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SCHOLARLY AND POLITICAL IN FOUR HIGHER STATES

by

P. Khona Naimbo

A Dissertation submitted for the Ph.D. degree of the University of Cambridge.

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By four years' connection with the Department of Social Anthropology has been a period of academic enterprise which has yielded for me immense intellectual benefits. For this I owe my gratitude to several persons. The interest of Professor Mayer Fortes in this research has been consistently maintained, and his encouragement and inspiration have maintained my morale and sustained my interest in carrying this work to its completion. For all this I am greatly indebted to him. Dr. G. I. Jones who has supervised this work from the beginning displayed great interest in the research. He read the script, criticized my ideas and offered valuable suggestions. I am deeply indebted to him for all this.

By participation in the Department's Post Graduate Seminars enabled me to benefit from the criticisms, observations, and questions raised by the staff and research students when I presented my paper on aspects of my research. On the whole, these seminars were sources of my intellectual orientation, from those whose ideas I will always respect - particularly Dr. Elliot Lash, Dr. Jack Goody, and Dr. Audrey Richards.

The financing of this research would not have been possible but for generous support of the Federal Government of Nigeria. I wish to thank the Federal Ministry of Education whose support of this research shows a genuine appreciation of the academic value of this project. Dr. K. O. Mba, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Ibadan and Director of the Institute of African Studies, also deserves my sincere thanks for offering me a year's Visiting Research Fellowship in the Institute during the academic year 1963-1964. The income from this fellowship and the facilities placed at
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Lastly, I thank Miss Judith Olsen who with painstaking effort drew from my rough diagrams most of the artistical diagrams in this thesis.

The Problem

The search for a scientific understanding of the Ibo political system is not of recent date. It has its historical roots in the early 1930's. Curiosity was awakened by the women's demonstration against the Sargent Chief System in 1929, and the widespread opposition which this demonstration reflected, brought about the decision to study in depth the social organisation of the society. Over two hundred Intelligence Reports were written by administrative officers, and their reports were written according to specific guiding lines given by the then government anthropologists at Lagos. On the basis of these reports a series of native administrative organisations were established and the foundation of modern local government was laid.

In 1930 two modern trained anthropologists, Forde and Jones, made an ethnographic survey of Ibo society and classified the people into five
cultural groups. The study revealed the extent of these cultural areas; and though the Ibo people possess distinguishing common characteristics, the differences in culture of these ethnic areas which it sought brought to the attention of social anthropologists the fact that these Ibo cultural groups are different in size and scale from the cluster of small groups that anthropologists have been used to studying.

There is a widespread belief that Ibo societies are amorphous. This belief does not take into account the differences between cultural areas revealed by FIELD and JONES. Hence it has leached in the minds of some social anthropologists that all Ibo cultural groups fall within this classificatory type, in which case the belief becomes a misconception.

What this study sets out to do is to show that to understand the political system of the Ibo, each of these cultural areas should be investigated in detail and the pattern of its political structure described and defined. Studies of other cultural areas can provide us with similar empirical data, and from these data we can by comparative analysis formulate our generalizations and hypotheses. The study I have made is in keeping with this methodology, and it is a study of the political system of one of the Ibo cultural areas, the riverain Ogbaru people who live along the banks of the Niger and its tributaries.

Six of these communities were singled out for investigation, and the characteristic features of their political system show marked differences on the one hand and marked similarities on the other. A generalization about the political structure of any particular community becomes possible
only by understanding how each community's political organisation works. Kings, titled chiefs, title associations, age grades, are all found in these communities, and a particular community combines these elements in its political structure in its own particular way, as we shall show in the study.

Kings and titled chiefs might rule in one area, as in our present example; while in another, as at Isaka and Oguta, titled personnels and age grades combine, so that qualification for political office depends not on lineage but on age and title. In western Ibo areas we find kingdoms which, though akin to the areas we are concerned with, differ from these Ibo areas in details of structural organisation. In some other Ibo areas not Ibo (title association) and heads of lineages (elders) combine in the rulership, as at Mriri.

Because of these varieties, our methodology should be followed in future, so that the cultural areas can be studied with the social anthropologist's scientific objectivity, and so that abundant data can be made available for comparative studies and theoretical formulations.

The Method:

The field work for this study was carried out between July 1963 and September 1964. Between October 1964 and the time that I returned to Cambridge, I made further visits to some of the six communities.

In 1965 and 1966 I carried out field work in two of the communities, Isaka and Oguta, but was concerned mainly with aspects of their kinship and marriage systems.
During this period two political incidents occurred in the communities. One was the death of the 9th of Quenzi, which led to a succession controversy and the other was the rift between the royal lineage of Oguta on the one hand and the entire body of chieftains and the twenty-six non-royal lineages on the other. In both cases the then Eastern Regional Government appointed a Commission of Inquiry.

When I returned in 1961 the two commissions had completed their investigations and published their reports to which I have referred in the study, and the interest shown by the various groups in each community was to my advantage, for articles, memoirs, and write-ups of local history provided me with recorded material which was lacking in the past. Though some of the material represented embellishments of the authors, it gave me a clue to the role of interest groups and chiefs in the dynamic activities of each community. The publications of the commissioners were sources of information. These were supplemented with archive material.

For the purposes of the enlargement of the scope of the inquiry, I had to include Quenzi, Ochewa, Akasa, and Aguleri in the field study, and with the experience gained by my first research in Oguta and Quenzi, I had little difficulty in carrying out field studies in these areas. However, for lack of space, the information from Akasa and Aguleri cannot be included in this study.

The period spent in each community varied, attention was concentrated in the new areas as well as in the areas of my former experience, because of difficulties of communication it was not possible to make early visits to Quenzi and the. Moreover, since most of the people who are still resident
in the towns are farmers, they would return to the farming lands and only come into the towns at particular periods. Because of this, the towns of these towns were made to coincide with the period when the farmers returned to the town for their political, social and religious activities.

This timing enabled me to witness the Obi's annual festival at Aba, which was the occasion to observe the chief's and title associations and various groups performing their duties. In both states meetings were held with the different political segments in the community. Interviews were held with the chief, and with important persons who possessed knowledge of the culture, and the amazing knowledge of some women, particularly those from the royal lineages, was fully exploited. Where difficulties were encountered they were mitigated by the help of certain educated persons who wished to see their culture recorded, and they helped to influence some of the chiefs to give information that was relevant to the work. By participation, observation, and all the available means that I employed, I did everything possible at my disposal to note all an observer can record. What I have written in the following chapters concerns essentially aspects of their political systems, the place of the chiefs and kings in the day to day politics of the states. Their kinship, lineage, marriage, religion, and other social institutions are left out, and are brought in where appropriate to the theme. The rest will be fully dealt with in later publications.

I hereby declare that this research was conducted by myself alone and not in collaboration with anyone.

The original plan of this research was submitted before I was accepted.
by the Board of Graduate Studies. This work is a detailed study of
four specific Nigerian Chieftaincies and the field work, consultation of
archives and conclusions drawn from these are entirely my own work.

P. Ilona Nnokwa,
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Ogwa: ii. Grave of an Atananya.
This first part is divided into four chapters, and shall be concerned mainly with the description of the social and political structure of each state. It will analyze the administrative, judicial and military duties of the chiefs as well as the bases of the states, and the focus of their political unity.

Chapter 1 shall be a general introduction of the history and origin of the people. Chapter 2 shall examine the social structure, that is, the lineage and descent groups. Chapter 3 shall be concerned with the description of their political structure showing the political divisions of the state, the recruitment of chiefs, and the class of groups in each state.

Chapter 4 shall be concerned with the process of government, that is, the way the chiefs and the various groups take part in the running of their governments.
CHAPTER I

Introduction

Ibieo Ibe

The Ibe of South Eastern and North Western Nigeria number about seven million people. Their language belongs to the Ibe linguistic stock and though there are considerable variations among them, these are not so great as to prevent mutual understanding.

They are classified into five cultural groups, one of which is the River side (Western Ibe) people known as the Oghara. These people live along the banks of the River Niger or its tributaries.

The Oghara live in small communities united by common Ibe or rivera culture but intensely individualistic. Thus, each constitutes a small autonomous kingdom and resists political domination from neighbouring kingdoms.

Those on the eastern bank of the Niger include Ibe, Oguni, Olu-Oshinla, Ogunmole, Agiri Agi, Asari, Akiri Ibe, Ugoko and Oriti, Osuke, Oke, Oke-akwa, Osun, Unanli and Onye Ibe.

Oguni, a town located further east, is on the bank of an inland lake, Osun, which is connected with the River Niger through Osun river, and about twenty five nautical miles from Onye Ibe is the town of Agi Ibe which is on the bank of the river Afrombari.

Also, the last of the Ibe Kingdoms, is on the western side of the

southern end of the Niger where it flows into the Niger Delta. Omo and Sanha lie further up the Niger and at the opposite side of Ounjana.

The whole area, with the exception of Ounjana, Omo, Agulari (Um), Omo and Sanha, is in a very low lying district. During the rainy season from June to July and September to October, the entire palm-growing area is covered by flood. Farm hamlets situated outside the dwelling towns are flooded, and the farmers are forced to move to the towns and return to their hamlets after the recession of the flood.

During the 18th century, the area became important for the supply of slaves and local wealth increased through this trade. When the slave trade was abolished and 'legitimate trade' in palm produce took its place (oil and palm kernels) as the important export commodity, and these towns became the centres of early European enterprises. Most of the local traders became middlemen who bought oil from the hinterland and produced and sold it to the Trading Companies which had established tradingfactories along the Niger in these places: Ounjana 1857, Abe 1843, Sanha 1863, Oumari 1877, Omo 1881, Atani 1881, Agulari 1884.2

The establishment of these firms by the Trading Companies was accompanied by treaties of friendship with the representatives of Her Majesty, Queen Victoria and the Kings and Chiefs of these towns.3


3. Numerous Treaties. Ruttersworth, London, 1896. Several treaties covering the whole of the towns along the Niger are contained in volumes of this compilation.
COMMUNITIES DIVIDED

Of the eighteen communities already mentioned, this study is concerned with four of them: Quilcha, Abo, Oguta and Ossemari. They have been chosen for the following reasons:

First, they are historically the most important communities. They dominated trade and politics along the Niger prior to the coming of the British.

Second, when the Trotter Expedition representing the Trading Companies and Missionaries entered the Niger, these communities became the important centres of trade and commerce and Christian activities and remained so for a considerable time. They became also the administrative headquarters of Royal Niger Company, and when the Company relinquished its position in 1900, the Colonial Administration used them as the basis for their new expansion to the interior until the penetration into the Ibo hinterland was accomplished.

Then trade shifted to the mainland, however, Abo and Ossemari lost their trading positions, and the administrative divisional headquarters of Abo Division, was removed to Abaka, while Ossemari lost its divisional head office to Ama.

Thus trading, governmental and missionary activities led to migration into these places, and eventually resulted in modern urban development in each community, but the dimensions of their urbanization vary. The net effect was that the traditional 'urban' communities, the patrilineal descent groups, were exposed to the forces of modern political influences. Aware of these forces, each community at first resisted the intrusion of 'aliens' into their traditional community, and the urban areas developed along the water beaches where land was leased to the trading firms, the government,
missionaries and migrant population from the other ethnic groups in Nigeria.

The people continued in their traditional towns to carry on their political activities, to engage in the contest for offices which brought power, prestige and authority enabling the holders to play corresponding roles attached to the titles and offices.

Third, the study of these communities exposed for several years to modern political influences, particularly Christianity and education (which have brought enormous changes in the occupational roles of their growing elite), sheds light on the way each traditional political system has worked and still operates in the face of these social changes. Surprisingly, the people have continued to preserve their political institutions, and kingship still endures as the axis of the moral and legal norms holding a people together in their political communities and most probably continues to be the focus of their mystical values.  

Because of their persistent efforts to preserve the institution of kingship - (Obas at Osh铭, Ile, Ojota and Masany of Osmari), the communities are the only places where we can study the working of the traditional political institutions, to reconstruct them, and to create a basis for the study of the way they have changed. In the other communities, kingship as an institution is waning, and most of them no longer have the Obi title but have other titles which are subordinate to the Osh铭, though the political system operates. The four communities are therefore

---

1. The maps of Osh铭ma and Ojota in the folder illustrates the urban centres.
the areas we can know the continuity of their political system over several centuries.

Fourthly, the four communities represent variants of the political system characteristic of the older Benin or Igala kingdoms from where most of them claim to have migrated; and these four show common political features with Benin and Igala, both of which came within the cluster of Nigerain Kingdoms which we shall refer to in the course of our discussion. They also show features of common political institutions arising from their interconnections and relationship with each other.

**POLITICAL HISTORY AND TRADITION OF OGINI**

The brief discussion of the traditional history of these communities is to enlighten us on the history of their kingship and political systems. The four communities — Omitara, Aho, Oguta and Osumari, are kingdoms which, as their histories reveal, were established at a particular period in time.

The historical tradition of all these communities are distinguished by three distinct periods.

The first epoch, the distant past, is that of the founder who settled in the first home of origin, either Benin or Igala, and occupied a particular area in those empires. Then came the period of discontent and rising in the empire which led to disagreement between the founding fathers and the kings.

The second is the period of migration following the rising, and this is filled with legends of settlements at different places with the subsequent arrival at their present place of settlement. In the course of these
migrations, for search of a new permanent settlement, their traditions reveal the dropping of some of their kinmen who founded their settlement and with whom they claim distant clan relations, the cluster of which I shall call 'dispersed clans.'

The third stage is the period of settlement in their present abode. It is the period marked by conquest or absorption of autochthonous groups, some of which fled into one community or the other, and some who remained.

Their modern epoch dates from the period of European penetration into the Niger beginning in 1811, and which they refer to as "Ben Quibe" meaning "the white man's epoch." It revealed to the British Traders, the Missionaries, and Colonial Officials, the form and nature of these kingdoms whose rulers entered into treaties with Her Majesty Queen Victoria. The increasing contact with European Traders, particularly in the slave trade era, led to the introduction of gun powder and ammos, instruments which advanced their military techniques. The military overlords of the kingdom could mobilise their fleet, attack each other and subjugate small villages, taking slaves who were sold at considerable profit, some of whom were important in the services of these kings and officials.

This epoch is filled with records of the Europeans who described their city states, their kings and certain aspects of their palace ceremonies, which they witnessed. The fortunes of kings and chiefs were even enhanced throughout this modern era, and most of the Companies had to pay subsidies to ensure the safety of their factories and their officials.

The end product of this era was the taking over of the administration of the Royal Niger Company by the Imperial Government, and the subsequent penetration, through these places, into the interior of Eastern and Mid-Western Nigeria, leading to the consolidation of British administration in the country.

The administration of the country beginning in 1900 and stretching to 1939 dovetailed with the reforms of the 1920's, and eventually led to the establishment of Local Government in these communities by the modern Nigerian Government. The effects of these changes on the structure of the political institutions we are going to examine will be briefly summarized at the end of this work.

Their whole history is but the activities of their kings and their officials, and the reign of kings are used as the chronological points in their history. One often hears them say that in the reign of such and such an Obi, such events took place, or that such and such Obi was majestic and powerful, or that another was incapable and weak. They recapture the stories of the great deeds of the wars against their neighbours, or the heroic feats described in ways that present their heroes as extraordinary 'charismatic' personalities.

Ochia

Ochia people say that their ancestral father Chima lived with his children in an area in Aja-go-Oba (Benin). That on a certain occasion, Asilie, the mother of the reigning Oba, transgressed into the land of Chima,
and she was unmourned. She reported this incident to her son, the Oba, who
sent his chief military leader Obunala to attack Oma and his people.

To avoid this attack, Oma migrated with his clan and their families.

Each son carried a royal drum, Ufia, and they agreed that wherever a
personess Ufia fell that he and his supporters would settle, and that the right
to kingship should be vested in him and his descendents. In the course
of this migration, several Ufias fell and the owners became the founders of the
communities in the Mid-Western Ibo collectively known as Umasuchia.

(Ochonwa, Odio, Obi, Ochusa = Oma, Onucha = Ugha, Ochho = Obno, Isala, Isala = Anseh and Ochusa Illi.)

This letter, dated by Oma, the son of Oma, continued and after a
brief settlement at Ochusa-Ochoma and Ila, crossed to the present town
originally inhabited by Oma people. According to Ochusa people, Oma
by a diplomatic method hid the Ulis of their father Oma after he had
ordered the others to destroy their own. On arrival, he was able to produce
this Ulis which assumed as that of Oma and he and his descendents were
proclaimed as true successors to the throne of Oma, and became known as
Umasuchia royal division.

The Ulis legend is corroborated by the legend of the other Ibo
communities.


7. While we were covering Asaka Town, I made several visits to the important
towns in the Umasuchia clan to obtain information about the myth of
Umasuchia and pave the way for a study of their political system, a
study that may be undertaken at some distant date.

8. C. E. Meek, Law and Authority in a Nigerian Tribe, Oxford University
Press, 1950, p.12. Mr. Meek examines the various versions of this
myth of Ulis drum.
During the reign of the Oba Akassa in the middle of the 19th century, Onitsha became drawn to the orbit of international commerce and exposed to the spread of Christianity. Her kings and chiefs were involved in the intricacies of political bargaining which led to the treaties between them and representatives of Queen Victoria in 1861, 1877, and 1884. The kings and chiefs were asked to make peace, to abolish the slave trade and to protect British commercial interests. She later came under the political administration of the British Officers, but this was initially concerned with the new urban area that developed as a result of the migration of other ethnic groups into their town.

**ANN**

The Abo people trace their history to Benin City. They believe that their father Obazanu alias Enuani Uche, founded Abo now called Abe, and that he was the son of Obia Omoda who was visited by a Portuguese named John Affonso d'Aveiro in 1485 A.D. and introduced guns and cocoa into the country.

Obia Omoda was harsh, and in his attempt to build a great empire he levied heavy taxes which led to open revolt and bloodshed. The village heads of Abo decided to leave. Enuani Uche (Abo claims that he was the brother of Obia Omoda), accompanied by his brothers, left during this period. In the course of the migration, Oputa founded Umuare.

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9. *Historical Transactions*, London, 1896 contains a series of these treaties with the kings and chiefs of these kingdoms.

10. O. Ume (unpublished) *History of Abe*.
Osama founded Asaba. After founded Benin and Osamili founded Osisi.

Nnamdi continued till he arrived at the present town, originally predicted by the fall of an arrow shot at Benin, and which he said his children traced on the way to the site where the arrow fell as predicted. All these forms constitute the Uru clan. 11 Nnamdi met Akiri people and negotiated with the Oguns of Akiri but the negotiations broke down and Abe people conquered Akiri, a story which Akiri people do not accept.

Nnamdi established the kingdom, became the first Obi, and when he died, his two sons Ogwazi, the senior, and Ugho, the junior, contested the throne, but Ogwazi later won and his son Ojigba, Ogwazi, Osei, and Oleege became the founders of the four Abe of Abe.

When Ogwazi died, the office of Obi did not fall to the senior son, but it became open to competition to his descendants who are known as Omede. Later migrants into the town became absorbed within the lineages of these four descent groups, and the descendants are known as Nkhiebe.

The kingdom of Abe was opened to the European world when the Ilede men were captured at Asaba were sent to Obi Osei who, on being paid a ransom, released them to the British Traders on the Delta Coast. 12

The Trotter Expedition landed at Abe in 1841 13 and later expeditions

11. I. Maidagari, Okezi, Leiden, 1969, p.121. The various clan organisations found among the Ilede are examined in this article.
led to the establishment of trading centres at Enugu, the opposite bank of the 'city'. From this time onwards, the kingdom became drawn into the wider world. No kingdom among the others produced such famous and influential Ochis as those of Aho.

OGUTA

Oguta (Ugwunna) the founder of the town was according to them, the son of Enyi and Ano. He had a brother called Iyi. They all settled at Iyi on the Benin but because of the Aho kingdom which led to the Benin (Osunwa) narrated the Iyi to the same time as Aho and Oguta people.

Enyi and his children first settled beside the Igala people on the back of the Nair. They copied the idea of the Benin monarchy and selected a king from Oguta, one of the wards of Oguta. The king continued to lead them, but his successor betrayed them when he was asked to settle the conflict between the people of Igala and Aho.

The two kingdoms harassed Oguta, and to avoid their people continued a series of migrations until Iyi stopped and founded the present town of Iyi in Mid-Western Nigeria. Both Oguta and Iyi people form one dispersed clan known as the Ano Clan.15

Oguta and his people continued until one of his sons Enoji discovered the present village. The previous inhabitants were Oguta, Ochaga and Atsaw, and a group of Aho people who later migrated and settled at one end of the town.

Maka made a peace pact with them and it was agreed that Maka and Oguta people should be allowed to settle on condition that they should not molest the original inhabitants. But on arrival at the place, the two people, on seeing the size of Oguta population who arrived in several war canoes (ugbe okula) fled to another place. Oguta lineages occupied the town, and each lineage head took a position on the bank of the lake.

In 1864 Oguta lake was discovered by the Royal Niger Company and a treaty was signed between the Company and the chiefs. Several other companies established at the southern end of the town, and through the aid of Oguta traders were able to produce the bulk of palm produce from the interior. The lead as a produce centre continued up to the latter part of the 1950's. The prosperity in trade led to the migration of other ethnic groups and the eventual development of urban areas in the south and later in the main town itself.

According to Osomiri tradition the eight groups of Okeke, Imo, Itaka, Iyayan, Imasu, Uje, Oke and Osomiri originally lived in an area at Iddah, the capital of the Igala kingdom. They migrated because they were unable to pay their annual tribute to the Ata, and the 'official' tax collector decided to take drastic measures against them. The Ata's official could not accept the reason for their inability to pay the tribute, and they all

eventually left and sailed down the Niger. Each group led by its leader stepped in the course of their downstream journey along the Niger and founded the community which today bears its name. The first five stepped first, and the three brother lineages — Odeke, Odo and Gomari continued further down the Niger. Odeke people stepped first and founded the town of Odeke, Odo people stepped next and Gomari people continued till they arrived and camped on a sand bank by their present site.

The leaders of the three divisions of Gomari — the brothers Isioku, Umunyeoga and Ugo, crossed to the mainland and met Mmas and Umobi people who had already settled in this town. They declared their intention to come and live with them, and when eventually they landed, Mmas left and settled at Oporo, leaving Umobi to take over the right of the priesthood of the land deity, Isioku. Mmas, Umobi and Ugo became attached to each of the political and descent units of the three Gomari descent groups of Isioku, Ugo and Umunyeoga.

Like the other Niger kingdoms, Gomari was an important commercial centre and was one of the trading posts opened by MacGregor Laird. A treaty of friendship was agreed in 1877.

Conclusion

What we have just recorded is the bare framework of facts — if facts we can call them. This has absorbed many other features, legends, traditions and embellishments, and it is impossible to say which of them conveys any truth. We are not, however, concerned here to determine what is or is not historical truth in these rich traditions and the figures of their founders. The myths as they stand are a stress on the purpose sufficiently significant social reality representing the 'mythical'.

charter of their kingdom. The people’s common knowledge constitutes the first and foremost of these common beliefs and forms of cultural expression which supply the background of their political unity. 17

Because of their geographical position along the Niger they shared one common experience – the intrusion of European civilization in their midst. Between 1841 and 1893 none of them escaped contact with the British nor were conflicts with them, and the series of bombardments, of these towns were true proof of the degree of conflict that prevailed throughout the period.

When eventually they began to witness the dawn of a new era, their political institutions as time went on became all the more assailed by the forces of change. My concern from now on will be to describe, analyze, and interpret their systems of government as they narrated their mechanism to me and as I observed them as they function today.

18. The disagreements between the company and some of these kingdoms led to a series of conflicts and the use of battleships to halt attacks on the factories.

Omita was bombarded in 1879 and bombarded in 1882, Abo in 1882 and 1893 and Oguta in 1891.

Vide: (a) Omita Foreign Office Slave Trade No. 2, (1890) Vol.65. p.662; Correspondence relating to the Bombardment of Omita; (b) Also J. B. Flint; Sir George Coleto and the Making of Nigeria. Oxford University Press. 1956. p.137.


CHAPTER 2.

Social Structure and Territorial Organization

In the previous chapter, we set out the traditional history of each community, pointing out their genealogical origins, which enabled us to explain the origin of the names of the founders of the kingdoms. Thus set, we shall now examine their social structure, and the way these are territorially organized for political purposes. This is essential for the understanding of the nature of their political organization, for as we shall show in the succeeding chapters, their social structures (lineage systems) constitute the basis of the political organization of their states, though in the choice of officials of the state, two of them, omoi and aos, do not in most cases place any importance on representations based on lineage considerations as in the case in the other two states of Cynuta and Zamani.

Though they claim Benin origin, today they are counted as the Speaking People, whose social structure has been described by Hook (London, 1902), James (1944, 61), Green (London, 1947), Ottenberg (1955).

The four

1. On the social structure see:
(a) M. E. Green. The Yoruba People, London, 1942, Chapters I-V.
(b) O. N. Hook, ed., Chapter IV, Council Division, Oxford, 1930 - Chapter V, Age Division.
(c) M. E. Green, The Yoruba People, Africa, Vol. XII, 1947, 655, 657, 659, 661.
(g) This is a good summary of four Eastern Dggr groups, Ottenberg, Social Descent in the Village Group, Pennsylvania Press, 1952, p. 74-76.
community are patrilineal societies. Our task here is to describe and illustrate by diagrams the social structure of each community. The difference between these other two communities and the riverine ones we are considering is that the people live in compact towns similar to the traditional urban structure in Yoruba and Benin Kingdoms. The compact nature of these 'towns' are such that it is difficult to differentiate the boundaries between one patrilineal descent group from the other which is not the case with other two communities, and further, the forms of houses which are common to all of them are due to economy of space by being built closely to each other.

1. The pattern of lineage structure found among the Yoruba as described by Forbes applies in most respects to these communities. The common indices of (i) common residential units; (ii) common and ritual collaboration; (iii) consciousness of common communal ritual; (iv) notions of unity based on descent from a founding ancestor; and ritual and political affinals tied to these descent units feature in most of these communities, and they use these indices to define their corporate status.

As the diagrams (1-4) illustrate, the structural units of the Yoruba and Mossi peoples are common in these communities.

Society, Politics, (a) Dynamics of Clanship among the Yoruba, Oxford University Press, 1968, Chapter 3.
N. Forbes; (b) The Web of Kingship among the Yoruba, Oxford University Press, 1969, Chapter 1, p.4 - end.
N. Forbes; (c) In fuller discussion as principles of descent system: Structure of Yoruba Descent Groups, American Anthropologist, 1955.

2. The Voltaic Peoples of Ghana, some of these features,