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After Secondary Marriage, What?

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In 1950 the Kadara and Kagoro peoples of Zaria Province both practiced secondary marriage as the normal form of later marriage, though the British Provincial Administration had forbidden this practice by a decree in 1934 which required women to perform *idda* on leaving their husbands before entering into another union (Smith 1953). *Idda* is a period of three months' celibacy required of women under Moslem law before they can be divorced. Kadara and Kagoro are not Moslems, but in decreeing *idda*, the Zaria Provincial Administration implicitly forbade secondary marriage throughout the pagan populations of Zaria Province, since under secondary marriage women did not observe any period of continence on moving from one union to the next. In consequence there were innumerable paternity disputes and as the populations involved were patrilineal and patrilineal in their organization, these disputes fuelled numerous feuds. One consequence of such tensions was that interlineage relations of "wife-stealing" were rigorously separated from relations of intermarriage. Members of intermarrying lineages could marry one another by primary or secondary marriages alike, that is in first or later unions, but members of lineages which "stole" wives from one another never intermarried. The two sets of relations were given different names and sharply contrasted. For example, among Kadara, interlineage relations of marriage are known as *azaimi* while those of "wife-stealing" are *aformi*. In Kagoro the corresponding terms are *niendi* and *nendwang*. In both societies patrilineal groups were exogamous and practiced widow inheritance. Accordingly each society recognized three modes of marriage: namely, primary marriage which normally involved infant betrothal and bride service on the bride's father's farms; secondary or later marriage; and widow-inheritance. Like many others in this region, neither society had any concept or institution of divorce and thus, given widow-inheritance, marriages only terminated on the wife's death. Secondary marriage was thus the second or later marriage of a woman which occurred without abrogating her previous marriage or marriages. Such unions were

legitimized when the bride's parent or guardian accepted bride-wealth from her new husband. There was nothing adulterous in popular conception about such unions at all. To reduce paternity disputes, absconding wives were expected to show evidence of menstruation to a senior kinswoman for three periods following their relocation. Naturally, this often failed to satisfy deserted husbands.

Since a woman's marriages only ceased with her death, all women engaged in secondary marriages were wives of two or more men simultaneously, although they could only cohabit with one at a time. This reflected the virilocal residence rules that prevailed throughout these patrilineal societies. On the other hand, while men could cohabit with several wives simultaneously, often some were absent, cohabiting elsewhere. Since divorce was not recognized, and since secondary marriage was relied on instead to redistribute the female partners of unsuccessful unions, neither primary nor secondary marriage transferred exclusive or final rights *in uxorem* and *in geneticum* over women to their husbands or husbands' lineages. Instead the woman's father and close patrikin retained control of her fertility, and therewith the right and responsibility to authorize her successive marriages by accepting bride-wealth. Accordingly, to ratify claims to children born in their homes by their cohabiting wives, all husbands had also to make certain traditional prestations to their wives' fathers or male guardians, to whom the children would otherwise be affiliated.

In all these respects the institution of secondary marriage had identical form and content among the Kagoro and Kadara. In both societies it was forbidden between lineages of the same local community, and between all lineages, wherever located, that intermarried. Among Kagoro, who were grouped in two moieties called Ankwei and Kpashan, while Ankwei lineages legitimately engaged in *niendi* or *nendwang* relationships with one another. Kpashan and Ankwei could only intermarry, so that there was no *nendwang* between them; and Kpashan were forbidden to marry each other's daughters, so that if they were not members of the same community or clan, they could only engage in *nendwang* with one another. Notably what we, adopting the woman's reference point, label "secondary marriage," tribesmen, adopting a male point of view, labelled "wife-abduction" or "wife-stealing," e.g., *nendwang* or *aformi*. Hence in Hausa the institution is commonly described as *auren zaga* or *auren sata* (wife-stealing), terms that reflect the sense of injury of the deserted husband and his lineage.

Implicit in the preceding account is the rule that men can only take as secondary wives women whom they are entitled to marry as primary wives because their two lineages are *niendi* or *azaimi* to one another. Also implicit in the foregoing, but quite explicit in both societies, is the rule that forbade women to have more than one husband in any community. In effect the institution of secondary marriage involved a complex structure of rules that forbade its practice

in social units of diverse type, such as localized patrilineages, dispersed patrilclans, local communities, and, among Kagoro, between the Ankwei and Kpashan moieties. Thus, together with the alternative relations of *niendilazaimi*, exogamy and widow-inheritance, relations of secondary marriage served to delimit the basic corporate units of both societies: namely, in Kagoro, the moieties, local communities, patrilclans, and patrilineages; and in Kadara, the patrilclans, patrilineages, and local communities. Accordingly, the continuity of both social structures was threatened by the administrative decree which prescribed *idda* and proscribed secondary marriage, since under that law, remarriage after divorce following on *idda* would differ from secondary marriage and would not be formally subject to those traditional regulations that had hitherto restricted the choice of partners in secondary marriage.

Even in 1950, when few if any married women in either tribe entered new unions except through secondary marriage, the validity and future of that institution were clearly in question and so too was the stability and structure of all social units that were so closely bound to this institution in either society. Accordingly, I resolved to follow these developments as best I could over the following years, and revisited both societies in 1959, very briefly in 1961 and 1972, and most recently in April 1978, to observe their experience of changes associated with secondary marriage.

Kagoro and Kadara differed in many cultural features despite their remarkably similar marriage institutions. Most notably they differed in political status and organization in 1950 as also today. Having successfully defended themselves against Moslem Hausa-Fulani attackers from Zaria and Jema'a during the last century, Kagoro were independent when the British took over in 1903 and were thereafter administered independently of the Moslem Hausa-Fulani emirates of Zaria and Jema'a on their borders as a separate district within Zaria Province (now Kaduna State) under a tribal chiefship created by the British. Kadara have had a far less happy history and situation. Never politically united, they have long been subordinate to the Moslem states of Hausa and Fulani Zazzau (Zaria). In 1950 they were divided between the districts of Kajuru and Kacia in Zaria emirate and had no tribal organization, court or council of their own. Instead, grouped in village areas and communities, they were administered through their village chiefs and elders by the Hausa District Heads. At Kagoro, on the other hand, by 1950 the then recently-appointed tribal chief, Mallam Gwamma, had established a tribal council with three representatives from each village and was experimenting with village councils based on lineages as representative units. Shortly afterwards he integrated these village councils and the tribal council so that the tribal council indirectly reflected the balance of lineage interests and opinion expressed in village councils.

Islam has made no headway in either tribe, thereby giving Chris-

tianity an uncontested mission field. A common factor in both tribes was the presence of the Sudan Interior Mission (SIM). However, its impact on the two societies was an extraordinary contrast. Among Kadara of Kajuru District, after sixteen years, in 1950 the Mission had approximately 200 converts, few of whom were literate. At that time, among the Kagoro, after 24 years of Mission activity, approximately one-third of the population were Christian, an equal number were literate, and the tribal chief, Mallam Gwamma, selected in 1946 by the pagan priests and elders despite persistent opposition from the British administration and the Hausa of Zaria, was a former lay preacher of the S.I.M. Already by 1950 Kagoro had won fame throughout Northern Nigeria as one of the region's most energetic, educated and progressive "pagan" peoples. By contrast, at that date, very few Kadara went to school in Kajuru District, few spoke Hausa, even among the senior men, and, according to my sample survey at Kufana, infant mortality there approximated 60 per cent. There were no markets in 1950 among Kadara and trade, then very rare, was still conducted by barter.

By 1959 some implications of these political, missionary and other factors were abundantly clear. For example, in 1951 the Kagoro Tribal Council decided to set rates of bridewealth for the first marriages of "educated" and "uneducated" maidens. Since New Year's Day 1952, the rates have been £15 or ₦30 for unmarried girls with Standard IV education or higher certificates, as against £10 or ₦20 for those without. In this way, obliquely, but with full awareness of the implications of its decision, the Kagoro Tribal Council legislated to replace secondary marriage by divorce and remarriage following *idda* as from the beginning of 1952 and instructed the Tribal Court to administer refunds of bridewealth to ex-husbands on their wives' divorce on this basis. Kagoro experience of these reforms was so encouraging that I stated:

by 1955, the Tribal Council was proposing a conference of all tribes which practiced secondary marriage and had been affected by the 1934 Idda Law, in order that the Kagoro solution of both these problems could be put before them for study. The tribe passed on this suggestion to the British Provincial authorities, but no such conference was ever called and, in 1959, I found increased disturbance among Kadara, where secondary marriage and *idda* obligations conflict, while Kagoro was quite free of this (Smith 1960:146).

In 1934, following the *idda* legislation, a Kadara Tribal Court was established at Kufana, the senior and largest Kadara village in Kajuru District, to administer matrimonial cases including offenses under the new decree. By 1939, when the court's inability to prevent secondary marriage was obvious, it was removed to Kajuru and placed under the supervision of the Hausa District Head resident there. He convened the court for one week each month and attached a Hausa assessor to it to advise on suits between Moslems and Pagans. How-

ever, as of 1950, the court was still ineffective in discouraging secondary marriage and promoting *idda* among Kadara. Fines levied on women and their new partners for nonobservance of *idda* increased periodically from 1934 to 1955. In 1954 a Kajuru District Council was established on which each Kadara village area had three representatives, the chief and two elected delegates. Though by far the majority of the District population, and numerically the largest element on its council, the Kadara were there subordinate to the Hausa under the presidency of their District Head. The District Council was thus, for Kadara, the antithesis of an effective Tribal Council.

In 1955 fines levied by the Kadara Court for nonobservance of *idda* were increased substantially on instructions from the Zaria Native Authority; and for the first time the fathers of absconding wives became liable to fine on grounds of complicity in their daughters' nonobservance of *idda*. This measure gradually encouraged men to see that their daughters observed *idda*, and thus undermined secondary marriage. In 1958 the Zaria Native Administration ruled that on completing *idda* under the court's supervision, Kadara women should receive certificates. Thereafter observance of *idda* was registered. In 1959 it was expected that the Kadara Court would shortly be reorganized and transferred to Kufana to meet there daily under the chairmanship of the village chief of Kufana, Aniro.

Based on inventories of all marriage transactions that had occurred at Kufana in Kajuru District and at Fadan Kagoro, the capital and largest Kagoro community, between my visits of 1950 and 1959, my analysis of the two situations and experiences up to that point was as follows:

Although Kagoro marriage reforms have abolished infant betrothal and have so redefined the rights of fathers and husbands in women that if unions break down divorce is both inevitable and unavoidable, while secondary marriage is impossible, the traditional framework of inter-lineage *niendi*, *nendwang* and *bin* relations persists, together with those principles . . . by which *nendwang* was regulated. Thus remarriage at Kagoro is still restricted by moiety, lineage and community obligations and occurs within the context of traditional *nendwang* relations. Although the Tribal Court, having registered observance of *idda*, lacks power to prevent women remarrying as they wish, the fathers or guardians of these women, by refusing to accept bridewealth from suitors ineligible under traditional rules of *niendi* and *nendwang*, do forestall such unions, and thus preserve Kagoro lineage units and inter-relations. Since the decision to abandon the old marriage forms and preambles was made by men representing the lineages and communities, the preservation of these basic social units may have been a tacit precondition of change. Only when the Kagoro find that their traditional organization, defined by *nendwang* and *niendi* relations, is no longer essential for effective corporate action are they likely to legitimate remarriage within communities and across *niendi* lines. Even then, we can expect that *kwai* will persist as exogamous lineages practicing internal widow-inheritance. (Smith 1960:146-147).

As regards the Kadara, in 1959,

secondary marriage persists as the typical form of later union among Kadara; but its validity is now obscured under the super-ordinate law. Alongside the traditional

structure of secondary marriage and in competition with it, "remarriage" has emerged as a new form in consequence of the *idda* rule; and under the law as administered by the court, "remarriage" eludes those traditional proscriptions that formerly regulated secondary marriage. The bases and relations of Kadara corporate groups, traditionally insulated from antagonistic *aformi* relations by mechanisms which restricted the alternative modes of marriage to mutually exclusive social spheres, are progressively compromised; the differing forms of prestation for primary and secondary marriage are assimilated; and the personal rights and liabilities of women, their fathers, and their rival husbands, remain obscure and ambiguous, even after submission to court. (Smith 1969:220-221).

These summaries indicate clearly the superiority of Kagoro's situation and response at that time to the problems presented by *idda*. By contrast, in 1959 Kadara seemed to be on the edge of an institutional crisis over the conflicting rules and procedures associated with *idda* and secondary marriage. At Kufana remarriages after divorce had already breached the traditional prohibitions that insulated communities, clans, lineages and even the *ategburu* ritual groupings of lineages against internal *aformi* relations of secondary marriage, while at Kagoro remarriages observed the traditional alignments of secondary marriage.

The quotations above also indicate my preoccupation at that time with the nature and scope of the structural changes that accompanied the replacement of secondary marriage by divorce and remarriage following *idda* in each society. I was then particularly concerned to see whether, despite adoption of divorce and remarriage in either society, certain fundamental conditions of the traditional social structures, such as the mutual exclusiveness of exogamy, primary and secondary marriage, would persist, and so too the differing combination of these alternative relations to distinguish and constitute corporate units of differing type, including, among Kagoro, the two moieties and the tribe itself. I was equally concerned with the sequence and scope of changes in the relations between husbands and wives, fathers and daughters, and between men and women generally, which would clearly accompany this institutional change. Given these questions, it seemed best to wait until a full generation had elapsed since the original Kagoro reform of 1952 before reviewing the situation there and among the Kadara, to see how well the traditional social structures and arrangements were withstanding the shift from secondary marriage to divorce and remarriage.

The basic presumption that underlay this perspective is *ceteris paribus*, in the specific sense that I then assumed that other developments involving these societies during the interval were not likely to have major influence on the institutional changes under study, or on the tribal adjustments to them, and could thus be ignored. As will be clear later, in this case also the assumption of *ceteris paribus* encouraged illusion.

In January 1966 the first independent civilian Government of Nigeria was swept aside by a military coup which initiated nearly thir-

teen years of military government, including two years of civil war. In 1968 the Federal Military Government by decree assumed direct and sole responsibility throughout Nigeria for all courts, police and prisons and their activities. In consequence the Kadara Customary Court and the Kagoro Tribal Court were both abolished and replaced by Federal Area Courts presided over by Federal magistrates, who depended on tribal assessors for guidance on tribal custom and law. However, by then Kagoro had so firmly adopted divorce and remarriage that they had forgotten many of the traditional procedures and prestations for both primary and secondary marriage. Moreover, for reasons that will be given below, by 1968, as in 1978, divorce was a rarity among Kagoro.

Among Kadara also, by 1968, secondary marriage was clearly on the way out and by then most women, on deserting their husbands, first performed *idda* at their father's house and then sought divorce through the court as required by the 1934 law. On such occasions the court would assess the value of bridewealth or bride service received by the wife's lineage on her marriage and allocate some portion as refund to the deserted husband. In consequence, bridewealth rapidly replaced bride service on all marriages and Kadara progressively ceased to practice infant betrothals and bride service for first marriages as they had done since time immemorial, thereby for the first time creating a situation in which maidens could select their first husbands. Some implications of these changes are mentioned below.

In 1972-3 the Federal Military Government had also appropriated for itself control of primary and secondary education throughout the country, thereby expropriating (with certain compensations) the schools set up and run by the Missions in these non-Moslem areas. By 1972 Kufana had obtained a Government primary school for the first time, while the missions at Kagoro, both the Roman Catholics and the Evangelical Church of West Africa (formerly the SIM) had had to turn over their schools to the Ministry of Education. Shortly after, and apparently to promote interethnic understanding and cultural unity, the Nigerian Ministry of Education decreed the dispersal of most secondary school pupils from their home areas to schools scattered throughout Nigeria. As an educationally advanced area, though previously one which received very little Government support, Kagoro has been adversely affected by these reforms. By contrast, Kadara objectively benefited to the extent that for the first time their children are receiving primary and some secondary education. Some qualifications are mentioned below.

In 1976, preparing to restore civilian government, the Federal Military Government decreed national reforms of Local Government of a surprisingly uniform kind. Under that degree the Kagoro Tribal Council, which had somehow survived the 1966 prohibition on all civilian political organizations, was abolished, but in April 1978 I learned that the Jema'a Local Government, which is sited at Kafanchan and has jurisdiction in these matters over Kagoro, Jema'a,

Moroa and Jaba, had been persuaded to authorize Tribal Councils on the Kagoro model throughout these districts as second-tier structures of local government. In any event, by 1976 the Kagoro Tribal Council could afford to take a holiday, having by then put the tribe securely in charge of its own affairs.

These are perhaps the most important political events that affected these tribes between 1959 and 1978. As indicated allusively above, neither separately nor together did they have any major part in shaping tribal responses to the *idda* decree. Having thus accounted for the interval between 1959 and 1978, I shall now summarize the state of affairs in Kagoro and Kadara in April 1978, beginning with Kadara and concluding with a brief comparison.

As regards the change-over from secondary marriage to divorce and remarriage, with the reservations indicated below, the Kadara situation in April 1978 as represented by Kufana was surprisingly satisfactory. By then secondary marriage was wholly a thing of the past, remarriage following *idda* and divorce having fully replaced it. However, by 1978 there were very few requests for divorce, except from childless women seeking children by new marriages. As in 1950, all females of marriageable age and above were married, whether by widow inheritance, first marriage or remarriage. However, only a few elderly women remained in secondary marriages. The institution of widow inheritance also flourished and widows normally remained in the lineages of their deceased husbands with someone as heir of their own choice. As earlier also, there was a high degree of polygyny, which is still the Kadara ideal, accepted by both sexes alike. As in 1950, premarital pregnancies and births presented no problem to Kadara, whether moral or social. If the girl was already betrothed, the children belonged to the husband; if she was not, they were affiliated to her father's lineage.

Reservations attach to Kadara experience of education for their children. In 1978 elders complained that, following graduation from primary school, some boys and girls would leave the village for Kaduna and other nearby cities, while many who remained behind were not keen on farming. Elders resented the loss of their children through migration to the cities but understood that there was no wage work locally available for educated youngsters. They also regretted bitterly the school children's dislike of farming. Perhaps there was a tendency for these elders to exaggerate the exodus to the town but undoubtedly the withdrawal of some young men and the indifference of others had reduced local food production and gravely disturbed their parents.

As regards the traditional structural units and formerly exclusive sets of marriage relations, with one important exception these have retained their validity at Kufana. Patrilineages and patrilines are exogamous as before, linked to one another by relations of marriage,

azaimi, or by marriage prohibition and "wife-stealing" (*aformi*). As formerly, first marriages are normally made within the community but now so too are most remarriages, thereby concentrating *azaimi* and *aformi* relations within the couple's natal community. Formally this is the position but fortunately it does not happen often, since divorce and remarriage are both now so rare among Kadara. In any case, remarriages within the girl's community never breach the rules of lineage and clan exogamy and when a girl remarries following divorce to someone outside her community, the new husband will always, without exception, be drawn from one of her clan's *azaimi*, never from an *aformi* lineage.

By 1978 all traditional payments by husbands to filiate their wife's children had lapsed among Kadara, together with infant betrothal, bride service (*abusan*), and other features of the traditional secondary marriage institution. Girls now marry between the ages of 14 and 18 to young men of their own choice and having married, they rarely, unless childless, seek divorce, even when their husbands have taken second and third wives. To Kadara elders, the fact that girls now choose their own husbands explains the virtual absence of divorce among the present generation. According to them, all women who underwent *idda* and divorce to remarry had been betrothed as infants under the old system, and had been first married against their will before 1954, while the succeeding generation which married with bridewealth rather than bride service, and to men of their own choice, seldom seek divorce.

Questioned about the local Mission and its activities, the elders estimated that less than one per cent of the population of Kufana were Christian and said that the R.C. and ECWA (formerly SIM) churches had perhaps been more active and successful in certain nearby settlements. If so, this was only by winking at polygyny, widow-inheritance, and divorce, which both these churches normally condemn and forbid. Thus the failure of the Missions to win converts has enabled Kadara to uphold and practice polygyny and widow-inheritance at Kufana, thus ensuring available husbands for all marriageable women. It has also allowed them to practice divorce and remarriage as necessary, to accept premarital sex and pregnancy as before, to observe exogamy wherever that was traditionally required, and to preserve the old *azaimi* and *aformi* relationships across community boundaries. In consequence, among Kadara the primary loyalties of individuals still lie to their kin, their lineages and communities, free of those ethical and ideological divisions that currently beset Kagoro.

As regards marriage, the situation at Kagoro in 1978 was more complex and disturbing. In a nutshell, there was very little divorce, and that almost entirely by childless wives seeking offspring. Men do not initiate divorce except in unusual circumstances. Inheritance ac-

ording to the traditional pattern was accepted by less than a quarter of eligible widows. Secondary marriage was no longer practiced. Indeed, its procedures and details had long been forgotten. Girls normally chose their first husbands and could mate or marry with or without parental approval. Few women who now leave their husbands go to court to register *idda* or seek divorce. Instead, while the children, if any, remain with their fathers, such women usually live in the homes of their fathers or other kin, or on their own, trying to support themselves. In due course they take lovers and become pregnant. Children born in this way are normally filiated to the woman's father's family, whether or not her lover acknowledges paternity. If the lover wants the child, under current Kagoro norms he should first marry its mother by paying bridewealth to her father or guardian. However, not all men are prepared to accept bridewealth under these circumstances and in several cases they have simply sent the woman and her child to the lover to live in *nyarang sap*, or "common-law marriage."

Nyarang sap are illegitimate unions of various types that contrast with *nyarang* (marriage), of which there are now two major variants among Kagoro, namely Christian and "customary" marriage. Christian marriage is celebrated in church and normally excludes polygyny, divorce, and widow-inheritance. Thus male adherents of ECWA and the Roman Catholic churches may neither inherit widows nor take second wives, while Christian women whose marriages break down do not seek divorce and when their husbands die they also reject widow-inheritance. In consequence, such women are obliged to live independently, whether in their natal homes, with some other kin, or on their own. To support themselves, they engage in wage work and trade as well as farming and other own-account activities.

The second type of marriage that Kagoro presently practice is labelled as "customary," though it is, in fact, a very recent development. As indicated above, "customary" marriage occurs whenever the woman's father or guardian accepts bridewealth from her prospective husband. Nowadays few men will do this except at the woman's request. However, besides the rates set in 1952 for educated and uneducated maidens which are still observed, prospective husbands normally have to give much larger sums to the bride's father as *goron uba* (gifts to the father). As these supplementary payments are not officially included in bridewealth, and as courts concern themselves only with the official bridewealth when assessing the refunds that follow divorce, deserted husbands now rarely seek divorce, especially if the woman has borne them any children, since should they do so successfully, in return for a small part of the minor payment made as bridewealth, they would forfeit all claim on their wife. Accordingly they take no legal action when abandoned but hope that the wife will return later to be with her children. In consequence, deserted husbands complaisantly maintain their marriages while

their absconded wives live independent lives and have children for various lovers.

Unlike Kadara, Kagoro have always been rather puritanical about sex and traditionally placed high value on premarital chastity of both sexes, and particularly women. Consonant with this, a girl's father and family would be horrified and gravely shamed if she was found lovemaking or pregnant while living in her father's home and traditionally that was one place where a woman could not bear children. Nowadays, with education prolonged into secondary school and sometimes beyond, some unmarried young women of high promise have become pregnant while resident in their fathers' home. In such cases the father normally rejects the proffered bridewealth and sends his erring daughter to her betrothed or her lover to live in *nyarang sap*, a disesteemed condition. If the young man is unmarried and a Kagoro, he normally responds by marrying the girl in church. Thus irregularities which rule out "customary" marriage are no barriers to Christian marriage, which can also be undertaken without the approval of the girl's family.

Such resort to church marriage also occurs when the girl's family rejects bridewealth because in their view the proposed union contravenes norms that have traditionally defined the relations between the corporate units to which the two families belong, such as their lineages, communities, or moieties. In every instance reported, such anomalous unions have been rejected by one or both of the families concerned either independently or under pressure from their agnates and others. In the usual case such lineage pressures also suffice to dissuade the young couple from marrying one another but if they decide to go ahead nonetheless, they will marry in church outside Kagoro. On other occasions young women living away at Jos or Kaduna have entered into common-law unions with strangers without their parents' knowledge.

In short, in 1978 Kagoro were deeply disturbed about women in three situations, all of which could lead to *nyarang sap* of different types. First, there were those educated unmarried girls who either proposed unacceptable marriages or became pregnant while still at home; second, there were the estranged young wives living independently at home or on their own; and third, there were widows who refused to be inherited. In all cases these women were likely to engage in irregular unions and to bear illegitimate children, two conditions that Kagoro society had never previously permitted but now has increasingly accepted.

Despite this, it is remarkable how perfectly the traditional structure of *bin*, *niendi*, and *nendwang* relationships, and the moieties, communities, patrilineages, and localized lineages that they defined by their diverse combinations, have persisted over the 26 years since the Tribal Council decided to replace secondary marriage by *idda* and divorce. Couples that have contravened these structural rules

remain outside Kagoro in the cities. In Kagoro itself, I only came across one individual who is widely believed to have breached these norms. However oddly, this man believes that he is innocent of the charges against him because others have mistaken his lineage identity. In any event, his situation at Kagoro has the positive function of deterring imitators.

As indicated above, Kagoro are on the average better educated than other Northern Nigerians. They are accordingly more mobile and oriented to urban occupations away from the tribal area. While it is likely that proportionately more males are absent than females, the numbers of either sex who are away are comparable and relatively large. How such people mate and with whom while away from home has been defined as a family matter rather than a tribal concern. But emigration has reduced the number of men at Kagoro so as to produce a local surplus of women. Objections of the Roman Catholic and ECWA churches to polygyny ensure that a fair number of these surplus women lack husbands and despite their Christian inclinations, several of them take lovers and bear illegitimate children. It is thus most revealing that Kagoro assert with confidence that in every case the lovers of unattached women, whether they are unmarried, separated or widowed, belong to lineages that are *niendi* to those of the women and located in other communities. Thus the traditional regulations that governed mating in the days of secondary marriage still regulate later matings among Kagoro, even when these are irregular. This is so because men whose lineages are linked to a woman's by relations of *bin* or *nendwang* never court her, whether for licit or illicit relationships.

Comparison of these Kagoro and Kadara developments has several instructive features. It enables us to see in sharp relief what remarkable assets the Kagoro possessed in their political unity and Tribal Council and what excellent use they made of the latter to deliberate, agree, and legislate the tribal shift from secondary marriage to divorce and remarriage in 1952. Nonetheless, despite their disorganization, disunity and subordination to Hausa, under the leadership of Aniro, the former chief of Kufana who retired from that office *c.* 1962 to become full-time Chairman of the Kadara Customary Court, the Northern Kadara of Kajuru District slowly, unevenly, but nonetheless steadily, moved to adopt *idda*, divorce, and remarriage in place of secondary marriage. Their slower transition gave the Kadara more time to adjust to the new marriage patterns but of greater importance is the fact that the Missions had failed to make many converts among them. In consequence, few if any Kadara presently have any doubts about the legitimacy, fitness, and merits of polygyny, widow-inheritance and, now that it is accepted, of divorce. In contrast, the heavily Christianized Kagoro, though they coped far sooner and magnificently with the secular and legal implications of *idda* and divorce, are now in serious disarray due to their heavier Christianization and the prohibition of polygyny, divorce, and wid-

ow-inheritance by their two dominant churches, ECWA and the Roman Catholics. Nonetheless, very few Kagoro have enrolled in the rival Bishara Baptist and African Churches which tolerate polygyny, divorce, and widow-inheritance.

Can we briefly prospect the future? Either the situation at Kagoro will continue to deteriorate, as more unattached women, whether married or not, have more illegitimate children at their lineage homes, or as the ratio of emigrant females rises. Perhaps Kagoro adherents of the Bishara Baptist and African churches might increase. While there was no sign of this in April 1978, some Kagoro had already withdrawn to their ancestral home on the top of Kagoro Rock which had remained unoccupied for more than 50 years and it is just possible that others resistant to Christian teaching could follow and try to re-establish a pagan community atop the Rock.

As for Kadara, in 1978 they had two complaints. The elders wanted the Customary Court restored to Kufana without Hausa magistrates or assessors. They were also concerned and anxious about the effects of education on their children and particularly at the loss of their children to the nearby cities. How far this anxiety was justified by the emigration rate up to that date, I cannot guess, but undoubtedly most of the elders who lamented the withdrawal of their youths had experienced such losses in their households or lineages. Should this outflow of young men continue and increase, then the Kadara situation could deteriorate in the direction of Kagoro 1978, but for different reasons.

On the other hand, it is possible that the activities of ECWA and the R.C. church at Kalla, Anguwan Maro and elsewhere may finally take root and expand, with consequences already illustrated at Kagoro in 1978. Taken together, Christian prohibitions of polygyny, divorce, and widow-inheritance are a perfect recipe for structural havoc in Kadara, Kagoro, and other secondary marriage societies grounded on principles of patriliney, polygyny, and virilocality.

As remarked above, in 1959, being then concerned primarily with those changes that would affect corporate units, I bundled all others under the *ceteris paribus* assumption. Twenty years later, having belatedly recognized religion, education, and national politics as relevant factors, what else has one forgotten? This is an interesting oblique illustration of the difficulties of fully forecasting the course of social change, even when, as here, it fulfills our expectations at the level of corporate organization in both these societies.

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