AN ANALYTICAL CASE-STUDY OF MORALITY
AND CHRISTIAN MISSIONARY ACTIVITIES AMONG
THE TIV 1911 - 1975

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL
FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE
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IN EDUCATION.

BY

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(d) The St. Augustine's Major Seminary Library, Jos;
(e) The Reformed Theological College of Nigeria Library, Mkar;
(f) The State Library, Makurdi;
(g) The Divisional Library, Gboko;
(h) The Local Government Library, Gbokó;
(i) The General Secretary of the Sudan United Mission's (American Branch) Library, Jos.

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ABSTRACT

This study sets out to examine the main factors responsible for the moral confusion leading to tension and stress that obtained in Tivland between 1911 and 1975. The problems that arose are considered against a background discourse on the values and belief systems of traditional Tiv culture and on the values and belief systems introduced by the agents of European culture. The main purpose of this discourse is to identify areas of clash between these two cultures and to consider the implications of these for the teaching of moral education in schools.

Two main approaches were employed in this study. The first approach entailed oral interviews with 96 adults in the Tiv area. The second approach involved a series of practical teaching and data collection in actual classroom situations in a primary school in Tivland.

The research has established that:

(a) many aspects of the christian ethics clashed with the Tiv traditional religion, confusing a great number of the ethnic group;

(b) modernity as brought by European agents alienated the youths who subsequently denounced traditionalism;
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STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The Tiv people remained homogeneous as regards their moral development, presumably, up to the end of the 19th century. Apparently many changes have been wrought into the Tiv morality since the second decade of the 20th century, following the advent of the Christian Missionaries and the British Administrators. Since the arrival of these agents of the Western culture, the Tiv youths are living under two moral codes - the traditional code and Christian moral code. The latter is heavily loaded with the Western style of living.

The dissertation therefore seeks to investigate:

1. The influence of the Tiv religion on Christian religion and vice versa;
2. How has this affected the behaviour of the youths and adults in general?
3. What effect has this on the Tiv society?
4. Who controls morality in Tivland as of now?
5. What has happened to Christianity since its inception?
6. How are Christian principles transmitted?

Relevance of the study:

1. It is anticipated that the dissertation will form a resource material for counsellors in the Ministry of Education, Makurdi and the class counsellors in the Secondary schools.
2. It will, essentially, form part of social studies syllabus for form four.

3. In recent years, many professors for the teaching of education is readily available material on colleges. By whom?

4. Since the outbreak of the Africa conflict, there are, among the traditions, morality, this only will be worse.

Conclusion:

Moral education must properly be taken. Also

Mision. Mission have come to which mainly in of religion. In my great hope that offer the completion a D.I. dissertation, more we will take interest in the education both Mission. elsewhere as in Mission. There are good prospects to minimize ego-centric talk divisions for others.
THE RESEARCH DESIGN AND PROCEDURE

In an attempt to collect data to solve the six problems which the dissertation seeks to investigate two main instruments for data collection were adopted. These are:

1. An interview schedule was designed for the Tiv elders to answer orally. See Appendix

2. A series of practical teaching and data collection in actual classroom situations in the primary school.

The questions on the interview schedule were devised and written in Tiv and I used them as a guide to elicit information from 96 elders. The data collection under this instrument was carried out at various areas of Tivland. Precisely, this covered the clans of Ute, Turan, Mbera, Ipav and Shitire. Ipav clan accommodates the headquarters of the N.K.S.T. Church while Shitire is the clan where the first Missionaries settled in Tivland. The elders in these two clans were logically chosen to represent elders who have had exposure to Christian missionary activities. The other clans are rather remote from both Missionary headquarters and the Colonial administrative headquarters. It was anticipated they were in a better position to furnish information on
traditionalism.

I went through the questions and wrote down the response of the elders. In most cases, the elders were willing to give the information. Occasionally, however, some elders were reluctant especially where the young men around interrogated them on why they should supply me with such a sensitive information. Sometimes one of the members would counsel that the elder was wiser and more capable to discern trouble and that it was better to allow him to use his discretion. The elders were interviewed using the questions that touched on religion, social life, politics and burial practices of the Tiv. The information gathered was then analysed and synthesized, occasionally cross-checked with the available written sources.

The data collection in the Primary school entailed the teaching of ten lessons to Primary 5, using the Inquiry Method. This class was chosen because the children could understand English better than the children in other primary classes. Even so, there were problems which centred on language difficulty. Two samples of the lessons - one on the Direct Approach and the other on the Indirect Approach using a hypothetical dilemma - are given in the dissertation. Some detailed
comments on the outcome of the lesson on the Direct Approach are given in Appendix I.
CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION AND REVIEW OF THE RELATED LITERATURE

1.1 Introduction

This research describes the Tiv history, morality and the imposition of Christian morality on the people. It proceeds to analyse the interaction of the two moralities. Finally, it provides strategies for moral education with a view to effecting a change in moral education in Tivland.

The Tiv people about whom the investigation is made presently number about one and a half million. They are believed to have migrated from the Congo region to their present day location probably in the 17th century. Tivland bestrides River Benue in the Benue State of Nigeria. Living immediately north of the thick forest, but within the Savanna woodland where roads were not constructed except a few winding footpaths, the people virtually had no contact with the outside world and so remained homogeneous in language and other cultural traits for a long time. They all speak the Tiv language, inter-marrying within their clans but forbidding outside marriages.

The people were and remain good farmers raising
crops largely for the family consumption. They produce yams, cassava, millet, guinea corn, maize and some vegetables. The little surplus was sold on the five-day markets that were scattered throughout Tivland. This made them self-sufficient such that hardly any contact was needed with the outside world.

About the people, Sir James Robertson, one time Governor-General of the Federation writes

"They are attractive, stout-hearted people, hard working and in earlier days brave warriors. They had resisted the invasions of the Muslims, the Hausa and Fulani who pressed down from the north, and were little affected by the Ibo and other Nigerian tribes of the south. They were one of the last tribes in Nigeria to be brought under the rule of law imposed by the colonial government. It was only in the late 1920s and early 1930s, many years after the establishment of a Protectorate over Northern Nigeria, that government began to gain real knowledge of them."

Historically, the Tiv worshipped Mbatays (wizards) who had the power of life and death. Seemingly the elders of the society formed the class of Mbatays and they were feared greatly. What they said was, more or less, a law or command to be strictly adhered to. Children obeyed their parents, uncles and aunts, who served as 'teachers' of morality. There was, generally, a great respect for the adults. Morality served one of the main aspects of education that had to
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in this movement were the Protestant Willingen Conference of 1952, the Fourth Assembly of the World Council of Churches, held at Uppsala in 1968 and the Apostolic Exhortation Evangelii Nuntiandi, of Pope Paul VI, published in 1975.

By and large two distinct theses of missionary apostolate had been proposed ever since the missionary movement began in the last century. Firstly, and particularly regarding Africa, it was claimed that the African cultures, as yet unredeemed, had belief systems and values that were satanic, superstitious and totally devoid of any genuine religious content. Thus Sir Samuel Baker wrote about the Northern Nilotes in 1866:

"Without any exception, they are without a belief in a Supreme Being, neither have they any form of worship or idolatry; nor is the darkness of their minds enlightened by even a ray of superstition. The mind is as stagnant as the morass which forms its puny world".

Many similar statements could be adduced from the same period as the writings of Tyler, Frazer and Spencer readily testify.

Secondly, the strategy of practically all missionary societies pursued two goals of liberation for the peoples of the missionary territories. In
the days of the slave trade many societies sponsored the purchasing of slaves with a view to liberating and converting them to Christianity. 5 But in more recent times and particularly in the first half of this century missionaries began to concentrate more on establishing schools; and hospitals, both of which constituted the secular arm and a complement to the actual preaching of the gospel itself. 6

In Africa and in Nigeria in particular this policy reached its zenith in the 60s so that during that decade and subsequently, massive programmes of development were undertaken in Tivland itself and they were heartily supported from Rome, Auchan, Grand Rapids and parts of Canada, the headquarters overseas of the various missionary funding agencies.

While these strategies had very spectacular results where, for example, in Tivland, the N.K.S.T. and the Roman Catholic Church were particularly successful, there were nevertheless certain misgivings. Questions were asked about the alien character of the communities fashioned according to the dictates of the missionaries. The foreign influence on the new and young churches was heavy and all too enduring. But more than these issues
of a more institutional kind, questions concerning the impact of the Christian value system on the indigenous cultures were being asked. The fact that European cultural beliefs and values were part of the message brought to Africans in the name of Christianity only complicated matters. For European culture is individualistically inclined, heavily emphasizes material success, achievement and has a strong calculating thrust. And all of these traits, as we shall see, were quite alien to the Tiv traditional way of life.

Apart from the socio-political considerations, there was the profound impact of the biblical movement which originated in the Protestant Churches in the 19th century, but had to await the 20th century before it was accepted in the Catholic Church. This movement led to a very fertile renewal of theology itself as the great names of Tillich, Barth, Rahner and Congar readily testify. But both the biblical movements and the theological movements led to a third, namely, the catechetical movement and all of this in turn affected the strategies of the missionaries.7

Two features of the theological renewal are particularly worthy of note. In the first place there
was a growing appreciation of the genuine seeds of the gospel to be found in the indigenous culture. Anathema was replaced by appreciation which in turn led to constructive dialogue. Secondly, there was a deeper appreciation of the role of Christ — Redeemer and Saviour of all — beyond the institutional confines of the churches. This led to various theories concerning themselves not so much with the question as to whether those who do not hear the gospel are saved, but rather granted that salvation is open to them, how in fact are such people grafted to Christ’s saving grace.

When we apply these reflections to the missionary activities of the Christian missionaries among the Tiv from 1911 to 1975 we find the same limitations of past strategies prevailing, but also a hope for the future for a more culturally based, outward and forward looking catechesis. It is with this state of the question in mind that having described the moral system of the Tiv people and the missionary strategies undertaken by the N.K.S.T. Church in particular, that I make my own modest proposal for a strategy of evangelization, indeed a philosophy of education that is relevant to the spiritual needs of our youth.
and calculated to produce mature and committed citizens in these days of dramatic social change and cultural conscientization.

In making this proposal I draw on not only the biblical and theological sources available, but also on the recent remarkable studies that have been done across culturally on the processes and phases of moral development. The three most renowned scholars in this area are J. Piaget, L. Kohlberg and S. Freud. They have probed into the child's thinking and reasoning capacities. Their findings are truly remarkable and are widely used today, not only by psychologists themselves, but by missionary strategists across the globe. 10

Jean Piaget is the principal exponent of the cognitive developmental approach to moral education, that is, as Hoffman puts it,

"the analysis of thought structures underlying the moral concepts of persons at different age levels in order to define a general direction of movement". 11

Piaget discovered that the essence of morality includes both the individual's respect for the rules of social order and his sense of justice. This, in effect, means a concern for reciprocity and equality among individuals. Through careful research Piaget evolved
situational demands. The child's judgments of right and wrong are no longer determined only by the consequences of an act but he places a great stress on the presence or absence of intention to deceive.

Piaget believes that both maturation and experience play a role in the transition from one stage to the next. Maturation, he maintains, is important principally as it affects the child's developing cognitive capacities. The child's experience starts with adults largely on the basis of impositions of sanctions but shifts to the vital interaction with persons on the basis of mutual give-and-take or equality.

The work of J. Piaget inspired Lawrence Kohlberg who carried out research for twelve years studying 75 boys whose ages varied from 10 - 16 years. The typology he formulated is recorded in a number of his writings. Both Piaget and Kohlberg seem to have ignored spiritual motivation which is of great concern in Nigeria.

The literature reviewed here, though selective, provides us with an adequate base from which to launch into our study of the impact of the Christian missionary activity, as it historically happened, on
Introduction

1. R. M. Downes: 

2. H. Kraemer: 

3. Pope Paul VI: 

4. S. Piker: 

5. V. J. Dunavan: 

6. Cfr. S. J. Healy: 

7. Cfr. Julius Nyerere: 

8. Cfr. L. Richard: 
   "What are they saying about Christ and World Religions," New York, P. pp. 1 - 43.

Ibid. pp. 112ff.
comparing the moral system of a particular culture with the philosophical analysis of the concepts of another culture. Such a mistake, for example, consists in confusing an exercise in descriptive ethics with an exercise in normative or at times even meta-ethics. The Ghanaian philosopher, Kwasi Wiredu, has recently discussed this confusion in cross cultural analysis and I mention it here in order to stress the fact that we are concerned here with the description of Tiv morality as a system that gives guidance and direction to the Tiv people in their interaction with those outside the Tiv ethnic group. It is therefore an exercise in descriptive ethics.

As already stated, the historical perspective in understanding the character of Tiv morality is very vital here. There are many legends about the Tiv migrations. After having sojourned in various different places the Tiv eventually settled finally in the Benue Valley. However, since much of the information about these migrations is buried deep in the Lore of the Tiv people it is extremely difficult to pinpoint the different phases with any reasonable historical accuracy. It is, however, well established that at some period during their migrations the
people settled at Swem, a place outside the Benue Valley where they stayed for some time. Swem is probably located at south-east of Tivland. It is believed that one of the Tiv people called Karagbe committed a crime here. Departure from Swem is either ascribed to this crime or attacks by some "foreigners". Mention is made of their settlement at Swem because, as Makar observes,

"from the story about Karagbe a new religious idea developed which became entrenched in the religious beliefs of the people. This is a religious cult or an "okombo" known as "Swem - Karagbe". This operates to punish evil-doers who swear on it falsely. It is believed that the evil doer would suffer from swollen legs and might die unless he recants (depending, of course, on the gravity of his crime)."

What is the value of this Swem-Karagbe to the moral development of the Tiv? Here, two main observations must be made. Firstly, this swearing on the Swem teaches the child that 'truth' is valued and that he must tell the truth always. Secondly, Tiv courts, as established by the British, have this Swem and the Bible for suspected criminals and witnesses to swear on while testifying. When a person enters the witness-box, he is asked whether he would swear on Swem or the Bible. The presence of Swem in
the courts makes those who go there to tell exactly what they know. In this regard it is reckoned to be far more effective than either the forms of the Bible.

The Tiv migrated from Benue to settle at Evango where they came into contact with "foreigners," called Ijebu and Benue, in "foreigners" like the Tiv so the Tiv went further north but were still vulnerable to "foreigners!" attacks. Attempts to solve the conflicts "foreigners!" failed until the Tiv inflicted a heavy defeat on the "foreigners!". This ended the conflicts abruptly. Many people were taken into captivity, and they were enslaved.

oker concludes that,

"this resulted in the ikul treaty between Benue and the Tiv. The ikul treaty virtually brought the struggle to an end and the Tiv to an abrupt end and it has never been violated."
Some early writers on the Tiv people often portrayed them as an aggressive people. This trait, if really true, can be explained from the myriads of attacks (only a few are listed here for the purpose of explaining the historical perspective in moral evolution), the different foreigners launched on the Tiv during their migration. From this the Tiv children learned the practice of revenge when attacked.

A cursory look at the Tiv social system will reveal that they are composed of communities. They settled in segmented lineages called 'countries,' each named after the common ancestor. An individual's identity was discernible within the community. There was much interaction within the community e.g. religious activities, communal labour, hunting, dancing, marriage, justice maintenance, interclan wars, games contests, age-grades' meetings etc. From the foregoing, it can be seen that an individual's identity with the community was so totally tied up together that his individuality was virtually unidentified.

His interactions within the home, the community gatherings and contests formed his curriculum, from which he derived his education - the values of the Tiv. Tiv morality is therefore to be deduced from
the religious tradition of one culture (Western) on
that of another culture (Tiv). We want to examine
the impact of different world views and contrasting
religious perspectives on each other. It is for this
reason that the famous definition of religion as a
cultural system, devised by Clifford Geertz in 1965,
readily comes to mind. Since however we are not
concerned in this thesis with the different merits of
various definitions as such, we choose the definition
of Roland Robertson which is not only more elegant in
character but retains some of the essential features
of Geertz's definition. Robertson describes religion
as

"that set of beliefs and symbols (and
values derived directly therefrom)
pertaining to a distinction between
the empirical and super-empirical,
transcendental reality; the affairs of
the empirical being subordinated to
the non-empirical." 6

This definition is particularly satisfactory because:

1. it brings out the transcendental dimension of
reality;

2. it distinguishes the sacred and the secular;

3. it lays down the unity within the distinction;

4. it illustrates the cerebral and symbolic
character of religion;
2.3 The Practice of Tsav

In the pre-missionary era tsay was a household word in every home of the Tiv. Though the emergence of Tiv religion is obscure, one thing is certain, that is as much as the Tiv came into history they were practising some form of arable agriculture. From the earliest of times, therefore religious activities centred around agriculture, namely, sowing of seeds, harvesting, protection of crops (setting up akombo), and thanks-giving for good harvest as bestowed on the Tiv by God.

R. C. Abraham relates some early religious practices among the Tiv, saying that

"at the time of their immigration, the Mbatsay were a beneficent group entrusted with the spiritual welfare of the community, though there was even then, no doubt, some willed to employ their powers for illigitimate ends.

Two observations can be made from Abraham's assertion. The first is that Tiv religion dates back to a very long time so that even if it was copied it must have been copied several hundred years ago. Though certainly not as late as the time that the Tiv people settled in the Benue Valley.

Secondly, the practice of tsay was seen as a
gives his own version of tsav as follows:

Tsav has actual material existence, and is a thing which can be seen and touched. The place where it is found is in a man's heart and it can also sometimes be seen in animals, both domestic and wild. In appearance it is like the liver, but is not so broad or so thick. In man it is of two kinds. In some it is large, and its edge is finely notched. This is the bad kind, the tsav of killing men and eating human flesh. In others, though it may be big, its edge is not notched, but rounded. This is the good kind, the kind for protecting the land; it is not the tsav of eating men, but the tsav of wisdom. As to its position, it is attached to the base of the heart. During youth it is short, but separates off when a boy grows up. In some cases it becomes detached while a child is still young.\(^{15}\)

The distinguishing characteristics brought out by these definitions are (a) knowledge or wisdom

(b) witchcraft (c) physical appearance in the form of flesh (d) the utility of tsav for the benefit of the individual and the society (e) cannibalism.

Tsav was largely associated with the elders but all unusual behaviour of humans (both young and old) and of creatures was termed tsav by the Tiv. Hence tsav, in all its forms suggested cleverness and boldness in those who possessed it. These two qualities are capable of doing good and causing mischief and either outcome can be interpreted by
the observer as tsav. The following are examples of what the people observed as evidence of tsav presence.

(a) An awkward looking child that used to isolate himself, probably due to some psychological reasons, but who had unusual capabilities to manipulate with objects around him or a child who was very crafty was of necessity, considered to be full of tsav.

(b) Orphans who could not get adequate feeding and consequently suffered physical growth had their mental growth overshadow their physical size. Their answers to questions and their concrete operations outstripped their physical appearance. Such behaviour led adults to conclude that they had tsav. Unusual stories developed around such children e.g., some people could point at such an orphan and say that he went out on a wizard horse to be-witch. Such ridiculous stories may be built behind the child without necessarily telling them during his presence.

(c) A man whose crops were always successful or a man who was patient and prudent in his use of his wealth thereby accumulating property was usually considered as possessing tsav.

(d) A notorious root which kept eating yams or
cassava slices kept in the sun to dry was considered by the Tiv as full of tsay. Here I mean an animal that is destructive was thought of acting out of the tsay it possessed.

(e) Lastly, a man who liked to pick shares for himself out of the property (meat, beer, yams, cooked food) meant to be shared amongst a group was thought of acting overtly from tsay that he possessed. People normally concluded that he would not live long, i.e. he was annoying the elders and so he would be killed soon.

In the past when a man died his kinsmen were invited. He would then be examined as follows:

(a) his fingers were examined to see whether some or all of them were closed. A closed finger stood for a human flesh eaten by him. If eight fingers were closed, it was assured that the deceased had eaten eight human flesh;

(b) his chest was cut open and examined to see whether he had tsay and therefore a wizard. This was usually done by his kinsmen. Akiga says that

"If he had the serrated type of tsay, they said that he had brought about his own death, for with this kind of tsay he would not fail to be an eater of men, but if when they opened him up they found only
and recognised his authority over them as expressed through Mbatsev, lightning and thunder. The normal way of life of the Tiv reveals that religion more than anything else formed and dominated their moral code. The elders based their teaching on and maintained the respect of the young totally on the fear of Mbatsev and their links with the ancestors. The practical demonstration of what was wanted was through the installation of emblems which acted as the dumb police. If, for example, Aigaibe Dukur had a plantation of maize and did not want people to steal his maize, he would naturally set up an emblem of the flowers of a palm tree which depicted Swende. This meant that he who stole a maize cob from the farm would become sick of a particular disease called Swende. While this attacks both men and women, it attacks women more often. The signs seen are:

(a) sudden death or accidental death
(b) miscarriage or
(c) dry cough (tuberculosis).

Swende is in two forms i.e. wet Swende and dry Swende. The dry Swende results into dry cough and the rite is performed by a slave while wet
swende results into miscarriage or accidental death. There were many prohibitions particularly for women. For example (a) women were not to step over the blood of a man who died violently; (b) they were not to look upon a dog which had been killed.

Another axiom that Agaighe Baldum could not set on his private patch is a broken piece of pot which depicted igbe. Violation of this results in diarrhea or cholera which will ultimately result in the death of a violator.

The characteristics of tsev served useful purposes for the Tiv society. Clever mbatay were able to protect or defend members of their respective local communities. The fear of mbatay killing and eating people was a major sanction that sustained respect and obedience. Its mention was sufficient to create fear in the youth compelling them to follow the rules and principles of the community.

There is an important fact which Edwards brings out in his definition. While almost all elders were considered to be mbatay and therefore tsay practitioners, nobody ever confessed being ormbatay (wizard). Indeed, it was rare to publicly point out ormbatay. Such mbatay were discussed but
people were afraid of pinpointing at Ormbatsay.

There is a Tiv adage that Mba yer tswa sha iti ge, meaning a wizard is never mentioned by name. This proves that tsav and its practice only served as means to certain ends among the Tiv. The significance of tsav can be seen in what the individual members of the society, and for that matter, the society benefitted from its practice.

The Teaching on Theft.

Prior to the advent of the Missionaries, stealing was practiced in Tivland. But this was on a very limited scale, as one informant inferred. The Tiv people at that time had many cattle. Nearly each compound had some cattle and thieves could steal cattle. But thieves stole more stealthily for the fear of detection and the consequence of attack.

The Tiv people were opposed to stealing and they usually cooperated to deal with litigants. There was, however, an 'accepted' practice or some elements of stealing that was approved by relatives of the thief when he escaped uncaught; i.e. stealing from a distant lineage. Stealing within the lineage was seriously frowned at. Thus, during the slave trade a habitual thief within the minimal segment was sold
by the elders. Bohonon states that

"Theft from those far removed in the
lineage system is held to be a less
serious offence than stealing within
the minimal segment. Stealing at a
distance is sometimes compared to
warfare."19

Nkane Humba told the story of how four thieves
came to steal a cow in their compound (about seventy
years ago). When the thieves came the cow neighed
loudly and the owner of the cow shouted 'thieves'
and the members of the compound rushed out. As the
thieves began to run, one of them was shot with
poisonous arrow. He ran for a distance and then
died. Two of them escaped. The fourth was captured
and beaten heavily and would have been killed but for
the intervention of the army. Such was the disregard
towards thieves and the treatment given to them.

This was at the earliest advent of the British
officers. The case was therefore, reported to the
then District Officer (D.O). He inquired as to what
the deceased did. Then the D.O. was informed that
he was a thief, killed while in action, the D.O
dismissed the case and nobody was interrogated
further.

But as the religion of the people forbid the
killing of members indiscriminately, the man responsible for killing the thief had to undergo certain purifications like a sacrifice called "Swende ombo" and that for the rest of his life he had to retain a small portion of hair at the back of his head whenever he shaved.

Sometimes thieves came to steal within an area because a man from that clan owed a man from the thieves' clan. They would then come and steal a cow or a goat from that clan as a kind of compensation for the long standing debt.

**Punishment of Thieves:** Various punishments were given to thieves, ranging from minor to very serious punishments. Sometimes a thief was arrested and either killed or sold into slavery. Slaves were sold for salt; this was usually for domestic slavery. Note that people were not just randomly captured and sold. The practice was that when a man was captured by a clan, the clan would wait for months to see the response of those whose relative was captured. Usually, the captured man was kept for a reasonable time to be ransomed by his relatives.

During that time, farm produce, cattle, goats and some household goods were the items mostly
stolen by thief, etc. Thus the same.
like groundnuts, etc. could be reaped in small quantity each, in the road, perceptible and considered as
it, knowledge that the machinery is changed in extent of, the value.
Thus, if you pull a long tile out of the mud, would a tile fall it with the groundnuts you have for? tiles.
... so, it would encumber the court.
... neither confers nor takes social distinction. Robe was not at the from Muduo whom I killed the chicken.
... nor, He say for it, chicken still will for us feel the dead chicken.
... skillings from sale to be then forced to rest it clear. In this in the possession rests, what the ring crowd that surrounds.
... in this, the chicken, note that conclude correctly: "Nothing for the civil indication in social distinction has not been cleared."

Robinson: and that he told.
afflicting notions about thieves and stealing. They say that Tiv are the best thieves in the world, and that a good thief is one who can break through the wall of a hut, enter and take out all the contents, including a bicycle, without waking the sleeping occupants. They admire the technical skill of any thief who can come close to this achievement, and one occasion in Mbaduku when it was accomplished by were open in their admiration (although the thief was unknown). At the same time Tiv say that stealing is sin (an ifer) and cannot be allowed to unpunished. The usual way of punishing a thief is to beat him and take back one's goods. 21

Considering thieves' menace as recorded above, the use of emblems helped a great deal to protect people's property. An endless list of these emblems could be given which symbolized different ombo that could result in all forms of disease. The then known diseases had their emblems, and ombo made use of them to guard their possessions well as maintain discipline. There were also all kinds of rites to be performed, coupled with herbal medicines to cure the victims.

The following akombo, in one way or the other
were related birth. In

ceremony, and in

like Bear, Shark, Eagle, etc.,

like Bear, Shark, Eagle, etc., it will

be undertaken. The first

note here is that much of the previous in the

relation to nature and substance of

social conventions, or "singly collected in

utilized supernatural power. (I must spell

this essential). In other words, once our

hold both in action

as vivent, or-picture, evenly aspect

responsible, and in the spirit of the

purpose, and in the

be initiated, as in the like manner.

This leads to, finally, the in turn.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NO</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Illness Caused</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Ritual and Materials Required</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Gwende</td>
<td>cough (tuberculosis) and miscarriage</td>
<td>fruit of oil palm tree</td>
<td>he-goat and a cock; a slave performed the ritual purification.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Xhina</td>
<td>twin delivery</td>
<td>forked stick</td>
<td>forked stick, 2 chickens.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Ikungu</td>
<td>epileptic attacks or fits</td>
<td>a strip of raffia tied round a piece of cotton wool</td>
<td>one chicken.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Dwe</td>
<td>peeled skin or struck by thunderbolt or waist rai</td>
<td>clay nozzle of the forge and a slag from the furnace.</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Zozondo</td>
<td>home destruction by storm and guineacorn</td>
<td>thunderbolt</td>
<td>one chicken</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Doer</td>
<td>sexual impotence</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>one chicken and a 'ten' means ten pieces of bronze used as currency at the time.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Ikoor</td>
<td>cessation of menses or sudden cessation of birth</td>
<td>snails on a string</td>
<td>a hen.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
and 'effect'. The Tiv, like other primitive groups explained all death as willed and effected by the Mbatsay for different purposes. Such purposes included the general satisfaction of cannibalism by members of the Mbatsay; initiation of an individual into some akonbo ritual; and for revenge. The Tiv have divided death into two types, namely:

(a) Ku Amare — where an individual is sick for a period of time before dying. They assume that an individual dying after a protracted illness is not much cherished by the Mbatsay as one who dies in the second death below:

(b) Ku Swendegh — This is violent death such as falling from a tree, motor accident, being burnt down in a house, lightning stroke or mere collapsing and dying.

The Tiv believe that the two death styles are caused by the Mbatsay so that if Agur, travelling in a motor vehicle, had a head long collision and died, the people would conclude that the Mbatsay from Agur's area have followed him and 'beat' him up. That without that act, he would not have died.

Religion more than any other social activity of the Tiv forged the Tiv morality. There were many taboos within the religion which the Tiv children
had to strictly observe. These were taught to the children at work, while resting, during games, while eating and more particularly during initiation rituals. Because grave consequences were associated with each taboo, the children feared greatly and so hardly violated them. So, they behave well all the time.

The Teaching of Truth-Telling

Bohannan tries to differentiate between the Tiv truth and the Western truth. Of western truth he says:

"It is notable that in western judicial system the 'truth' means the veritable 'facts' of what took place. Western jurists have single standard of 'truth'—verifiability and they have provided themselves with an elaborate mechanism for determining it. They demand the same standard of 'truth' from all persons who appear before a court, be they witnesses, expert witnesses or principal litigants. They have created complex system of procedure, which are known as 'rules of evidence' in order to elicit and judge this verifiable 'truth' in the course of court action." 24

In contrast Bohannan speaks of the Tiv truth

"As one discusses witnesses and what we should call 'evidence' with Tiv one comes to realize that they do not have a single criterion for truth. They do not require the same standards of 'truth' from principals in a court as they do from
witnesses. The common word usually
would be 'lie,' but actually,
we observed in the last of the
first ousc, that... Zilch on falsehood yet. But not
the poor old Zilch. For instance,
1. The 'lies' is... It's not... in the
(TH) case; it's... y'all in the
extension; I'm sorry... I'm... It was... not the.

Robeson is kindly worn not to.
If I... writing to... were not.
Either... or I... Have... would make a

criterion... decide on such 'truth'.

Skips in his introduction to the
picture of the live with the

following words:
"It is not
for such a long
It is the end of... the
best of the day.
are... t. kind.

It will come to a
right way, you will... to
from then. They will... a... been sent by the whites
no intention not my
chief, if you... would... or about his end... to... afraid to give... a... in a... and last your...
We will show... be... down... for... in... facts
some of the... and... will bully you... the... which... will... be..."
so why should they tell him about these things, in order that he may take them away from them, or forbid them their use? Others think, when you ask them something, and they see you write it down, that you are making a report to give to a government official, who will increase their tax. Especially is this so in the case of one whom they know to be in government service; they will never give him a true answer, unless he forces it from them, for fear he may tell the white man. They put him off with lies, and if one of them tries to tell him the truth, the others pull faces and wink at him, till he desists and falls back on misleading statements, so that the inquirer goes away with a mass of false information. For better results would be obtained if a European conducted a systematic inquiry himself and pinned them down to facts. But in the case of a missionary, or a follower of the Mission they say, "A Missionary is not a white man of any consequence; he neither tries cases nor collects tax, nor inflicts punishment; all he does is to pray. We can tell him frankly about our affairs, and he will do no harm."

I have two observations to make about the two views.

(a) The white man came and introduced the western ideas and western values which tended to confuse and frighten the Tiv man. Varied reactions, therefore, ensued as Akiga mentions above.

(b) The Tiv outlook to truth telling apparently agrees with the notion held by the utilitarians. The 'truth' has to be maintained but on occasions,
falsehood may be of greater utility. Thus to the Tiv, revealing the truth in certain matters to the white men spells danger to their society. Compare this with hiding the nature of a disease (e.g., cancer) to the sick man who is about to die. The fact that the truth may hasten his death stops the utilitarians from telling the truth on this matter.

Among the Tiv, whenever an incident occurred about which the truth was being sought, the oldest person would summon all members under his jurisdiction to come. The elders would then make the suspect to swear at an oath of *yegbe.* Furthermore, the compound head would appeal to his people that the person involved should approach him (compound head) secretly to reveal the truth. The informant felt that in those olden days there was greater truth telling. That truth was greatly valued. The old people, for example, would say exactly what they knew about the legitimate ownership of a piece of land, without any prejudice even if it adversely affected their kinsmen. Land, of course, was plentiful and was not keenly competed for at the time, as it is presently done.
"Ityendzwa homba akundu pve" meaning a promise is greater or more valuable than two hundred pieces (brass money used at the time). This is a saying depicting the value attached to a promise and promise keeping and the saying was quoted by one of the informants.

The informant then went on the state that

"In those days whenever someone made a promise and took on a loan e.g., a cow, which was to be returned within a specified time, it was the duty of that borrower to keep the promise. Whenever the borrower failed to fulfill the promise the elders viewed it with all seriousness and, usually, they tried to see that the promise was kept and quickly too."

My father narrated a story of how the elders of Mshumza borrowed a cow from his relative (Inyashul) to pay the Makonde tax. This was the practice when the European Government was first established; a cow was given by a hamlet signifying the tax completion for that fiscal year. But the elders failed to keep their promise and so the relative reported the case to the clan head (Chief).

The elders were arrested and amounts were fixed for each to pay. In this way, much money was collected. The clan-head then gave a little cow to the relative.
and the case was closed.

Prior to the advent of the white man, such a case would be referred to the eldest person of the haket. The borrower would then be summoned and advised to keep the promise or failure to fulfil the promise was an act of bad faith. Thus, the elders in the area at any given time acted as chiefs in fostering promises.

There was also promise enforcement amongst the age-mates. If A's cow was borrowed by one of his age-mates and was not returned as promised, A would summon together the age-mates who would insist on the return to A of his cow (replacement). Similarly the age-mate who had sexual intercourse with the wife of an age-mate was tried and punished by the council of the age-mates. Such an age-mate had to pay a fine either of a goat or a pig. Spokesmen were identified amongst the age-mates, who were responsible for taking such decisions.

One informant on promise keeping postulated that during the days of Exchange Marriage, 29 promises were kept more positively where a number of children were born. If, for example, A and B exchanged their sisters and both sisters had several issues, this 'contract' was more permanent. But in a case where
A received some issues and P received hardly any issue, the marriage was easily broken, and a new marriage arrangement was entered.

Throughout Tivland justice maintenance was in the hands of the eldest person in the compound. Examples of cases he had to settle include:

(a) mediating between the wife and the man who habitually fought his wife;

(b) a person who used to steal especially within the compound or within his kinsmen's clan and

(c) the unsettled debts.

The Tiv parents used to teach their children to be just and fair in dealing with other people. Honesty was always insisted upon. Crops that creep like yams would creep across the footpath. Every true Tiv was expected to put the plants back to the farm so that they were not trampled upon. This, one had to do to any form and not just to the farm of a relative. Again one was expected to perform this even when there was no reference figure i.e. even when nobody was around to praise or commend one for doing a nice job. It was done purely out of consideration for others.
2.7 **Communal Interactions**

It is firmly believed that the survival of the Tiv community rested upon the praxis of community. In this effort, the individual loses the art of reciprocity.Rubin affirms this in a forceful way as he asserts:

"The fortunes of the individual were reflected in the lives of all other members of the community, and each had a stake in the destiny of the other. Individualism was minimized, at least outwardly, in the interests of the clan." 30

Certain misbehaviors by an individual reflected on the entire community, and reward or punishment elicited by the individual was extended to the community. Compare this with the Igbo culture, where the killing of an individual by Okonkwo had a reflection on Okonkwo's society. (See Things Fall Apart). Okonkwo's community had to be purified and so Okonkwo was forced into exile for seven years.

**Communal Duty**

In the Tiv traditional setting, serving on the farm, clearing and cutting of paths, hoes, building and establishment of markets were firmly communally done. Because this was an accepted custom, people freely contributed their services; there was much honesty.
Farming Procedure

There are two or more aspects here for the communal relationship. The first is the general invitation by an individual farmer for communal labour or help. This is known as "Sule Lohan". The second is the "Ihumbe ii Korun shin zuan".

Sule Lohan: In this sphere too there were variations in approach and it should be noted that both women and men used to invite others to come and give a helping hand on the farm. In the case of men it largely involved planting, weeding or harvesting. Men, on the other hand, concerned themselves with the weeding of a virgin land and making mens or heaps for planting yams.

Men's Role: After earmarking an area for the farm (shifting cultivation was and is the farming practice of the Tiv), the man soliciting for help would either go round himself or send young men (his brothers or his sons) to the compounds of his community or ityo to invite them to help on his farm. Normally market days were used for fixing the date on which the help was to be rendered. Take Itu market, for example, Gune Gwar, who anticipates help would move round informing the
individuals who were to come and help, that after two Thugh market days (these are five day markets), on Moji market day (i.e. the day following immediately after the second Thugh market), kindly come and help me (name Gwar) on my farm. Take 'kose Hir as a supposed invitee. 'Kose Hir will either consent affirmatively to the invitation or humbly give a reason(s) for his probable failure to appear in person on the fixed date. Either he had promised another person to go and help him on the farm (there used to be series of such invitations in the past), or he might be involved in a community court of justice known as "iijirii tyse."

If any of the individuals contacted have numerous engagements on that fixed date then Gwaan Gwar would decide on fixing a new date. If, however, the majority of the individuals contacted consented to come, then Gwar would then return and put in motion the feeding of those invited to work on the farm as well as carrying out other preparations.

Firstly, beer would be brewed to ensure on that fixed date. Secondly, food which comprised two feeding sessions (breakfast and lunch), would be prepared on that day. Breakfast was either thuru which is
boiled cow-peas mixed with palm oil or boiled yams
eaten with palm oil.

After the breakfast, Vuna Gwer would then bring
the meat who would be eaten with the pounded yams.
The practice was to bring the meat and make a formal
presentation to the elders who came to support or
direct and control the work on the farm. The essence
of the rationale in the formal presentation of the meat
was twofold. Firstly, the elders made sure that the
meat presented was healthy and not detrimental to
the health of those to consume it. Secondly, the
elders were to ensure that it was enough to go round
for all those who were working on the farm, since
the Tiv had the practice of sharing meat beginning
from the eldest to the youngest. Each was given his
own share which was to be held in his left hand as
he ate. Shares varied in size in a descending order;
the eldest having the biggest share. Note, of course,
that in the good old Tiv days the meat presented was
inspected and very often accepted in good faith as
sufficient even when the elders felt it was somehow
insufficient. The spirit of neighbourliness, or "we
have come to help not to be fed," dominated the
counsel of the elders.
The elders walked round the farm praised the hard-working young men, ordered a young man who made a poor heap to repair it, encouraged or urged those who were getting tired to persevere and generally advised on how much help to be given to Aunue Gwer. Sometimes at the close of the day's work, the elders put heads together, assessed the value of the help given to Aunue Gwer and determined whether another day should be fixed to come back and help Aunue Gwer further. This decision was usually taken when the elders felt the help rendered to Aunue Gwer was insufficient generally but sometimes in relation to the need against Gwer had provided.

It was also the role of the elders to mend the small hoes as the farming progressed. The young men learnt the role - taking from the elders. Another important role of the elders was one of suggesting where more hoes could be procured (borrowed) to go round to the young men who came to help but had no hoes. So the elders would send the young to go and borrow some hoes. It should have been stressed that

(a) Aunue Gwer was supposed to borrow some hoes to supplement the number he possessed personally. This
is one of the preparations he was expected to make
prior to the fixed date for the communal labour on
his farm;
b) Some of those invited also kindly brought their
bees to use on Igune Owar's farm, knowing he could
not be expected to supply all the hoes for those
invited.

One other aspect of Sula Iloko is that cooking
is placed in the hands of the eldest wife of the
man who solicited help. She was supposed to
organize the cooking. She, therefore, mobilized her
husband's younger wives who were and, are known as
T'yuhe to help in the cooking. She also invited
neighbouring women who are known as her iyuhu to
be a helping hand. How many women to be invited
depended largely on the number of men invited to work
the farm. Sometimes the eldest wife had to ask
women for food which was supplied either raw
(gr. yams, cassava or potatoes, the latter two are
times added to yams to prepare pounded yams), or
women may cook in their own homes before bringing
the eldest wife of Igune Owar.

The invitation as depicted above is from members
Igune Owar's community. Sometimes Igune Owar might
choose to invite one of his wives' kinsmen for communal labour on his farm. Such an invitation entailed Gune Ceri informing the leading kinsmen of his intention. The kinsmen then consulted his community and they set their fixed lot that was convenient to them, and the kinsmen communicated the entire arrangement to Gune Ceri. Such district invites usually came on the day of the fixed date and spent the night with Gune Ceri. In some cases like this they were also fed for that night. Usually these invites brought with them a dance group so that much of the night was spent dancing. Some of the household of Gune Ceri also joined in the dancing or learnt the dance style, if it was novel to them.

Much of the activities organized for work on the farm are the same as those already described above. One notable difference is that very often the feeding of the kinsmen was done on a more grand scale than the feeding of members of Gune Ceri's community. Significant else was the fact that all children present during the activity were often taken away, sheltered and cared for. In such circumstance, there was also sent to the local chief who did not necessarily 
Agune Gwar's farm.

Thumbe il kurun forms the second aspect of the communal labour. Here, two or more young men may decide to take turns to work on their respective farms. Take Yeose Nor and Kumbur Jyo as young men who decide to undergo thumbe. On Monday the two of them would work on Yeose Nor's farm and spend Tuesday on Kumbur Jyo's farm. They continued alternating like this until their farm work was completed. Sometimes they decide to spend two straight days on each other's farm. Under thumbe, the mothers or wives of the young men involved just prepared meals in turns, to keep these Nor and Kumbur Jyo's strength, for farming.

What moral values are instilled here? Firstly, an individual found explicit in this practice his humility. He valued the fact that as he offered his services to the community, he would normally take a turn whenever he demanded help. Thus his voice would be heard and reckoned with within his society. He saw and learnt the principle of reciprocity and practised it the rest of his life. He therefore taught and encouraged his children to reciprocate their community's gesture.

Secondly, the idea of sharing one's property with
In the practice of communal labour we saw that (a) an invitat would bring his hoe and one of children, on one Gwer's farm; and (b) foodstuffs or goods of food were brought to Anne Gwer to supplement what he could offer to the invite visitors.

Thirdly, the transparent spirit of 'we cannot help and not to help are satisfaction' continued through the a. o. This same life also encouraged humility at its best.

Fourthly, respect, obedience and patience to with the elders were great secrets that fostered the continuity of the society or the community. It had been stated that the elders would order a young man to work a poorly constructed heap. I had earlier mentioned that cooperation was involved in the making of the heaps, e.g. if there were twenty young men farming, the twentieth young man broke the twentieth heap. If he was not first the number of the twentieth heaps quickly accumulated for him as he who were first cleaned their own heaps. If he did not fall to work others he cleaned his share. How did things are in here? If an
elder ordered him to re-make an already made but poorly made heap, he obviously lost some time to move to the next twentieth heap which, by implication, was his share. If he obeyed without grumbling, he therefore exhibited patience and tolerance.

One other element of value used to be the fact that towards the close of the day's work, the elders appealed to the hard and fast working young men to help one or more of the slow workers in order to complete their shares which had accumulated due to their slowness. The fast worker would calmly go back, tired as he was, and help the slow worker. Occasionally, a recalcitrant hard-worker refused to help and the elders noted him. Back at his (recolitent hard-worker) home, his father or uncle would scold him for being heedless and recalcitrant. Sometimes without the elders asking, the hard-worker, a good-hard-working young man would volunteer to assist a slow-working young man. This too, the elders notedquietly with appreciation.

This practice was valued for hundreds of years, and was hailed by the elders all over Tivland. But its importance and practice started dwindling.
eggs the northern pot would be soaked over
ight so that every clement of eggs in the pot was
oved. Only after a careful washing of the pot
uld my mother consider food prepared in that pot.
e one would infer that eggs are very, palatable and
women kept chickens in their houses. It was
possible for them to get a lot of eggs thereby
initing the hatching and the increase of chickens.

Hunting Procedure: Different hunting expeditions were
organized in the past. There was the ibem hunting
expedition, but there were also smaller expeditions
organized to kill roe for food (of course, the
surplus was sold on the five-day markets). There
was also the yilen or calling for hunting in the
bush which involved burning of the grass that has
been left with hunters forbidden to hunt in it for
some years. Wild animals, therefore, gathered here
as they found solace in it.

In a hunting expedition there were rules
governing the conduct. These rules varied between
men and women. In the case of men for example:

(1) When men were pursuing an animal, the man who
shot the animal and made a mark will be given the
killed animal, not the one killed by
another hunter of the group. The final killer became _araban,
which case he was given either

similar or tail of the animal. Skins sound
rather contradictory in this rule. Perhaps the rule
differs shore ways and a net were used for hunting,
from where only women are involved. He states;

"If when the quarry was put up it made
for the net and a stick or pole inside, but
the wound of first went on top was
afterwards caught in the net and killed, it wasn't given to the one who speared it, but to the owner of the net..."

He asserts further, where I discern some contradiction, that

"The general law of Tiv hunting is that
the beast belongs to the one who first
hit it. It may only have been wounded,
and may eventually fall to some one
else's weapon, but if the man who first
touched it can show a spot of blood, or
hair, on his weapon, it is given to him,
and the two hunters who subsequently
hit are only counted, respectively as the
first and second 'sharers', i.e.

Perhaps his contradiction was came about as a
result of the translator's unfamiliarity with the
culture of the people, since this is his own
contribution. I was able to find the only hare I ever
killed with an arrow was shot just lightly by me.
But when the hare was finally killed, it was given
to me. This was a hunting expedition as far back as 1953.

(2) The first men to arrive at the scene of the animal kill would be hunters rushing at their top speed on the scene so as to Hughes the animal. In the case of more arrived almost at the same time, first touch the hunter who killed the animal or the body of the animal was the first shooter.

(3) Compare above with. For determining the animal. When an animal is killed its death will be given the animal when it was observed and killed by man, more than the animal's come will not matter. man shot the animal will make a visible mark on the body of the animal.

(4) When time has passed the hunting expedition people would rather together where sharing would place. If the animal killed in that hunting expedition would be to hunt together. The men or responsible for the sharing will then start to adapt the rules governing the sharing of the killed
The rules are:

(a) the person who killed, say deer, would be given a large share, e.g., half of the deer would be given to him; (b) the tail, such as of lizard, or a foreleg of the big-rain animals, will be given to the person who hunts it; (c) the remaining portion of the deer together with left portions from other animals would be cut into smaller pieces and be shared amongst all who participated in the hunting expedition; (d) any passer-by who reached the sharing venue would be similarly given a share; (e) sharing had to and was usually done at the crossroads.

Unlike sharing of already cooked meat where the elders had bigger shares, sharing of the hunted ones did not emphasize age. Bites cut were usually about the same size.

How were values transmitted during hunting?

Or what values are inherent and desirable in the hunting expeditions? How were the values acquired?

Take the rules for hunting. Rule one tested and exhibited bravery as the final killer of the animal humbly returned it. The first shooter of the animal. The rule shows also elements of absolute justice as these who examined the carcass of
animal would conclude that it belonged to and should
be given to the first shooter. This was done
regarding how close, by blood relation, the final
der of the animal was to the man passing the
moment.

Rule by stipulated that the first to arrive
the animal's killing spot would be the animal.

was encouraged alertness and endurance in the
hunters. An emphasized concentration and an
of following rules which are essential to
cepted behaviour and survival.

Rule three dealt with women. It taught the
i that women were a weaker sex and their handling
as to be softer than that of men. This helped the
males to handle men as well as already married men to
lyse their dealing with women in all
pects. Note that when a woman in the midst of men
an animal, she would only shout and point at it
rather than any effort to kill it. Yet when the
be killed, it was given to the woman. This
in stressed absolute justice as practised by the
v of the time. Rule four concentrated on the
ring. This was an area where probably most
ues of the community were learnt. These included
give-and-take, generosity, equality amongst the hunters on a particular expedition. The give-and-take value reared its head as the person who killed the game brought it to share with the other hunters; thus the hunter who did not kill on that particular day also had a share to take to his home thereby giving him a sense of equality and belonging to the society.

The cherished value of generosity emerged where (a) meat was shared at the cross-roads (b) any passer-by who did not participate in the hunting expedition was also given a share. It also engendered a sense of belonging to both the passer-by and the hunters who collectively learnt that the community valued them and respected their individuality.

From the hunting expeditions therefore the young learnt the dos and don'ts of the community. They learnt how to behave towards other people as well as decision taking when issues presented themselves to the young. They further learnt how to make and use weapons. They acquired the knowledge of the landscape of their community or environment. Furthermore, they learnt the habitat of the animals. There is formed very useful 'applied education.' Medical care of accident during the hunting, accidental
hooting of a member of the expedition and animal tricks were all the different lessons they learnt.

Singing

Quite apart from farming, which is the main occupation of the Tiv and is undertaken almost by everybody old and young, dancing is the next activity that occupied many a Tiv man and gave him much relaxation and satisfaction. It still occupies much of the time of a Tiv man today. As a result many types of dances have been developed and named after some animals (Ihinka, Nyinya, Takeru as examples), some occupations of men (farming, Nsanda) as well as other behaviours of men. These dances reflect the life style and behaviour of some of the animals after which particular dances are named. Some of the dances are only for women while others are expected to be exclusive for men. It is noteworthy, however, that from time immemorial, women have almost always participated in men's dances.

All dances had and still have objectives to be fulfilled. One dance, called iye or icye, for instance, was specifically introduced for marriages or for courtship. There are also some dances for marriage ceremonies when all people within the compound and
the nearby compounds had to drum, sing and dance for
days to commemorate the newly married women. These
dances have served this purpose in the past and still
serve the same purpose today.

Dances like **Ibina, Ik Kungu, Nyinya and**
**Takara**, are animal dances so designed to depict the
characteristics and other attributes of those animals.
Under this heading there has developed in recent
years the **Kwarhalem** which has involved the making of
puppets which are so manipulated to portray the actions
of animals, man, objects within the home, snakes and
what have you. Torwuese Harper has made an extensive
research on the **Kwarhalem**.

Still on the types of dances one would include
dances of war, hunting and fishing activities. All
these have been evolved based on the original
principles of inherent dance creativity of the early
Tiv.

Dancing, had lessons for the young. These
included aesthetic, creativity, gracefulness, court-
ship styles, competitive spirit, decision taking,
sharing, patience and endurance.

**The Marriage System**

The purpose of marriage is the preparation of
human race. Apart from this fact being a universal
truth, it applied very much to the Tiv people. The
word of or kpe atseen therefore entered the
vocabulary of the Tiv in very early existence of the
group. The Tiv, unlike some
populations, are patrilineal. Because the sons
inherited the bereaved father's property, a dead
father who had only daughters was also considered to
have died atseen. He was considered as having died
without children.39

Marriage has been a very important event among
the Tiv and had occupied a central position among
them. It was therefore greatly interwoven with the
religion of the people. Thus a young man who saw a
woman admired would contact the people of the
woman, especially the mother but the talks would be
general, not going into any meaningful negotiations.
A reason for this is that the elders had a religious
belief of the protection of the girls and assumed that
only the old who had tsav that could protect the girl
from the evil machinations of the mbatsav. The
principle of cause and effect among the Tiv was
tightly associated with Mbatsav; so that all evil
dooms were ascribed to Mbatsav. The young man who
... to marry a girl will therefore not be answered if he attempted to seek marriage contract. The elders or the father would only advise him to and bring his father or his grandfather (who alone could consider and talk to in terms of negotiation). Iyortum emphasizes this by saying that even a man of fifty years was refused audience if he had an uncle or a father still living. That he was still considered too young to speak for himself. It therefore follows logically that the elders developed jargon language for carrying out contracts with men. Indeed the use of neckrobes and other items and during this 'marriage talk' would frustrate and weigh the woman as he was listed and would barely understand the procedure and intentions of the elders. Women too were not entitled to seek and negotiate wives for their brothers. 

The fact that marriage was closely bound up with religion was also in many taboos and circumstances. Most of the taboos centered on the sex of the girl on the one hand and impotency on the other; they also bordered on the incursion of disease and subsequent death. 

In the original Pid context or setting, when
were not given out and money collected for them.

Indeed the money economy as we know it today had not emerged until the arrival of the Europeans under a century ago. The system was the Exogamous marriage. It is pertinent here to take a brief look at some of the taboos that surrounded a virgin. These all aimed at protecting the girl to maintain her virginity which was a revered and sacred thing among the Tiv in the pre-Christian era.

During the time that the fear of Chastity (i.e. pre-Christian era in Tivland) held sway, a young virgin would normally wear a necklace made up of cotton string and a small snail shell. The snail necklace was symbolic that (a) her virginity was intact; (b) should men undergo sexual intercourse with her without contracting legitimate marriage ceremonies, his genital organs would be rendered impotent. The girl too might not give birth to children. The father would still maintain a strict control and watch over the girl. She should wear the necklace until after marriage when it will be ceremoniously removed from her neck. If the bridegroom found that his bride's virginity was intact, he would send a young and healthy oba-goot to his
'foreigners.' Perhaps the Exchange Marriage system stemmed from this inhibited custom which the Tiv used to exchange daughters (and sisters) as wives among their clans.

The procedure of this simply implied the exchange of daughters on end and sisters. This the father did to get wives either for himself or for his sons and younger brothers. Money was not involved but simply the exchange of daughters by an agreement. Material gifts, however, were given to the mother-in-law during weddings. Within the family, there was sharing, as it was, of daughters, as to who should 'inherit' which daughter for the purpose of exchange marriage. The father might decide to take the first daughter for himself and this daughter would be known as his inyor. The next daughter would then be given to the first son, the son thereby owning the daughter as his inyor. The sons would take turns like that to own their inyor (plural of inyor).

R.D. Iyertum distinguishes two forms of marriage exchange as 'normal and abnormal exchanges.' To explain these two forms he says:

"The normal ishooyamen was the one which both parties had all full grown inyor. In this case, as seen as the two parties
had agreed to the ceremony, the ishayam, was carried out and the husband took his wife without any further delay. The abnormal ishayam was the one in which one party had a full grown inyero, and the other party had an under-sized inyero who was yet to grow."

He illuminates that the small girl's owner had to pay some brass currency to be used to feed the girl to maturity. He asserts further that the smaller the girl the more the number of the brass currency was added. Some equivalents in other materials such as cloth were also added. This practice was known as tekinyero shi akundu meaning to make the girl taller with the help of the brass currency.

The intrinsic values in this system are wide, and include among others, patience, obedience and respect to the elders.URITY of both girls and boys as there was virtually no x scandals. The value of patience showed itself as the boys waited to take their turn in marriage. Some people waited until they attained 30-40 years before they got married.

Obedience was also maintained and proved by both the girls and the boys. The girls were shown for the boys by the parents and usually the girls
opted their husbands without questions. Boys
get married as their parents wished. Such
marriages hardly made room for divorce. Women were
loyal to their husbands and parents.

Finally, the element of purity was seen where
it was protected themselves from committing fornication.
Men too were afraid of having sex with the
married girls who wore tin necklaces. During
the time too it was almost impossible to commit
adultery. Several towns also surrounded adultery.

If a person committed adultery and was found
he had to wear tin (give a chicken or a goat or a
for purification of the act). The type of the
tin given for the tin depended on the severity of
the offence.

Village Celebrations

Social celebrations abound in Tivland and
we into the fabrics of all the sum total of the
people, known as their cultural heritage. Marriage
celebrations can be discussed in three sub-headings

Celebrations at the
Celebration at the bridegroom's home.
It is implied from the above sub-headings that the bridegroom with his bride used to spend several days before finally arriving with his bride in his compound. In all the places he visited he was sure of at least, enjoying a meal of chicken. In a prosperous age-mate’s home, he could enjoy a chicken on the night of arrival and rest on the following morning. He then left with the bride in his retinue after sunset.

The first place of call after taking a bride was in the Tien’s house. Further word or two on who Tien was and what role he played in the house of the couples is imperative here. Firstly, it might take some time to define Tien. He narrates that the role of Tien was to go between the husband, the wife and the father-in-law. Tien was the one in whose house the expected bridegroom and his retinue normally spent their nights whenever they were to visit the father-in-law during courtship.

Even after the marriage, he was expected to enter the compound of the Tien before visiting the father-in-law. This was necessary because Tien was living nearer the compound of the father-in-law and was expected to know the development – favor or
In the compound of the Tien the bride and the bridegroom were expected to be:

1. fed by way of feasts;
2. regarded and honoured with the first dances;
3. armed with useful advice to himself and his bride. The senior wife of the Tien advised the bride on her role in the expected home that she would establish with her bridegroom.
4. given some loads (usually dried slices of fruits for soups, spices, kitchen utensils, and soap in cash), to carry to her home. These were received on the bride’s behalf by the women accompanying her.

From the Tien the party leave for the new-mate sometimes to the Ishuul. Very often both the mates in the husband’s clan and the Ishuul were invited. The Ishuul could be annoyed if he was not invited. It was more so if the Ishuul was an rovert who could breed over a suspicion of regard. It was also advisable to visit and spend sight with the Ishuul as this forms an original and introduction to the bride. She could flee the
husband's home and report brewing trouble to the Ishuul who would mediate and solve the dispute.

Equally she was expected to leave the husband's home with her children (if any) to seek protection from the Ishuul. This was when catastrophes (real or expected) came. Such catastrophes included an outbreak of a dangerous disease in the husband's vicinity such as small-pox or any other deadly airborne diseases that came as epidemics; dusty storms or sickness to herself or her children.

I remember that I was carried away twice before I went to school on the reason that small-pox broke out twice in our village. This was prior to the wiping out of the disease by the World Health Organization.

The women and her children had to remain at Ishuul until the disease subsided. But in the case of quarrels with husband or in-laws, she remained until the Ishuul solved the problem i.e., between the father/guardian of the husband on the one hand and the husband/wife on the other.

Celebrations in the Bridegroom's House:

When a bride was brought she was not normally taken into the bridegroom's house.
Instead she was taken to the first wife of
her the compound head or the father of the bride-
room. On that eve of arrival a chicken was
slaughtered for their first enjoyment. This first
chicken was known as \textit{nikgh ayule} meaning 'dew chicken'.
The name is so given because while bringing the
meat at night there was usually some dew on the
bones. It could well be explained too that this
was a rash meal as preparation of a chicken needed
time than the preparation of a goat or a cow.
therefore signified the first step towards the
real feast.

On the following day, a goat or a pig or
occasionally a cow would be slaughtered. This meat
was generously given to people as it was cut into
pieces for the purpose. It was a custom to send a
benjelg and a bag of salt to the mother-in-law of
the bridegroom.

Meanwhile drummers would be invited who would
supply the music to crown the entertainment of the
celebrations. People in the compound and the
immediate vicinity would voluntarily form the dancers.
As this dancing progressed, people (who recognised the
marriage music) would be coming and asking permission
to see the bride. The bride would be taken outside and shown to people. This is known as *tose kwese* meaning to present a bride. Such people praised the bride and made other commendable comments. They would also make monetary gifts (recent years) which they described as 'soup'. Drumming, singing and dancing would continue for three or more days. This remained a very memorable event in the life of the bride. She was also introduced to these visitors and they were introduced to her. From the behaviour and the generosity of these visitors she learnt:

(a) the popularity and prestige of her husband;
(b) those who were really close to or friends of her husband;
(c) the tricky and wary ones.

She therefore devised methods of declining with or approaching their requests.

After these celebrations the bride then started to participate in the activities of the home such as fetching water, sweeping the house as well as the compound and cooking meals. But all these things she still did them under the umbrella of the oldest wife. She could remain dependent like this for six or more months. During this period the senior wife
gave her some yam seeds to start her own farm. Her kind and considerate women would also give her yam seeds and other gifts of utensils such as abashes, earthen pots and native plates. When she had gathered enough of some essential utensils she started cooking for herself (now living in her husband's house). She was therefore logically dependent now. This independence, however, gained partial and gained momentum as years wore on.

It has to be stressed here that in narrating these values a central position is taken striking a balance between the extremes. It has to be borne in mind too that slight procedural variations existed from one community to another. Again the basic procedure is the one enumerated above.

What are the appreciative values here? Before we go into enumerating the values inherent in these marriage procedures, a stress on the virtues otherwise of these procedures is imperative. As it now that 'good' or 'bad' are fluid words. The goodness or otherwise of these practices depends entirely on the observer's posture as well as how
long he has been exposed to these cultural traits. Thus 'good' to A may be 'bad' to B depending on the above reasons. Suffice it to conclude that community becomes used to the practices and completely absorbs them improving upon them gradually thereby evolving its norms. Similarly a foreigner who resides in a given community is enough to study carefully, examining the practices begins to appreciate and accept the practices as worthwhile.

From the above one would infer, correctly too, that during these days child rearing by parents was long continued. Parents watched and attended both girls and boys until they got married. Even so parents still had much to say and took some decision on the affairs of their children. In this way the children learn very much from their parents. One negative aspect of this, however, is that the children remained dependent on their parents for too long.

The Conclusion

The Tiv values, such as the worship of Tegy the fear of the Nghery, the Exchange Marriage system and the government by the hereditary, were developed over the years in an area that had no
contact with the outside world. The values were accepted because there were no other value models in the environment to be compared with. But since the turn of the century there is greater interaction with the outside world so that these practices pose some moral limitations. The Tiv started realizing some short comings of some of the values. Mbatay and their activities tended to cast extreme fear in the citizens and were no longer serving useful psychological purpose on the lives of the people.

The Exchange Marriage system too was proving too suppressive in its operational methods. The youth came to realize that the marriage procedure was carried out at their expense while the elders gained most from it.

Thus these practices were good while the society was protected. But with greater cross-cultural interaction their moral limitations were becoming more apparent. This brings to us the dual aspects of all moral systems, namely the Universalism and Relativism. By this I mean that, whereas, morality is trans-cultural, growth in it is culturally conditioned. The significance of this fact will become more crucial in the light of our discussion on
the nature of the Christian norm which we now consider.

FOOTNOTES


2. Ibid pp 22 - 30.

3. The Swam is made up in a small pond; witnesses or suspects are made to swear to show that what they are about to say is the whole truth.


5. See N.E.S. Iwe, Christianity, Culture, and Colonialism in Africa, Port Harcourt, Unical, 1975, p. 40.


Akome are both conditions of illness or misfortune and the emblems associated with either and with their treatment, being similar to the objects called in other parts of West Africa "fetishes" or "medicines" See "Anthropos, Vol. 78, 1983, p. 466.


Mbatsav literally means wizards. The singular form is Ormbatsav (wizard). Elders are believed to be Mbatsav and they controlled social, political, religious and moral life of the Tiv. The Tiv believed in the animistic propensity of Mbatsav and dreaded their presence in the Tiv society.


Ibid., p. 246.

The victim is usually buried away from the compound and a rite is performed for purification. Ibid. p. 206.


Ibid. p. 123.

Ibid., p. 123.

Ibid., pp. 124 - 125.
23. "Primitive" for lacking scientific knowledge. e.g., pre-scientific societies.


25. Ibid. p. 48.

26. R. East says this was a custom carried out by the people of Northern Virgin., See C. Skins. Op. cit.

27. Ibid., p. 49.

28. This information is given by Richard East. "Skins" is a fork instrument carried on their shoulders.

29. See pp. 78 - 30.


31. Imaginary names such as this could occasionally be used for illustrative purposes.

32. The meat here refers to several possibilities e.g., a live goat, a chicken, or a pig. Sometimes it is a salted fish, last eaten by a portion of a wild animal such as a bear or pig or buffalo.

33. The era in discussion saw women cooking, sleeping and, indeed, doing everything in a single hut. Nowadays, however, a separate sleeping house, kitchen and a pen for the chickens are provided. Where the three are not kept separately, chickens are kept in the kitchen with a child asleep there to ward off thieves.

34. See note below.


36. Monkey is taken at a fixed time when animal is killed. This means that a forty-five shot of the killed animal will be given to the man who first arrived at the killing scene.
Bigger animals could be hunted by two or more people where neck and four ribs will be given to the others respectively.

7. Different types of hunting had their own rules. Of course, hunting of mice did not have sharing rules as the hunter took all the mice he killed home. Only one of such procedures had been described above.

8. kpe atsen is to die without a son to inherit your property. Inheritance among the Tiv is usually shared among the sons, the eldest having more.


10. Changes are taking place rapidly so that young men and wealthy women can negotiate for dowry today.

11. "Fornication" is a Christian term for sexual intercourse outside the marital home, especially by a virgin.

12. Cf with the practice among the Wolof of the Gambus.

Inyoy is either a daughter or a sister whom a father or a son uses to exchange for a wife. Inyoy is a plural form of inyoy. For the rest of the life of that girl, her problems were reported to her brother or father who is thenceforward known as her Tien, while she is known as inyoy of the boy or the father.

Tien is the one with whom the bridegroom stays while courting the girl. He was related to the bridegroom since his mother was from the bridegroom's clan.

Attention of the reader must be drawn to the fact that brides were taken about only after sunset.
46. I am inclined to list the house between N合唱 and
the Ishaul. The N合唱 lived near the "Father-in-
law while the Ishaul was on the opposite end
i.e. near the SIAK-room where the Ishaul can
see quickly and report her problems.

47. He might also visit a distant aunt who lived
in the vicinity of the Ishaul kinship.
CHAPTER THREE

CHRISTIAN MORALITY AMONG THE TIV 1911-1975

Introduction

In chapter two I outlined the Tiv moral system, system that was ethnic in its range, traditional in sources and deeply religious in its motivation. This chapter I outline the Christian system of morality and concentrate in particular on that version it that came to Tivland in 1911 under the aegis of the United Mission (SUM) before its work was actually taken over by the Dutch Reformed Church Mission (DRCM) to become in due course the N.K.S.T.I. I'll approach this chapter as follows. Firstly I'll give a very brief outline of the essentials of Christian system of morality and its historical evolution (3.1).

Then I shall describe Christianity in Africa more embarking on an analysis of the early Tiv contacts with the missionaries (3.2). Against this historical backdrop I shall describe in more detail the background to the Dutch Reformed Church missionaries (3.3). Then I shall approach the details of the Christian system of morality as preached in Tivland in greater detail; Christianity and Tiv
Christian Morality

Christianity is first and foremost a way of life centered on the personhood of Jesus Christ who claimed to be the Son of God. Thus writes John in his Gospel:

"For God sent His Son into the world... so that through Him the world might be saved. No one who believes in Him will be condemned; but whoever refuses to believe is already condemned, because he has refused to believe in God's only Son". (Jn:3,17-18).

Christ expressed his basic teaching as follows:

"This is my commandment: That you love one another as I have loved you". (Jn: 15:12).

But despite the teaching of universal love of its founder Jesus Christ, constant disputes, schisms, heresies and even wars have marred the complicated and turbulent history of Christianity.

Almost from its beginnings Christianity tended to be a 'universal' religion, not only unrestricted
far as all nations are concerned but as laying
a way of life that applied to all cultures,
making them, ennobling them, liberating them to
achieve their fullest scope. In this fashion as
Christianity spread it absorbed and adopted a large
number of elements and practices from Judaic,
Gnostic, Roman and other religious sources. Weekly
communion for regular 'sabbath' services was a
practice inherited from the Judaic tradition, a
practice, as we shall see, that ran very contrary
to the Tiv practice in this regard. From the Greek
ancient Christian scholars learned the art of logical
reason and the expression of philosophical ideas,
and that seemed to be foreign to the Tiv
understanding of morality which seemed to be more
rational and traditionally based. From Roman
ancient Christians borrowed the model of a centralised
authoritarian law and order and adapted it to fit an
organized self-governing religious body that ran
international lives: the Church. Even though
he himself died 2,000 years ago he left a message
was universal in its implications:

"Go, therefore, make disciples of all the
nations; baptize them in the name of the
Father and of the Son and of the Holy
Spirit and teach them to observe all the commands I gave you. And know that I am with you always; yes, to the end of time.

But this mandate could not be carried out in a vacuum. Before the Christian morality reached the shores of Africa it had already been conditioned by the Renaissance, the Scientific Revolution, the Reformation and many other movements that left their mark on the gospel message itself. And by the time it reached Nigeria it had indeed assumed many cultural accretions.

Like many other new African states, Nigeria has been the host, at times reluctant host, to conquerors, colonizers, and preachers alike. This occupational hazard goes back to the 16th century at least, in Nigeria. At that time the Portuguese came to this country, bringing with them their trade, religion. But the real rooting of the European the implanting of his ways on Nigerian soil development of the 19th and current centuries. The British came and in an imperialist contest with the French, took steps to annex modern Nigeria for the Crown, a step that was solemnly ratified on January 1st 1914, when the country was unified and became part of the British Empire.
The chain of events that have led to what we might call the phenomenon of Christianity in Modern Nigeria is too complicated an issue to enter into here. But at the risk of gross oversimplification, one may say that the historical evolution we have been describing in the last few paragraphs constitutes the story of the implanting of the gospel here and that a large and substantial part of that story is the influence and impact of the Scientific Revolution and the Industrial Revolution respectively. In an age of Western domination the missionary movement itself reached a new height as the channels of communication were opened up by the secular powers and thereby facilitated evangelization and the expansion of the church.
3.2 The Time Run: Model Building and C

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Britain. A background to this second step over is necessary and is based on the work of T. Makar.\textsuperscript{2}

In 1900 all the leaders of the Evangelical Mission Society of Great Britain were summoned in Edinburgh to consider the problem of Missionary work in the Sudan (land of the blacks). The aim of the organisation was to combat the spread of Islam. This led to the founding of England of the Sudan pioneer work in 1902 by Dr. H.K.W. Kumm and his wife Lucy Kumm. Advised by C.L. Temple, the then British District Officer of Bauchi, the party of four set sail in 1904 for Nigeria, having chosen the name Sudan United Mission in the same year. The four were Dr. H.K.W. Kumm, Dr. A. H. Bateman, Mr. J.E. Burt and Mr. J.I. Maxwell. They stopped briefly at Aibinsi on their way to Ibi and Wase.\textsuperscript{3} They finally established a Missionary station at Wase. The Sudan United Mission became a federation of Missions such as Baptists, Anglicans, Presbyterians, Methodists, each raising its own staff and fund but co-operating on the field holding periodic meetings to determine strategy. From Wase, the S.U.M. moved to open another station at Yankari in 1906;

Makar asserts that Dr. Kumm was recognised in
Britain and by the British officers in Nigeria as the head of the S.U.M. in Africa. As he found the work very challenging Dr. Huism went to South Africa to help arouse interest among the white Christian bodies in the Union of South Africa in providing missionaries to serve in Nigeria. As a result of his visit three South African Missionaries, Rev. J. G. Botha Mr. V.H. Bosking and Mr. Carl Zimmerman came with Dr. Huism to Nigeria. The South African missionaries established their first settlement at Ihuala on the upper reaches of River Benue.

S. Yakubu argues that owing to lack of progress in the missionary work among the Ihuala and the fact that the Tiv were more numerous than the Ihuala, the S.U.M. moved under Mr. Zimmerman and established their first station in Tivland at Gwi on 17th April 1911. Makara states that in that same year members of Dutch Reformed Church Mission arrived from South Africa to take over the S.U.M. work among the Tiv. This contrasts sharply with the account of S. Yakubu on the transfer of work. Yakubu gives 1st July 1916 as the year the D.R.C.M. took over from the S.U.M.

E.E.T. Crompton's date of take-over by the D.R.C.M. agrees with that of Yakubu as he reports:
"In the 1950s the Christian Reformed Church (C.R.C.) branch began to take over the work of the D.R.C.M. in neighbouring Tivland. This had been begun by the South African Branch of the S.U.M. in 1911 but in 1916 Tivland was allocated to the D.R.C.M. of South Africa when it declared its wish for separate sphere of work. These South Africans who were not members of the D.R.C.M. found another sphere in the northern parts of Renue Province."  

It is understood that at that time the Tiv numbered up to 800,000 and so the Missionaries preferred to work with a larger community that had a single language than the Mbula who numbered only 8,000.  

The date of 1916 is more apparent or logical than that given by Makar, and should be accepted as the correct date for the transfer of Mission work.  

The D.R.C.M. were a puritanical offspring of Calvinism from South Africa and were the first white Missionaries to arrive in Tivland. They carried with them such ideas like "man has a back and obeys only when it is beaten; virtue must be practised for its own sake, not for the sake of reward, vice must be stamped out as unworthy of the elect, even by force. They also encouraged the subordination of the secular authority to the Church." More will be said below on the D.R.C.M. and their work. Meanwhile a general look at Christian Morality will be taken
in the following paragraphs.

3.3 Background to the Dutch Reformed Church Missionaries

It has been made clear that those who finally undertook missionary work in Nyland were the Boers (Dutch) from South Africa and they were puritans. This apart, they came from the Union of South Africa where ethnic conflicts and racial discriminations were rife. Within the D.R.C.M. organisation itself views about the black were inhuman and immoral. Their writings and reactions towards the blacks left much to be desired. Conflicts between the English speaking and Afrikaans (language developed by the Boers after years of isolation in the Union) speakers continued in the Church and extended to the mission fields. Such ideas can best be understood from a few quotations.

In 1923 M. de Klerk, a prominent D.R.C.M. writer wrote concerning the aborigines of South Africa that:

"The Bantu, after all, belong to a lower race which cannot be placed on an equal footing with the White, either in the family or in politics, or in the Church. No, here are lines drawn by the Creator Himself, which man may yet wipe out on his own accord without it having evil effects."\(^6\)

Even those of them who had less offensive views
about the black believed that Africans were inferior and even if the salvation brought by Christ was universal its role on the Africans was limited. Van de Merwe wrote, for instance,

"The unique and universal redemptive power of God in Christ can uplift also the Bushmen, even if they are a deteriorated race."

The work of the D.R.C.M. (a closer look at it will be made later) in Tivland is often assessed to be slow and comparatively unsuccessful (vis-à-vis the R.C.M.? ) as not so many souls were won for Christ for a long time. Rubinch associates this with the Boer outlook to Africans in the words

"It must be remembered finally, that the history of conflict of the Boers with the Bantu tribes made mission work among them particularly difficult and the whole panoply of the apartheid controversy enters the picture. The "Parallel Institutions" policy of General Smuts and the evolvement of the philosophy of apartheid coincided with D.R.C. opinion to a large extent. It was thus from this context of the evangelical awakening in the bosom of a historically conditioned conservatism that the D.R.C. sent out its members to join in the odyssey of the Sudan United Mission in Nigeria."

Rubinch sees the D.R.C.M. as coming from a country that embraced apartheid as a way of life and practised it in every realm of social life. He
Tivland at the time was heavily forested with dangerous wild animals, and so the Missionaries were compelled to sleep with the Africans.  Vinko mentions that Mr. Zimmerman slept in Sai's compound on arrival because his compound was not yet built.  He slept in Sai's compound and at day break he began work on his own compound.  The Missionaries settled and made their separate quarters in which Africans were not allowed to enter except those hired to work for them. They also made sure their seats were reserved exclusively for them in the churches. There were also separate sections for women in the churches until in the late 1950s, when this policy was reversed and husbands could now sit with their wives on the same seats. The policy change started in big churches and gradually extended into the smaller churches in the 1960s and 1970s.

The eating of the Tiv foodstuff was also necessitated by the economic order at the time. Shipping foodstuffs and tinned foods to Tivland was difficult in the early stage of their arrival. Later, they were importing their food items as transportation improved, subsidising only with the palatable food crops of the Tiv.
Again to indoctrinate a people you must adopt real convincing methods of social interaction. Thus their apparent social interaction or association with the Tiv was tantamount to putting a dog or a horse while breaking it in.

Elsewhere Rubingh states categorically that :

"The Dutch Reformed Church of South Africa brought to its mission in Tiv-land a complex heritage of mission attitudes and relationships with the Africans. Ethnic and cultural tensions were already active in the 16th cen in the relationship of the D.R.C. and the Moravians who undertook mission work among the Hottentots...."

Vander Kemp is also reported by Rubingh to have written about the natives as being the offspring of Canaan, youngest son of Noah and that they are cursed of God to a perpetual servitude. These ideas were put to practice in, for example, in 1873 when the home Synod of South Africa demanded that coloured persons should not be educated, nor worship in buildings with the white population.

How then was it possible for the D.R.C.M. who formed some prejudiced ideologies about the Africans to have changed suddenly? Would it be the government of Nigeria's policy that compelled them to integrate with the Africans here in Nigeria? This is unlikely.
Nigeria was not an independent nation at that
time to have developed a foreign policy to antagonise
partheid. Note that when Nigeria gained independence
the D.R.C.M. transferred their work to the S.U.M.
(C.R.C. branch) and returned to the Union of South
Africa.

Further contradictory statements by Rubingh
suggest that he might be defending the D.R.C.M.,
himself being a missionary. Consider for example,
a statement he asserts:

"The D.R.C.M., however, insisted that
the Tiv remain Tiv, and school children
who adopted foreign ways were soon
brought to heel. Corporal punishment,
given by the missionaries themselves,
was common for those who essayed to
speak English, to wear shoes or to
ride a bicycle."

As late as 1951 I greeted a Dutch lady who was
serving at Bensen in Enni English and the lady inquired
in Tiv from where I came that I could not speak Tiv.
The greeting went unanswered.

It is pertinent here to pose the following
questions. How could the wearing of shoes and the
riding of a bicycle stop someone from becoming a
Christian or entering into the kingdom of God? Were
the Dutch not wearing shoes themselves? Were they
not loud speaking English with the Catholic nuns, Fathers, and the British Administrators? If they were performing these things but at the same time outlawing them, were they implying that the salvation they brought was for the Tiv but not for the Dutch and the Catholic Fathers? Did they have a salvation for themselves other than the one they brought for the Tiv?

This looks totally to another questionable, and indeed, contradictory conclusion reached by Rubincs that the uncertainty of the Tiv as to how far they should go in their resistance to the missionary allowed him to be authoritarian in the attainment of his aim. In Rubincs saying here that the Tiv intrinsically or resistance to coexisting Christianity conditioned the Dutch to be kinder? Then did this start? Elsewhere Rubincs infers that:

"Today 150,000 Tiv of this tribe of more than a million people gather each Sunday to worship under the auspices of the M.K.A.H.T... The Roman Catholic Mission which entered Tivland much later, lists its adherents in the area as 22,975, though these figures include several thousand non-Tiv attenders who reside within the confines of the Diocese of Makurdi."

Judging from the above quotation, probably,
things became normal as quite a number of the Tiv embraced Christianity that was brought by the Dutch. Did they discard the authoritarian tendency or policy after winning many adherents? Maker speaks of the deterring policies of the Dutch and concludes that the Tiv preferred the Roman Catholic Mission for being less stringent and less rigid. He feels the Roman Catholic Missions were more accommodating and the Tiv tolerated them more since they allowed traditionalism to penetrate Christianity. His assertion is valid truth. However, my discourse even with the Roman Catholic Christians reveals that the strict measures or the insistence by the Dutch on the Tiv discarding secularism and maintaining absolute moral standards resulted in better Christians than the D.R.C.M. adherents. Generally, strictness in every organization limits numbers or membership but leaves the organization better, quality-wise. It is also true that the sociability of the D.R.C.M. products is absolutely low and detested by both traditionalists and the Roman Catholic Christians.

3.4 **Christianizing the Tiv: Areas of Conflict.**

It has been mentioned above that Christian
morality is centered on the love of God and one's fellowmen.

The Christian missionaries (D.P.C.M. 1911 and the R.C.M. 1919), set out reforms in the spiritual, moral and social aspects of the Tiv. They endeavored to teach religion (Christianity), to teach the children in the schools they soon established, to treat diseases and also to teach her husband. This was the work the missionaries carried on among the Tiv day by day. While it is not my intention to give a detailed progression of the missionary work a summary of the early work between 1911 and 1935 will help clarify some propositions by Rubinen and Maker as regards the missionary achievement.

Mention has been made earlier on, of the arrival and establishment of a station at Gui in Chitite in 1911. The first convert was naturally Gui's son called Siga. Yehua states that in 1912 Siga confessed and accepted Christ. In 1917, it is said, the first four Tiv Christians were baptised. Four years later Kiker, the fifth Tiv was baptised.

But this time the missionaries had mastered enough of the Tiv language so that in 1922 they published the historical part of the Bible in Tiv. It was known as
Akan a Bibilo literally meaning things of the Bible. This was a summary of the stories very suitable for teaching children.

Between 1911 and 1935 not less than nine stations were opened. These include Sani (1911), Sevav, Zaki-Biam, Mkar (1923), Adikpo (1923) Turan (1926), Kunav (1927) Makurdi (1931), and Shangev-Tiev (1935). 15

One interesting point which needs clarification is the fact that Kunav Church was inaugurated as early as 1944 as an entity while Mkar the headquarters was inaugurated in 1947. This might be traced to the rapid development of the Church at Kunav.

Mkar writing on the early beginnings of the D.R.C.M. approach to converting the Tiv to Christianity dwells on the fundamental cultural and ideological differences between the D.R.C.M. missionaries and the Tiv. The Tiv would not have any effective social contact with the missionaries. He buttresses his argument with a quotation from Cassalong on the Tiv outlook to foreigners as inferior to Tiv, even the writeman. This was so serious that those who worked for the missionaries were sneered at and humiliated so they had to give up their work. This continued down the decades so
that even today the Tiv consider those working as cooks, stewards and washermen for the whitesmen as very mean people. This aloofness of the Tiv limited the evangelisation of and conversion to Christianity by the missionaries. Thus after twenty years of continued preaching and general ministering in Tivland the number of baptised Tiv was 19 in 1931. This small number of those baptised can be explained with the words of Mr. Crampton as he mentions elsewhere in his book:

"One of its characteristics is a notoriously long period of pre-baptismal training".16

Rubingh and Nekar assess correctly that the Christian faith did not make swift progress among the Tiv. On the quality of the adherents Rubingh concludes that the majority were young people and also a few women; the elders preferred to put their trust in the Akomho and the Mbatsav.

The first difficult notion the Tiv heard from the missionaries was the concept of 'eternal life'. The Tiv philosophy on life was that when a man died, he was buried in the ground and was exhumed at night by the Mbatsav and eaten. That was the end of the person. Thus formerly when a man died people in
that compound would not come out of their houses at night. Those who came to console the relatives of the bereaved also made sure they left the compound before sunset. The practice was that even if your compound was very far and could not return that evening to reach it, you made sure to leave and spend your night away from the compound in which death occurred. Even if you never knew a person in that vicinity you entered any compound and explained your plight and were sure of hospitality. Night birds like owls that visit homes during the night would be associated with the visits of the Mbatay "during their exhuming the corpses", as these birds would sit and sing on the rooftops. It was common for the elder of the compound head to utter words claiming innocence i.e. that he had not shared a human flesh with any ormbatsay (wizard). This he did to ensure his subjects that they may not be touched as he had not participated in the eating of a human flesh, that would demand payment with any member of the household.

The Tiv therefore believed that the end of a man's flesh (the soul) was in the stomachs of the Mbatay. Indeed it was alleged that Mbatay were responsible for any death that took place in Tivland. The only
this commandment.

The fourth commandment entails that Christians are to rest and worship God on the Sabbath or the seventh day of the week. But the Tiv people, as stated earlier were great farmers working virtually every day. This new teaching imposed a rest on the seventh day. This teaching again was not acceptable to the elders. They merely branded the missionary as a lazy man.

The Abolition of the Exchange Marriage System

By the time the missionaries arrived in Tivland the people had developed and practised three main methods of contracting marriage. It is necessary to realise that these were not all developed at once and practised simultaneously but one was developed and tried for some time. When problems were discerned, they improved or evolved new methods. These methods include:

(a) The Exchange Marriage System. This method simply entailed the exchange of daughters and or sisters by mutual agreement between the two parties involved. (b) The Elopement system - In this method men a man's wife could be taken by force. This method posed untold problems and was gradually
replaced with the lye method. (c) The lye marriage system. This involved a number of young men with musical instruments, who dressed up well and went to a Tiv clan convincing the girls to marry them. After the girls were wooed and married the elders ratified this either by exchanging girls or by payment of some price.

When the missionaries came they quickly discovered that all the Tiv marriage systems were bad and they set to abolish them. They felt those marriage systems did not tally with the Christian principles. Makar remarks that the missionaries carried out vicious campaigns for a period of at least two years before the colonial administration yielded to their pressure. On 19th April 1925 the then D.R.C.M. chairman, Rev. M.A. Malherbe wrote a letter proposing the following reasons why the Tiv marriage system should be abolished.

1. There is no certified permanency.

2. Inability of the most young men to obtain wives at a desirable age, and the consequent immorality, seduction and abduction.

3. A woman may have several successive husbands with consequent destruction to real home life, which is the strongest guarantee for the tribe's healthy growth and its social
and economic development, this fact explains also much of the suffering to which 'Munshi' children are exposed.

4. In the soil prepared by morally corroding marriage customs, immorality thrives to an alarming degree, and this we feel will greatly retard healthy general development of the tribe, and physical, mental, industrial and above all spiritual, and will continue to reflect its disintegrating and disturbing influence in the social relationships of the community as it has certainly done in the past.

5. We are so strongly convinced of the truth of this statement that we venture to assert that the hope of a better future for the 'Munshi' tribe lies to a large extent in all measures that are calculated in bringing about a change in the tribal system of marriages...17

Makar attempts an analysis of the arguments presented by Rev. Malherbe in the following manner:

"Apart from the first point raised in their arguments, the rest reflect their own ways of life and may be regarded as "bogus" theories which are completely untenable even in the Union of South Africa where the D.R.C.'s body originated."

He further cites three reasons for taking this stance, two of which will be mentioned below for the sake of their relevance to this research. These are:

(a) Immorality in Tivland has not been reduced; I should add that immorality in the homelands of the missionaries was probably worse than what obtained in Tivland at the time.
(b) Abduction or seduction of girls has not ceased because it is an important element in the family survival of the people.

More will be said later on the points Makar has raised when analysing the missionary activities.

Following this pressure from the missionaries the British administrators summoned the District heads and all the chief men from every clan for a meeting at Abinsi in 1927. They were told to abandon all other marriage systems and choose one. Akira states that,

"When the Tiv heard this their hearts sank, for it seemed to them a great disaster. The Tiv said that they could not abandon marriage by exchange, because this was the immemorial custom of the tribe and because it was at the door of the exchange wife that they set up the Akombe, in order that the crops should be good, the women give birth, and the land prosper. If they were to give up exchange marriage the land would be spoilt, the women would cease to bear children, and the crops would fail." 19

Two points made the circumstances under which the chiefs and elders underwent their discourse with the British precarious.

(a) The chiefs and elders were in great fear as chief Ugba had just at this time been deported to Kaduna. They thought a stiff opposition to the bride price as proposed by the British and the missionaries
would earn them deportation too.

(b) Some young men who were working on the railway construction had just returned with money and wanted girls to marry. They therefore, favoured the bride price and so supported the British administrators.

The matter became difficult and some protracted arguments continued for about seven days. While this deadlock persisted, a number of lorries came from Makurdi and parked outside as the chiefs and elders were deliberating. Akiga mentions that some officials working with the British administrators deceived the chiefs and elders that the lorries came to the chiefs. If they did not end the argument by accepting marriage by payment of bride price, they would all be taken to Kaduna and would never see Tyland again. Terrified, the chiefs and elders unanimously accepted the bride price. One would infer here, and correctly too, that this was a plan conspired by the British and the officials for the elders to adhere to their dictates.

There was a public out-cry from the chiefs' classes and when they heard the outcome of the seven
day meeting, chief Tiko filed the following report on
the reception of the populace:

"The chiefs have been down to meet the
white men at Riverside, and completely
spoilt the land! Ever since the white-
men came he has never done anything so
disastrous to our country as this." \[1
The reception of the whites at the land
was throughout Tivland. The chiefs denied conniving
with the white men, but the clansmen hardly believed
them. They thought the chiefs were paid and there-
fore had money to pay for the bride; that was why
they easily supported marriage with money. Earlier
'Trial by ordeal' had been outlawed and the Tiv
obliged. But now, they felt, that they would not
drop the exchange marriage system. They therefore
set their minds on when the law prohibiting exchange
marriage would be recalled. They waited in vain
until they were forced by circumstances to embrace
the bride price system.

Those most hard hit by the new system were the
old men. Prior to the advent of the bride price
system, no girl ever succeeded in refusing the man
her father gave to. Whenever she ran back to her
father, the father returned her to the husband since
the other exchanged girl was still staying as a
With the Father. This runaway girl. Thus only men, old men, were with neither fine nor toes; needed very young and beautiful girls. Who had no choice than to comply with the dictates of their fathers.

Boys and girls were to this new system very much. Previously sea boys could wait until they were forty years before they took their turn in marriage. Now they use money or rice to marry at an early age. Girls considered this as an emancipation from what they termed 'slavery'. They could now marry young men of their choice. They now had the right to say 'no' if their father attempted to marry them to a man; they did not love. Akiga also quotes a reply of the girls to the old men whenever they attempted to find out the rationale in refusing to marry the old men as saying:

"The dance is merriest when the dancers are of the same age. Let the old men run after the old women, and leave us to find husbands amongst the companions of our youth."22

There are many comments or refutal arguments to be advanced towards the protagonists of the bride price in place of the Exchange Marriage system. The first of these is that the practice of forcing
women to marry according to the fathers' choices and abduction of women continue to the present day, after the Exchange Marriage has been abolished for over half a century. In 1962 one of my cousins was forced to marry a man she did not love and there are many such examples that I can enumerate who are living happily with their husbands and have many children. The idea of emancipation of women cannot be carried far as a valid point.

The second point is one raised by Rupert that

"...the subject of the 'Divorce' systems is probably the biggest problem with which the administration has been faced in its relations with the Brits, one that which has had the most far-reaching results. It arose, like most other problems in modern Africa, directly or indirectly, from the clash of the different cultures and social systems, which has accurately described the reactions on the two opposite sections of tribal society. The proposal to divorce the 'Divorce' systems was first made by the Dutch Reformed Church Mission on the grounds that they were not in accordance with Christian principles. The amount of litigation resulting from so many different and confused systems had become so general that the council had time to deal with little else."

In the light of the above, I have to state that:

(a) if the British administration and the mission curators...
were convinced that what was practised by the Tiv was so bad and indeed it was really bad, there would not have been many problems following the abolition of the marriage systems to warrant Dr. Rupert's comments.

(b) If you go to all the Tiv courts today most of the cases, and difficult cases for that matter, concern marriage cases.

So do's words come readily in support of the point above where he states that

"All marriage systems require that at least two people, with their individual desires, needs and values, live together and all systems create some tensions and misunderstandings." [2]

It was therefore wise to consider the number of litigants, a strong point to press for a change in the Tiv marriage systems.

(c) Rupert enumerates quite a number of observations made by other British officials on this thorny issue as follows:

(i) Captain Brown suggested, after observing the results of the drastic change, that

"A gradual adjustment and the elimination of unsatisfactory features, after full inquiry, would have been far better for the tribe than the sudden abolition of exchange marriage."
(ii) E. C. Poulton simply concluded in 1939 that:

"The basic foundation of the Tiv social system was abolished." This was a total condemnation of the British Mission action by one of the British administrators.

(iii) In his opinion再度, E. C. Poulton wrote in 1939, five years after the abolition, that "the question was never considered in relation to the social organization of the Tiv generally... The practical question which arises now is how are we to effect the Tana" (chiefs) and their elders to enforce an exiled system they don't care of?"

(iv) Similarly concerning the measure taken

A. B. Matthews stated in 1939 that:

"The remedy was too drastic, in simplification of the many different variations of practice, enact the abolition of the fundamental one, would perhaps have been a wise step for the district but to have advocated..."

Rupert then gives a detailed illumination of the effects of the abolition in the following words:

"The basic foundation of the Tiv social system was abolished and that this change shook the spiritual life of the tribe, because with the end of the existence marriage the greatest of the family cults, which were closely bound up with it lost their true purpose and significance.

Rupert enlists the most serious result of this change as dissension by the younger to the elders."
He however, poses a defence, lightening their
unwise decision by shifting the reason to that of
British arrival with its consequences such as
education, travel facilities, economic independence
of the young men following the introduction of money
economy.

Anti-Witchcraft Movements

There was a series of anti-Witchcraft
movements which arose either directly or indirectly
as a result of the coming of the white missionaries
and the British administrators. Such movements
include *Ijov* (1917) *Ivase*, Haaka or Namaka and
*Inyambaran*. The development of some or all of them
was pragmatic or incidental and not carefully
planned. By this is implied an event would take
place and the subsequent events would lead
gradually into a movement against suspected witches.

*Haaka* and *Inyambaran* may be cited to show that
these were momentous events and not plans by the
people to eradicate witches.

*Haaka* This movement was known variously as *Haaka*
*Pasopase* or *Nakaka*, and literally it means "throw
down things" referring to cultic materials that
were supposedly owned by the *Mhatsaw*. Its beginning
as given by Ahiga is as follows:

Two brothers lived together in a village whose names were Kpela and Asanyi. Kpela died later on and Asanyi, due to the Tiv custom, inherited Kpela's wife. Then later Asanyi heard a rumour that a member of their community accused him (Asanyi) of planning to kill the inherited wife. Asanyi quickly reported this to the chief who thought it was a rumour and since it was a family affair he referred it to the elders of Asanyi to settle. The elders pronounced Asanyi guilty for not casting off the rumour before reporting it to the chief. Asanyi was angry over this decision and vowed to take the matter to the white man at Katsina-Ala.

When Asanyi went to the District Officer (D.O) at Katsina-Ala, he lied that Ama, Iheon, Akishi and Torciehbe (the elders who pronounced him guilty earlier) had killed his brother (Kpela). They had brought him the head, but he refused to accept it, so they had taken it away and given it to a native, who had eaten it. The D.O then sent the chief's messenger who was visiting Katsina-Ala at the time to tell the chief to bring the elders accused. These were brought and when questioned
they all denied the charge of killing Kpela. The
D.O. asked Aganyi and he replied that they all knew
about it and were only concealing their guilt. On
further denial, the D.O. inquired whether Aganyi
would recognize the skull of his brother. Aganyi
replied that he would know it since his brother had
one molar missing on the right-hand side. At this
juncture Dzegale, who was accused of eating Kpela's
head, confirmed that Aganyi was speaking the truth
and asked to be permitted to go and bring the skull.
He went and brought the skull of the woman who died
recently and Aganyi refused that it was not his
brother's skull since he did not see the lost molar.
The D.O. then severely punished the elders involved
for the offence they committed. 27

Seeing what the white man (D.O.) had done to the
Tlw elders, the people quickly saw a means to revenge
those who have offended them. Thus many went to the
D.O. accusing this elder or that elder. The police-
men were then sent each time to bring the accused.
The elders would deny knowledge of what they were
accused of, but the D.O. would not accept their
statements. Then the elders would ask for
permission to go and bring the 'things'. On
reaching their home some of the elders, agitated and badly frustrated by the beating and other maltreatment at the hands of the policemen, asked people who naturally escorted them to their homes to fetch the 'things'. Inside their houses, some of them stabbed themselves with poisoned arrows.

Some died, but others were discovered on time and treated. Others entered their houses and set their houses on fire as they preferred death to the extreme maltreatment meted to them by the policemen. Some clever elders, however, quickly manufactured things that were plausible to cultic instruments and presented to save themselves from torture.

Akiga states that some elders would go and dig up the graves of men buried a long time ago, remove the skull which were quickly polished and decorated. They would then put in the old black sacks to be carried and presented to the D.O. These were accepted as genuine cultic materials.

Speaking on this monstrous and inhuman treatment of the elders at the height of Ikanga movement, Rubinga asserts that:

"while no case of ritual killing could be proven, the antibodies clearly held the land in dread. The administration thereupon ordered the confiscation of cultic
paraphernalia in the hope that the Mfie cult could thereby be forced into extinction. Local police were ordered out to collect the cultic items whose use was to be henceforth forbidden. Police saw in this order the opportunity to beat and punish the elders, and the populace in general found in the order a chance to avenge their enemies as witches. Many grasped at the opportunity and the stream of accusations became a flood..."26

Akiga's words on this torture are even more forceful and touching, says he:

"When he failed to find any skulls the police gave him such a beating that even if he returned home his strength was exhausted, and he died."29

Akiga then lists Mbitirie, Ikurav, Ugondo, Kunav and Turan as those elders that suffered most atrocities during the Jankara movement. The movement, like all others, died down suddenly. The O.O. finally discovered that there was no truth in these accusations which came to preoccupy his entire attention. One person who died and it was alleged that his corpse was exhumed and eaten was found intact in his grave. Yet the elders who were taken there maintained that it was just his form that was seen there and that his flesh had been consumed by the Mbitirie."
Other movements (including Inyambu which occurred in 1939), were all aimed at uprooting the power of the elders and may not be described in any great detail. Their brief analysis, however, may be undertaken as they are crucial to the research.

3.62 Inyambu

Rubimah states that Inyambu movement had actually begun in 1939 by a man he names as Shiki, who claimed the power to give some immunity to some form of witchcraft to his adherents. Shiki gave the people a great hope of relief by promising them protection from the Mbatay and particularly the eternal life. Rubimah gives Shiki’s procedure as;

"The ritual involved the payment of a small fee, the sacrifice of a chicken, the drinking of the wonderous potion, and the surrender of all magical paraphernalia and fetishes. Here the political and religious aspects of the revolt met. In addition to the medicine, the initiate received a leather-covered stick and a fly whisk (tsav), with the whisk he was enabled to flog out those with malicious tsav, or in the Tiv idiom, ijebu or 'counterfeit', and by pointing the stick at the adversary his evil would recoil upon him... As the Inyambu adherents increased in number and boldness, they began to spend more and more of their time seeking the ijebu. Those who professed innocence were made to prove this through sasswood ordeal, that is, by drinking a dangerous concoction made from sasswood which, if vomited,
established their innocence but which otherwise poisoned them...

The mass hysteria meant also that little farm work was carried on and a famine was imminent. Collection of tax became an impossibility and all existing authority was roundly flouted. An Inyambo hierarchy came into existence with its own courts, chiefs, policemen, messengers, 'doctors' and 'missionaries'. The power of the family and clan heads was usurped and the usual social processes came to a standstill. Public health was endangered by the medicines made by the sasswood ordeal, and by the treatment of corpses. Adherents were so exultant and caught up in Inyambo activity, that there was no time or energy left for food production. The religious services of the Christians were stopped in many areas and several Bible schools had to be closed. They were no longer necessary in any case, it was said, for the Inyambo would usher in the millennium, since if the Mfatsay were staved and died out, there could be no death. The Inyambo had become a full-fledged rival religion.  

This long quotation is imperative for several reasons. One chief reason is that several interpretations and explanations have been made by British Administrators, Christian Missionaries (Rubingh and Casolello) and Anthropologists (Laure and Paul Bohannan). I will delve into their viewpoints and attempt my own assessment of the Inyambo as well as comment on the general movements.

The British officials state that the significance
the native administration. Rather, he suggests it was the old, ingrained fear of the Tiv, who in his struggle against the powers that would kill him, was in search of means that could give him eternal life.

5. Two persons - Rev. Visser and Margery Perham writing on what was happening in Tivland at the time appear to have had a greater insight into the societal development and the issues at stake. Their judgment on the issues presents a true perspective. Rev. Visser, for instance, cautioned the government saying that the movement should be quelled with a minimal use of force, since the Tiv greatly respected the district officer and since the revolt was not anti-European. Rev. Visser felt too and suggested that the discrediting of Tày should not be received with unalloyed joy, for without the respect for Tày, future control would be precarious. He concluded that at the heart of the movement, was the revolt of the young against an autocracy based on Tày. 34

Rev. Visser seems to state that the political system was not in itself bad. What was wrong was the way the elders were misusing their constitutional right by being autocratic. The young accepted the authority of the elders but were compelled to revolt.
disrupting the cultural heritage and their values.

Finally on this, one would add the view presented by Rubingh as he states rightly that "In the Tiv view, Mbatey were to use their ability for the preservation of life and the fertility of the far" (country).

"Thus when the elders sought personal advantage, sent through law, this was certainly in flagrant violation of the cultural values of their own tribe."

The latter sentence by Rubingh is simply explaining his lot with the younger since he was a missionary and would naturally favour those acting to uphold the mission views. Rubingh concludes that several new Bible schools were opened in the bush and many Tiv turned to seek eternal life in Christ. Rubingh has to be informed that people went to the schools not for the religious doctrinal appeal but to procure secular knowledge. Many people went with the hope to write and read letters. Religion was mere ancillary to the quest for knowledge.

It is surprising that Akin has not given us any information about Lajamara, an event which took place and shook the whole world. Both Catholic missionaries at Kereinya and D.R.C.M. missionaries at Shapraye-Tiev had to be evacuated. Rubingh mentions
schools had to be closed down at the height of the Inyamburn movement. An event of this colossal magnitude is not mentioned by Akiga's detailed book.

3.7 Missionary Activities and Their Impact.

Missionaries carried out many other activities that had far-reaching effects on the Tiv. These other methods used by the missionaries in evangelization of the Tiv include:

The Establishment of Schools

Both the R.C.M. and the B.R.C.M. realized that schools were a good means to propagate their Christian religion. As a result many Bible schools were opened and the curriculum was largely the teaching of the Three Rs. The use of English was shunned by the B.R.C.M. up to the late 1960s. The Roman Catholics, on the other hand, chose English language teaching as a weapon to capture children. It will be seen that the emphasis on the teaching of vernacular by the B.R.C.M. is a great credit to them in fostering the Tiv unity. The products of the Roman Catholics, especially at primary school level, were neither able to write letters in Tiv nor in English, at least not fluently whereas the B.R.C.M. products could write letters in the vernacular which
TABLE 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form of Evangelization Conducted Between 1920-1932</th>
<th>&quot;Potential Church Members&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Medicine (General)</td>
<td>210,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medicine (Legrove)</td>
<td>10,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education (Primary Schools)</td>
<td>9,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education (Village Bible Classes)</td>
<td>18,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Direct Evangelism</td>
<td>200,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>1,377,000</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Bible memory verses and catechism were the highly emphasized aspects of the curriculum. Sunday schools were important and almost compulsory for the children. Careful use of language in the B.P.E.M. schools in order to avoid immoral language was emphasized. Thus in some circumstances descriptive use was favoured as against the conceptual usage.

To carry their ideas further, a printing press was established in 1920 at Mker where pamphlets and Bible tracts were printed and distributed freely or sold at reduced prices.
Medical Care and the Underlying Motives

Apart from the direct preaching in churches and the religious knowledge teaching in schools, the clinics and hospitals were the third means both the Catholic and D.R.C.M. Missionaries employed in winning souls for Christ. Before coming to Nigeria the intending missionaries would be given short courses in the health care delivery to enable them contact the Africans convincingly. Soon, people started to view the white man's medicine as a kind of magic. Several clinics were opened and later a hospital was developed at Mkar.

Quoting Rev. Strijdom who wrote in 1919 on the appraisal of medical care as a means of propagating the gospel as follows:

"Those who come for medicine must attend the morning service and immediately thereafter they receive medical treatment. The medical work does much to gain the confidence of the heathen, and to show them that the missionary is burdened for their physical as well as spiritual welfare. The hospital open to scorn and so to make them powerless." 30

The D.R.C.M. also opened a leprosy hospital at Mkar called "Benue Leprosy Settlement" where lepers from the Benue province and even beyond converged for treatment. A large area was procured for this
purpose. Thus, apart from the homes built for the weaker lepers, the stronger ones established their villages all over and lived with their families. As the farm land around the Mker mountains was fertile, those who were discharged still settled and continued to till the land. Quite a number of these discharged lepers have become evangelists, teachers and nurses. The settlement became very popular in the 1950s, with their chief called Agom gaining popularity throughout Tivland. But beginning in the late 1950s and early 1960s there was a multiplicity of leprosy clinics by both the missions and the Native Administration so that quite a number of those who settled at Mker had to return to their clans to continue with the treatment there. To-day only major cases are referred to the Benue Leprosy Settlement.

3.73 Churches, Evangelists and Pastors

Mention has been made above of the establishment of Mission stations. These became centres for preaching as well as clusters of christians from where members went out on preaching treks for the gospel dissemination. The Missionaries also established evangelist centres where Catechists (R.C.M.) or evangelists (D.R.C.M.) were trained. These were
taught to shun the traditional beliefs and to urge or instil same ideas in the church members to look at traditional beliefs and values disdainfully. All the bible schools were placed in the hands of the catechists and evangelists. The more responsible and experienced evangelists were to cater for the needs of the bigger centres where primary schools were built.

Then between 1951 and 1957 the D.R.C.M. started and trained four indigenous pastors. These were ordained in 1957. The first Tiv Rev. Father (Catholic) was ordained in late 1960s. He is Rev. Father Akor. The four pastors were posted in the major stations. More pastors were trained, some of them at the Theological College of Northern Nigeria (TCNN) Bukuru near Jos. A similar pastor's college has since been established at Mkar known as the Reformed Theological College of Nigeria (RTCN).

The church has been transferred to the Tiv in 1957 thereby becoming an indigenous church with a nomenclature of 'Nango U Kristu U Sudan Ken Tiv.' (N.K.S.T.) meaning the Church of Christ in the Sudan among the Tiv.

In 1961, the D.R.C.M. completed the transfer of their missionary work to the American branch of the
Sudan United Mission. It is to be stressed here that, momentarily, even the few white missionaries working in Tivland are working under the banner of the N.K.S.T. Church.

3.8 Summary and Conclusion

The Missionaries arrived to find the Tiv deeply imbiberd in their traditional religion. It was among these highly religious people that the Missionaries, determined as they were, set out to propagate the Christian religious values. To indoctrinate the people already completely immersed in traditionalism was a difficult task. They, however, persevered. Combining active preaching with other activities aimed at evangelisation, souls were gradually won. After half a century of ministering, the missionaries made a considerable impact on the various fronts that they had established. This remarkable impact has contributed immensely in shaping Tivland to what it is today. Having established what the Tiv and Christian moralities are, I now turn to undertake a qualitative analysis of the interaction of the two moral codes.
### Table 3

The Tiv Church 1962

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ORGANISED CHURCHES</th>
<th>MEMBRS</th>
<th>SUNDAY ATTEND</th>
<th>INQUI. REG.</th>
<th>CATHE- GYRIC</th>
<th>ADULT BAPT.</th>
<th>INFANT BAPT.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mkar</td>
<td>416</td>
<td>7,715</td>
<td>241</td>
<td>501</td>
<td>222</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sevav</td>
<td>420</td>
<td>6,500</td>
<td>620</td>
<td>320</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adikpo</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>12,104</td>
<td>731</td>
<td>349</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zaki Biam</td>
<td>350</td>
<td>7,020</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>334</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kunav</td>
<td>316</td>
<td>6,077</td>
<td>417</td>
<td>259</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hanga</td>
<td>247</td>
<td>3,500</td>
<td>431</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turon</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>4,000</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aprir-Makd.</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>3,122</td>
<td>1318</td>
<td>264</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. L. G.</td>
<td>153</td>
<td>1,416</td>
<td>270</td>
<td>205</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ikaave</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>2,797</td>
<td>221</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iku</td>
<td>194</td>
<td>3,255</td>
<td>355</td>
<td>166</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abwa</td>
<td>414</td>
<td>4,384</td>
<td>705</td>
<td>157</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sai</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>1,023</td>
<td>307</td>
<td>153</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M'aa</td>
<td>358</td>
<td>3,107</td>
<td>308</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shangv</td>
<td>223</td>
<td>2,200</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vomune</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>2,162</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abok</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals</strong></td>
<td>4,162</td>
<td>73,140</td>
<td>7564</td>
<td>3632</td>
<td>1006</td>
<td>304</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Note:** The total communicant membership for 1962 was 4,162; and then, amazingly, membership jumped to 7,352 in 1963.
FOOTNOTES


2. Ibid. p. 409 Fr. 2.

3. The advice to establish at Mase was given by Lord Lugard which soon failed and the station abandoned.


9. Ibid. p. 98 fn

10. Ibid. p. 98.


12. Ibid. p. 95.

13. Ibid. p. 97.

14. The Roman Catholic entered Tivland in 1919.

15. S. Yakubu, op. cit.


18. Ibid. p. 432.

20. Ibid. p. 164
21. Ibid. p. 164
22. Ibid. p. 166
26. Ibid. p. 260 for the flesh debt payment.
27. Adapted from B. Akiga, Ibid. pp 275 - 277.
30. Ibid. p. 14h/7.


39. See table Three, p. 134

CHAPTER FOUR

The Moral Dilemma Among The Tiv - Living In Two Worlds

Introduction

In the previous two chapters I have attempted to portray the Tiv and Christian moralities respectively. A conscious effort was made in each case to merely narrate these moralities with virtually no comments on them. In chapter four I intend to show how the missionaries have denounced and outlawed much of the traditional values and beliefs so that while some of the elders remain loyal to the traditional morality the young ignore them. The young are therefore being taught, on the one hand, by the missionaries using the Christian moral code, and on the other, by the elders using the Tiv moral code. An analysis will will be made of:

(a) the behaviour of the youths being pulled in two directions, examining the results of this pull;

(b) how the society as a whole is affected;

(c) the desirability or otherwise of the double code co-existing and proposal as to who should control morality and why.

Speaking on the homogeneity of societies, Redfield asserts that;
"the integrity and the compelling force of the moral order in society were functions of isolation and of a slow rate of development of the technical order. Moral order flourishes when a society is shut away from outside influences. In contrast, when new ideas are rapidly introduced and people of different traditions are moving around, the moral order is thrown into confusion and its authority declines."

This quotation sums up well the conditions of morality in Tivland particularly between 1950 and the present day.

Just as is the case in virtually all the societies, the moral decadence in Tivland is as a result of the coming into play of a number of issues. In making a correct assessment of the moral decline in Tivland, therefore, it will be necessary to dwell on the role of the christian missionaries, contact with the Nigerian tribes and nationals of other countries, the increase in population, urbanization, the part played by the British administrators, the establishment of formal institutions of learning, the nature of the Tiv society, the crave for the material wealth by the young, the effects of the Tiv Riots 1960 - 64 and the Nigerian Civil War 1967 - 70. It will be argued that the imposition of the christian morality by the missionaries only
succeeded in setting the stage well for the subsequent events to erode the Tiv morality.

4.1 The Moral Dilemma

4.11 The Missionary Role

The most problematic issues introduced by the Christian moral code include:

(a) the idea of one true God;
(b) honouring the Sabbath day;
(c) avoidance of adultery;
(d) attendance at formal schools;
(e) condemnation of worship of Mbat Sawyer;
(f) introduction of monogamy;
(g) cancellation of Exchange Marriage System;
(h) equality before God and
(i) confiscation of cultic emblems in 1929.

Introduction of these issues presented a series of problems and various reactions from the elders and the youths resulted in varying degrees of resistance. Some of this resistance took the form of riots aimed at attacking the elders (Makena) since the missionaries/British administrators were apparently in alliance with the youths against the elders (perontocrats).

The Tiv believed in Aondo (God) but their own idea was that Aondo was far removed from the earth
and did not interfere in the social life of the Tiv. The Tiv feel that yondo supplies their daily needs: e.g., his thunders and 'spits' rain but allows the Tiv to go about their activities without any molestation. The missionaries introduced the ideas of (a) sin against God (b) the consequent punishment of sinners by God. These ideas were quite novel to the Tiv, and sounded quite foolish to them. It was seemingly foolish to think of the individual accountability on the last day where all humans will be equally treated during judgment.

The Tiv people believed that when a man died, he was buried and the Mbatsay surely exhume the corpse and, etc. This was, by and large, the end of all human beings. The only exception was where a man died as a result of violating the directives for manipulating with the tsoy that he bought. Such a man, the Tiv felt was not eaten by the Mbatsay since they did not kill him. Another exception was akin to this and was given to us by Rev. J.E.T. Sai. He narrated that sometimes there would arise a bitter disagreement between a man's paternal kinsmen and his maternal kinsmen as to who killed him. Either group of kinsmen would blame the killing on the other. In a case like
this, Rev. Gai stated, both the maternal and paternal kinmen would be watching to see if the other group of kinmen would come and exhume the corpse. In so doing the corpse decomposed in the ground. This notwithstanding, the Tiv believed generally that the end of the man was in the stomachs of the Mbatsav and considered all human beings to be Mbatsav's meat. Thus it was common to hear statements like "M Gibir Mbatsav nyam nyo," meaning let me lay Mbatsav's meat on the bed, as they went to sleep. The concept of life after death was non-existent among the Tiv. Even if they believed in and worshipped ancestors it was not apparent that the ancestors existed to be met again in another world for a further interaction as believed by the christians. They believed that the ancestors maintained a link but one that was certainly faint, one man out of those interviewed orally at Shitiwo clan, who preferred to remain anonymous and would be referred to simply as the son of Geyam Donga (80) (another informant), informed me that a man remains in the grave after burial, just as the christians assert that the spirit of the deceased has gone up yet nobody sees the spirit going up. Similarly when the Tiv infer that Mbatsav
have eaten a corpse, nobody sees it being eaten and
that is the reason why the Tiv continue to remember
their ancestors in their graves. The Tiv belief in
ancestors is therefore very

The son of Bogun concluded that the Tiv therefore
raise Mku to occasionally appease the ancestors.
Akiga states that Mku is really a very big thing, and
that the elders of long ago who understood the true
reason for raising the Mku used to say that its
purpose was to give food to your forefathers who were
dead, in order that they might be pleased with you;
that they should not come and speak with you in
dreams, but give you good luck and a life of happiness
on earth, blessed with every good fortune. 2 A number
of elders also practised a system of throwing morsels
of food, water and beer on the ground for the benefit
of the ancestors, each time they sat to consume these
items. As seen from Akiga’s narrative, dreams also
played a very prominent role in the Tiv religion.

John Mbiti, in his extensive research on the
African traditional religions observes a similar
practice of the living Africans maintaining a link
with the ancestors and rightly concludes that;

"Libation and the giving of food to the
departed are tokens of fellowship, hospitality and respect; the drink and food so given are symbols of family continuity and contact. 'Worship' is the wrong word to apply in this situation, and Africans themselves know very well that they are not 'worshipping' the departed members of their family. It is almost blasphemous, therefore, to describe these acts of family relationships as 'worship.'

There is a chief question to answer which will help us to understand the interaction of the two moral codes in Tivland. What was the philosophical, psychological and anthropological basis of explanation behind the Tiv moral code? In other words, what was the rationale behind the Tiv morality? The knowledge of this will explain how and why it was very difficult for the Tiv to accept Christianity or the new morality brought by the missionaries. It will also enable us to envision, amongst other reasons, why morality broke down, following the insistence of the Christian missionaries that the young accept their new morality.

The idea of eating the human flesh by Mbatkav was totally seared at the bottom of the heart of a Tiv man and formed a central principle of his religion. When the white missionaries brought a contrary
teaching, the elders could not accept this doctrine of the resurrection of the body. It was particularly difficult for them to believe as nobody had ever resurrected within their locality. The only example given by the missionaries was that of Christ whose resurrection took place thousands of miles away, sometimes in the dim past. The issue was made more complicated as the missionaries taught that the resurrected Christ was the son of God. This, in effect, ascribed an immortal power to Christ which mortals could not possess, to manipulate and resurrect. The elders therefore continued to teach the young about the role of M봉サ as regards the disposition of corpses. The missionaries too continued instilling the consoling idea of life after death into the youth. This was a real clash of two ideas - one advantageous to the youth. To die and be consumed meant the end for each member of the society. They knew too that it was the members of their society that would eat them. This belief made the youth to obey the elders, to perform some kind acts with the view that they may appease the elders so as to, at least, delay the time for killing them. Those who were hunters could make gifts with
...they killed believing elders liked meat, other professionals made gifts to the elders according to what they produced. They did these not so much that they were purely humanitarian nor that they revered the elders, but for the fear and awe towards members of Bhatsay. The moral code in this regard was therefore based on fear purely of what would happen to their lives should they prove disobedient. It was entirely an external sanction based on fear which if removed there would be nothing to coerce them into behaving well. The new teaching was tantamount to a licence against Bhatsay's ambivalent proclivity. It was quite appealing and gradually it started captivating some youths of the society. It must be understood that the process was very gradual as the presence of Bhatsay and the fear of what they could do were still haunting the youth. Breaking from the traditional belief entailed a total deviation from the values and caprices of the societal religion and indeed, becoming an outcast in the society. Thus, the two contrasting teachings co-existed and the Christian one began to make some inroads into the traditional belief on the continuation or otherwise of the human soul. The
new teaching was gaining currency especially when the
other activities of the missionaries such as the
medical care and the power of the British-backed-
missionaries over the social life of the Tiv were
becoming evident. The elders were hardly daunted even
though the missionary impact on the youth was really
threatening the societal base.

This double teaching on the individual's soul
continued until the arrival of the Haekaa movement.
It was during this time that the role of the Mhatsav
suffered a great blow. This blow was manifested in
four main thrusts:

1. Some of the elders, formerly believed to be
   absolute Mhatsav, just could not produce anything
   significant to prove their Tsay.

2. The elders (Mhatsav) could not kill the white men
   or the missionary with their Tsay even though what he
   was doing was detested by these very sodly Mhatsav.

3. People who died and their corpses believed to
   have been eaten a long time were still found intact
   in their graves while the elders still maintained
   that what was seen was merely the form and not the
   real corpses of the deceased. (This was what stopped
   Haekaa since the whitened proved Tsay as merely false).
The young men who accused the elders before the
whitesmen were not killed and consumed by the Mbatay.
This made the youth to reduce considerably their
belief in them, and the fear of Mbatay was heavily
eroded. The result of this was that:

(a) Quite a number of the young men became
bolder and began to rely more on the
missionary teaching than the traditional
teaching of the elders. Consequently
started to give way to the societal control
by the youth.

(b) Community was gradually replaced by
individualism.

(c) As it was proved that the Mbatay do not
eat people at night, thieves were no
longer afraid of travelling at night;
stealing therefore increased.

Mention has been made above that the missionaries
also taught that the Tiv farmers should work for six
days and then rest on the seventh day, which was
considered as the Lord's day. It was also mentioned
that the Tiv farmers found it unreasonable to spend
a whole day away from their farms due to the
acceptance of a new religion. While the Tiv culture warranted all days as working days (of course, working half days on market days except when they did not send to attend the market, in which case they worked full day), the missionary religion considered one market day to be an important day, a holy day, that must not be missed. It was pointed out earlier that the nearest Tiv notion to work was the market which has five days in between. The missionaries, in order to avoid the buying and selling on Sundays, they introduced the system of market days, every seven days in between, instead of five. It was also decided that fixed days be falling within the mission jurisdiction. Hence, fixed days became market days. If there were three markets within the jurisdiction, one may be fixed on Monday, the next on Wednesday and the other on Saturday. Three days of the week became fixed market days so that there was no possibility of any of them being used for traditional business on Sunday. In the Tiv traditional organization all the week would have been taken as market days apart from two different Sundays: since those markets were not fixed but each rotated every five days, Sundays, inclusive. The bizarre
market in Gboro division was set up by the D.R.C.M. and it operates every Saturday. It is indeed known as Ortese, a name commonly given to the D.R.C.M. missions.

The elders were vehemently opposed to this setting aside of the sabbath day when no work would be done. Whenever someone protested, (be he a preacher or the son of a Tiv elder) against working on Sunday the usual question the elders asked was "Don't you eat on Sunday?" The recalcitrant children who refused to go to work on Sundays were refused food by some of the hard-hearted parents on those Sundays.

Some people who were at the cross-roads (being pulled to the new faith but at the same time still nursing the old way of life) went to work early and then left the farm, prepared and went to church. They believed this was in order, as they served both interests.

Another response to this respect to the sabbath which is very interesting is that when some of the christians were selling an item, especially a food item or any other necessity such as kerosene and someone came to buy, they would give the item but
refused to take the money on Sunday by the
collector the same as on the last two of the
Monday! This is the fact, I tell you, that
offering your bath or cut it on your day in.
I was told at one time by what Collectors
see you, and, therefore, I wonder that
the. If you are not house to
your letter, you should ask the 7th until today.
If Christians have not cut the hair Sunday (as
are the practice is still worn), they should stick
to it. If, however, they want to be Christian
and Christian-like then that commodity should be given
out free on Sunday. In if they are convinced that
the person needs that commodity so we will not then
selling it on every just like and then once
going to ask on Sunday to see them. The
commodity should be in the way of the
your conscience. But you will stop, or
shop on Sunday but someone came desperately and you
really saw the absolute need to them there is no violation
of Sunday. If, however, the person
who did not care to procure the commodity on Sunday,
then the Christian was to refuse to do when to
sell the commodity to the explanation why not. And,
This would make the individual sit up.

The issue of rest on Sunday really strained the youth/parents relationship. The parents insisted on their children working every day to increase production and the supply of food. In their individual companies, the work co-ordinators mostly ended their children to work. But work generally is tedious and not a happy activity to perform. The youth therefore went to work reluctantly, it was a sign of rebellion to their parents. Now the white missionaries appeared to be helping them by lessening their burden. They therefore supported the Sunday rest and teamed up with the missionary to convince the parents to respect the sabbath. This strained, on the one hand, the relationship between the parents and such youths who were considered as recalcitrant children by their parents. On the other hand, itooled the relationship between the parents and the missionaries for the parents saw them as

(a) usurping their authority over the youths who were their 'property' and

(b) withdrawing the labour force the youths would have supplied. This was particularly annoying to the elders as they knew they had performed their contract
to their parents, notices that it was the fear of the
youths to reciprocate, the missionaries resolved to
stop this. They also discovered that especially
these youths were generally expected to be in school
and forming as school might either pursue an
institution or be restricted to the Mission and, this
makes the missionaries separate school in the
afternoon instead of in the ordinary toilet to
children to work in the fields. The special case
regarding the Sabbath, introduced by the missionaries
therefore enfranchised the youth against the parents'
creeds. It affected especially the many of the people
as well as created some but attitudes in the youths.
The misunderstanding, which caused parents to fall of the
youths out of their homes to avoid the wrath of the
parents creeds and they settled in distant towns with
or without any painful employment, some of them not
their deaths there, but, was these who left their
homes with a mutual understanding between them and
their parents and yet their deaths had their corpses
warmly received, the corpses of these recalcitrant
children were not warmly received when brought home.

The native preachers against the traditional
religion by which the white missionaries gave
derogatory names such as 'witchcraft', 'idolatry', 'animism', 'magic' or 'ancestor worship' was the beginning of the weakening of the societal solidarity.

The Tiv religion, was an "embodiment of ethnic group's cohesion which gave rise to continuity of, and the transmission of, social values, norms and attitudes."

The religion extended to cover the entire life fabric of the Tiv—birth, food production, hunting, fishing, marriage, contraction and celebration, disease care, dances, rituals and other ceremonies for the social initiation. Hardly any activity was performed in Tiv that detached itself from religion.

The missionaries claiming to be humanitarian considered the practices of the traditional religion to be inhuman. They failed to study the philosophy, the psychology and social principles that underlie the Tiv normative practices. They therefore attacked most of the traditions. It is ironical that the Dutch Missions who launched an all-out warfare on the traditional culture are said to want the Tiv to remain Tiv, in order to shield them from outside influences.

Speaking on the role of women in the Tiv traditional society the son of Gbarum stated that
women were not to attend meetings. Indeed when meetings were held women had to prepare meals to be consumed by the participants, but their presence in the meetings with participatory role was needed. This informant stated further that:

"Today women outnumber men in meetings, so that whenever a decision is taken the women lead it out to people."

This implies that men found women incapable of keeping secret decisions secret, and therefore the ethical code did not permit women to attend societal meetings. The Mission/Ethnic brought emancipation of women based on a universal equality so that in a meeting when a question is thrown either a young man or a woman would answer. Generally the informant felt, such decisions are never successful. Indeed this was the reason why he preferred to keep himself anonymous since his father and other elders were present where the interview took place. Even at the time he started answering me, he had to seek permission from the elders before he communicated his ideas.

Another vexing contribution of the missionaries is where women have to attend periodic meetings either planned exclusively for them or joint women/men conferences. Women sometimes have to spend a
night or were away from home. These meetings which took
them away from their homes are normally detested by husbands
but especially by non-Christian husbands. These have perio-
dically resulted to feuds between wives and husbands. The
wives usually tended to quote Biblical verses such as "I
would rather fear God than man." Sherpas, formerly such
misunderstandings between wives and husbands were tried and
settled by the Ismu or the village head, the women now
referred to report to the Christian elders. As this was
the teaching of the Christian missionaries (to put God be-
fore anything else) the women were supported and exonerated
by the Christian elders. This development irritated many
husband and caused a lot of friction. 5

The Role of the British Administrators

The humanistic tradition as originated by the Romans
in the high Roman Empire epoch was copied by the West. The
Renaissance finally prepared the ground for the European
nations to embark on colonialism. The Berlin conference
of 1885 stipulated that each European nation should be
allowed full control over the areas where her influence was
paramount. This led logically to the British claiming
those lands along the lower Niger which came to be called Nigeria. The areas were taken piecemeal and administrators were appointed. These administrators greatly collaborated with the missionaries to under the power structure that controlled the moral development. The following were the areas of greatest co-operation.

The Establishment of Chiefs

Prior to the advent of the British Chiefs, the elders held their own council meetings and settled cases. There were the Toranbande but they had no power over moral issues like the elders. The Toranbande system was copied from the Jukun but was still within the traditional system and did not disturb the order existing. The Toranbande appointment lay with elders and was not hereditary. The British, however, introduced the chiefs as an indirect way of ruling the colonies. The chiefs were given power and soon some of them wielded excessive power and usurped the elders' authority. They too became oppressive and the British had to punish some of them, e.g. Moji Ikina of Mboron who was to be banished but he avoided the banishment by taking poison; Abuuul Benge also committed suicide when he was arrested for
slavery and slave trade; Alhaji of Shangam-Tey was hanged for murder in 1926 and, the ikinikhi tree where he was hanged is still standing. Finally, Chief Ugba of Ugondo was banished to Kaduna for extreme torture of his people. This torture led a large number of his subjects to escape into what forms part of Cross River State today. The elders saw this treatment of the chiefs by the British and were very much afraid of antagonizing the British, by insisting on their legitimate role to control morality in their own society.

Mokar maintains that during the time the chiefs were being appointed some prominent people in certain societies had to conceal their identity because of the humiliations and atrocities their people had suffered at the hands of the British in 1912. They were indignant at British behaviour.

The collaboration between the christian missionaries and the colonial administrators was not unique to Tivland; it was a feature observable throughout the colonies. Professor Ayande noted this collaboration disingenuously as he states;

"Missionary enterprise is not examined to the exclusion of the other agencies—administration and European trading
The Tiv saw the co-operation between the British administrators and the white missionaries and concluded that the missionary too was sent by the British government.

4.1.3 The Role of Interactions with Foreigners

The incursion of foreigners into Tivland is also associated with the coming of the British administrators and the missionaries. The British made use of Hausa and other ethnic groups' nationals as servants. The missionaries, particularly the Roman Catholic, depended largely on the Ibo as teachers and medical staff. As late as the 1950s most headmasters in the Roman Catholic primary schools were Ibo.
There was also a large number of Ibo teachers since schools were established earlier in southern Nigeria. How did these non-Tiv-speaking Nigersians influence the moral development or moral decay in Tivland?

The Tiv, it has been asserted, never allowed sexual intercourse with the unmarried girls. But some of these foreigners who were already used to the idea of trial marriages to ascertain the fertility of girls before contracting official marriages did not see any vice in the use of virgins and therefore did not discriminate. The girls themselves had already thrown overboard the use of smials as a sign of virginity. As the principal of an institution I had to suspend three teachers in 1980 for their immoral relationship with school girls. Two of the teachers were from the Cross River State and the third was an Idoma from Benue State. During the termination of their suspension they were counselled and during their responses, they confessed that such behaviour was normal in their areas.

The dress styles (e.g. mini skirt and bikini) detected by the Tiv elders as immoral were seen and copied by the Tiv youth. Indeed there was an influx of Ibo traders, especially tailors in the 1950s and
1960s who introduced new styles periodically to
boost their business. As people wore these new styles,
the Ibo shouted and praised them as they moved along
the streets. This reaction gave a boost to the new
highly fashionable dresses during the two decades.
The Tiv girls began to take more interest in the
foreigners, and, since the absolute control of parents
over who the girls should marry went with the
abolition of the Exchange Marriage System in 1927,
the girls started marrying outsiders. Usually some
not married while at school without the prior
knowledge of their parents. This annoyed their
parents immensely.

Some of the teachers actually taught on the
foreigners who were engaged as teachers. They allege
that "a teacher might be an Ibo, Hausa or a white man.
Such a teacher's ideas of moral behaviour and moral
teaching usually differed from the traditional
teaching." By implication the above assertion means
that the religious belief, the moral values and
attitudes of these teachers, who the children were
apt to copy as models, differed from those of the
Tiv. The children therefore copied those to the
detriment of the traditional moral values.
of a more serious consequence was the presence of the Peace Corps from the United States of America. These volunteers mixed very freely with people exhibiting very poor moral standards almost everywhere they went. This was not just the case in Tivland but throughout Nigeria. Their dress, manners and the general comportment left much to be desired. Their relationship with Tiv corps and Nigerian women was usually horrible. Note that not all of them behaved poorly. Many moral agents wondered why the Peace Corps were allowed into the country at all. Their withdrawal was greeted with hearty sighs of approval from many quarters.

On the whole, the role of these foreigners on the moral behaviour of the Tiv youths is quite considerable. They are usually wealthier than most Tiv young men and can win the Tiv ladies easier with material gifts. The idea of reforming from foreigners was largely solicited and upheld by the elders who pressurized the youth into obedience, but as the power of the elders over the youth eroded, the youth now acted as they wished; mixing with and marrying whenever they chose to marry. Court marriages could be contracted whenever the parents tried to advise their children.
against marrying indiscriminately. Once a marriage certificate was prepared from the court the loyalty of the marriage could not be questioned. Some of these marriages could not survive the test of time. These girls could not return to their parents but divorced and sought refuge in the distant towns or free ladies.

Some of the informants mentioned the effects of these cross-cultural marriages from the point of Tiv young men marrying girls from other ethnic groups. The informants were reflecting on the cultural traits that may be hereditary. They maintained that the offspring from some of such cross-cultural marriages exhibit some traits novel to the Tiv e.g., excessive anger or aggression. This is probably the belief which led the Tiv from earliest of times to prohibit marrying their daughters to foreigners. It is ironical that the Tiv prohibited marrying their daughters to foreigners but married foreigners' daughters! This marital exogamy tradition has prevailed deep the area to the present day where only a few Tiv girls would marry the non-Tiv youths. Most parents are still very adamant in regard to outside marriages.

It is generally believed that Southerners
believe that whatever way one gets one's money is fair, provided one was not caught; and recently, provided one was not killed in the act. Such a philosophy is opposed by the Tiv outlook. But a number of people holding such a philosophy came to mingle with the Tiv youths, especially following the cessation of the civil war. Such a philosophy has therefore been copied by some youths so that car theft and armed robbery are appearing on the scene. The co-operation to uproot criminals is no longer there as people fear the long suffering and time consuming nature that trials in the whiteman's courts entail. These criminals, it is plausibly alleged, enjoy the law-enforcement agents' co-operation and patronage, so that they openly advise you to go and report them whenever they are caught stealing. They knew fully well that nothing would happen to them.

The Tiv Riots 1960 - 1964

"The Tiv will never respond to force but can be easily persuaded by the use of reason." 13 Hardly any statement about the Tiv disposition can be as true as this conclusion. Sometimes put this in the words you can tie a Tiv man with a one-inch diameter chain
without moving him an inch, yet another person can tie him with a thin cotton twine and carry him round the circumference of the earth.' This means that through force you cannot make a Tiv to believe as you wished but where you convinced him through reasoning he can co-operate to the fullest. This is the root cause of the Tiv riots of 1960 - 1964 and, indeed all the previous disturbances. The riots were in two major facts - the burning of homes in 1960 and the killing of people in 1964. This research is not concerned with the causes and conduct of the riots but the moral consequences on the Tiv people, and it will logically address itself to that.

The Moral Consequences of the Riots

Tyu Abebe in his booklet titled "The Tiv and Tiv Riots" mentions, amongst others, the following effects of the riots:

"Those who became annoyed with rioters wondered why, instead of killing other tribesmen, the Tiv decided to kill each other." One moral implication is that prohibition of murder which is one of the universal moral principles was openly violated by the rioters. He states further that the riots depopulated the Tiv immensely. Accurate figures of the deaths
were not available but he estimates that it carried away about 2,000 lives. This is a colossal figure for an ethnic group's riot especially as Africans refer to and recognise relatives as brothers and yet brothers were killed by fellow brothers in cold blood.

He estimates further that over 10,000 people were jailed. This led to many families leading very miserable lives; some of those perished in distant prisons and their relatives never saw their graves. A man of 95 years i.e. my father's age-mate, was imprisoned in Kaduna. He was released during the military regime when political prisoners were released, but he returned a blind man and more of a liability to his family than an asset. It was even worse for those who lost their relatives in the prisons. Some of them still live on as destitutes constituting moral concern for the society.

The third dimension brought forward by Aboghe is that those killed or jailed left their wives behind. The widows finding it difficult to earn their living resorted to harlotism for survival. This was not a healthy moral development as immorality became a way of life in the society that had earlier dreaded sexual immorality. Indeed harlotism was associated
with some surrounding ethnic groups and the Tiv actually nick-named some of them after harlotism. In olden days a woman would openly challenge a young man that sought to make love with her "Do you think I am a harlot?"

But soon necessity compelled some who would have asked a similar question to voluntarily adopt harlotism as a means of livelihood.

The following is a direct quotation from an essay that I wrote in partial fulfilment for the Nigeria Certificate in Education, Zaria, 1968.

"The riots changed the social attitudes of the people in many ways. They lowered the morality of the people; people became bolder and more courageous. Those who killed people became blood-thirsty. People learnt the art of warfare, developing their primitive tactics and making some dangerous weapons such as arrows with the newly introduced poison. The morale of the people reduced drastically in a number of ways. Firstly, they began to resent authority more openly. There was no more obedience to law. People were refusing to pay taxes to the constituted authority. They refused to take their cases to the court members but rather preferred to go to the local party leaders of the United Middle Belt Congress (UMBC). They argued that the court members and the tax collectors were members of Northern People's Congress and should only exercise authority over N.P.C. members.

During the riots all the Local Authority workers in the rural areas fled to the divisional headquarters, Choko. People began to cut prohibited trees at will. There was
no policeman bold enough to go out to arrest criminals. I remember meeting a policeman and an old man arguing in the road one day. The old man had a dane gun and the policeman wanted the old man to produce his licence for owning the gun. The old man calmly called the policeman to come nearer and he would show him the licence. As the policeman approached, the old man drew out his machete and the policeman fled for his life. Although this is an extreme case it illustrates how most people tended to use freely life-destroying weapons when lawlessness reigned supreme.**

As people tasted a measure of behavioural independence from the authority it became difficult, indeed impossible, for them to return to the former level of obedience when the local government was reconstituted. Refer to the Tiv principle of "It is difficult to construct something but easy to destroy." The aspects of morality affected by moral decay caused by the riots could not be revived again.

Some people fled the country-side into the divisional headquarters. They had lost virtually all their property. For the long period they lingered in Gboko, they constituted moral problems. Some that I know very well are there carrying out menial jobs such as barbing people.


Wars as a whole destroy life but modern warfare
is even more devastating in terms of lives and property.
The two world wars (1914 - 1918 and 1939 - 1945) and
the Nigerian Civil war (1967 - 1970) influenced the
moral development in Tivland considerably.

The ex-soldiers from the two world wars brought
back some new outlook to life. They influenced the
Tiv people immensely due to the stories they told,
some of which were true but much of what they said was
were made up stories. One influence was that they
tended to disobey and also encouraged their relatives
to disobey the authority. Some of them related
stories about the sect of Christianity (Jerusalem),
the stories about Jesus and the work he did in
Jerusalem had lasting effects on the youths who were
being taught religion by the missionaries. They
convinced the youths that what the missionaries were
teaching was in fact, true. This encouraged more
hostility towards traditional teaching.

Makar also notes and relates the influence of
ex-soldiers on the civilians as follows:

"Some of the ex-soldiers tended to mock
the civilians of their age-sets, and
attempt to show their superiority in
speaking English (it was pidgin) instead of
tiv. This was purposely done to quieten
them (especially in drinking places, in
the presence of women). The ability to
speak English or to read and write in vernacular was conceived as new fashion in the civilization of the people. A number of adults, therefore, wanted to acquire the new fashion to avoid being humiliated by their age-set or the young persons."

Indeed it was the fashion of the 1950s and even 1960s for the school pupils and boys in the secondary schools to meet in the market squares and compete with others in the speaking of English. What they usually did was (a) the repetition of poems learnt at school; (b) recitation of passages from books which they had memorized for the sole purpose of these market square competitions. One popular book whose passages were recited was the Students' Companion which had interesting passages to train people for comprehension. Such developments tended to relegate the Tiv language to the background among the youths.

The Nigerian Civil War lasted for thirty months and had quite a large toll of lives that were lost due to the active combat on the battle-fields, accidents, diseases etc. The Civil War, like the Tiv riots left behind it, trails a number of widows and dependants. These widows had to find a means of earning their living. While some embarked on petty trading, a number were compelled to take to
prostitution.

A more vicious side of it was that during the height of the civil war a number of women who had already established matrimonial homes fled their homes to the war front. The attraction of it all was that stories spread all over the Tiv division that soldiers had huge sums of money in their trenches. Women who happened to go to the front returned with untold wealth. Thus, women began to make their way to the front (the quest for materialism as a factor militating against the setting and maintenance of high moral standards). Walking along one of the Gboko East streets I bumped into a former school mate, who wore a tense looking face. A number of people around him also wore dazed faces and made heart-felt exclamations. Having enquired, the school mate (whose name will be concealed for decency) revealed that his wife had fled to the war front leaving him with a three months' old baby! As unreal as the story sounds, it is a true story. This was just one out of a number of such cases of women leaving their husbands with very young babies for the quest for money at the war front.

Soldiers also came home and paid heavily to parents by way of dowry since they came by huge
amounts of money during the civil war. Parents and girls were attracted by the money, and marriages were not for the sake of love but wealth. The civil war ended abruptly and soldiers were no longer to be paid as heavily, but during the civil war which living standard was introduced to these wives since money was not a problem then. As the flow of money to the soldiers' purse was curtailed the wives began to experience hardship. Under such situations the choice open to them was to flee their matrimonial homes or to seek and execute court divorce. Such free women became a menace in the towns and villages of Tivland. The civil war contributed a large measure to the moral decadence in Tivland as elsewhere in Nigeria. Attempts are only made here to highlight some of the more apparent moral drain it effected.

6 The Establishment of Schools and Urbanization

It is an indisputable fact that schools and roads constitute universal modernization agents. Modern world powers - U.S.A., U.S.S.R., Britain - achieved their present level on the development of roads and the establishment of schools. Women were developed and roads helped them to that idea, roads.
and services were thus easily transmitted.

It has been stressed in chapter three that both the Missionaries and the then colonial administration established schools in Tivland to serve their religious and administrative purposes, respectively. The Mission, for example, established schools to enable the Tiv to read the religious literature including catechism. The British administrators, on the other hand, established schools to train the youth to help in the administration by keeping records. The objectives for establishing schools by both parties were shallow and therefore the curriculum itself was heavily restricted to fulfilling those objectives.

Rubingh quotes H. Kroeber where he writes on the general influence of western education on individuals as follows:

(a) "Western education loosens the bonds which tied the pupils to the compound and the traditional culture."

(b) "Western education arouses a critical attitude toward the environment."

(c) "Western education awakens a desire to reflect on other religious possibilities." 16

All the three observations apply to the Tiv
situation but more so the first and the third observations. Most of the schools established in Tivland were opened by the missionaries and all were aimed at indoctrinating the youth to Christianity. These points will be briefly analysed insofar as they influenced and altered the behaviour of the Tiv youth.

1. The Western education by implication had to take a unique form. The locale, the methodology, the timing, the content and teachers all differed from the indigenous education that the Tiv imparted to their children. Whereas the teachers of the traditional education were by and large, the members of the extended family, the western education was formal where a teacher was employed to teach a group of children in a classroom. The other aspect of this western education was that boarding homes were established in certain circumstances where children had to leave their parents and live in these homes, visiting their parents only during the holidays.

The early teachers were not even Tiv by origin, but were Europeans and other ethnic groups. While the landscape and the homestead formed the source material for the Tiv traditional education, western education had specific subjects such as language,
Mathematics, History, Writing, Geography, etc.

In such a circumstance it was only the hours that the school child was in the home that he continued to learn some of the cultural values and attitudes of the Tiv. Even here the child was at a disadvantage. He was (a) being openly taught at school to lay aside the cultural values, such as the taboos within the Tiv religion and (b) being taught the western cultural values such as the Christian religion, western marriage system (monogamy and wedding style), western dresses, foreign language, greeting styles etc.

As the western education offered the promise of gainful employment to the child he tended to disregard farming which was and is the main occupation of the Tiv and aspired for the office job. The traditional education sought to train the child to inherit the occupation of the father. If the father was a wood-carver the child was to become a wood-carver in place of his father. If the father was a goldsmith, a basket-weaver or a hunter, the child was expected to inherit the appropriate occupation. In this way occupations ran in families and this maintained
continuity and a kind of division of labour within the society. The Tiv therefore hated the western education as it tended to isolate their children from them, and as parents realized the possibility of extermination of the traditional occupations to be replaced with office jobs.

2. The colonial administration and the missionaries did not have many vacancies to absorb the products from these formally established schools. The products who were now half literate had already cultivated a habit of hating manual labour as an undignified occupation. Growing it all a strained relationship had also developed between them and their parents, since quite a number of them went to school against the wishes of their parents. The children tended to distrust the elders and favoured the teachers and their ideas. The missionaries encouraged that Christ taught that he who did the will of his (Christ) father was his mother, father and brother so that if the children's parents forsook them, Christ would not forsake them. This sounded consoling and the children disregarded their parents. The schools soon produced a crop of indomitable school leavers who could not yield to the dictates of their parents.
Thus, those who could not get employment in Tivland had to leave the country - side where they had no stake in life any more. Such children left Tivland to seek employment in distant and bigger towns such as Jos, Kaduna, Kano, Ibadan or Enugu. Here they faced the challenges of modernity such as cinema, television, night clubs, drugs, ideas from magazines and so on. These modern technological devices made indelible impressions on the minds of quite a number of the children. Attendance to cinema and night clubs made great appeals to some of them. The highly developed modern contraceptives and antibiotics erased all the fears instilled in both boys and girls about sexual intercourse. It should be noted that some of these children could not get jobs in the towns either. Some, however, got temporary jobs in the textile industries and whenever there was an economic crisis or slump, they were retrenched.

Those who found life in the towns too challenging and intolerable, like the prodigal son, had to return realizing that at least food was freely given to people in Tivland in the 1950s and 1960s. But when they returned they certainly brought with them the ideas they had acquired while in the towns which
were contrary to the Tiv traditional teaching, thereby aggravating the moral situation. They propagated these ideas and attitudes to the other Tiv youths. This developed further negative posture towards the traditional order.

The assertion recorded above tallies with Maria Ossowska's proposition that;

"Modern means of transportation enable people to have contact with systems of values different from their own and this contributes to a revision of their own valuations and promotes tolerance... The decline of parental authority over children has often been attributed to quick technical development."

Maria elucidates this assertion with an example that a grandmother who has never flown in an airplane cannot be expected to exercise great authority over children fascinated by modern technology. A discourse with parents often reveals that children who are in colleges are now termed by their parents to be more knowledgable than their parents and some of these parents tend to serve them! I had rebuked many of such parents who, through ignorance as a result of illiteracy, tend to comply to all the demands by their children on the pretext that the children went to school and so whatever they said was correct.
A number of Tiv children went to secondary schools in the eastern and northern towns. These too brought with them some cultural ideas from these towns. Such children today form the generation of educated people ruling the Benue State of Nigeria.

Adult literacy campaigns began in the late 1940s enabled adolescents and adults who had passed the age of schooling to learn to read and write. Indeed in the 1940s there was no strict legislation or discrimination about the age to go to school. Books and other vernacular pamphlets were produced for the adult literacy campaigns.

Both the Tiv Riots and the Nigerian Civil War have encouraged the rapid development of towns in Tivland. In the introduction to this research it was stated that the Tiv settled in small compounds with their farmlands enveloping the compounds. The riots proved to the Tiv that settling in the remote bush rendered them vulnerable to attacks without any protection from the law enforcement agencies.

The police could not go to some remote places to stop the riots even though they had prior information. Indeed some police detachments in remote areas were, occasionally, isolated and
murdered by the rioters e.g. six policemen were murdered in Tombo clan. New villages that developed included Jootar (under the leadership of Mr. Tangur Gaya who informed me about the origin of the town) west of Tivland and situated on the border between Tivland and Jukunland; Koti in Ute clan in southern Tivland and many others along some major roads. Older villages like Mkor, Yende and even Oboko town grew faster due to the influx of some displaced persons who settled without returning to their former villages again. There are some there who carry out petty trading even today. Some of these displaced people were those settled in the northern and western parts of the Tiv division because of the fertile lands there. During the rioting periods some politicians engineered indigenous clansmen against the immigrants and so they were molested and forced to leave without carrying off their property. Such people have either settled in these older towns or grouped together and established new villages. Primary schools and even secondary schools have been established in these villages. The youths who have settled in these towns villages carry out life styles that are contrary to the traditional life since their value system can
The General Influence of Modern Technological Advancement:

Technological advancement has tended to dwarf the world. Telecommunications, radio cassettes, video, television sets and a host of other mass media have all been developed on a mass production scale. The result is that they have become very cheap and available almost everywhere. These have contributed immensely in the dissemination of ideas and knowledge. A Tiv youth has never been precluded from the acquisition of and the use of some of them. Thus whether living in towns or rural areas, the youths have come by the influence of some of these since the 1960s. What happens in the USA, Japan, Soviet Union, France or Zaire can be read or viewed live in Gboko. Some immoral influences which, of course, cannot be quantified have spread. This has given rise to cultural cross-fertilization for good and ill.

The Analysis: World-Views in Conflict

To carry out an effective analysis the following questions become pertinent, answers to which will illuminate the Tiv societal development today.
The Missionaries and the British administrators believed that the traditional culture was not good and would have naturally been forced to change. Why did they feel they were the right persons to effect the change and not the Tiv themselves? Were they convinced that an external force was a better factor for moral and social revolution of a people?

Another question is the one asked by Makr. Granted the Missionaries brought ideas and a brighter culture that were useful and beneficial for the Tiv, was it necessary for the Christian Missionaries to have disrupted the traditional pattern of life of the people (both social and political) before bringing about these social services?\textsuperscript{18}

What would happen if Zanians or Zairoans were to move today to America or Britain and start condemning Christianity as a bogus religion, and taught that they had a better religion to inculcate? Is it not possible if these nationals have the guns behind them? A plausible response would be that the Christians of these nations would rebel and seek to expel these new religionists on the pretext that they were convinced that Christianity was the only true
religion. But the Chaniens would be totally convinced that their traditional religion (call it 'Akan') was the only true religion and one which the entire world should embrace if they were to earn salvation.

This is what really took place in Tivland. The Tiv never thought any other religion was superior to their own. Prior to the advent of the Missionaries nobody ever thought they were making a mistake in worshipping Mbatsay. The youth actually surrendered completely to the dictates of the elders; (Mbatsay were synonymous to the elders). Thus what the Missionaries did was tantamount to a coup d' etat in order to oust an established religion; just as if the Chaniens would go and try to effect a religious coup in Britain or the USA.

Lastly, how effective is the religion planted by the Missionaries in Tivland? Is its effectiveness evaluated in terms of numbers? 19

4.2 The Missionary Contributions: Amenities and Morality

So far the research has dwelt on the one side of the coin of the Missionary work in Tivland. This will lead the reader to a misconstrued notion that only negative contributions were made by the Missionaries to the Tiv development. This will be an erroneous
conception indeed. The Missionaries, coming from a
culture whose technological advancement was higher
than that of the Tiv, contributed substantially to the
Tiv advancement towards modernity. Their positive
contributions include:

The Inculcation of Western Education.

Although the education imparted was based on
cultural imperialism and without a lofty curriculum,
the Missionaries in a bid to prepare the natives to
read the Bible gave the rudiments of the western
education. They laid the foundations of western
education upon which the post independence leaders are
building. A large number of primary schools and two
post primary institutions were established between
1952 and 1955 in Tiv division. A number of students
were also sent outside the division for studies in the
institutions with which the Missions had affinity
(e.g. Gindiri Higher Elementary Teachers'
College, Gindiri Boys' School, Kagoro Secondary School
for the Protestants and St. Francis in Otukpo, St.
Augustine and Women Training College, Adoka for the
Catholics. The Catholic's Mount St. Michael Secondary
School Aliade was opened in 1952 at Korinya and
transferred to its present site later. Thus for
long most of the workers in the offices were the products of the mission schools while fewer were the products of the government schools. This development improved literacy in "Tivland" considerably.

Medical and Health Care Delivery.

Hospitals and especially clinics were scattered in various places and this, more than religion, helped to win adherents for the missionaries. It contributed to change the Tiv's view on death and the belief in Mbatsay. People who would have undoubtedly died from certain epidemics and other diseases were cured and some of these certainly cost their lot with the Missionary cause. When they spoke of the missionary medicine they convinced and brought people nearer to the Missions who consequently learnt about God.

Economic Contributions:

(a) The Missionaries taught their adherents to be self-sufficient. They were encouraged to produce enough food crops, fruit trees and above all to be prudent in their use of money. The Missionaries also opened many markets at strategic locations in Tivland. One would hear of such names as Ortosu market (Protestant) or Pada market (Catholic). All these helped immensely in the improvement of the economy of the people.

(b) Roads and Bridges: The missionary schools were scattered in the nooks and corners of the entire Tivland. Firstly, the Missionary had to visit these
schools at least, once a year. Secondly before these schools could attract government grants, the provincial inspector of education had to inspect and approve them for grants-in-aid. It was, therefore, a condition that the roads would be constructed to link the schools with the major towns. The Mission supervisor of schools had to urge the natives to build these roads and bridges as one of the condition for ant-aiding their schools. This was not a problem the Tiv for the spirit of communal effort was still ruled in them at that time. They themselves still in the 1950s to build footpaths linking their villages. The roads constructed enabled the Tiv to transport their surplus foodstuffs and other products the markets, thereby paving the way for improved living standards.

Gainful employments were created for absorbing of the youths who passed out of their schools. Some found their living in clinics and hospitals in offices, scribes etc. The proceeds from offices were shared among members of the extended thereby improving the societal living.

Missionaries also introduced the teaching of English which is the medium of instruction in the institutions of learning, and is used widely in courts,
hospitals, official meetings and business transactions. It will be seen that this development also forms a negative contribution as it tends to relegate some Nigerian languages to the background.

The Religious Contribution

The missionaries brought a clearly stated and clearly defined monotheistic religion. Being one of the world's leading religions, Christianity has extended the Tiv outlook to the world as Tiv Christians now claim a universal brotherhood with fellow Christians. Where the Christian missionaries failed in this regard is that they tended to place the brotherhood of faith above, over and against the brotherhood of blood, at least in the early days. If they had not had such a restrictive image of Tiv culture they could have availed of many of its elements and built on them a Christian community that would be truly Christian as well as genuinely Tiv, a Christianity rooted in the cultural soil of the people.

There is no doubt that the Christian dimension of promise keeping, truth telling and respect for the property of other people is more universal and more elevated in motivation than that which obtains in traditional Tiv morality with its ethnocentricity and
cross utilitarianism. But here too it appears that a good opportunity was missed. The missionaries' insistence that adherents should behave as if God were omnipresent, omnipotent and omniscient is praiseworthy. But it must be admitted that the sanctions of Christian morality with their other-worldly overtones were in no way as effective as the threat of the Mbatsav. Here too Christianity could have played an enlightening role indeed a liberating role against the irrational fears stirred up by the whole Mbatsav practice. But such cultural interaction had to wait more opportune moments.

The Negative Role of Christianity in the Tiv Development

The Missionaries made concerted attempts at associating themselves from the British colonial officers but they were all seen as a white race endowing the same policies. Indeed the Missionaries in Nyland, as elsewhere were mere colonial agents in disguise. Whereas they arrived earlier in southern Nigeria, the British administrators arrived a little
earlier in Tivland. But the effective control by the
government was accomplished at the time the first
Missionaries were in Tivland. They even were advisers
in some policy formulation concerning some social
change, as has been shown in chapter three.

A Thorn in the Flesh of Tiv Politics

The West has a policy of divide and rule.

Wherever nationals of the western democracy find
themselves in a new environment, they quickly study
the situation to discover whom to support for an
effective control of the affairs. They may discover
that there is an individual with a strong following.
Their study may reveal that either the individual
lacks finance or education or power or a combination
of some of these factors. They would then privately
arrange to support him by supplying what he lacks.
They would then push him to the forefront clearly
making him feel their weight behind him for the
attainment of that lofty position.

In another case it may be in an ethnic group
within a state that they may detect some prospects
for achieving their goal. They would then provide
the basic ingredients necessary for that ethnic group
to emerge a dominant power with a strong voice.
in the state. Informal meetings would be held periodically to determine strategy, often to suit their (Westerners) domineering propensities.

Such was the development in Tivland. The missionaries discovered that the youth could be a powerful factor to help establish an effective control of Tivland. They quickly studied and realized that there was a strong resentment and dissatisfaction in the marriage procedure as practised at the time. They also discerned that youths felt insecure due to the gerontocrats' seeming power to kill and consume people through tsav. The Missionaries then pushed a wedge into the body politics of the Tiv, allying with the youth against the gerontocrats. This development might be coincidental at the time but it fitted well into the conceptual frame of Tivland; they promised a consoling future life and guaranteed safety from the clutches of the Khatray. They also brought a suggestion which made it possible for the youth to marry early and as they wished, and not as the elders wished and directed. This development destroyed the cohesion of the Tiv as the power base centred on the khatray as a major sanction for moral behaviour was
knocked out. This was indeed a dangerous thorn in the body politic of the people. The Missionaries knew this and the advice as recorded in chapter three fell upon deaf ears. They knew what they were up to and why they had to do it at all costs. A large number of the youths whom Rupert Vast refers to as 'renegade children' therefore supported them throughout their campaigns in Tivland.

32 Some Doctrines Conflicting with the Traditional Teaching.

Mention was made in chapter two concerning the importance attached to virginity in Tivland. There it was stated that to insist on a virgin remaining a virgin, a visible taboo was placed on her neck. Besides at the age of puberty, the mother dressed the girl strictly, always carrying out household chores together. When the girl was to marry, the bridegroom was expected to pay a token compensation of a healthy young she-goat for what the mother had done. The Missionaries prohibited their adherents from paying this compensation on the ground that if they paid they were worshipping a type of Akomme called ikvoor. As the adherents grew in number and either the bridegroom, the bride or father-in-law
became Christians, they refused the payment of this compensation. This again became a licence for the girls to misbehave as the sanction was no longer there.

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**Punishment of Sinners**

The power of the Mbatsay to kill people had been proved false by the Missionaries and in its place they portrayed the power of God to punish sinners. Whereas people were made to believe that all those who died, died as the manipulation of tsay by Mbatsay and 'death' was seen concretely, in Christianity the punishment of sinners has been preserved in the unforeseeable future. The youth who have accepted Christ have grown into mature adults today; some have died and are buried just as what was happening prior to the advent of Christian Missionaries. The punishment is not forth coming. This has led some to become morally slack. Some say the concept of punishment is a mere illusion; others say they would rather enjoy themselves while here on earth as the essence of life is happiness. This development has tended to erode morality in Tivland also.

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**Imposition of Cash Dowry**

The Christian Missionaries coerced the British
administration into imposing marriage through the payment of cash dowry. The Tiv opposed this as only slaves were bought with money. However, the system was instituted so that today several thousands of naira are paid to marry a girl. The husbands tend to equate their wives with the cash therefore evaluating them in terms of property. Husbands therefore try to profit much out of women and send them on errands even when they are tired. When someone wonders why a husband sent his wife for an errand instead of sending his son he would reply "I am sending my money!" Thus, what equality did the Missionaries seek to effect between Tiv men and Tiv women? Perhaps the advice of Ayatollah Khomeini should be taken where he successfully challenges the notion of women's equality with men. He advises that

"The issue of the equality of men and women is nothing but a tricky slogan. The fact is that men and women are not equal, but complementary."

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**Intra-Missionary Conflicts:**

Christianity had not remained a one united faith after Jesus Christ had completed his ministry and returned to his Father. Firstly, a group broke up in the 16th century known to the Protestants. The
Protestants later broke into factions sometimes based on the European nations. Missionaries under these sects arrived in Tivland and embarked on their teaching. Soon they started a cut-throat type of campaign to win adherents. They began to propagate some policies that would appeal more to the youth in order to win them over. Such policies included, among others, the use of English by the Catholics in their schools, absorbing violators of adultery out under discipline in the Roman Church, the use of bookers where gambling which the elders were vehemently opposed to, was carried out. The populace watched these teaching discrepancies with dismay. There were virtually no differences in the Tiv traditional religion. There were no sects so these discrepancies only confused the Tiv. The discrepancies meant the lowering of standards as sects accommodated violations of certain moral rules. Such was the state of confusion in Tivland at the height of the white missionary adventure there. The elders remained firm in their traditional religion and continued to teach the youth, using the traditional code.

But the Missionaries had several advantages over the elders. They had the wealth to carry out the
propaganda through pamphlets, megaphones, formally established schools, attractive materials they gave the youth appeal to what had become the perennial epidemics of the youth i.e. the old marriage system, and death at the hands of the elders. They attracted the youths immensely.

Was the religion they brought superior in controlling the life of the Tiv? No. Not as far as the Tiv life was concerned. The traditional religion embraced the totality of the individual. It was with him everywhere and it linked him to his parental and maternal kinsmen. It was revealed in the names he received and the names he gave to his children e.g.

(a) Tsavhembu meaning tsav is supreme;
(b) Ityovendo meaning the paternal kinsmen have prevented, depicting probably that the father had survived from an illness due to the prevention of the kinsmen from him being killed.
(c) Igbayima meaning the maternal kinsmen have saved referring again to the father having taken refuge with his maternal kinsmen and survived some catastrophe (disease?).
(d) Ngovua meaning mother has killed or Ngoundu, mother has left. The latter is when the father
was left during the child's infancy and the
father had suffered from infancy to adulthood.
(e) Swende which is a type of akombo (see chap. two).
The examples of these meaningful names will
continue almost endlessly. The Missionaries came and
started changing such names e.g. one Akombo Kajo's
name was changed to Simeon Kajo. Later he chose to
be known as John Kajo. The Tiv started copying the
western names such as James, Charles, Alphonsus,
Joseph etc. which were perhaps, imaginary characters
presented as religious saints. These names had no
meaning to the Tiv, at least not in the sense the Tiv
names carried meaning, and so as from the 1960s
quite a number who had adopted these Christian names
began to drop them, I adopted James which, although
not yet totally dropped, I hardly use it. At best
its abbreviation is used for signing documents only.

In the 1960s a number of people within the
Mission circles have come to equate religion with a
mere gainful employment, even for some of the
Missionaries who have come to Africa for the supposed
sole purpose of evangelisation. To a good number
Christianity is simply a source of income. Thus
a week they cease commerce and other engagements and
go to assemble with other people calling themselves Christians, more as a social gathering. Acting on the premise "Practice what you preach" these people are enraged and discouraged as they watch the steps and actions of preachers and some Missionaries. But this is putting their stake in personalities rather than what the message and the Christian ethics is all about. As the preachers and some of the Missionaries tend to be worldly, they come to an illogical conclusion that Christianity is a source of income for such preachers. But Christianity is based on the true faith in God Himself, the author and finisher of our faith. It should not be associated with individual personalities.

Tiv religion was a religion for the life here on earth. It was the political, economic, social and cultural control institution in Tivland. It controlled the entire activities of the Tiv. That is why the new religion brought by the Missionaries, although superior in terms of organisation, was alien to the already established norms of the Tiv and therefore could not and still cannot easily take a total control of the Tiv personality. This circumstance has given rise to a group that is neither
Christian nor traditional religionist. This group has emerged because of the conflict between traditionalism and Christianity. These teachings co-exist and tend to confuse these people. Therefore they reflect Christian ways and still revert to Amo at when they themselves or their relatives fall sick.

The youths are still in the state of completely ignoring the elders and facing the consequences of continuing to offer them some allegiance. This is the dilemma of the double code co-existing in a formerly well-knit society.

Summary and Conclusion

The pull of the youth made them to choose the teaching that was of advantage to them. Either the traditional code or the missionary code was adopted where it suited the youths. The spirit of communality was lost to one of individualism. Faith in the decisions of the elders which was formerly binding on the youths had vanished or at best has reduced. The pull as a whole has led to an unstable society as a house that is divided against itself.

Societies and cultures are never static. What happened in Tivland and led to the apparent moral
decline is the sudden introduction of a new moral order which was an imposition by the Missionaries of an alien culture. The Missionaries were of the belief that the Tiv, left alone, were incapable of developing a 'civilized culture', and therefore they quickly set to concern everything without understanding the philosophy and psychology behind the institutions evolved by the Tiv. Had the Missionaries settled and interacted long enough with the Tiv, thereby allowing the Tiv to sift the desired and cherished aspects of the Christian morality to graft on to their traditional morality, and discard the outdated aspects of the traditional morality, probably all would have been well. The fusion might have worked without perils. This seeming assimilation of cultures would have been gradually effected with less friction it has experienced. The older generation everywhere is supposed to nurture the new generation socially and morally. This leads to continuity. Elders with their wealth of experience, should mould the future generation with their norms, introducing changes gradually to tally with time.

The thesis presented should not be misconstrued to mean that Christian Missionaries totally failed.
to bring moral values. Christianity did well to liberate some Tiv spiritually and culturally just as we speak of the general contributions of Christianity on the continent and elsewhere, saying

"Christianity in its various institutional and social forms and manifestations is a human and moral, spiritual and cultural, national and international force to be reckoned with.... In view of its human character, Christianity has, in the course of human history and in various nations, demonstrated itself as the custodian and promoter of human values. Though one may not rightly assert that Christianity has always played this role flawlessly, there is, however, sufficient historical evidence to justify its claim to it."3

The bone of contention is that Christianity came to condemn all that was traditional, upset the balance of power structure and its sanctions replacing with alien sanctions many of which were far removed from the Tiv society. Their foreign culture could not be understood by the elders who were already totally immersed, as it were, in their ancestral moral order. The young who were still malleable were taking in the new morality but were constantly under pressure from their elders as they (children) returned from Missionary schools and churches. A moral vacuum was created and this confused the entire society and produced the present generation. It has to be noted
that moral education is largely the prerogative of parents and immediately significant adults for the sake of stability and continuity.

The reality of the world changing rapidly has several implications on mankind and poses challenges on the Church. The cultural value system of the West are transmitted worldwide and the Tiv youths have been greatly influenced by it in the period under the study. The church and the secular leaders in Tivland should be prepared to cope with these modern challenges. An advice by Marcello de Carvalho Azevedo that

"the values introduced by modernity as a cultural reality invite the church to rethink the christian message and reshape its presentation in order to reach the modern world from within its own positive meanings and patterns."^24

need be heeded and acted upon, to update religion. The N.K.S.T. is particularly advised to minimize her inward looking approach and adopt an outward looking one. She should not be seen as an ethnic group's Church but as a Church presenting herself as a genuine replica of Universal Church. The values that the Church should stress to cope with these challenges include a deep awareness of God which is
stripped of European cultural accretions, a genuine respect for others based on a common solidarity as children of God, a preparedness to cope with change particularly its two outstanding modern forms, namely, secularization of social processes and pluralization of human relationships at the local, national and international levels.

The church should not lose sight of some of the more corrosive effects of modernization: creeping materialism, preoccupation with success and achievement which make brothers and sisters compete for the necessities of life, and above all, the dangers of a self-image which, in its arrogance and self-assertiveness, places men and women in opposition to God, the Creator and Lord of all.

The various missionary bodies in Tivland have succeeded in usurping the centuries old loyalty to the gerontocrats through their active preaching. I recommend that these missionary bodies should come together and out of the richness of their respective affiliations formulate some general values that can cut across the denominations for the benefit of the Tiv society. This will usher in unity which can be gradually extended to the national level. The good
will and co-operation of secular leaders can be solicited through tactful approach. There has to be a realisation that the Church's confrontation with modernity is an uphill task and must be rigorously pursued.

The Church is also encouraged to embark on active guidance and counselling of the youth as a positive means of combating modernity. This Church-youth dialogue is so vital that it cannot be over-emphasised. It is due to its imperativeness that I now provide a curriculum for the formal teaching of moral education in schools.

FOOTNOTES

5. The very fact that two religions co-exist instead of one is problematic.
7. Indirect Rule was introduced by Lord Lugard in order to make do with the few British officials at his disposal. It meant using the natives to offset costs of administration.
8. This information was given by Sae Humbe and Mkeka Humbe both of whom witnessed some of these events.


12. "Foreigners" is used here to refer to the non-Tiv speakers residing in and outside Tivland.


19. See Tables 2 and 3 pp 129 and 134 respectively.


22. P. August, op. cit., Rupert Boyd refers to these children as "negroes" children, p. 1691.


CHAPTER FIVE

TOWARD A CURRICULUM FOR MORAL EDUCATION IN A CHANGING SOCIETY

To date we have discussed three major issues in this thesis. In chapter two we discussed the Tiv system of morality. We discovered that it was very much a community-centered morality, ethnically conditioned, traditional and deeply rooted in religion. It was, therefore, to a large extent, an unquestioning and unquestioned morality; a morality highly congenial to a relatively static, society, un-changing from within and unaffected from without. It was also very much a pre-literate morality in which the main custodians of the ethos of the people was found among the elders. It was into this morality - ethnic, traditional, conventional - that Christianity came in the early 20th century. In chapter three we described the main features of Christian morality. But here we did not restrict ourselves to the biblical sources alone; but we tried to show how the essential Christian message has affected and has been affected by culture over the centuries. It was this 'package' that came to West Africa in general and Tivland in particular in the name of Christianity. Since we were concerned
with the impact of two world views on each other, we
drew attention to some of the main contrasting factors
between Tiv morality and Christian morality. It is
in chapter four that we drew attention to the main
points of contrast between the two moral systems.3

Perhaps 20 years ago a comparison by contrast
would have satisfied the academic goals of an inquiry
such as we have embarked on in this thesis. But now-
1964 - the clock has moved and so too have the mental
attitudes of both the Tiv people and the missionaries
alike. While still cherishing their own traditional
values, Tiv people no longer look upon their societal
system as totally unchangeable or irreplaceable.
And they do not look on external influences as in all
respects inimical to the best interest of the Tiv
people. So too there is less of the domineering and
imperialistic mentality among the missionaries. As a
result, there are many areas of fruitful collaboration
which were at once opportunities for confrontation but
which now lend themselves to mutually enriching and
fulfilling exploration.

It is with such an opportunity in mind that I
wish to outline a prolegomenon to a curriculum for
moral education in a pluralistic society and with the
Tiv people primarily in mind. I shall proceed as follows. Firstly, I shall outline very briefly the conceptual frame of the Tiv world as it is today. Secondly, I shall describe the Tiv theory and practice of education so that then I may be able to describe the Tiv and Western Educational Systems with a view to bridging the gap between them. It is in the light of this frame, namely, a traditional system coming into symbiotic relationship with a world religion as conditioned by the modernizing culture of the West that I describe the content of moral education and I draw attention in particular to the many elements of which such a curriculum content should consist. It is then that I move to other integrating elements to be considered in discussing the frame of a curriculum of moral education, namely, the role of the moral education teacher, discussing in detail the direct approach and the indirect approach and above all, the relationship between the school and society. Finally, I draw the main findings of the thesis together by discussing the structure of the curriculum in moral education, particularly as an experiment in cultural symbiosis, that is, as a
coming together of two worldviews to form a synthesis, that is neither syncretist or juxtaposed, but a living unity developed from two distinct yet complementing sources of vitality. Secondly, I shall describe the organization of religion in Tivland and describe some practices in particular.

**The Conceptual Frame of Today's Tiv World**

Human beings are religious beings because they live in a world of meaning, a world which cannot be adequately understood without including the religious dimension of meaning. Men and women cope with their environment, the world of people and things, through social processes of learning. They communicate in symbols, accumulate knowledge through language and build a world, indeed many worlds of understanding and expectation; their horizons stretch far beyond those of the animal.

The distinctive self-consciousness of human beings is a form of liberation. It is the emergence of a distinctly human awareness: the awareness of a capacity to know which can be indefinitely extended; the awareness of a capacity to choose which can be indefinitely expanded. At what Max Weber calls 'the breaking points' of the human world of meaning, the
points where human beings discover that they can no longer cope with, much less control, the environment, where they enter the vast jungle of the unknown and, as yet, untracked areas of experience, concepts of God enter as a great bed-rock security, a security that rids people of their fears and phobias, their sense of hopelessness and helplessness, their feelings of alienation and loneliness. Since our ideas about God and religion in general are mediated through social processes of learning it follows that those same ideas are heavily conditioned culturally. By this I do not mean that they are merely a culturally product, but that they bear the cultural stamp of their origins and sources of survival.

As we return to Nigeria itself we recognize that the societal institutions that embody our changing conceptual frame cannot remain static. Traditional values, colonialism, the impact of the great foreign religions and, above all, the phenomenon of modernization continue to make the conceptual frame of Tiv understanding and expectations an on-going changing process. This carries its own challenges:

(a) to minimize conflicting interaction in the traditional and alien values;
(b) to establish strategies for the accommodation of the conflicting values;

(c) to prepare the ground for harmonious integration of the different moral values through a moral education process and curriculum;

(d) to assess and evaluate what is desirable in the task of formulating a national ethic.

The factors which have led to today's state of Tiv culture and its transformation may be summed up as follows: the interaction of different religious traditions - colonialism and its thrusts - modernity and its impact. The features of Tiv culture that were particularly under challenge in the cultural transformation were: the practice of Mbatguy, the ethno-centric understandings of justice, truth, promise keeping and the like but, above all the marriage exchange practice and the quasi-worship of the elders. But there were two features of traditional Tiv culture that had a particular significance for our purposes, namely, the social organization of Tiv society and the organization of religious practice in particular. We now direct our attention to these two.
Social Organization

As we have already stated the whole pattern and thrust of Tiv life was deeply affected by its communal character. Individualism and isolation were extremely foreign to the Tiv ethos. By far the most spectacular example of this gift of acceptance of others was the great tradition of hospitality among the Tiv. The Tiv were and are very good at receiving visitors. Whenever a visitor came, whether he was familiar or not, the Tiv man would prepare a tobacco pipe for him after they had exchanged greetings. He would then arrange with his wife the feeding of the visitor. While the wife was cooking, the guest and the host then entered into a deep conversation investigating about the guest's home-town. From this detailed conversation, the two became familiar with each other. Each learnt about the kinsmen of the other.

The visitor may leave that day or may have to spend a night. If he had to spend the night, the host made sure that he gave the best bed to the guest. The host would have to give up his family bed so that together with his wife, they slept on a mat spread on the floor. As many nights as the guest spent the
host and the wife would sleep on the mat. It is therefore ironical to learn that the Tiv frowned at mixed marriages with foreigners. This is an eccentric development that is actually strange when one considers their preference of foreigners (e.g., in trading pursuits and other social interactions) to their fellowmen. It is a mystery that can only be explained in terms of selfishness and parochialism.

This hospitality trait has to be encouraged and can be extended to the national level thereby forging national unity among the ethnic groups. On the other hand the unwholesome behaviour of abhorring mixed marriages can be discouraged by encouraging inter-ethnic marriages. This can be achieved through a systematic moral education by creating awareness in the youths that we all belong to one great family. Although we differ ethnically, genetically we are one. Stressing universal values will be helpful as the Tiv do not exist in a vacuum.

Tiv Religious Organization and Practices

We have already seen that religious practice among the Tiv had a strong cultural stamp. Its heavy quota of sanctions greatly aided tribal cohesion. Social, religious and political interaction greatly
complemented each other. The sanctions covered practically every aspect of the Tiv life and explained the cause of disease, death, life, infertility and the relationship with the ancestors. Although the ancestors were held in great awe it is grossly misleading to describe Tiv religion as ancestor worship.

The strong belief inherent in every Tiv of the past that Mbotsav are cannibals destroyed any hope for a life after death. Indeed there are many controversial views on this practice and the lot of those who have departed.

In the traditional Tiv setting all members of the ethnic group were participants in the religion. All believed in the theology of the religion and subscribed to the rituals and the initiation rites. But the Tiv religion failed to give satisfaction and both the Muslim religion and Christianity brought in the much needed belief in transcendentality. They brought a glorious and satisfying life after this life's perils. We can from here extend to the universal brotherhood of man and with it encourage interdependence and feeling for others. With it we can discourage selfishness, parochialism and unco-
operative attitudes in our youths. The desire to save a brother's soul that would perish would usher in the ideas of being one's brother's keeper. The same universal brotherhood as found in God as the common Father would lead ultimately to universal justice and freedom for the nation. Here the research is concerned with the universal religion that recognizes God as supreme and one that cuts across ethnic and denominational bounds. Religion that finds solace in one God and shuns isolated group doctrines and practices. This centrally accepted religion (not canvassing for a state religion or a theocratic state) can lead us to come to terms with the traditional life style and modernity.

The Tiv religion featured medicinal aspects for the curing of diseases of all sorts. Even today, certain diseases which cannot be treated in the hospitals are believed by the people to be cured by the native medicinemen. Certain poisons like snake-bites, and arrow wounds are believed to be treated better by the medicinemen. Research into these would avail the nation with a valuable information.

Another value in the traditional life is one of respect for the elders. Aged men were the custodians
of the religious emblems and relics. Based on this important role and coupled with the transparent wisdom and trustworthiness of the elders, they were able to command respect and their authority over morality was unquestioned. How can we restore this control of political and social order by the gerontocrats? There should be a provision for advisory council of elders at all the political units. These councils should be recognised and their councils be adopted in so far as they may moderate the detrimental trends of modernity.

This chapter highlights various influences that have come to interact with the Tiv traditional values in recent years. It indicates that these alien values are highly influential and they contain several admirable aspects. Rather than visualizing these alien cultures as only contributing negatively to the Tiv culture, they should be viewed as a blessing in disguise. Viewed from this perspective, a systematic synthesis of the Tiv and alien culture is recommended for an evolution of the Tiv universal culture. This cultural integration is inevitable so as to forestall modernity from usurping the Tiv traditional values.
The Starting Point: The Tiv Theory and Practice of Education.

As with other aspects of life the Tiv theory and practice of education was holistic, all-embracing in character. It was neither localized nor restricted to specific hours, but included all aspects of life. Here we look to the Tiv theory and practice of education with a view to presenting teaching and learning strategies for moral education. We recommend both the Direct and the Indirect approaches to the teaching of moral education.

The Tiv educational system centered on life itself. It was part and parcel of their life and therefore both theory and practice went side by side. It all aimed at survival so that whatever they taught was relevant to the life of the learner. The curriculum included crafts for both boys and girls, farming, hunting procedures and practices, medical practices, fishing techniques, building and decoration of houses, building and maintenance of footpaths, care of the body, human relationships and above all religious instruction.

From this list one could infer that there was the informal and some formal approaches to the teaching and learning of the curriculum. Certain crafts, for
instance, demanded some term of apprenticeship where a group of children had to enrol to learn such crafts. This was formal education in practice. Crafts like blacksmithing, basket weaving and weaving of cloth readily come to mind. Children who wanted to carry out these crafts had to enter into a master-apprentice relationship.

The teaching methods included direct tuition by the master, demonstration of the art, supervision and evaluation. The learning techniques on the other hand embraced - listening, observation, imitation; participation and strict obedience.

Training and learning continued all the time. All members of a given society had access to this education unlike selective education introduced in Tivland by the colonialists. It was therefore education for all and so whoever presented himself or herself to be trained received the fullest education. There was no room for discrimination. Thus, the Tiv, like other African communities, had their own way of educating the young. The aspects include equipping individuals with skills for self sufficiency; instilling
the art of satisfactory living within the community and above all stressing equality where opportunities were open to all members of the Tiv community.

Communality and Extended Family system in Tivland

The root of the educational system in Tivland is based on communality and fostered by the Extended Family System. The Extended Family System can be viewed as an economic system that engenders an 'even distribution' of wealth within the family even though it disallows individuals getting extremely wealthy. It seeks to share wealth and property according to the needs of members of the family. Thus, many of the Nigerians who are manning the governments and the managerial positions in companies and factories today received their education as a result of the financial sacrifice by their parents, relations or even financial sacrifice made by their villagers and townsmen. It is only right for these men to continue to reciprocate the gesture established by their parents and relations.

The Extended Family System which exists virtually in every ethnic group has both positive and negative values. The positive values should be articulated and enlarged to embrace not just members of the family
but clans and other ethnic groups so that an Ijaw, a Shua Arab, a Nuna or a Birem would consider himself a Nigerian to feel what affects an Efik, a Hini or a Cattle Fulani. Afterall we share one common descent as human beings.

5.22 Tiv Approaches for Achieving the Desired Goals

The following were the various means the Tiv employed to inculcate education in their children. Although these were not articulated as in often the case in the West, they form acceptable patterns of procedure.

(a) Songs - these were very educative and taught the children the traditions and history of the family, clan and the ethnic group.

(b) Again through the songs they learnt the classical language, correct behaviour (manners), important names of the community and the role these people played in the development of the community.

(c) The Folklores - These were plentifully developed about the animals, people and men of and about the underworld. They taught moral values and helped them in the moral developmental process.

(d) Games and Exercises. The children played these largely on their own but were occasionally
supervised by adults. Games ushered in role-taking. The children imitated house building, boats manufacture from yam and cassava tubers, cattle pens from corn-stalks, cassava stems and spear-grass all of which can be compared with the project method of learning.

(e) The landscape had to be mastered under this system of education. The children had to learn tree names, different roots and their uses, animals that are harmful and those that are useful to man. They, as hunters, had to be very observant to know and recognise the foot prints of the wild animals and to follow their trails.

(f) Riddles and Puzzles - These were very amusing and they served for the cognitive development.

(g) Dances - Dance steps had to be imitated so that from a very early age children became expert dancers and could thrill the audience with the rhythms and bodily wriggles.

(h) Proverbs - The Tiv used a lot of proverbs in their conversation. These were very useful in moral training. Although the Tiv Educational Theory was not articulated in a written form, they unconsciously imbibed cognitive moral values.
(intellectual moral knowledge) and affective morality (emotions, attitudes, feelings, dispositions and sentiments) in their youths using the above means.

The cognitive moral training was done through the teaching of principles and sanctions of the people. This was done by the parents and the immediate significant adults. Lessons were equally graded as certain concepts and propositions could not logically be taught to the very young infants who would not grasp the knowledge. Certain lessons were therefore deferred until the children grew up to about adolescence age before they were taught.

The affective moral learning was largely achieved through the stories and folklores which contained many moral lessons. The adults took time to tell these stories laying emphases wherever moral lessons were contained in the story. Some stories were told so well that some children had to scream and even shed tears as a sign of pity for the character that suffered (especially when a character suffered injustice). That was how the Tiv instilled morality in their children.
We are aware of the Western Educational system. It has been shown in chapter four that these values are alien to our indigenous values and have created some conflict of interaction with the indigenous values. The idea of Western education, which in the Nigerian setting has emphasized educating the mind at the expense of the hands should be replaced with education that emphasizes the mind and use of the hands. Tanzania has introduced a new educational philosophy known as "African Socialism and Self-Reliance". China too, in her march to modernity has as her philosophy 'Socialism, and Service to the Community! In these two countries emphasis is laid on mobilizing the masses and practical skills are integrated into the educational programme including social education to build a level of self sufficiency among all.

In Tivland today, (and indeed in Nigeria as a whole) even primary school leavers are waiting for the white collar jobs. This unfavourable educational orientation has led to an uncontrollable unemployment level leading consequently to unprecedented
wave of crimes. There is need for us to
reappraise the educational system and start a
real Agricultural Revolution where the schools
and other organizations have to participate. All
able bodied young school leavers should be mobilized.
Tiv life has been based on the philosophy of corporate
existence. This should form the Agricultural
Revolutionary Philosophy i.e. Philosophy of Communal
Co-operation and Living. The individual under the
Tiv setting was subordinated to the group.
Co-operation and Service to the community were the
relevant features of the society. I have narrated
in detail this co-operative tendency in chapter
two titled 'Thumbe ii Korun'. This laudable aspect
of the traditional living can be adopted and moderni-
zed to tally with our present level of development
taking stock of Western advances. In this communal
spirit we can restore labour force and the society
would benefit enormously.

To effect the Agricultural Revolution, there
should be some legislation from the governments.
Agriculture, for example, should be a compulsory
subject in the schools. Furthermore, six to eight
weeks attachment to a farm should be a prerequisite
to enter form five: Teachers should be made to supervise this and keep accurate records.

Alternatively, after form five all the students should spend a year on the established farms and certificate of such service be issued at the end of the one year. At the end of one year those who wished to remain in these farm centres or establish their own farms should be helped and encouraged.

Agric-allied industries should be established and the youths encouraged to form associations so as to benefit from these industries. The hoe should not be replaced by the imported machineries at this level of development. For some experiments such as Sokkos in Plateau State blossomed well when the foreign experts were here. Such farm centres compared favourably with any in Europe. But as soon as the foreign experts withdrew, the farms have been reduced to traditional bushes and tractors lay in parts, badly rusted. Our attitudes and value systems have to change gradually before we can accept modernity in agriculture and other technological advances of the west. Indigenous crafts should be encouraged too.
5.4 Content of Moral Education

In earlier parts of this chapter I described the Tiv conceptual frame of understandings and evaluations. I placed particular stress on its changing character. Then I moved on to discuss the practice of education among the Tiv before making a brief comparative analysis of Tiv and Western systems of education respectively. It is now time, therefore, to discuss the content of a curriculum of moral education for the Tiv youth in a time of rapid change. In doing so we must realize that here we are engaging ourselves somewhat in a philosophy of moral education. If so, we must realize that the sources of such a philosophy will not be found among the Tiv. A philosophy of education as an analysis of the key concepts of education is something that all cultures have inherited mainly from the Greeks. However this does not deny the fact that other cultures, Tiv included, have had systems of education which contained genuine philosophical elements. It is with this proviso in mind that I now propose some of the key concepts and their analysis which must mark any authentic moral education today.
William Kay sums up the five essential pre-conditions which must be satisfied in the process of developing a morally educated person. These pre-conditions are cross-cultural in character and they may be listed as follows:

(a) "The establishment of one's identity ('Who am I?')"

(b) The ability to accept oneself ('What am I really like?')

(c) The accessibility of moral models ('How must I behave?')

(d) The formation of a mature conscience ('What is the right thing for me to do?')

(e) The experience of achievement and success ('How am I doing?')

By way of summary the five preconditions entail 'self', 'others' and the relationships between 'self' and 'others'. This is the essence of moral education at all times. All teachers of moral education therefore ought to take note of these preconditions to ensure that the children under them are led to achieve this self identity as well as establishing feelings for the interests of others. They should then be able to assess...
whether they are making a steady progress in their human relationship with others or not.

The aim is to make a child the moral agent who will behave in accordance with 'judgment' (cognitive) 'feeling' 'duty' (affective domain). There is a big gap between 'knowledge' and 'action,' i.e. judgment and taking the right action. Dearden puts this more lucidly as he states

"Leading children to see how they ought to behave therefore is only one half of moral education. The other half is to make it second nature with them to act upon what they know."

It is the duty of the teacher to close this gap by creating 'feeling of obliigatoriness' in children so as to enable them take wise moral actions. No matter how much a teacher or an elder teaches the moral code to the children, if they do not feel obliatory, what they do (i.e. if they act by following the code) they may only be obeying that social order or rules.

Knowledge must therefore go side by side with reasons why the child should take an action in a particular way. A child for example, may do something that is 'right' for fear of the consequences or
what people may think about him. To be moral means doing something that is right because it has to do with the well-being of others e.g. if a child knocks on the door before entering in order to please his boss inside, it is not a moral act. He may be merely following the rules or principles laid down for him to follow. If, on the other hand, the child knocks on the door out of a free will because he is convinced that is the right thing to do then it is a moral act. But if it is a social custom or law that everyone must knock on the door and the society is following this universally, then it is not a moral act.

If the preconditions to moral attainment are carefully inculcated in the child he will acquire three stages of moral development. These are:

(a) he will understand principles;
(b) he will be able to check the consequence of his action on others and
(c) he will be able to take action that is for the welfare of others.

Such a child will therefore be able to
1) take decisions in any given situation;
ii) fit in the community without being alienated;
iii) conform to the laws of the state and community leading to the stability of the nation;
iv) keep important moral principles for his happiness and the happiness of others, the nation at large being the beneficiary.

But the content of moral education is not an ossified, static body of knowledge; it is not merely a quantity of information. But on the contrary it must include concept formation, attitudes, values and, above all, skills in decision making.

**Concepts and Concept Learning.**

Mastering a concept is very important as this entails more than mere naming of the object. Learning a concept means knowing about space, use of it and ownership of the object (if the concept is an object). The teacher should teach concepts of objects and of emotions through the use of
stories from the familiar world of the pupil.
This will lead to the development of affective feelings.

Stressing the value of moral acquisition

Dearden advises that

"A child cannot fairly be blamed for 'telling lies' before he has properly grasped the distinction between fact and what was only imagined, dreamt or wished. Much of children's early misreporting of what they or others did is not only more charitably but also more accurately seen as what is sometimes called 'romancing,' rather than as deliberate lying... From earliest babyhood, however, children are forming some notion of persons as embodied and hence as liable to be hurt. Around these notions of persons as embodied are learned such expectations as that one should not cause pain by biting, punching or kicking. Again, not causing injury to others requires a growing mindfulness of consequences picked out as relevant in terms of such general categories as those of safety and danger. Leaving the scissors here, letting off fireworks there, or calling across the road, could lead to so-and-so." It will be seen from Dearden's advice that concepts are learned earlier from pleasurable and unpleasurable happenings that occur to us than abstract concepts.

Peters emphasizes the importance of concepts learning in these words,

"It is a grave error to regard the learning of a language as a purely instrumental matter, as a tool in the service of purpose
in the service of purposes, standards, feelings, and beliefs. For in a language is distilled a view of the world which is constituted by them. In learning a language the individual is initiated into a public inheritance which his parents and teachers are inviting him to share."

The child is required to know some of the basic concepts such as

(a) mine, yours, ours which are acquisitive concepts;

(b) property— which can belong to him or to others through legitimate acquisition;

(c) Co-operation — for living and working in harmony;

(d) Court and justice — where judicial powers are exercised to maintain peace among societal members;

(e) humility and courtesy;

(f) good and bad;

(g) cause and effect — illness and death through natural phenomenon;

(h) injury and pain and

(i) happiness — a concept that is desired by all men for its sake.

Knowledge of these concepts enables the child to develop 'feeling' for himself and for others.
Feeling for others is the pivot for moral education and has to be cultivated in all the children by the teacher.

5.42 **Attitudes and Value Internalization.**

In defining 'attitude' Wrightsman et al.¹² state that attitude is a "positive or negative affective reaction toward a denotable proposition. The number of attitudes is almost infinite; an attitude exists within a person in regard to every object, topic, concept, or human being, that the person encounters."

Ndubisi also offers a working definition, defining attitude as "a predisposition to act, believe, or feel favourably or unfavourably towards objects, persons, situations or ideas."¹³

From the above definitions we can infer that individuals hold attitudes towards objects, topics, concepts or human beings. Similarly groups of individuals express attitudes towards a person, a class of persons or a concept.

Examples of such attitudes include

(a) the Boers of South Africa have negative attitudes towards the Blacks residing there.

(b) Students hold certain attitudes about some of their teachers.
(c) Many Tiv children have poor attitudes towards mathematics.

A teacher has to study attitudes of his students and moderate them along the desired goals.

'Value' is defined as

"an aspect of a situation, event or object that is invested with preferential interest as being 'good' or 'bad' 'desirable' 'undesirable' or the like. Values are therefore developed over time through attachment of worth to certain behaviours, situations, or objects. The worth may be economic, moral, social religious or political. Thus, there are social, economic, moral, religious and political values."

In Tivland polygamy is of great value both for economic and social reasons. The more wives a man has the greater importance is attached to his personality. The man's prestige in the Tiv society was reckoned on the number of wives and consequently the number of children. It has been asserted earlier that the wives and children formed the labour force for the head of the family. Note that our development has gradually reduced the value in number of women and we have to replace this value since cost of living and care of the children
(including education) cannot permit hundreds of children.

What are the implications of 'attitudes' and 'values' to the moral education? Attitudes can be formed and discarded through training just as we form habits. The teacher should lead the children in the internalization of the worthwhile indigenous and alien attitudes and values. Below are samples of attitudes and values that the teacher can draw from for the benefit of his children.

The child should


2. Act in a tolerant, fair and sympathetic manner towards others.

3. Be aware of his social responsibilities.

4. Obey rules, regulations and respect authority.

5. Show concern and respect for private and public property.

6. Develop a sense of honesty, truth and integrity.

7. Render assistance when and where necessary.

8. Encourage others to develop good habit.

10. Be ready to accept and assume leadership role.

11. Abide by acceptable group decisions (i.e. cultivate loyalty to one's group).

12. Be willing to co-operate with others.

13. Demonstrate loyalty and show love for his country.

14. Recognise and respect the dignity and rights of all other people.

15. Recognise variety in people and respect their opinions.

16. Demonstrate love of cleanliness and beauty in art and in his surroundings.

17. Be aware of and appreciate his cultural heritage.

18. Be aware of his society's social values and norms.

These attitudes and values are general and can apply to any society or community. The teacher of moral education can study the local attitudes and values to teach in addition to the above. A child who develops most of these attitudes and values can be described as attaining autonomy and can fit well in most societies.
5.43 Skills.

It is out of concepts and values that one develops the dispositions and skills that lead to moral maturity. The skills which are vital to moral growth and which therefore should be strongly inculcated by the teacher may be listed as follows:

(a) listening, observing and attending. These have been recognized by the Tiv so that they encouraged their children to acquire. A child was easily beaten if he was not observant to what was happening around him e.g. while eating. They may say he will one day be given flesh of a human being (meat). The teacher should encourage the acquisition of these skills in his children through story telling and activities that the children may perform themselves. These skills are necessary as without applying them hardly any meaningful learning can be effected.

(b) Ability to discover sources of moral information from both the teachers at school and the parents and relatives at home. Alerting the child to be able to decipher what
is moral and what is amoral is very crucial
and a moral education teacher should try to
cultivate this skill in the children as
clearly as it is practicable.

Values change with time. The child should be
trained to develop a sense of time and
chronology in order to update his behaviour
to suit the society. This is necessary as
some people continue to lag behind in their
behaviour because they failed to cultivate
the sense of time to tally with the changing
values in the society.

Ability to ask relevant and sensible questions
and give intelligent answers. In chapter two
under the section on Tsav it was inferred
that a boy who proved sharp and rude in his
questioning and answering was considered to
be full of Tsav. Thus the skill to ask
sensible and relevant questions is important
if the children are not to continue to annoy
their elders.

Expression of opinion in a courteous manner.
The Tiv in their old setting would not allow
children to talk in the presence of the elders. The children were to listen but not to comment except when questions were specifically directed at them. This is not a good practice and should be discouraged.

A courteous but free expression of the children's opinion has to be encouraged under the moral education scheme. The home should also encourage this as communication is very vital for the development and survival of the human race.

(f) Critical Discussion and Acceptance of constructive criticism. One of the major problems in Nigeria today is that people generally, but particularly those in authority do not take criticisms kindly. Truth, of course, is bitter. If the young are trained to realize the value of and accept constructive criticisms the future Nigerian society will benefit immensely from the resultant attitudinal change.

(g) Capacity for critical moral thinking and moral decision making. The ability to make wise
moral decisions is the ultimate aim of moral education. The teacher therefore has to train the children to master and manipulate moral principles in a manner that moral problems can be solved as they arise in the daily lives of the children. Any child who is so oriented to recognize and solve situational problems will hardly have difficulty in his social interaction.

Role of the Moral Education Teacher.

The moral education teacher is a very important person within the school system. He is working to achieve precisely the societal expectation as contained in the Constitution and the National Policy on Education. In other words, he should recognize his task as building the tomorrow's society. How he does this will determine the future society. If he adopts an attitude of "after-all, I am just a teacher in the school scheme as others," then he would end up building an undesirable society. If, on the other hand, he realizes his role in nurturing the young for the benefit of his society and becomes committed and dedicated, the society will
hast-hastfully the fruits of his stewardship.

Hearon gives some guidelines for the teacher of moral education as follows:

1. If there is a moral rule or principle to be learned, it should be applied consistently. This means applying it on all relevant occasions, including those when it bears upon what the teacher himself does.

2. A teacher must be able to foresee all those things in the school setting which could hinder his being fair and judicious.

3. A teacher cannot and should not give the deep, personal love that each child needs from his parents. His attachments are only temporary and must therefore be breakable and not creative of dependence. He must retain an impartiality in all his dealings.

4. Sympathy, approachability, helpfulness, care, consideration for their good, and fairness are certain qualities needed of a moral teacher but he should not love as this leads to discrimination.

These guidelines form personal qualities for
that he is in the classroom as a model for the children. Although the primary school children are usually still too young to discriminate and select characters along which to model their lives, a start is made at this age which progresses to culminate at the adolescence period. Self control therefore is a vital quality for him. If he adopts a policy of 'do as I teach but not as I live,' he is bound to fail in his endeavour, "Living by example" becomes a watch word for a serious minded moral teacher.

Preparation and the content of his Lessons.

Good preparation is half the battle for every lesson but is particularly so for the moral education lessons. Much of the materials he deals with in abstract which demand a very careful preparation of the scheme of work and the individual lessons. A careful preparation (involving the use of audio-visual aids) and an enthusiastic presentation will generate much interest in the students. This he can achieve by the use of stories, good language sessions and by getting the children actively involved in the planned activities such as visits to hospitals, markets, prisons, courts and social
welfare centres.

2 The Teaching Strategies

In this section two practical approaches are given as alternatives to the teaching of moral education. I would refer to these as the Direct Approach and the Indirect Approach. The Direct Approach simply entails the inserting of 'moral education' as a subject on the time-table. This may mean teaching moral education twice or thrice a week as room on the time-table may warrant. The Indirect Approach, on the other hand, means the correlation of moral education with other school subjects such as History, Social Studies, Literature, Religious Knowledge, Guidance and Counselling, Geography, Biology etc.

Either of the approaches is permissible but considering the moral instability in Tivland in particular and Nigeria in general, I recommend a Direct Approach to the teaching of moral education in the schools in order to produce quick and effective results.

6 The Direct Approach.

Although the authors of Promoting Moral Growth are emphatically opposed to the approach where
Thursday, 10.00 a.m. is moral education lesson, working
the principle that 'education is susceptible to
and place.' I recommend that our time demands a
fulsory teaching of moral education in our schools.
ought to be entered on the time-table. There is
urgent need to utilize the Direct Approach to the
thing of moral education to curb and save the
ety from a total moral collapse. Even if we
not eradicate moral decadence, the Direct Approach
help check these maladies in our society. It
ith this hope in mind that a syllabus is provided
uide for the teachers of morality.

In utilizing this Direct Approach the attention
teacher is drawn to the pedagogical steps
sted by Hersh. These steps are:
the development of moral awareness;
the art of asking questions. Here I have to
stress that the art is vital on both sides i.e.
teacher and students;
the creation of a positive classroom atmosphere
conducive to moral development. If the students
are not confident in the moral education
lessons, development will be virtually
impossible. Hersh elaborates this point by
saying that discussion of real moral dilemmas
involves serious issues of confidentiality and
trust and requires teachers to establish
conditions of trust in their classrooms.

51 The Use of Dilemmas

In order to help the children focus their
attention on the lessons as well as increase their
reasoning capacity, the use of dilemmas is recommended
to the teacher. In adopting the use of dilemmas it is
advisable to discuss dilemmas from the classroom, then
extend to the outside dilemmas. This is necessary
because this approach is starting from particular to
the general (known to the unknown).

4. Classroom Dilemmas:

Below is a sample of classroom dilemmas that
could be discussed:

(a) missing items in the class;

(b) failure of members to fulfill obligation
    (e.g. sweeping classroom);

(c) abusing a classmate;
(d) a fight between two members;
(e) rudeness to the teacher or prefect or class captain;
(f) breaking the school property;
(g) improper appearance e.g., wearing uniform improperly;
(h) leaving the classroom without permission.

Societal Dilemmas

The following are examples of outside dilemmas which could be used by the teacher. In using these the teacher should be careful by preparing the children so that what is discussed remains confidential:

(a) cheating by a member of the society;
(b) stealing;
(c) stabbing an individual;
(d) murder;
(e) telling a lie;
(f) robbery;
(g) demanding and accepting bribery;
(h) failing to fulfill a promise.

As these examples are very sensitive, hypothetical dilemmas dealing with these moral issues should be used to avoid conflicts emerging from such discussions.
The Indirect Approach

A working definition of the Indirect Approach is the correlation or incorporation of moral education in other subjects taught in the school. The subjects that render themselves better for this correlation are History, Religious Knowledge, Social Studies, Literature, Guidance and Counselling, Geography and Biology. Some moral agents prefer this approach than the Direct App.

Such agents, including the authors of Promoting Moral Growth, hate to see labelled on the time-table 9.30 - 10.10 a.m. 'Moral Education'. Some of the reasons they advance against the Direct Approach are boredom on the part of the children and that every teacher is a moral educator in his class so that he should always deal with moral issues as they emerge in the classroom. They maintain that for everything a teacher does, he should watch and direct the moral growth of the children in his care. That he should watch the language, attitudes and the general behaviour of the children and advise on all those anti-social aspects that are liable to create conflict or disequilibrium.

I agree largely with these arguments. However,
the developments in Zambia in particular and Nigeria in general, demand an all-out attempt to reshape and re-direct our moral values. Most of the newly trained teachers do not bother about the attitudes and behaviour of the children in their care. They allow them to behave anyhow. Considering this, I recommend a systematic teaching of moral education using both the Direct and Indirect Approaches. We just have to take positive steps to salvage moral decadence in order to create a better generation. This is a task that has to be done.

The School and Society

In any process of moral education there is a vital link between the home and the school, the society and the classroom. That the home is the first institution for attitudes and value internalization cannot be denied. As early as the Greek era it was discovered that moral virtues are attitudes built up by repeated moral actions. Thus the home as the first moral installing institution should teach the principles of the society and give reason for each rule. The reasons are part of the conceptual scheme which the children have to grasp. Moral education should be recognised as a complex task for the parents, relatives and the school to undertake and each of these educative agencies should accord it an
appropriate attention.

Since the child has a shorter time to stay in school than at home, it is necessary for the home to accept a greater responsibility for the child rearing practices. However, the school should note that, being a formal institution established for the sole purpose of educating the children, it must define the moral objectives clearly to nurture the children along the societal desired goals.

What are the Tiv and Nigerian expectations? The general expectations of the Tiv and the Nigerian peoples are peace, unity and stability for national development.

But moral education cannot take place in a vacuum. Consequently educationists should adopt a strategy of inviting 'external moral educators' to give talks on the pre-planned topics. The teacher should select topics from the syllabus which contain moral issues and dilemmas and propose to the external guest speakers. Such guest speakers may include:

1. traditional consellers such as oral historians; soothsayers and local chiefs;
2. lawyers and policemen;
3. doctors to discuss drugs and drug abuse;
4. religious leaders such as Pastor, Rev. Father and
Imam. Note that the consent of the students' parents must be sought as some would not want a religion taught to their children.

Social Welfare Officers etc:
The teacher's role in this approach, as in other cases mentioned earlier, is very important. He has to:
- select relevant topics for each invitee and allow him to choose from the list of topics. He should also advise the invitee on what would be relevant to the children's needs and what should not be covered;
- prepare the children on what to expect, questions they would ask at the end of the talk, their behaviour during the talk etc;
- liaise constantly with these external guests to avoid disappointments. For, if several guests fail to turn up the children would lose confidence in the teacher;
- prepare questions himself as the talk progresses.
His questions may bring out moral issues more vividly;
- re-emphasize points raised by the external guest after he had left;
- prepare the children to write letters of gratitude to the guest speakers. This helps them cultivate appreciative skills.

This approach has an advantage of linking the school
with the home. The students will know that the school and home have identical expectations and that each is not pulling in the opposite direction. The home too would be satisfied that the school is imparting the societal value to the children.

9 The Structure of the Curriculum in Moral Education: An Experiment in Cultural Symbiosis.

We have discussed the Tiv and the Christian world views and noted their similarities and contrasts. We have noted some deficiencies in the Tiv Weltenschauung. Given our greater enlightenment today, most Tiv would now subscribe to the view that the practice of the Tsav, the excessive adulation of the elders, the limitations placed on such key concepts as truth-telling, promise-keeping and justice; all of these need serious review. Christianity with its great commandment of love, even of Christ's least ones came as a very healthy culture shock to the Tiv people. The primary of love of all human beings challenged the primacy of power and this had the effect of introducing an element hitherto unknown into the Tiv moral system.

But if the Tiv moral system had its limitations it was also very well endowed morally. The concept of communality that pervades all aspects of Tiv life had the effect of removing tendencies to isolationism, alienation
r struggle for the necessities of life which can be so destructive of genuine Christian morality. The challenge to the Tiv people today therefore is not so much to discard their great traditions, not so much to reject their moral system, but to widen its base and horizon. The great values which the Tiv people discovered independently of Christianity - loyalty, respect, truth-telling and the like must be pruned and refined to fit and serve the needs of Tiv people, still steeped in tradition but how developing new conceptual frames of understanding and expectation.

Although I strongly subscribe to the view that Christianity has the answers to the problems of the Tiv in a way in which Humanism, Marxism or even Islam have not, nevertheless Christians too must put their house in order. The iconoclasm of earlier missionaries, the cultural imperialism embedded in the Christian message as it reached the Sub-Saharan Africa must be excised from the essential body of Christian faith. Just as Christianity has benefitted from and did benefit every culture it came into contact with so too it is benefitting by culture today and is also benefitting from it.

It is benefitting Tiv culture in the ways I have mentioned, that is, by purifying its darker features, expanding its unwarranted limitations and, above all,
endowing the native communality and extended family with a vision and breadth and depth it otherwise would never attain. But the Tiv culture can also make a distinctive contribution to the richness of the Christian message. This may be done in two ways, that is, by compelling missionaries and the now indigenous church in its turn to eschew from the faith the cultural accretions of an alien culture. Secondly, Tiv culture may make a distinct contribution by allowing its own culture to be purged in that the light of truth and the nugget of value inherent in the Tiv culture may be clearly seen and nourished by Christ, the Way, the Truth, and the Life.

What, then, would be the structure of a curriculum for moral education in schools in Tivland today or indeed, for that matter, in any part of the federation? In answering this question I should like to draw attention to a famous saying among the Tiv people: 'As the old mushrooms rot away the new ones replace them'. What this means is that each child is the prolongation or survival of the society and so the attention of the society ought to be aptly geared towards an evenly balanced maturation of the child. Since this has to be done systematically there is need for a curriculum whose goals and objectives must correspond to and nourish the basic vision and norms
of the society at large. For the pupils to benefit from the aims and objectives of moral education the curriculum must attend to both the cognitive and affective dimensions of student development.

Such a curriculum must firstly be rooted in the culture of the pupils in question yet in such a way that such a culture is corrected, expanded and endorsed according to a well founded critical analysis of such culture. Secondly, the curriculum must not only be ecumenically stamped where areas of agreement are explored and endorsed among adherents of different traditions within the same religious affiliation, but it must also have a strong pluralistic character as identifying areas of understanding among the adherents of different religious traditions. This applies in particular to the relationships between Muslims and Christians where there is a history of prejudice and suspicion that has done untold harm to the psyche of the Nigerian over the centuries. Thirdly, such a curriculum must have a strong national flavour. The fact of the matter is that a nation is in the process of being formed. This does not mean that pupils should be taught to weaken their loyalty to their ethnic group. What it does mean is that such loyalties must be seen within a wider frame of self understanding
and self-image. Fourthly, a curriculum today must place a heavy emphasis on self-reliance, not in the sense of rugged individualism but in the sense that the progress and development of the nation can only be assured on the basis of a citizenry that assumes a disposition of interdependence in action rooted in a self-discipline that is constructive and on a corresponsibility that makes the needs of others the measure of one's own choices.
Footnotes


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APPENDIX I

A SAMPLE LESSON UNDER THE DIRECT APPROACH

I carried out a series of lessons using the Direct Approach. The lessons were taught to primary five pupils of the Mkar Model School which is a private school. The children numbering 30 averaged 12 years. The topic of this particular lesson was bribery and was taught in English. A story depicting some moral dilemmas was told by me with the teachers in attendance. At the end of the lesson the teachers were given two dilemmas to write and submit their views while the children were asked to go and discuss with their parents the dilemma "should bribery be encouraged? Why? Why not?"

The full lesson is reproduced here with the comments on its outcome.

Date: 5th April, 1983
Class: Year Five
Subject: Moral Education
Topic: Bribery
Duration: 40 minutes
No of Pupils: 30

Objective: At the end of the lesson the children will be able to discern the evils inherent in bribery and might want it stamped out.
paratus: (1) A passport photograph
(2) A picture of a cripple
(3) A driving licence
(4) A picture of an accident vehicle.

Introduction: Discuss with the children using the following questions:
(a) Who among you can drive a motor car?
(b) Who amongst you have a relative that is a motor car driver?
(c) What qualification does a motor car driver need? (show licence)
(d) Who is responsible for giving this qualification?
(e) Have you heard of any vehicle accident in the last five days?
(f) What happened to the passengers?

Presentation:

1. Carefully narrate the story of the bad Vehicle Inspecting Officer (V.I.O) who was fond of taking bribes and issuing driving licences without even seeing those would-be drivers.

2. Emphasize how the members of the society were abhorred with this illegal behaviour.
by the V.I.O. and how they masterminded a plan by bringing a passport photograph of a cripple (show picture of a cripple) with N100.00 to the V.I.O. Tell that the V.I.O. received the money and readily issued a driving licence for the cripple. Show the passport photograph and the picture of the cripple and stress that he cannot drive a motor car.

3. Inform the class that the society then sued the V.I.O. to the court where they tendered the licence and the cripple as exhibits. Ask the children how they would feel if they were the V.I.O. standing in the court. Also ask them what they think could happen to the V.I.O.

Conclude the story by telling them that the V.I.O. was imprisoned and dismissed from service. State that whenever bribery collectors are discovered, they suffer much e.g. imprisonment and loss of job for life.

4. Discuss the story using the following
questions:
(a) Should we give bribe to get what we want? Why? Why not?
(b) Should a class six leaver who is briefly trained as a driver and has no other way of earning his living bribe a V.I.O. in order to get a licence? Why? Why not?
(c) The boy can drive without a licence. Should he drive and whenever he meets the police he should give them a few naira since the V.I.O.'s demand is out of reach of the boy? Why? Why not?
(d) Are there some occasions when bribery should be allowed? Why? Why not?

Conclusion

Either

Let the children write down this question and discuss with their parents. "Is bribery to be encouraged? Why not? Or

Tell them that "Bribery is a social evil which is shunned by society. That is why the people in the story operated to eradicate it from their society by suing V.I.O. All citizens should shun and fight bribery.

Although successful, this lesson had some limitations
Those limitations are:

(a) Initial language limitation of the children. These children speak largely their vernacular and are only picking up English. They are able to understand but are not yet able to discuss issues freely, especially abstract issues as were involved in the lesson.

Another factor closely allied to this is the problem which the teachers in attendance brought to my notice during the discussion. They complained that occasionally my language was above the children's understanding. To solve this problem teachers of moral education can combine English and vernacular to ensure understanding by the children. This is suggested in view of the strategic nature of the subject.

(b) Age of the children - the age of the children too contributed as a limiting factor. Of course, this was the first lesson on moral education and so their response to a novel subject was bound to be dull. Later lessons proved more effective as children contributed more actively. Teachers of moral education must make sure from the start that problems might arise at the initial stage. They should therefore be ready to plan well and to
persevere. If they persevere they will together
with the society, reap heavy yields.
The above limitations are presented not with any
inference that the lesson was a failure, but to
portray a true picture of what transpired during
the lesson. Indeed the lesson was successful. The
children discussed narrating some accident scenes
in their limited language. The teachers too were
moved with the lesson and as it was the last period
of the day discussion continued unabated between
the teachers and I long after the pupils were
dismissed.
APPENDIX II

The following is a sample lesson which was taught based on the Indirect Approach.

Date: 26th April 1983
Class: Year V
Subject: Social Studies
Duration: 40 minutes
No. of Children: 30

Topic: Our Role as Good Citizens.
Sub-Unit: Fellowship.
Objectives: The children will know that co-operation is necessary for a family's effective daily activities.

Apparatus: A doll and ears of millet.

Introduction: Show a doll that is completely wrapped in some rags and ask the children to suggest what is inside the rags. After their attempts, unwrap the doll and ask the children to suggest its usefulness. Inform them that washing the doll should be extended to washing real babies and little children.

Presentation:

1. Briefly review the previous lesson which dealt with
the roles of mother and father in a home.
Ask the children to suggest ways they can help their parents in the running of the home. Expect answers like:
(a) Working on the farm;
(b) going on errands;
(c) cooking of meals e.g. fetching water, washing utensils, making fire or pounding yams;
(d) watering the plants and animals;
(e) feeding the chickens and goats;
(f) bathing the younger children;
(g) washing the family vehicle.
Stress that co-operation in these activities leads efficiency in the home.
Tell the story of a boy called Akpera Dondo, who was lazy and at the same time rude. During the holiday his father sent him to scare away birds from their millet farm. Show them the ears of millets. Whenever Akpera went to the farm he would just sit on the daar (roofed structure used by boys to scare away birds from destroying crops) without shouting at the birds, nor pulling the ropes meant to scare the birds away. Whenever a member of the family reminded him that he was not
doing his duty well and so the birds were
destroying the millets, he would reply that others
were enjoying at home while he was suffering on
the farm. As he was the only grown up boy, no
other person came to relieve him so the birds
consumed virtually all the millets. There was no
millet harvest for the family.

Ask the children to suggest what would happen to
the family.

4. Stress the following moral values:
   (a) The boy was lazy and disobedient so he could
       not do the work assigned to him. Emphasize
       that lazy people do not achieve much in their
       lives. They cannot adequately provide their
       families with the necessities of life.
   (b) The boy was unwilling to co-operate for the
       benefit of the family, so the entire family
       suffered famine during that season. Exemplify
       that we all have individual roles to play for
       the upkeep of the family. If we refuse to
       co-operate, especially in the sensitive areas
       as in the story there would be disaster in
       the family. Sometimes a whole clan or an
       ethnic group would have to suffer from the
negligence of one individual. We have to always carry our assignment with diligence, if we want to be good followers.

5. Children do the following assignment in their exercise books:

(a) What did Akpera Dondo's father ask him to do?

(b) Did he co-operate with his father? Why?

(c) What happened to the millets?

(d) Do you think his father will be happy to pay his school fees? Why?

6. Move round to ensure that each pupil is working. As you move from pupil to pupil mark their work and help those who have some difficulties.

Conclusion:

(a) Collect the unmarked work for marking.

(b) Tell them that they should shun laziness, if they want to succeed.
APPENDIX III

List of the Main Informants

A total of 96 elders, whose ages range between 60 and 110, were orally interviewed. These were drawn from Southern (S), Central (C), Eastern (E) and South-eastern (SE) Tivland. The informants given below supplied the most useful information on political, social, religious, economic, military, as well as the colonial masters' activities in Tivland.

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</tr>
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<td>Rev. J.E.I. Sai</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>Shitire (E)</td>
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</table>
APPENDIX IV
QUESTIONNAIRE

SECTION I

1. Before the appointment of the Chiefs by the British who ruled the Tivland?

2. How were long standing debts settled during that time?

3. In which part of Tivland did Europeans first enter?

4. Who were the first Europeans to arrive - Missionaries or the colonial administrators?

5. Which of the policies introduced by the Europeans are you opposed to?
   (a) those introduced by the Missions,
   (b) those introduced by the British administrators.

6. What ideas and policies of the Europeans do you cherish?

7. What is your opinion about the British type of government?

8. Which do you prefer, the British form of punishing thieves or that of the Tiv? Why?

9. Which class of people do you prefer, the British officials or the Missionaries?
   Can you give the differences between the two sets of people?
20. What are the reasons for throwing morsels of food and pouring water on the ground as practised by some people?

SECTION C

21. Into how many emblems (akombo) would one initiate to be a complete master of them?

22. Can one purify himself and become well from a disease by undergoing a particular rite without taking medicine?

23. Today many women eat sanctioned foods, like eggs, cow tongue, etc. What are the outcomes from such violations?