẹgbẹ Ewenla, but rather as individuals. The Ẹgbẹ Ifẹ lo Dun provides an example of a multipurpose society which actively competes with Ẹgbẹ Ewenla in social activities and whose members participate, as members of the former organization in religious activities. Chart 5 illustrates that the members of the society also participate, as members of the society, in Christian activities. Although records of the Muslims' contributions to the mosque were not available, a Muslim member of Ẹgbẹ Ifẹ Lo Dun stated that they contribute, as members of Ifẹ Lo Dun, to the activities of the mosque.

The financial activities of these multipurpose organizations are always a bit muddled. So muddled in some instances that disputes

regarding financial matters often cause the dissolution of societies. Although some people claimed that their associations lend money to needy members, other members denied this. There is some real question as to the amount any of these associations can accumulate for lending purposes at any one time. The dues of these organizations range from a few cents to about fourteen cents a fortnight.

Social Control.--These general purpose societies function as formal and informal mechanisms of social control and social integration beyond and between the usual familial systems, political systems, and economic systems described in earlier pages of this thesis. The officers of these societies settle quarrels which occur between the various members of the society. Sometimes their adjudicative efforts reach into the home where a member's position as a family elder is strengthened by his position as a patron to a large society in which either the husband or the wife maintain membership. Dauda Aina's political career was considerably enhanced by the fact that he was both leader of the local segment of the Action Group and the large, primarily female, Ẹgbẹ Ewenla. The Ewenla position was strategic for it permitted him to weld a rare consensus of opinion and cooperative behavior between the men and the women of the orile.

Ẹgbẹ Ewenla is a large society of some forty-one women with several men in leadership positions. Female societies require men in positions of organizational power because, as Raji Jibowu explained:

They decide to have a man at the head because if there is a

> misunderstanding they will not be able to settle it. There cannot be a group of women alone. Such a group will not improve itself. They look down upon each other as equals. If there is a man there they will have respect.

And, indeed, Dauda Aina, as patron of Ẹgbẹ Ewenla, runs the society with an iron hand. He permits no arguments, decides fines, scrutinizes every detail of the women's behavior and dress, decides which drummer's group will be hired, and even makes decisions about seating arrangements at meetings and ceremonies.

New wives in the community are actively encouraged to join a society. Once they join a society they gain the immediate friendship of a group of women who visit the newcomer and introduce her to the peculiarities of life in the orile. This can be compared with Kenneth Little's (1965) discussion of associations in urban settings. His thesis is that these associations constitute mechanisms for the integration of migrants into urban social and economic systems.

Structure.--It is usual for these general purpose societies to have officers. Following the example of such traditional societies as Ogboni and Olorogun, these multipurpose societies are characterized by numerous titles and positions. Female societies will have male patrons and male societies will have female patrons. Raji Jibowu tells why there are women officers in male societies and specifies their function as well as their role:

> Ẹgbẹ Ilupeji is for men only but it has five women officers including the lady president, her vice president, the second in line, and others. It is the custom of the Yorubas to have women leaders in an organization. Some men insist that these

> women are leaders but not members of their association. If the membership is going to some ceremony they will call at her house to collect her contribution to their entertainment and transportation expenses.

Some large societies will have both male and female patrons or several male patrons, or, alternatively, several female patrons. The weekly or fortnightly meetings are held at the patron's house. The society's furniture, the folding chairs upon which the members sit, and the desk they use, are kept at the patron's house. In many instances the patron has purchased these items. The patron also holds the monies of the organization and, when the society wishes to go out, supplements the treasury for the purpose of hiring musicians, buying gifts, and providing transportation.

Among the important titles is that of clerk (akọwe). He is responsible for keeping an accurate record of all the organization's financial activities. There are also several titles for the persons who act as the executive officers, messengers, and distributors of the gifts which come to the society. These officers manage the meetings and are responsible for the early mediation of arguments which arise among the members. The patron becomes involved in peacemaking efforts only when the title-holders in the lower echelons of the association fail to resolve the disputes. In some of the larger societies the titles have proliferated to the extent that nearly all of the most active members have one.

The large, highly organized societies have many stringent rules. There are rules against lateness, smoking, refusal to obey officers, arguing, and absence without prior excuse from meetings and outings. Malefactors are heavily fined.

These general purpose societies have open ended membership characteristics. Members may join or leave according to their desires. There are no apparent age grading membership requirements. It does happen that, because of internal dissension, stodginess, and general unpopularity some societies are unable to recruit new members. These societies appear to have age requirements because the members who first organized them were friends of the same general age group.

Societies may dissolve for a number of reasons. The death of a patron or the death of several important members of the society may cause the breakup of the association. Disputes resulting from dissatisfaction about how monies are spent is another common reason for a society's demise.

Religious Societies

The Muslims call their religious society Ẹgbẹ Imale (Muslim Society). The Christians call theirs Ẹgbẹ Imọ (Bible Society). As do the general purpose societies, the religious societies have a large number of titles. The holders of these titles, however, have fewer specific functions than their counterparts in the general purpose societies. The over-riding responsibilities of the alpha in the Muslim societies and the overwhelming requirement of literacy in the church limits the activities of the religious title holders.

The Ẹgbe Imale collects dues from each member of the mosque on Friday as the Christian society collects dues from each church member on Sundays. These societies are mostly involved in the repairing and

maintenance of the mosque and the church.

Co-wives Societies

The co-wives societies (Ẹgbẹ Awon iyawo') are less structured than the religious societies. Most properly, they consist of all wives of a patrilineage living in the orile. They are, however, very informal and there is a great tendency for all the women living in a section or sub-section of the orile to think of themselves as co-wives.

Unlike the general purpose societies, co-wives societies do not have regular meeting places, officers, dues, or fine structures. They have no regular structure or organization, and membership is based upon the women's interests and the day to day problems which they must face.

As these women baby sit, prepare food, carry loads together and for each other they develop habits of cooperation and mutual respect which facilitate their willingness to participate in the important occasions of their respective families and neighborhoods. They meet to cooperate in the celebration of naming, freedom, marriage, and funeral ceremonies. On these occasions they contribute money and assist each other in the collection of foods and preparation of the feast. At other times, they help settle arguments among themselves or, at times, a co-wife may be of such stature that she can intervene in an argument between a husband and his wife.

Savings Societies

There are a number of small groups of people who bind together to form

the small savings societies called Egbe Esu. These societies vary in terms of membership size, the amount of each member's contribution, and the length of time the society stays in existence. Once the members are paid off the society ceases to function. The members may disband to join other groups or they come together again under a new set of rules.

A small group of friends will determine how often and how much they will contribute to the common fund. They may decide to contribute according to individual needs and abilities, or they may decide that each member will contribute an equal amount. In the groups permitting variable contributions some members might give as little as three cents others as high as $1.40. Once a member has committed himself to subscribing a certain amount he cannot change it. This rigidity is due to the bookkeeping problem in societies where most members are illiterate.

There is one esu in the orile which lasts for forty payments. These payments are made every second market day. After the first payment has been made any member can borrow up to the whole amount that he initially promised to pay. In this instance the person who runs the esu receives the last payment from each member of the society as his reward for organizing the society, providing the funds which the members borrow, and acting as treasurer.

The method of record keeping is a simple tally book. A school child is asked to write the names of each member in the book. The amount the member promises to pay is written against his name. With each payment a mark is made against the member's name. In less formal esu each participant puts an identifying chalk mark on the parlor wall of the leader.

With each payment a tally mark is put against the member's identifying mark. In this way the record remains public and open to the perusal of all who enter the house. Under these circumstances it is difficult for the treasurer to steal the money or for the members to cry fraud.

There is still another form of esu in the orile. In this type, some ten people each regularly contribute money. On a rotating basis one member receives the entire ten pounds collected during a specific period. A general fund is maintained so that a member can borrow from the fund in anticipation of his repaying when his turn to receive the money arrives.

The small egbe esu is based on friendship and mutual trust. The organizer and manager acts on a voluntary basis. He thinks of his rewards in terms of increasing the ties among his group of friends and the influence, trust, and honor which accrues to him because of his ability to handle other peoples' money.

A variation of the voluntary esu is the method by which the initiator and manager of the esu keeps the first payment of each member as the reward for his efforts. These esu are larger and the manager is usually one of the richer men in the town. The feeling is that such a rich man does not have to steal other peoples' money. This type of manager is also sufficiently wealthy to lend money to the people who wish to borrow against their promise to pay a stipulated amount into the esu. In effect, the manager runs a savings and loan society.

Egbe Ise Ilu

Periodically, the people of the orile must organize themselves in order to identify, discuss, and resolve the crucial issues confronting the village. At times they must gather together to do the work of the village (see pages 254-257), to greet visiting dignitaries, and to discuss questions and opportunities related to the village's development. When people attend these meetings they think and speak of themselves as a society, gathered to do the work of the village.

These meetings are always held in the large court house. Usually the people try to hold meetings on market days, a time when the men remain in the village. There are occasions when the men want the women to attend the meetings. Most frequently the women's presence is desired when the matter under discussion is seen to affect the women, when they feel the women must know what they are doing, or when they feel that the women must be asked to make a monetary contribution to the proposed project. Unfortunately, the women do not like to attend meetings held on market days. They prefer their trading and food producing activities and they complain when the men insist that they desert their stalls to attend these meetings.

The egbe ise ilu is not a formal society. Unlike the multipurpose societies, the esu societies, and the religious societies it has no regular meeting date, no regular membership, no treasury, and no officers. Its mobilization and concern are focused about the activities of one man, Matthew Olayinka, the Alaga (see pages 256-257). Matthew, as Alaga, is *the* man who has the main responsibility for the organization of group

efforts for the work and improvement of the town. Whether the stimulus for a meeting comes from internal or external persons or organizations it is Matthew who must organize the activity. In his position as Alaga he can do little but respond positively to the requests of external authorities for meetings with the people of the orile. If the issue stems from individuals or groups within the orile, the Alaga must determine whether the matter is sufficiently important to require a general meeting. Having done this he will discuss the matter with the opinion leaders of the various sections of the village. If there is a consensus and he feels that the important people of the orile will support a general meeting he will then make such arrangements.

In most instances these screening procedures resolve the problem before a town meeting becomes necessary. Only on one occasion, a time when the people wanted to make decisions about, and collect money for, sacrifices for the peace of the village (see page 462) did the stimulus for a village meeting come from the people.

The usual impetus for a meeting comes from individuals and organizations outside the orile. The Olubara may decide upon a project which he wishes to communicate to the people; land must be cleared for the building of a clinic; an agricultural development agent wants to discuss the possibility of a fishpond; tobacco growers think about building a plant in the area; or the Lagos-based Ẹgbado Union wants to discuss the development of the town. These outside interests are more often the stimulus for village meetings and community efforts.

Once a meeting has been decided upon the Alaga is authorized to send

a bell ringer about the town the night and morning before the event occurs. The bell ringer is expected to inform the people about the meeting and encourage attendance. Although the Alaga presides over all meetings he seldom takes part in the conversations and deliberations. He must not be aggressive or appear to support any particular faction of the village. His role is that of a facilitator or integrator of village efforts. His value lies in his neutrality and good character.

Conclusion

In earlier sections of this thesis other types of the wide variety of associations which are part of the overall social and cultural organization of the orile have been reported. These included religious cults (page 120), religious associations (pages 122-130), hunting societies (pages 327), , trading societies (page 401), and tailors societies (page 329). The people even believe the ara-igbo (pages 143-149) and the witches and wizards (pages 153-159) form societies which have all the familiar organizational trappings of regular meetings, titled officials, and sanctions which are similar to the more legitimate societies of the orile.

Yet, despite its vitality, the associational life of the people of the orile is only a shadowy reflection of the vigor and centrality of the societies of the more urban towns of Yorubaland, where its true richness and variety is most fully expressed (see Little 1962). It is in Abẹokuta that the Ogboni, Olorogun, Parakoyi chieftaincy societies, the large trade and social societies, and orisa cults of the people of Ibara

flourish. The village focus of this study does not permit discussion of these urban based societies.[3]

Notes

1
Excerpted from the pamphlet "Report On The Facing Of The Work Of God in the Parish of Ishaga for the Year 1965" by J. A. Adekeye (Clerk) with Rev. J. A. Ilori.

2
In Abẹokuta men's societies frequently follow their musicians as they go to celebrate a ceremonial. However, even in Abẹokuta the men walk whereas the women usually dance, often with great gaiety, as their procession wends its way through the town.

3
Lloyd (1965:563) discussed ẹgbẹ as it is found in the towns. "The ẹgbẹ is a group of men of approximately the same age, probably from the same quarter of the town, who decided voluntarily, at adolescence, to form an association. Most youths do join ẹgbẹ. Membership continues for life but, once the members become middle aged, the intensity of their participation declines and they may form new groups with more recently found friends." Lloyd says that these societies meet weekly; members drink together and discuss their problems. A boy often prefers to discuss his problems with his society than with his family. There are the usual rules and regulations. Transgressions of the rules are punishable by fines. The ẹgbẹ upholds the norms of society by sitting in judgement on any member who has erred. The castigation of one's fellows and possible expulsion from ẹgbẹ is usually feared more than the punishment of parents or of the customary courts.

CHAPTER XIV

PERSONALITY, COMMUNITY AND COOPERATION

In the section entitled "The Return To The Orile" (pages 84-88) it was shown that the people of the old Ibara kingdom, then living in small dispersed familistic hamlets, decided to abandon their bush settlements in order to come together to form a larger community. To them, leaving the bush hamlets seemed natural. The money they received from cocoa was sufficient to permit making their socially important investment in houses (see pages 93-99). They could not build their new homes in their old isolated bush hamlets, where their efforts would go unappreciated. They could not build in Ibara Omida; Omida was too far from their farms. Few alternatives existed.

They had to build on their kinsfolk's land on the site of the old Ibara town. This site already had the nucleus for such development. Most of them were able to build their new homes on land which they believed belonged either to their father's or mother's lineages during the time of the old town of Ibara. There was also the church, market, courthouse, mill, and the fact that the town was bisected by the Ilaro-Abẹokuta road. By 1946, returning to the orile was unmistakenly established as a trend (see Table 1 page 92). The success of the people's participation in the improved cocoa market only accelerated that which was destined to be: the rebuilding of the orile.

Many other hopes and desires confirmed individual decisions to move to the orile. The evidence presented by their culture, their social

structure, and by their overt statements demonstrate their predeliction for large population centers. These centers are places where they can, more easily than in the bush hamlets, create markets, obtain better transportation, develop their educational and religious institutions, organize and participate in many different societies, obtain the services of specialists, and have the stimulation and choice of companions which densely populated communities provide They believed that by banding together they could develop the community cooperation necessary to obtain the modern amenities of electricity, piped water, and medical services they desired (see pages 84-88). A frequently stated aspiration included the hope of obtaining a factory (any factory) in which they could find employment; thus, realizing their dreams of abandoning farming.

Yet, when they came together in the orile they found that their interpersonal relations were too often characterized by lack of cooperation, by distrust, and by hostility. They found that they could not cooperate to improve themselves and their town. They found that those patterns of behavior which they had defined as "community cooperation" eluded them. Too often, they found that their cooperative community activities often failed, leaving the residue of acrimony and hostility. The money they collected for community projects often disappeared. Their neighbors seemed to be advancing private interests above the interests of the community. The witches proved too active Even the new Nigerian government which was to supply the electricity and water was proving

unsuccessful. The problem they were faced with, then, was one of a lack of community integration and an apparent inability to achieve it.

In an effort to develop better cooperation the people held a series of meetings in the orile and in Omida. At one of the Omida meetings one of the most respected chiefs, the Balogun of Ibara, stood up and spoke these words:

> I believe all that has been said about politics, taking of money and land, and pride causing the disunity. I know that hatred is troubling Ibara because hatred has been started since we are living at Ibara.

Nobody chastised the Balogun for saying this. All the assembled chiefs, important dignitaries from Lagos, and the people from Ibara Omida and Ibara Orile knew that what the Balogun had said was true. Many of these people, in fact, had said the same things during the course of the meeting.

Indicators Of Lack Of Cooperation.--The most usual statement the people of the orile make about the qualities they consider most desirable in their fellowman is, "Character is most important." Yet, the most frequent evaluation which they make of their neighbors is that "the people of the orile hate each other." Even those who complain most vociferously and piously about this state of affairs do not, themse'ves, expect to be fully trusted by their friends. These negative interpersonal evaluations are so pervasive the the most honored and responsible elders tend to be wary even of children (see page 345).

The expressions of distrust are legion. They include some of utter despair:

> You cannot trust the black man but the white man keeps his word. When God was tired of making men he finished up with the black man.

Talented people believe that they must suppress their abilities or leave the orile because they fear that their skills will stimulate antagonisms:

> If a young man is successful and drives a good car they will hate him. That is our character. We Yoruba are like that. We need medicines because we cannot be loved by everyone in the town.

Other people defend themselves by withdrawing into themselves:

> Others who have more than I give less [to the development of the town]. This is the reason I keep a small farm and do not get involved with those people, this way no one can tell me what to do. They cannot come and interfere with me. What I can give I give.

There is, of course, much ill-will which can be attributed to ideas about unfair monetary dealings:

> We Yoruba are like that. We love money too much. We feel it is our duty to take bribes.

However, most disappointment in interpersonal encounters center around the problems of cooperation:

> It is not the habit of these people to cooperate. If the government comes in and brings factories they will cooperate. But to just sit down and plan is not their habit. Everybody does their own.
>
> I see other people from other towns cooperate with each other. But here, if they call for cooperation they will just scatter. They have done this many times. If a person tries to lead they will call him proud. There is no love between the people here. Only God knows why.

Some people even suggest that the close mother-child dyad can be tainted with feelings of distrust. As one educated son was heard to report on his relationship with his mother:

My mother will not let me know where she keeps her money. She will be afraid lest I steal it.

This distrust and the accompanying lack of close interpersonal involvements were so generalized and accepted that we determined to do some studies to test the validity of our observations and to get some measure of the extent of interpersonal hostility and isolation.

During a period of five days we asked of as many people, both male and female, a series of questions. These were only reflections of statements which we had often heard various villagers make about their fellows and themselves. The questions significant to the problems of cooperation were:

1- How do you think the people of the orile can obtain the amenities they desire? (see table 10).

2- What traditional ways must the people of the orile give up in order to obtain the amenities they desire? (see table 11).

Our respondents were asked to make free responses to these questions. We abstracted the answers from their general responses in order to formulate the tables. Those few people who did not feel that they could cooperate in this survey gave reasons for their refusal which were very familiar. The frequent female disclaimer was, "I am a wife of the village. You must ask the men." The familiar male refusal was related to the young male's hesitation to assume the place of an elder, "You must ask the old fathers."

106 people gave 253 responses to the question, "How do you think the people of the orile can obtain the amenities they desire?" Nearly one-third of these responses revolved about the familiar complaint of lack of cooperation. If the responses of "Stop Fighting" and "Be Faithful To The Town" are considered similar to the response "Cooperation," then nearly 41%

of the responses are directed towards the central problem of cooperation.

108 people gave 254 responses to the question, "What Traditional Ways Must The People Of The Orile Give Up In Order To Obtain The Amenities They Desire." The highest number of responses (22%) consisted of the direct statement, "Abolish Hatred". Another 29% of the responses consisted of, "Follow The Advice Of Elders" (29%), "Lack Of Cooperation" (14%), "Abolish Selfishness" (6%), and "Abolish Disagreement" (4%) are all expressive of a very general belief that independence and lack of cooperation were elements of the traditional culture which were inhibiting the growth of the orile.

In an attempt to determine the informal leadership structure of the orile 144 people were asked, "Who are the most important people in Ibara Orile?" Each respondent was requested to give three responses. Fifty-five people could not, or would not, give answers. Their responses were based upon the usual disclaimers of ignorance and youth. However, some people who fall in the category of "No response" actually named themselves as the most important people in the orile.

As a pattern, the naming of self in response to the question was not immediately recognized, and was, at first, considered to be playfulness on the part of the respondants. By the time the significance and pattern of this response became manifest, it was too late to retrieve this information from the "No response" category, under which it had been subsumed. Statements also found under the "No response" included, "Only God Is Important", "There Is Nobody Important Outside Of This House", "I Cannot Chose Anybody", "Everybody Is Fighting For His Own", and "Everybody Is The Same".

TABLE 10

Question 13 HOW DO YOU THINK THE PEOPLE OF THE ORILE CAN OBTAIN THE AMENITIES THEY DESIRE?

Responses	No.	%
1- Cooperation	82	32.2
2- Contribute Money	42	16.6
3- Contribute Physical Help	41	16.2
4- We Must Help Each Other	23	9.0
5- Follow The Advice Of Elders	12	4.7
6- Be Faithful To The Town	11	4.3
7- Pay Taxes	12	4.7
8- Follow Advice Of Government	10	3.9
9- Stop Fighting	8	3.2
10- Attend Meetings	6	2.3
11- Donate Land	6	2.3
Total	253	100.0
No Response	30	
Response	106	
Total Asked	136	

TABLE 11

Question 14 WHAT TRADITIONAL WAYS MUST THE PEOPLE OF THE ORILE GIVE UP IN ORDER TO OBTAIN THE AMENITIES THEY DESIRE?

Responses	No.	%
1- Abolish Hatred	57	22.6
2- Lack Of Cooperation	33	12.9
3- Donate Land	32	12.5
4- Contribute Money	31	12.2
5- Contribute Physical Help	18	7.0
6- Abolish Selfishness	17	6.6
7- Abolish Stealing	16	6.2
8- Follow The Advice Of Elders	13	5.1
9- Abolish Disagreement	11	4.3
10- Abolish Gossip	5	1.9
11- Attend Meetings	5	1.9
12- Miscellaneous (Consisting of all responses mentioned no more than two times)	16	6.2
Total	254	100.0
No Response 36		
Response 108		
Total Asked 144		

Eighty-nine people gave 219 names in response to the question. Table 12 shows that 27% of the responses went to the acting headman. The headman, now living in Abeokuta, received the second highest number of choices. Disu Degbenro, the man who was third on the list is a very old, sick, but highly respected man, living in the Isolo quarter. I was not able to get to know this man very well because of his age, debilitated state, and frequent paroxysms of asthma. Other than the headman and the acting headman, most of the people of the orile tended to choose members of their own quarter as their candidates for the position of the most important people in the orile.

An attempt to do a sociogram of the most popular person in the orile proved disastrous. Of the twenty-two people named, only one man, the carpenter and lay reader for the church, received as many as five votes. Most other people received between one and two votes. Typical responses to this question included such hostile remarks as, "I have no friends because they are all liars and not trustworthy."

TABLE 12

Question 15 WHO ARE THE IMPORTANT PEOPLE IN THE ORILE

Responses	No.	%
Acting Headman	59	27.0
Headman	36	16.4
Disu Degbenro	25	11.4
Dauda Aina	24	11.0
Karimu Delegbe	22	10.0
Jimo Adebola	19	8.7
Simon Adeola	15	6.8
Alaga	9	4.1
Aliu Aboyade	3	1.4
Raimi Lawan	3	1.4
Rafiu Adewuyi	2	.9
Ajayi Akinrele	2	.9
Total	219	100.0

No response	55
Response	89
Total asked	144

The following pages will be devoted to a consideration of the question of the people's expressed inability to cooperate in the development of their orile. This question of community integration and cooperation will be analyzed in terms of the patterns of interpersonal behavior and the socio-cultural systems they have developed. Following Durkheim's example (1954) a functional analysis of the people's funeral customs will be utilized to study socio-cultural aspects of community integration.

The Interpersonal Dimension

> The true locus of culture is in the interactions of specific individuals and, on the subjective side, in the world of meanings which each one of these individuals may unconsciously abstract for himself from his participation in these interactions. Every individual is, then, in a very real sense, a representative of at least one subculture which may be abstracted from the generalized culture of the group of which he is a member. [Sapir 1949:236]

This section must be considered an adventure in understanding. It represents an expression of my original interests in the interdigitation of personality, society, and culture.[1] In many ways it is tentative. The concern of this section is the discussion of some personality themes which are of value in the explication of the social behavior of the people of Ibara Orile. The development of these personality themes are discussed in terms of the data previously presented in this dissertation. Additional data, not previously presented is utilized to support and develop the analysis.

The two personality themes presented in this section are "interpersonal loneliness" and "individual freedom" Although they are presented

separately these two themes are highly complementary, to the extent that they may be considered unitary. They are like two sides of the same coin, the Janus head of Ibara personality functioning. When the characteristics of interpersonal loneliness seem to be functioning in some interpersonal encounter, there, too, can be seen the personality characteristic of individual freedom.

Interpersonal Loneliness.--Let us review some of the life history background for this theme of interpersonal loneliness. In Chapter IX it was reported that after two years of close and loving nurturance children suddenly find that their mothers have set up strong, painful, and frightening barriers to their access to her body and to her presence (pages 280-284). After nearly two years of being held and cuddled by the mother, the children find this rejection is quite unassailable. The physical and emotional trauma which accompanies this realization becomes the basis upon which feelings of distrust and rejection are developed. The problems of life begin to bear heavily upon them (in this regard see Whiting and Child 1953, Orlansky 1949, Erikson 1962, and Hsu 1961:355-397).

Even at this very early age children are confronted with the problem of learning the ways of strange, important, and often threatening people. They must learn new patterns of response. The boys must cultivate the habits of the farmer who works, alone, many hours in the field. They soon come to understand that farming is not really desirable work and begin to look for opportunities which lie beyond their father's farms and their homes in the orile. The same pursuit of personal fortune which caused

their fathers to leave their grandfathers' bush hamlets motivates them to look beyond their fathers' home in the orile towards the challenges of Abeokuta and Lagos (See Maris, 1962, for a very excellent discussion of life in the capital city of Lagos). The girls follow their mothers to the market where they soon engage in developing the arts of aggression and deception which characterize the female trading role (see pages 293-294).

Children soon learn that their continuing presence in their father's home is always predicated upon the changing fortunes of the household and the needs of some distant members of the kinship group. Children who go away must, at that tender age, quickly learn those interpersonal maneuvers which will enable them to effectively cope with the demands of the people with whom they are lodged. These people often believe that it is their obligation to severely discipline the children who come to their homes to live and to learn (pages 298-301). Those who stay at home believe themselves exposed to the machinations of members of the household and of the neighbors (pages 153-159). They, too, develop similar defensive interpersonal techniques. The threat that any one of these people - family, friends, or neighbors - may be a witch or a wizard is always present.

Even in sibling relationships the theme of individual loneliness can be seen at work. In business matters brothers can be quite cooperative but when it comes to socializing they often engage in a pattern of avoidance. Seldom did I see brothers, living in different homes, visiting with each other. My more usual observations suggested the separateness and apartness of their relationship:

Today I was driving out of the orile going towards Ilewo. I met Simon Adeola along the road. About fifty feet in front of Simon was his older brother. They had left the orile together and were walking in the same direction. Yet, they were walking by themselves.

I stopped the car and offered Simon a ride. His brother turned and waved to me and then turned and continued walking down the road. I was surprised that he did not get into the car.

O.O.: Why didn't your brother come and get into the car. He knows he is welcome.

Simon: It is his luck. Even though he is older than I, he cannot expect the same things that come to me.

I drive up to Simon's older brother and offer him a ride. He gratefully accepts, gets into the car, and sits quietly in the rear seat throughout the remainder of the journey. Although I try to ask him a few questions, his brother, Simon, always responds. He does not expect that I should wish to speak to him (see pages 257-259).

This example demonstrates the functioning of the principle of seniority when seniority is considered to stem from talent rather than age. It is also an example of the concept of "luck" and the implications of the concept of luck for social interactions. Finally, it is illustrative of the fact that patterns of interaction between siblings are also based upon considerations of seniority.

Another example of this type of sibling avoidance behavior is illustrated in the following conversation with a young man of Oke Afin.

O.O.: I do not see you going to the farm. What are you doing these days?

Youth: I was in Abẹokuta, apprenticed to a master driver. My father had paid my master to teach me how to drive. Now my master has gone to Kano and will not be back. I am looking for another driver.

O.O.: But is not your older brother a driver? Do I not see him

driving a taxi in Abẹokuta and along this road? Why does he not teach you?

Youth: He will not teach me. I am his brother and he would not take it seriously. He will teach his friends but not his brother. That is how we do. I must go to a stranger.

In both these illustrations the brothers were of the same father and mother. The social distance which these examples illustrate can only suggest the types of daily relationships which occur between siblings of the same father but different mothers.

As men and women grow older they learn to protect their children, as well as themselves, against the dangers in their environment. They also gain a healthier respect for these dangers. The longer they live, the more people they see die suddenly and mysteriously. Moreover, the children they love and wish to keep by them must, for one reason or another, be sent away. As boys and then as fathers, the men must spend many lonely hours on the farm. As girls, and then as mothers, the women must spend their time in the market protecting themselves against the loss of profits which are usually no more than a penny and rarely as much as fourteen cents (a shilling). The subject of interpersonal relationships in the trading encounter has been discussed on pages 397-401.

Play activities in which children might learn habits of organization, cooperation, and competition are rare. There is some soccer played during school breaks. This game always seemed to be played in a desultory uncoordinated manner, though my unfamiliarity with the nuances of soccer prohibits any further comment upon their habits of playing this game. The subject of play and games is discussed on pages 291-292.

The young wife who finds herself living with her husband's family in an unfamiliar village is, again, confronted with these challenges. Her new environment is controlled by strangers, who, like the gods, may wish to do her good or evil. She must be ever diligent in protecting herself and her children. Her husband, who remains in his familiar home and hamlet, must not neglect the possibility that his wife may wish to leave him, using poison, if she must, to gain her freedom. Then, on the other hand, she may love him too much and use medicines to make him neglect his mother and his other wives.[2]

The wife's domestic and marketing activities are designed so that activities done by the individual are more profitable than group activities. Such alliances that do form are always temporary and goal oriented, containing few sentimental encumbrances. Though they do cooperate in the creation, care, and socialization of children, husbands and wives do not usually form a strong corporate economic unit. Nor do co-wives usually work together. Marshall(1964:186-189) has also noted these characteristics of independence in family and business relationships. She does offer the explanation that the independence of economic activities between wives and husbands is a means of spreading risks; the implication being that the economic activity of man and wife is basically cooperative.

The fact that some women claimed that it is common to deliver children by themselves suggests the extent of interpersonal isolation which comes to occur in a person's life. Though I could not get any reason other than, "This is how we are doing these things.", for this solitary experience it is quite possible to assume that fears of witchcraft are not unrelated to

this lonely performance. Such fears might also be the basis for the increasing use of hospitals for the delivery of babies.

Even their religious beliefs and behaviors contribute to the envelope of interpersonal loneliness in which they live. Individual members of any one household might subscribe to the different religions practiced in the village; Muslims, Christians, and traditionalists, all living together in a community of interpersonal laissez-faire. Fathers may be Muslim, sons may be Christians, and mothers and daughers may be actively involved in worshipping a variety of different orişa. Personal inclination, new experiences, or divination, results in individuals neglecting one god for another, or merely adding gods to their own personal pantheon. The interpersonal isolation, which is the counterpart of individual freedom, sometimes results in such strange and arresting events as a person having a faith for every season (see pages 164-167). Thus, Samuel required a Christian name when he went to the Anglican school, and Tijani required a Muslim name when he joined the mosque society, and Adebisi's family has adopted the habit of using one family name through the generations. But, the truth of the matter is that Samuel Tijani Adebisi is one person (see pages 275-276).

Individual Freedom.--Counterpoised against the personality theme of interpersonal loneliness is the personality theme of individual freedom which develops hand in hand with interpersonal loneliness. It is also the result of the child's understandings and estimates of his own personal power and his ability to use this power in interpersonal situations.

Among the people of the orile there is a very strong cultural norm that a youth fear and respect his elders. Youths prostrate low for their elders and serve them respectfully and diligently. This high regard for elders is also extended to a respectful consideration of the ancestors who control the peace, health, and welfare of the individual and the community.

But subservience and respect of elders by the youth does not constitute all of the content of their interpersonal relationships. Children also see that their fathers often challenge their grandfathers and the elders of the community. They go to family, society, and town meetings where they see youth of thirty and forty years of age challenging elders of seventy and eighty years of age (see pages 257-259).

Children also learn that there are limits upon the amount of punishment they will receive from their fathers. The limitations on a father's anger results from the belief that if a child is too strongly chastised the child will become sick and, perhaps, die (see pages 146, 291, 298). There is also the belief that the father's curse is particularly apt to come true. These fears are supported by beliefs in ara-igbo (see pages 143-149), the possibility that the child's enikeji will become annoyed with the father and seek to return, with the child, to heaven.

As children grow older they become increasingly familiar with the wide range of relatives, both their mother's kin group and their father's kin group. It has been mentioned that some children take advantage of this knowledge to leave their father's house to live with someone of their own choice.

By the time children have reached their second decade of life girls

have become increasingly expert as traders and housekeepers. The boys have become competent farmers. The children have become valuable assets to the adults in their environment and have acquired some understanding and appreciation of their worth. The girls wish to quit school in order to pursue their trading activities. The boys tire of farming and begin to actively seek an apprenticeship opportunity in Abeokuta or Lagos.

In these modern times the youth have also had more schooling and find that their parents must depend upon them for writing letters, reading newspapers, and verifying receipts. Their observations of the manner in which men take wives and wives leave their husband's homes also contribute to their appreciation of the individual freedom of action which characterizes their society.

The factors which contribute to the development of feelings of individual freedom also contribute to the strength of their feelings of equality (egbe) which causes them to reject leaders who appear to be assuming too much power (see pages 260-268). Their very popular slogan, "No King As God.", symbolizes these beliefs.

It might be noted that a person, developing the personality characteristics of individual freedom and interpersonal loneliness, might justifiably choose to retreat from social intercourse, reject any vigorous striving towards obtaining social goals and retreat into self. The fact that the people of the orile are early impressed with their own personal power as it exists in social situations, saves them from the alternative course of introspection and interpersonal isolation.

The Structure Of The Interpersonal Encounter

In earlier sections I have repeatedly spoken of the principle of seniority which is basic to the structure of interpersonal encounters between the people of the kingdom of Ibara. I have tried to demonstrate the functioning of this principle in the organization of their social system. In this section I shall demonstrate the principle of seniority as the underlying organizing motif in two situations which were characterized, primarily, though not entirely, by nonverbal behavior. I shall conclude the section by taking a look at the concept of "luck" which suggests one way by which a people whose personality make-up is so strongly dominated by the themes of interpersonal loneliness and individual freedom maintain viable social relationships.

The first incident occurred during a funeral celebration in Madi hamlet. Peter Omodele left Madi village some five years ago to build his home in Ibara Orile. He left his home in Madi (originally his father's home) to his younger brother. Recognizing Peter's seniority, his younger brother asked Peter to entertain the guests and friends of the family who had come to the village to participate in the memorial ceremonies. The people were seated around a circle in front of Peter's younger brother's house. My notes read:

> The circle consists of men who are eating, drinking and talking (see page 411). As the host (Peter) makes sure that palmwine is properly served with the oldest men drinking first and the younger men drinking last. Peter drinks only after everyone else is served. He also sees that everybody gets cigarettes and that newcomers get served, all according to seniority. When his supply of cigarettes becomes depleted he makes sure that the oldest people continue to be served until his supply is replenished.

> I am interested to see that, although this is his younger brother's house his younger brother seldom leaves the house to join the circle. I ask Peter about this behavior but Peter only shrugs and indicates that all is going well. I conclude that the younger brother is not sick. Occasionally, the younger brother does come out to offer me a shilling. Peter says that he does this because I am not eating the food and I am an important stranger.

The functioning of the principle of seniority can be seen to be an important factor in the patterning of the varieties of behavior presented in the above extract from my notes. As an American researcher I was considered to be rich and well educated. This made me one of the more "senior" people in Madi that particular night. The fact that I, a "European", was sufficiently interested in the event to trek into the bush hamlet lent considerable prestige to Peter's circle of friends and relatives and to Madi hamlet. Peter's ability to keep his guests entertained and properly served with food and drink lends considerable prestige to himself, his brother's house, and Madi hamlet.

Peter's skill was such that he did not embarrass me and offend other elders by singling me out for his most honorific attentions. However, his brother's periodic emergence from the house to privately press a shilling upon me was considered sufficient compensation for any feelings of neglect that I might have suffered. I had no doubt that other people considered to be of high status were also being privately compensated. These types of private compensations are frequently used to assuage slights, and supposed slights, in interpersonal relations (see pages 41-45). In turn, the expectation which was put upon me was that I place the money I received upon the foreheads of the drummers; thereby complimenting them,

keeping them in the area of the circle in anticipation of more money, and adding further prestige to the circle, my host, my host's family, and to Madi village.

Analysis of this situation would not be complete without some consideration of Peter's brother's behavior. My relationship with Peter is such that he would have told me if his brother were sick. On several previous occasions Peter had called upon me to help him with the treatment of ill members of his family (see page 347). His brother's absence from the circle was one of those familiar behaviors which are so compatible with the personality characteristics chosen for discussion in earlier sections of this chapter.

The second situation occurred early one morning on the porch outside my rooms. It so happened that I was standing, talking to an important Ẹgba chief who was seated in my chair. An elder, of considerably greater age than the chief and I, joined us. As he approached:

> The chief stands and I hastily bring out a bench for the elder to sit upon. As the elder takes his seat so also does the chief, but the chief retains the more honorific chair in which he had been originally seated. We continue our conversation.
>
> Peter Ọmọdele approaches. In the order of things Peter would have the lowest seniority of the group of us. He is younger than the elder and the chief. In addition, he has no titles. He sits down on the cement porch. I rush inside and bring out another chair. (To bring out a bench would have created no problem for Peter could easily sit on the bench. A chair creates problems for Peter because it means that he would take a more comfortable seat than the elder. I immediately sit on the remaining corner of the bench, leaving Peter no choice but to use the chair or continue sitting on the cement.)
>
> Peter spoke very strongly as to the impropriety of his sitting in the chair while I and the elder sat on the less comfortable bench. The matter was resolved when the elder was convinced that he should

take the chair while Peter and I used the bench.

The elder soon leaves and a young man comes to join us. I offer him the seat which the chief has vacated but he refuses it and insists that Peter sit on the chair while he sits on the bench.

This example is, of course, self-explanatory and reflects behaviors which I had seen on many previous occasions. The behavior presented in the illustration is usually automatic, requiring little verbalization. My presence and activity in the situation and the fact that I insisted on standing or retaining my less comfortable bench seat necessitated the little conversation that did occur.

Luck --Statements about the themes of individual freedom, interpersonal loneliness, seniority, and equality in interpersonal relationships do not fully explain the structure of the interpersonal encounter. There must also be some kind of philosophy about the underlying structure of human and interpersonal behavior which is tied to beliefs about the nature of man.

Basic to the genesis of feelings of individual freedom are ideas about predestination, or luck, which are associated with the concept of ori (see pages 151-152). The people of the orile believe that their life is a chartered course, the outlines of which were predetermined before they were born. As mortals they cannot know what their future will be, although they can refer to Ifa for guidance. But it is their luck which leads them to Ifa. What will happen to them is, essentially, their luck. Despite Ifa and the many gods they can call upon and propitiate, in the final analysis the individual's life career is based upon his luck.

Luck is carried in the head and symbolizes the individual's relation to his god. In effect, each individual has his destiny before him and his luck, located in his head, steers him along his appointed course. There is nothing he or anyone else can do to alter this predestined journey. Thus, no one can really do right or wrong All one can do is experience his own destiny.

For the people of the orile the concept of predestination does not mean that individuals sit idly by and let life take its course The fact is that their luck-destiny is not in some distant far off place but right in their own head, associated in some way with their brain, obliging them to engage actively in realizing their fate. Their luck will tell them what gods to propitiate, when to consult Ifa, and how to behave. As individuals they cannot make mistakes. All they can do is try. The popular expression of this is "Mo'n gbinyaju" (I am trying). From a psychodynamic point of view this type of orientation suggests that an individual need not take too much personal responsibility for his failures. He can always place blame upon his luck, the gods, or the witches.

During the time of the divination for the cooperation of the village it was found that each male, presumably as head of a household, should sacrifice ten fish to his own head. The demand for this expensive, personal, sacrifice to the individual's self is a powerful commentary upon the underlying belief in the need for people to assume their own destiny; even in matters of community integration.

In their interpersonal encounters every individual is concerned with the maximization of the positive potential of his own life experiences

-i.e. his own good luck. He also expects that every other individual will be vigorously pursuing a similar course. Most other people will be "trying". Thus, his efforts are always balanced off against the efforts of all other people. This leads him to expect that he will receive only marginal rewards for every increase in effort.

Concommitant is the belief that there is just so much wealth in the world (that is, their world as contrasted with the world of the European) and this wealth is not replaceable (see page 334). Therefore, if one person has more than another person then the person with less must be doing something wrong. In this scheme of things the person with more is also considered to be doing something wrong. He is either indulging in witchcraft, or wizardry, or breaking the law (see pages 153-159). The often cited example is the politician and the senior civil servant. But, this is their luck.

In any event, most gains will be small, and most losses will be small. But, in any single interpersonal encounter everybody will have an equal chance of success, as when Lalubu received the crown which would ordinarily have gone to his older brother (see pages 34-35).

Thus, interpersonal encounters are qualified by strategems, (developed from the earlier interpersonal defensive techniques), designed to maximize the individual's gain in each interaction. Feelings of anger and frustration at the failure of an interpersonal gambit do not endure. The outcome of the encounter was only a manifestation of the participants' luck Such failures do not usually result in lasting hostilities, nor do they stimulate aggressions There was, in the beginning of the

encounter, little expectation of any great gain. Consequently, there is little need to invest much emotion in the interaction. This analysis does not exclude interpersonal relationships heavily weighted with sentiment and devoid of calculative considerations. There are such relationships. There are also many people who never progress from the passive stage of interpersonal defensive techniques to the more active stage of constructing interpersonal strategems designed to maximize their success potentials in interpersonal encounters. And, this analysis does not provide for the elders who become increasingly concerned with the quality of their relationships with their forefathers.

The characteristics of the interpersonal encounter, described above, are also closely associated with beliefs and attitudes towards economic opportunities. Ideas of minimal economic expectations in any particular economic activity leads to the belief that any economic activity has equal validity with any other economic activity. For many people the result of this type of orientation leads to a lack of interest in prolonged training coupled with the learning and practicing of many different trades, and a failure to stay on any particular job for extended periods of time.

The concept of "luck", often verbalized as "trying", lends an aura of "testing" in interpersonal encounters, such that individuals may sometimes appear extremely aggressive or get themselves involved in seemingly bizarre situations. Exorbitant prices for minor services are demanded, contracts for work are not fulfilled, people employed in good positions begin to make excessive demands upon their employers, and deep

emotional commitments are hard to embrace. There remains an undercurrent of dissatisfaction with the status-quo.

The impression is that individuals involved in this type of "testing" behavior are not aware of their jeopardy. To the contrary. They are merely "trying their luck", i.e. testing the limits of the situation to determine what pattern of behavior they should adopt as most suitable to the improvement of their present condition. These "testing" behaviors are most frequently and vigorously engaged in urban settings. As such, they do not really constitute a proper subject for further elaboration in this dissertation.

Finally, in terms of the people's concerns with their inability to cooperate with each other, in the analysis of individual motivation and interpersonal behavior, ideas of uniformity of thinking and commonality of motivation need not be necessary precursors to cooperative activity. Devereaux (1961:227-241) in his study of the Hungarian freedom fighter has shown that individual motivation often seeks expression in some collective enterprise. Wallace has said that the existence of culturally organized groups:

> Does not require that motivational content be shared in order that cultural organization exist, but only that cognitive content be equivalent, and thus mutually predictable. [1961:141]

Structural Schisms

Some bases for the lack of cooperation of which the people complain can be found in certain disjunctions in the structure of the social system. The people of the orile have only recently deserted their bush hamlets in

order to band together in the crile. Generations of life in the small familistic hamlets gave them little preparation for the non-family cooperative activities which are an important aspect of crile community life (see pages 84-88). The people have been involved in building their homes, earning their living, and pursuing their private concerns. There has been little need to engage in community projects which require ccoperative efforts sustained over long periods of time.

Marketing.--The economic institutions of the people are not designed to encourage cooperative behavior (see pages 401-405). Their marketing structure is organized such that the men are pitted against the women. Many of the men insist that male-female marketing antagonisms did not exist in the small hamlets, where their ties to the large markets of Abeokuta and Lagos were weaker, where women had to mill their own food products, and where most of the women's activities were directed towards housekeeping and food producing, primarily for family consumption.

Town Treasury --Many of the people of the crile realize that a town treasury is essential for the cooperative activities in which they wish to engage However, the traditional methods of collecting money no longer suffice. In the old days the son would give his money to his father, who could spend the money as he desired. Fines were distributed among the chiefs who used the money for their own purposes. Money collected for the special projects was held by the chiefs. No accounting was expected and the chiefs often "took out of it" as they desired.

These old habits are reflected in the advice Babayemi Babalola, one of the leaders of the Egbado Union gave the people during a meeting designed to improve the cooperative habits of the villagers:

> I beg you to have good character and try your best to do your duty. I want you to be choosing a chairman and for that chairman to be calling meetings so that everybody will be attending these meetings. But I beg you to forget about putting your eyes into the community's money. If any money was spent you should not try to know where the money goes.

One of the chiefs attending the meeting welcomed this support of the traditional customs. He added:

> About the money. Not everything that you give can you know where it goes. Do not try to know where the money goes. Try to contribute and you will see how your money will be improving the town. Do not say that you are being cheated by somebody. You must have patience and face up to the progress of Ibara.

But Babyemi quickly saw the damage he had done and replied:

> I could remember the time we asked the people of Ibara orile to contribute money. So they contributed this money from each quarter but we do not want that. We want everybody of them to contribute each and not say that $1.40 comes from Isolo and $1.40 comes from Oke Afin. We do not want any of that. We want each of the people to contribute and we will give them receipts.

The people of the orile are no longer willing to accept the traditional methods of handling community money. They have become familiar with the government's tax collecting methods and, in the last few years have been regularly harassed by tax collectors. Their receipts are their only evidence of their payment of taxes. If they are unable to produce these receipts they are liable to suffer fines and jail.

But receiving receipts has not always proved an adequate safeguard. Accusations against elders suspected of "taking out of community money" continue. Receipts given on these occasions were found to be inadequate,

lacking such vital information as the amount paid and the signature of the person receiving the money. Many of the farmers who cannot read are now seeking out literate family members who can tell them if their receipts have been properly filled out.

Political Organization.--The political organization of the village is virtually non-existent (see pages 254-268). The Alaga and the headman are people who can only advise and inform. They cannot plan, organize, or administer. Household squabbles are referred to the bale. Interhousehold disputes are resolved by the elders and the headman. Intransigent divorce and land disputes are referred to the chiefs in Abẹokuta.

The people who have the potential for leadership find that when they take leadership roles they become targets of such accusations as selfishness, stupidity, thievery, dictatorial behavior and personal aggrandizement at the expense of their fellow villagers. The same personal characteristics which made them leaders are considered their most serious faults. Jealousies spring up. Their followers divide themselves on the basis of their loyalties to their own village quarter and lineage. They begin to hurl insults at each other. The ranks of their supporters diminish. Their position of influence is eroded.

Road repairs and community health and hygiene are within the jurisdiction of the Ikereku District Council. Police protection and the introduction of piped water are the responsibility of the administrators and technicians employed in the various governmental departments of

Abeokuta. The only community activities which have not been pre-empted by outside agencies are those difficult efforts usually termed "community development projects." These projects require organizational habits, skills, conceptualizations, and commitments which are presently beyond the experiences of the people. The familiar patterns of interpersonal action developed in their old familistic hamlets have not yet been sufficiently modified to permit them to effectively cope with the demands of the more populated and socially differentiated orile. The hostilities which their interpersonal failures generate lends to their frustrations and supports their beliefs in their own interpersonal incompetence.

Systems That Bind

> Unless the members of a group are able to predict with some probability far greater than chance the behavior of other members of the group with whom they interact, social action, let alone interaction would be all but precluded. [Spiro 1961:95]

The people of the orile, like people throughout the world, must affiliate with one another for such mundane, yet important, activities as childbearing, socialization, the care of the aged, protection and distribution of goods and social control.

The structure of their social system which results in the movement of children and wives from house to house and settlement to settlement (pages 298-301, 356-359), the characteristics of land acquisition and inheritance (pages 206-211) which means that land can be inherited from either the mother's or the father's lineage, the composition of the households (see Chapter VII) which permits kin, cognatic and affinal, distant and near,

a place in the household are all indicative of the types of mixing of people which occurs and the necessity of people from different kin groups and households to establish linkages with each other.

The patterns of behavior of the people of the orile are so stamped with their essential individuality that it is difficult to discern those elements of the social structure which bind them together. In the face of the evidence of their inability to cooperate the question becomes: How is it, then, that they are able to come together and maintain harmony in home and village?

Socialization.--Unlike their fathers, the children of the orile have had opportunities to get an education and to learn a trade. Yet, it is their fathers who teach them their most basic farming skills, protect them from the machinations of evil-doers, and care for them when they are ill. It is their mothers who feed them and teach their daughters the important arts of food processing and trading.

Their fathers, and, to only a slightly lesser degree, their mothers, provide them with their position in the society and their linkages with a wide range of relatives (see pages 186-187). These relatives can provide shelter, food, and new opportunities. Family membership also means land, a compound in Abẹokuta, and the possibility of a title in old age.

Elders.--Despite the emphasis upon individualism and private interest, few altercations occur among the people of the orile. The ties of blood and marriage ramify throughout the entire Ibara kingdom, prohibiting

interhousehold feuding. The elders are the peacemakers of the society. They are quick to intervene in all disputes. Their interventions sometimes means the interposition of their fragile bodies between persons about to engage in physical violence. During ceremonies and festivities these old men mount patrols of the area to insure the harmony of the occasion.

Compatible with the elders' role of peacekeeper is their membership in the Ogboni cult (see pages 250-254). Although the Ogboni chiefs remain in Abẹokuta the saliency of the beliefs associated with the cult are sufficient to affect social behavior in the orile. The Ogboni chiefs are worshipped and are believed to control the earth. Violence resulting in the spilling of blood is considered an affront to the Earth God demanding punishment by the Ogboni chiefs. Through the organization of their cult the Ogboni are able to control all of the other cults of the Ibara kingdom.

Ara-igbo.--The belief in ara-igbo provides a strong additional incentive to maintain harmonious relationships. This is the idea that inter-relationships among individuals are reflected among their seconds (awon enikeji) who constitute the people who live in the bush (ara-igbo). If a person's behavior is such that he cannot maintain harmonious relations with his neighbors his second (enikeji) will become unhappy and come to find him so that they may both return home (heaven). Thus, the fear of meeting one's enikeji constitutes a powerful check upon hostile and aggressive behavior and is responsible for many of the courtesies which friends and antagonists extend towards each other.

Witchcraft.--The comments of the young school teacher (see page 154-155) also suggest that fears of witchcraft and wizardry very strongly motivate the individual to maintain good relations with his neighbors. These fears inhibit the most competent people from fully participating in community projects and serve to maintain the conservatism and aura of infallibility of the traditional system.

Associations.--The multiplicity of associations (Chapter XIII) also provides a structural network of relationships and obligations which mediate the many individualistically oriented activities and drives so common to the people of the orile. Bascom has discussed some of the social benefits an individual may accrue through his membership in associations:

> A person spends money 'so that people will know him' and so as to attract a large number of followers. One of the important measures of social position is the number and rank of the individuals who associate with him, and particularly who accompany him when he goes about the town...an ordinary individual invites the members of his club (egbe) to his house for food and drink at the time of a religious ceremony, funeral, wedding, or any other important event, so that he may have a large crowd dressed in fine clothes following him when he goes in the streets. This is one of the principal reasons for joining a club, and it is also related to the great interest of the Yoruba in children and large families 1951:497 .

Community And Cooperation.--The fact of the matter is that the people of the orile demand too much of themselves. They are in a hurry for the development of their village. Again, they are too aware of their own shortcomings but have not, yet, found new, satisfying, modes of response to their new situation and their developing aspirations. In their

frustrations and self-depreciation they have not appreciated the positive aspects of the cooperative efforts in which they have already engaged. Actually, they have not hesitated to embark upon costly and time consuming projects, modern and traditional, in their attempts to improve their community and devlop greater community integration.

For example, the fear that witches were destroying their "love for one another" was the underlying reason for their decision to destroy the tree they believed to be the habitat of witches (pages 162-164). Additionally, the use of the Cro cult to keep women and children in their homes during the many nights it took to chop the tree down and the discovery of pots in the stump of the freshly fallen tree proved successful. These activities constitute powerful mechanisms of social control, serving to emphasize and strengthen the traditions of the people. They also require a large amount of cooperation on the part of all the people of the orile. Unfortunately, some people complained that the project took too long and that if the sawyers had not been so greedy they would have permitted other men to help them.

Another example of their potential for cooperative activity occurred on election day. Nearly all of the eligible voters of the orile and surrounding hamlets combined their resources, efforts, and interests to hire lorries to take them to the distant bush hamlet where the polling place had been located. Unfortunately, the political confusion of that day resulted in their failure to vote and the loss of their transportation back to the orile. Bitter and frustrated, they had to walk more than ten miles home.

At another time, several elders gathered together to divine the future

of the town to determine what should be done to get the people to cooperate with each other. These elders consisted of several Ifa priests, representatives from the various quarters of the town, and representatives from some of the surrounding hamlets. It was divined that, to insure the safety and cooperation of the town, certain rituals should be performed. These rituals included:

1. Women should be careful to watch their mouths and not abuse others.

2. There should be sacrifices to pregnant women so that they might deliver safely.

3. Pregnant women should pass a rope completely over their bodies from head to foot.

4. There should be sacrifices to Ibeji.

5. That people who loan money should not demand repayment by force.

6. There must be a ram sacrifice to Ṣango, the first god that came into the town.

7. A pig must be sacrificed to the ancestor Aj'boyede.

8. Ifa must receive a goat.

9. Everybody should worship his own head with ten smoked fish. (Though the sacrifice is usually done with kola, in this instance fish are used. The prayer being, "My head, may you protect me, guide me, lead me to a good place.")

10. A white flag must be placed at all paths and roads entering the town. The bamboo flag pole must be inserted in the ground in which has been placed bananas and eggs.

Several town meetings were called for the purpose of obtaining money for these sacrifices. Although not specifically called for at the time of divination, in accordance with tradition and because of the importance of

the occasion, a sacrifice of palm oil was offered to Ẹṣu, the messenger of the gods, to insure that the sacrifices to the other gods would be acceptable.

The prescribed round of sacrifices began at 11:15 A.M. with the sacrifice of a ram to Sango. This sacrifice was performed at the site where the original Sango shrine is believed to have existed. This shrine is so old that no physical evidence of it remains. The blood of the ram, along with a small amount of bamboo wine and palm oil, were permitted to drain on the sacred spot. While the meat of the ram was being cooked the group of priests and elders performing the sacrifices moved on to the market place, to the spot the people believe Ajiboyede once lived. Kola, water, palm oil, and the prescribed pig were sacrificed at this site. The pig was dressed and cooked while the group of elders and priests moved on to the acting headman's house, the place where the original divination was performed. There, another divination was performed as the acting headman prayed for the town and all the people of the town, especially all females and barren women. Kola was split and cast. Most of the ko'a fell "faces up", indicating that the sacrifices and prayers had been accepted. A goat was then slaughtered. The cooking of the several animals, the placing of meat on the various shrines, and the sharing of the remaining meats among the priests and elders lasted into the late evening.

The Ifa priests of Ọbaa officiated throughout the long, hot day of sacrifices. The youngest of these priests did most of the slaughtering, skinning, disemboweling, and cooking of the beasts. The Alaga was also in attendance throughout the entire period. He offered advice and actively

participated in the sacrifices. Three elders from the surrounding villages and a chief from Omida accompanied the group to the various sacrificial sites. Although these sacrifices occurred on a market day few of the townspeople took an active interest in the proceedings.

When the priests and elders moved to the market place to sacrifice to Ajiboyede a couple of men helped to clear the bush that had grown over the proper sacrificial site. Then they disappeared. The seeming indifference of the village people to these efforts to insure the harmonious and happy future of their town was exemplified by the market women who insisted that the elders and priests move from the protecting shade of their sheds that they might have more room to display and sell their wares.

Within a few days after the sacrifices of the animals, white flags were suspended from long bamboo poles along all roads and paths entering the town. Although two elderly women who were present at the original divination immediately passed rope over their bodies, in a symbolic gesture of sacrifice for all the women of the town, this ritual and that of the sacrifice to the head were, essentially, private. Although a few men did say that they had sacrificed to their heads I had no opportunity to observe this ritual.

The Quick And The Dead.--The funeral acts as a catalyst for a series of festivals which, in their execution, provide opportunities for people to come together to repair the rents which have occurred in their social relationships. As with most other types of ceremonial in which the people of the orile engage there is a great variety of ways in which a person can

be buried. The varying traditional elements, modern elements, aspects of Muslim and Christian religious beliefs and behaviors cause funerals and the ceremonies which accompany funerals to become a montage of experiences and activities which symbolize the beliefs and desires of all the participants who celebrate the occasion.

Although Muslim, traditional, and Christian funerals differ in form they do not differ in the meanings which they have for the survivors. Funerals provide an opportunity for festive occasions which bring a great many people together to participate in a series of exchanges of sentiment, goods, money, and services. The festivals which provide the opportunity for these exchanges may continue for many years after the original funeral. A person who says he is going to a death ceremony may be going to a festive ceremonial commemorating someone who died several years earlier.

The main forms of funeral ceremony, in descending order of elaborateness, are: Ogboni, traditional, Muslim, Christian, and children. Increasingly, possibly with the exception of Ogboni burials, there seems to be less distinction between the amount of ceremonial involved in male and female burial ceremonials. Our experience indicated that mothers are buried with as much elaborateness and consideration as fathers and that ceremonials commemorating the death of mothers are as elaborate and as expensive as those of fathers.

The death of children is always considered a most unhappy and unnatural event, for children are expected to bury their parents. Parents desire that after death someone will survive to revere and sacrifice to them, thereby keeping their memory and spiritual vitality alive. The death of children

usually stimulates fears of the possible evil-doing of co-wives, witches or wizards. They constitute a threat to the social cohesion of each family and between the households of the village. For these reasons the mourning and burial of children is always a private and sad affair. These occasions are the concern of close kin and are often surrounded with secrecy.

The death of elders stimulates different responses. The respect which elders receive and the influence which they exercise is based upon their venerableness. The fact that they have been able to live to such an age is considered adequate evidence of their wisdom, their luck, and their good relations with their ancestors and their gods. The death of such elders is thought to be a natural event rather than the result of the machinations of villains or the manifestation of the anger of the gods.

As men grow older they become less concerned with the material world and their own immediate personal gratification. They begin to postpone their own secondary marriages in order to marry wives to their children (see page 365). They develop their knowledge of medicines and the metaphysical in order to protect themselves and to insure the health and welfare of the youth of the family. Their position as elders puts them in greater proximity to their ancestors, for their own fathers have died and they must assume the status and perform the role behaviors which were formerly within the province of their fathers. As they continue to sacrifice to their ancestors and gods on their own behalf and for the benefit of the youth of the family they become more introspective and more understanding of the relationship which exists between the living and the

dead. They develop new understandings of their own personal relationship with their ancestors. Therefore, the death of an elder is not a break in these relationships, it is merely a change in emphasis. As the youth follow their elders, so it is that the elders consult with and follow their ancestors.

In speaking of his feelings for his father, Yesufu Adẹsino reveals some of the background and content to the relationship between the living and the dead:

> My father took good care of me when he was alive. He sacrificed for me and he gave me medicines and he taught me how to make them. He built this house and married my first wife to me. He would have married a second wife for me but he died. I am grateful and I sacrifice to him.

If an elder dies in the arms of a son who will "cover his secrets" (see page 334) his death becomes a happy event for he has died well. As in the case of the death of Tiamiu Aderemi the people will sing:

> Let us be dancing and turning
> Because of Tiamiu
> Raise your voices louder and sing louder
> Because of Tiamiu
> Our father has died well
> We thank God he has died well
> Protect your children [This last is an appeal to Tiamiu who has gone to join the ancestors]

On these occasions, sadness is eschewed to such an extent that Yinka Aderemi, Tiamiu's oldest son and successor to his position will be obligated to ensure that everyone has a good time:

> Yinka rushes up to greet the female members of the Asalatu society. It is Friday and they have just come from the mosque to attend the burial ceremonies of Tiamiu Aderemi. Yinka appeals to them, 'Do not cry. He is an old man.'

Although elderly women do not become involved in metaphysical concerns to the same extent as the men, they do become very active cult members. Their demonstration of economic competence and their use of their money to express their care and concern for their children and grandchildren can also bring them honor and reverence after death. The many Yoruba women who have become local and national deities testifies to this possibility. Even women suspected of witchcraft can attain a revered place among their family members, for witches do good as well as evil.

The broad outlines of any type of funeral are modified by the circumstances of the deceased and the bereaved family. Among these circumstances are the number of children and wives who remain in his house, the extent of their riches, and the number of societies in which he and the bereaved members of his family participated. The good relationships the deceased maintained with his friends, family, and community are also important.

If the deceased were quite aged, the members of his family will have accumulated money prior to his death in order that they might be prepared for the costs of the burial ceremonies. Families which have not prepared for the loss of an elder will bury the deceased with as much honor as they can assemble. They will anticipate the possibility of better meeting their obligations in the future.

During the period immediately after the burial the members of the family will remain in the village to assemble the materials necessary for the large festival given to honor the departed. Such a ceremony is held within ten days after the burial of the deceased. Some people speak of

an eight day ceremony, others speak of a seven day ceremony. In any event, they try to hold the ceremony before the assembled family members leave for their homes.

The children perform this ceremony in anticipation of the day when they can afford to perform more proper rites. Over a period of years different members of the family perform their own ceremonials for the deceased. The oldest son may perform the ceremonials for his father or mother one year, and several years later the younger brother may offer his memorial.

These memorial celebrations continue through the years. Family members take the occasion of these memorials to heal the rifts which have developed between them. Thus, it was that at a funeral celebration in the hamlet of Madi (see page 83) I heard two brothers resolve a long-standing dispute:

> It was dark, about 12:00 P.M. I was with a group of men. We were seated in a circle. The men were talking, drinking, smoking, or just sitting quietly. A gas lamp lit up our circle. In other parts of the hamlet there was singing and dancing. There were now about three different musical groups in town. A band of drummers escorted a group of newcomers to our circle.
>
> One of the newcomers and a man already seated in the circle began to argue. It seems that they are brother and this new arrival claimed that his brother did not tell him that he was starting to build his house. The brother building the house made the counter complaint that his younger brother did not invite him to the naming ceremony of his child. The argument became heated. Some of the elders in the circle began to intervene and counsel patience and good will. The brothers tired of their argument and became more amicable. They were soon drinking together.

All funerals require that people spend money for gifts. At the time of the burial the family must gather together to purchase, prepare,

and present gifts. The men of the patrilineage provide the music, drinks, and gifts. As hosts they insure that everyone has a seat and that no one is slighted and they also distribute coins as tokens of their appreciation for the presence of their guests. In-laws also contribute to the success of the occasion for they have duties similar to those of the deceased's family. They also provide such specialized services as digging the grave, building the palm frond shelters which shade the guests, and running errands.

In one of the more traditional ceremonies the in-laws, members of the deceased woman's patrilineage, took a more active role. On the night of the burial a procession of drummers, relatives of the deceased, and friends, form a procession and, in the torchlight, carry the coffin about the town. They stop at each house and the drummers beat out the _bale_'s name, adding such _orikis_ and praise songs as they deem appropriate. One of the songs heard during one of these ceremonies was:

> Child of...[father's name ...]
> He cannot be killed
> He cannot be used medicine on
> The _Ijimeri_ [an ape] who said that he will not run from
> the hunter has not been seen.
> Get up. Get Up. This last is a shout to arouse those who
> do not open their doors quickly.

The householder or representative of the house is expected to respond by donating a few coins to the oldest son who accompanies the procession. Throughout the duration of the procession it is the in-laws who carry the coffin:

> During the procession the drummers and singers were using a strange dialect which I suspected was the "deep Ẹgbado" I had heard so much about. One of the elders who accompanied me confirmed my suspicions. The Ẹgba community developer who had remained in the village overnight asked with some bewilderment,

"What is this language?"

> Every now and then the drummers would interrupt the procession, form a circle, and begin to beat out one of their Gẹlẹdẹ songs. The people would respond by dancing the Gẹlẹdẹ dance which consists of much stomping about, kicking the legs high, and whirling round and round. At these times the in-laws who carried the coffin on their heads also whirl around.

When the procession arrives back at the home of the deceased the children of the deceased grab at the coffin and a short, but vigorous, tussle occurs before the in-laws relinquish the coffin. The money received during the course of the procession through the town is then divided equally among the children, the in-laws, and the drummers and singers.

This struggle for the coffin, which in former times would have contained the body, symbolizes the antagonisms, as well as the binding relationships which exist between the family of the deceased woman and the family of her husband in whose house she will be buried. If she had left her husband's house before her death there would not have been the need for such a struggle. The family members carried the coffin about the village to communicate that it was their member who had died. The struggle for the coffin symbolized their reluctance to return her body to the house of her son and her husband.

Another example of this symbolic struggle representing the relationship between the deceased's family and the wives of the family occurred just before Tiamiyu was buried. In this instance the co-wives protested the removal of the body from the house until they were given a few shillings. It makes no difference if the deceased is a male or a female, the married relationship must be acknowledged.

The many societies in which the deceased and members of the deceased's family hold membership also gather to honor their departed (see pages 411-415). If the bereaved belonged to any of the many societies of the orile or Omida these societies "come out" to honor the deceased and commiserate with their bereaved member. Bereaved family members from as far away as Lagos might be accompanied to the funeral ceremony by as much as a busload of fellow society members. The honor which accompanies such behavior has been discussed in earlier sections of this dissertation. This behavior also increases the feelings of solidarity which exist among the members of the society.

Burial ceremonies also provide opportunities for expressions of religious commitment and concord. The religious societies and religious leaders visit the household and comfort the bereaved. The religious leaders act to insure that the funeral obsequies are properly performed, guide the sons in the proper execution of their duties towards their departed father, and insure the proper distribution of sacrifices and honor to the chiefs and dignitaries who attend the affair. In their prayers they express the people's deepest desires. They bless the barren women and call for unity and cooperation within the household, between the assembled segments of the extended family, and between the various households of the town. Their blessings and prayers are verbal representations of the symbolic significance of the occasion and the place of funeral and memorial celebrations as mechanisms of community integration.

> May Bisi Adebisi have children.
> May we have long life and die like the old man died.
> May our end be like his end.

May those assembled have good fortune and not be involved
in accident on their way home.
We did not expect so many people because of the riots in
Abẹokuta and on the road.

But Tiamiu was a good man.
We should thank god that Yinka has seen the end of his father.
Raise your voices louder and sing louder
Because of Tiamiu.
We thank god he has died well.
Protect your children.

Notes

[1] It also represents an attempt to go beyond such statements as:

> There seems to be some evidence that with the Yoruba their emotional development is arrested to the extent that intense relationships exist primarily between mother and child and that even in this relationship the mother tends to be on the one hand revered unrealistically and overvalued and on the other hand feared as a destructive entity with all her witchly attributes. (Prince 1961:804)

[2] Thereby permitting her to exercise some influence and control in her husbands home.

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APPENDIX A

THE YORUBA LANGUAGE

According to Greenberg (1963:38) the Yoruba language is part of the Kwa sub-family of the Niger-Congo family of languages. There are numerous dialects of the Yoruba language such that some of the speakers of different dialects are mutually incomprehensible. Forde (1951:5) points out that the many Yoruba dialects "correspond approximately to the tribal divisions and are closely related." He considers the main Yoruba dialects to be Oyo, Ijẹbu, Ẹgba, Ifẹ, Ijẹsa, Ekiti, Ondo, Owo, Owe and Akoko.

Further on, Forde (1951:35), speaks of the people of Ifẹ saying that, "When they speak in a deep dialect they cannot be understood by other Yoruba." In earlier pages of this report (page 470) it was noted that the Ibara people can speak a "deep Ẹgbado" which the people of Abeokuta do not understand.

The many complaints the Ẹgba and Ẹgbado make about their difficulty in understanding their Ijẹbu neighbors testifies to the mutual unintelligibility of some of the Yoruba dialects. In the last few decades increased ubanization, bureaucratization, nationalization and industrialization has necessitated the development of mass communication media. This has resulted in a national Lagos-Oyo dialect which transcends local dialectical barriers.

APPENDIX A (cont.)

SOME YORUBA DIALECTS*

Code

1- English

a) Ẹgbado (Under Olubara)
b) Ẹgba Gbagura (Under Agura)
c) Ẹgba Oke Ona (Under Osile)
d) Ẹgba Owode (Under Alake)

Samples

1- I do not know how you usually call that thing.
a) Nko mo oruko ti e npe kini oun.
b) Mi o mo bi o se npe kini yẹn.
c) Nko mo bi won ti npe kini yẹn.
d) Nko mo bi o ti ṣe ma npe kini yi.

2- If I had been there the thief would not have escaped.
a) Bo pe mo wa libẹ ni, ole na ko le lo.
b) Ti mo ba wa nibẹ, nba ti jeki ole yẹn lo.
c) Ki nba wa libẹ, ole yen ki loa lo.
d) Ki nba wa libẹ, ole yen ko ni ribi sa lo.

3- You should not let them fight among themselves
a) Iko gbodo jeki nwon ja
b) Ma ṣe jẹki nwon ba ara won ja.
c) Oko gbodo jẹki nwon ba ara won ja.
d) Oko gbodo jẹki won ja larin ara won.

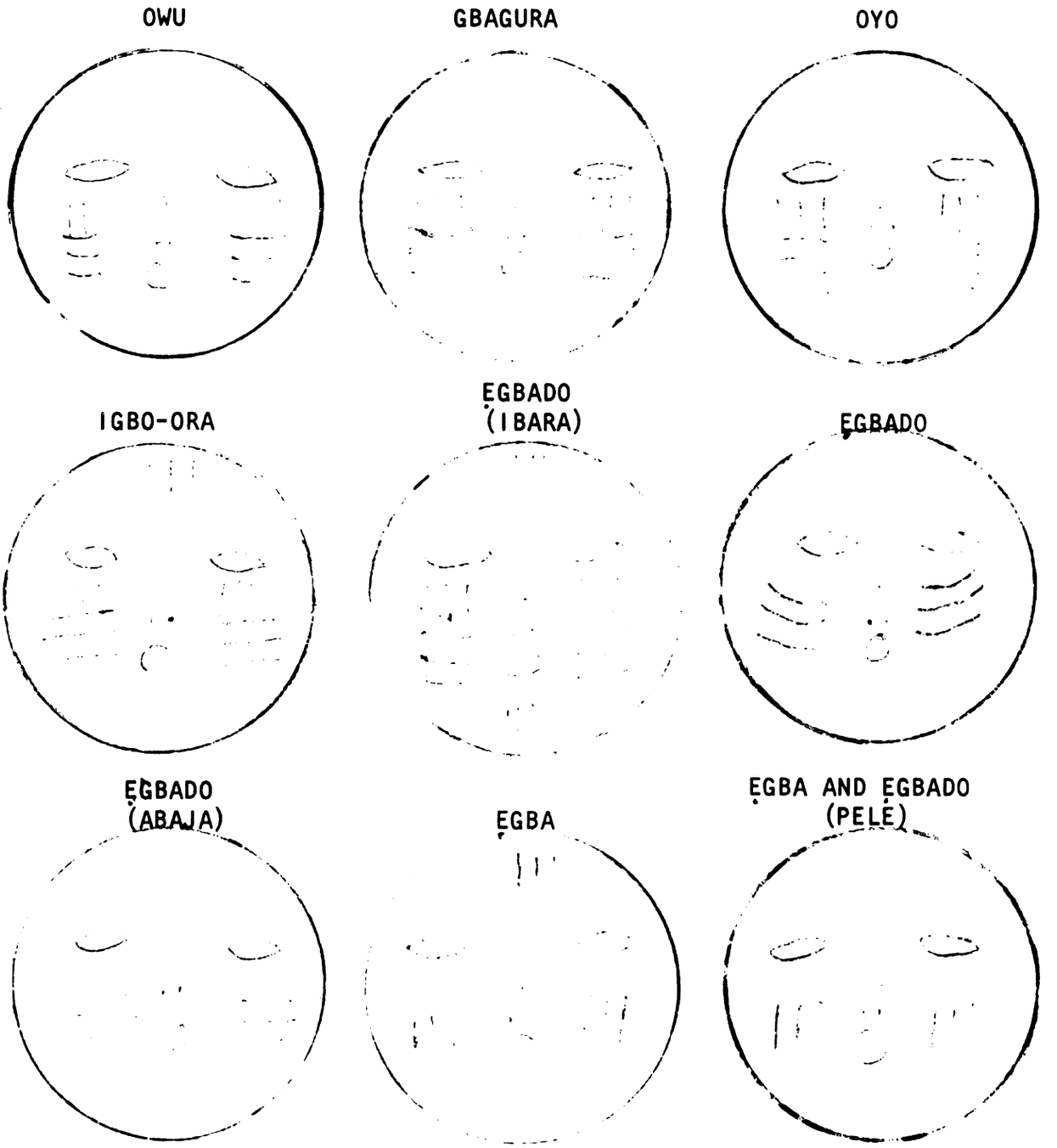
4- We shall not let you do anything you want to do.
a) Ako le jẹ ki o se ohun ji o nfẹ.
b) A o ni jẹki o se nkan ti o fe ṣe.
c) Ako ni jẹki o se kini ti o fe ṣe.
d) Ako ni jẹki o se irun oba ma ṣe.

5- Don't run.
a) Ma du
b) Ma se sare
c) Ma sare
d) Ma de sare

*These samples were given to me by Egbado and Egba informants who live in Abeokuta.

APPENDIX B

FACIAL MARKINGS SEEN IN
ABEOKUTA AND IBARA



The Ẹgbado marks pictured above are similar to Johnson's (1921:104) pictures of Ọyọ marks.

APPENDIX C

EVENT LIST FOR CALCULATING AGES

1830 Abẹokuta founded

1862-64 Dahomean War, Iṣaga and Ibara destroyed; Accession of Oba Ademola I

1873-75 Dahoman attack on Abeokuta

1875 Reverend Townsend arrived in Abẹokuta

1877 Death of Oba Ademola I (Alake)

1879 Oba Oyekan's accession

1884 Outbreak of smallpcx; Oba Oluwaji's ascension (Alake)

1892 Lagos-Abẹokuta road blockaded

1893 Locusts in Abẹokuta

1897 Karunwi, the first Oṣile elected

1898 Accession of Alake Gbagbedo

1900 Lagos-Aro line opened

1906 Aro Church opened

1909 Outbreak of smallpox; Ṣaponna worshippers arrested

1910 Abẹokuta Grammar School founded

1911 Lafenwa bridge opened

1912 Baptist Girls School opened

1914 Ijẹmo and Adubi (German) war

1920 Alake Ademola II ascension

1924-26 First seaplane arrived in Lagos

1930 Centenary Hall built

APPENDIX C (cont.)

1939 Hitler War

1943 Troops stationed on Ilaro-Ikereku road

1952 Olubara Lalubu's ascension to the throne

1956 Queen's visit to Nigeria

1958 Adelabu riots in Ibadan

1960 Independence

1961 Emergency in Western Nigeria

APPENDIX D

THE OLUBARA'S COURT

The following is an extract, from my notes, of a land case which came to the Olubara's court. The defendents are Ijire, who sold the land, and Fadiwa, who bought the land. The land reputed to have been sold was supposed to have been community land. The chiefs present, in order of the importance of their titles are Olubara, Balogun, Seriki and Olukosi. Eight people from the orile were present including the Alaga and Dauda Aina.

Olubara: Alaga, Why are you late? Why did you stay so late at the Bale's house?

Alaga: Kabeisi. Do not be annoyed.

Balogun: Calls Dauda forward What do you know about the land that Fadiwa has taken?

Fadiwa: As we came here last time about the land and you and the chiefs told us that the land belongs to the community and we should not sell it or make use of it without any information from the community, then Fadiwu came and took the land of my in-law [In an earlier case Fadiwa was accused of buying land that Dauda claimed to be his in-laws' land]. The chiefs claimed it was community land. That is why I brought the case here.

Olubara: To Fadiwa What do you say about Dauda's complaint?

Fadiwa: About the land I bought, Dauda knows about it. I did not want to buy the land from Ijire but it was Dauda who told me to do it and helped me to get the land from Ijire. And about this land now. I told Dauda I wanted ten feet to build a kitchen

Olubara: Don't you know that ten feet belongs to the community?

Fadiwa: I know that it belongs to the community but I used it because we came here and got a permit from the community when we were brought here last time about the place Ijire sold to us.

Olubara: You are talking nonsense We just gave you the place that Ijire sold to you. We did not give you permission to go further than that. [Calls Ijire forward and speaks to him] The place that Fadiwa is using now, did you sell it to him?

Ijire: No. I did not.

Olubara: Did you make any agreement about it when you sold the land to Fadiwa?

Ijire: I just sold six rooms to him.

Olubara: Stop talking nonsense. You see this, my house. You know how big it is. I can use it for six rooms if I wanted or one room. You must tell him the boundaries.

Ijire: I gave him ten feet.

Dauda: Ijire is a bad boy. I am the one who between him and Fadiwa made about three agreement papers. We gave Fadiwa one, Ijire had one, and I had one. Fadiwa got 150'X50', but he took the ten feet on his own.

Olubara: [To Fadiwa] Why should you take that ten feet for your own? You know the land was given to Ogumrombi and when he died he left the land to the community.

Fadiwa: Kabeisi. I heard and Dauda teaches me a lesson for I trusted him.

Olubara: Do you remember that there is a case about the land you took before?

Fadiwa: I don't know.

Olubara: You don't know what? Do you know the man who brought the case to the chiefs before?

Fadiwa: I remember. Aro is the person.

Olubara: Why should you tell lies? We know you were fined for taking community land before and still yet you steal the property of the community again. And we have warned you that if anybody wants to get land they must come and see the community. In this case you did not inform the community. You just did as you wished. Do you want to build an upstairs to your house?

Fadiwa: Yes. Kabeisi.

Olubara: [Calls Alaga] What do you have to say about all this?

Alaga: You are the owner of the land and the people who are living in Ibara Orile. All of us are under you kabeisi. We just want your help so that you will give Fadiwa his land. He has done wrong and we need your forgiveness. [Onlookers push Fadiwa forward, make him prostrate himself and ask for forgiveness.]

Olukosi: Fadiwa has come to do what the Alaga has done now. You [Speaks to Fadiwa] know that you have done wrong and you are guilty. You need just to come and beg Kabeisi and the chiefs to forgive you. So far that it was Dauda who helped you to buy the land you have no right to take his in-laws' land.

Seriki: Fadiwa, God will help you and Dauda. You know that when Fadiwa bought the community land Dauda is the one who helped him most and now Fadiwa comes to take Dauda's land and Dauda comes to give us the report. Some people say that Dauda is a bad man but he is not a bad man when he comes to report someone is using his in-laws' land [Seriki then gives the history of the land]. And you take ten feet of the community land and the market land which belongs to the community. I beg all the chiefs and Kabeisi that we want you to forgive Alimi. We want better things at Ibara Orile. If we did not want these good things we should get it back from Fadiwa. So we leave the rest to the chiefs.

Balogun: I came here for two things. The first is that Bale* sends me a message before I go on my own. Bale said that he wants Kabeisi to get the land from Fadiwa straight because in the first place Fadiwa has told the community that he bought the land from the community that belongs to the community and he was warned that nobody should use the community land without any information and now he comes to use the land again so he is calling the community a foolish fellow and I want the community to tell him that they are clever and so the land must be received from him. That is the message of the Bale. And my own, as I told you the day that you were brought here I said that I want all of you people to be building fine houses at Ibara Orile and nobody should take the land without informing the community. And the first place you take the market land which belongs to the community and secondly you take Dauda's land which also belongs to the community [emphasis mine]. You know that Dauda is the son of the community. So long as Dauda belongs to the community all his wives and his in-laws are also members of the community. Insofar as you have taken the land belonging to Dauda's in-laws you have taken the land of the community. And it was because of Dauda that we have left the land with you and when Dauda did a good thing for you and you did not show a sign of appreciation if we leave you alone now or we help you you will not show any appreciation to us. You know that in Abeokuta town if anybody wants to buy land the person must make an agreement paper but in this Ibara if you want to buy any land you must beg the chiefs and the Olubara and if we do not know about it your money will be wasted.

So I, too, shall beg the chiefs and Olubara not to follow the punishment that the Bale has sent [i.e. he should lose the land on which he has already built a fine house] but we, the chiefs must get some money from you. We want you to stay there and build a fine two story house.

Olubara: [To Dauda] Do you want us to forgive Fadiwa?

Daudà: Kabeisi. Let us forgive him because he is the senior man to me.

Olubara: [To Fadiwa who is prostrate on the floor] So far it is Dauda who helped you most about the building of your house, you have no right to go and take his in-laws' land again because he is your saviour.

Alaga: [Comes forward and prostrates himself with Fadiwa and begs forgiveness for Fadiwa]

Olubara: I want all you people from Ibara Orile to be trustworthy and be faithful especially you, Allaga, because you told me last time that it was five feet that Fadiwa took when it is actually ten feet. If I had my way now I would take the land away from Fadiwa because in the first place he bought land from Ijire.

He did not inform the community. We must not let him go free. If I want to fine him I shall get more money from him. That place was the market place he took.

[The chiefs started whispering among themselves and when they had decided on the fine they whispered to the Olubara]

Olubara: The chiefs have told me what they will get now but for me it is too small because the land was given out before at $120. But now it happens the second time and so the fine must be doubled, but my chiefs have said that you should pay $90.

All people get up and shout "Kabeisi"

* In this discussion the title Bale refers to the village Headman (see page 24).

APPENDIX E

CENSUS FORM
(Sample)

I- Date_____ II- Town_____

III- Quarter of town_____

IV- Name of bale_____ Sex_____

V- Year house was built_____

1) Map coordinate number_____

VI- Occupants

1- A- Name_____

B- Age_____ C- Sex_____

D- Religions 1)_____ 2)_____ 3)_____

E- Occupations 1)_____ 2)_____

F- Relationship to bale_____

G- If tenant then: 1) Rent_____ 2) No. Rooms_____

2- A- Name_____

B- Age_____ C-Sex_____

D- Religions 1)_____ 2)_____ 3)_____

E- Occupations 1)_____ 2)_____

F- Relationship to bale_____

G- If tenant then: 1) Rent_____ 2) No. Rooms_____

(Use attached supplemental census forms for additional occupants of house).

VII- Origins of bale_____

VII- Reasons for coming to Ibara Orile_____

_____

_____

XI- Reasons for settling at particular site_____

_____

_____

Comments

Note: Emphasis should be upon the development of good relationships with the people of the house. We can always come back.

APPENDIX F

SOCIO-CULTURAL DATA
(Sample)

Date Of Interview_____ Interviewer_____

Map Coordinate No._____ Interpreter_____

1- Commonly used name of Informant_____

2- Sex_____ 3-Age_____ 4-Relationship to Bale of house_____

5- (Now recheck original census sheets according to previous instructions).

6- Who, living in this house at this time, has either attended or completed Christian or Muslim schools?

	Name	Where attended	Grade Attained or esu read
A-			
B-			
C-			

7- Are there children of the house who are not living in the house at the present time? Yes____ No_____ if yes then ask:

	Relationship to bale	Type of Work	Where and with whom now living?
A-			
B-			
C-			

8- Have you ever travelled outside of Abeokuta? Yes_____ No_____
If yes then ask:

	Where did you go	How long stayed	What did you do
A-			

B- _____

C- _____

9- Who are the most important people in Ibara Orile? Why?

A- _____

B- _____

C- _____

10- Of the people living in Ibara Orile, when you are in trouble whose advice do you usually seek? Why?

A- _____

B- _____

C- _____

11- Who are your three best friends in Ibara Orile?

A- _____

B- _____

C- _____

12- What are the three most important amenities you would like to see in this town?

A- _____

B- _____

C- _____

13- How do you think the people of this town might obtain these amenities?

A- _____

B- _____

C- _____

14- What traditional ways do you think the people of this town will have to give up or forget in order to develop this town? Why?

A- _____

B- _____

C- _____

15- What do you think you can do to help develop Ibara Orile?

A- _____

B- _____

C- _____

16- What progress or improvements have occurred in your life since this time last year?

A- _____

B- _____

C- _____

17- What disappointments or failures have occurred in your life since this time last year?

A- _____

B- _____

C- _____

Comments:

Note: The emphasis is upon developing good relationships with the people. This is a guide sheet which should be used as part of a friendly conversation rather than a question and answer session. Keep notebook handy for jotting down conversations and observations which are not covered by this form.

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