

WOMEN AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN EHUGBO SOCIETY, 1900-1960

Enwo-Irem, Immaculata Nnenna, PhD

Department of History and Strategic Studies, Alex Ekwueme Federal University, Ndufu-Alike Ikwo, Ebonyi, Nigeria

ABSTRACT: *The role of women in the economy of Ehugbo during the colonial period has remained largely understudied by historians. This is in spite of the fact that both in terms of their numerical strength and economic importance, women's role in Ehugbo deserves attention. This paper argued that through their collective and individual activities, the women-folk, both as mothers, farmers, traders and producers, wielded enough economic power to contribute significantly to community, state and international development. They were responsive and receptive to economic opportunities and innovations. This did not obfuscate the fact that during the colonial period, the people's efforts and resources were not used for the development of their area but were rather exported to the metropolitan country. Also since it was reasoned that a woman's place in the society was the home, the colonial government never thought in terms of encouraging the women in develop their potentials through its administrative and economic policies neither was it deemed expedient by the colonial government to integrate the women into the development process of the colonized areas. It is argued that in their various endeavours, women demonstrated remarkable creativity, ingenuity and entrepreneurship, which enabled them to face the challenges of the period. With their economic power, the women were well placed to actively participate in the development of the area.*

KEYWORDS: Women, Economic Development, Economic Structure, Local Instructress

INTRODUCTION

The pre-colonial Igbo economy basically had three foundations namely; agriculture, trade and manufactures. Agriculture was the mainstay of the economy with regards both to the number of people engaged in it either on full or part-time basis or to the prestige attached to it. It is little wonder that V.C. Uchendu aptly described farming as the "Igbo staff of life"¹. He further asserted that:

*To remind an Igbo that he is **ori mgbe ahia loro**, one who eats only when the market holds' is to humiliate him. This does not imply that traders are not respected: all it means is that the Igbo see farming as their chief occupation and trading, as a subsidiary not a substitute for it.²*

One result of this Igbo attitude to agriculture was that every Igbo man and woman was a farmer. Agriculture was not only largely subsistence in nature, but was in Igboland and it was highly ritualized. The latter points both to the importance of the occupation and to its antiquity among the people.³ The beginning of the farming season, the date of which varied from one part of Igboland to another for ecological reasons, was a formal occasion marked by festivals and rituals. It was the same with the beginning of the harvest season which was marked by the very important *New Yam Festival*. Initially, emphasis on agriculture superseded that of trade. The traditional Igbo society being mainly agrarian, emphasis was

placed on not just farming but on the cultivation of sufficient food to last until the next food harvest.

According to Isichei “the discovery of improved yam species formed the economic basis of Igbo civilization. Yam was of a supreme importance and was given ritual and symbolic expression in many areas of Igbo life”⁴. Traditionally, women played a vital role in agriculture. They constituted a vital factor in agricultural production, processing, utilization and marketing. On the average, about 60 percent of farm labour was supplied by women who produced over 90 percent of the domestic food supply, of which food crops accounted for over 75 percent⁵. Women in Ehugbo engaged in a variety of occupations, including pottery, farming and trade on agricultural produce as means of livelihood.

The economy of Ehugbo was, and is largely agrarian. It is estimated that about 85 percent of the employed population in the area were engaged in agricultural production. About fifteen percent of the people were cash crop farmers while the rest were food crop producers.⁶ Yams, cassava and cocoa yam were the basic crops. Yam was the most prestigious and ritually important and the only crop that men were really interested in cultivating. Cassava grown almost exclusively by women was an important food crop that was widely sold as *garri*, *iwa* (sieved cassava) and as tubers. It is a relatively new food in Ehugbo, and can be planted and harvested within a year by women.

The Land and its People

The town Afikpo was originally known and called “Ehugbo”. Early European visitors to *Ehugbo* who could not easily pronounce the name corrupted it to Afikpo. Today, the name Afikpo refers to *Ehugbo* and her people. The town is made up of twenty two villages. During the colonial era, these twenty two villages constituted one of the sixteen village groups that made up Afikpo Division which was an administrative unit in the Abakaliki province. It is located in the southern corner of present day Ebonyi State. Its total population is approximately 156,611(2006 Census) with land mass of 204km⁷

The Economic Structure of Ehugbo prior to the Advent of the British

The economic patterns of Ehugbo in the pre-colonial period, like other Igbo areas were based on agriculture, trade, craft such as pottery, mat-making, basket-making, smithing, hunting and fishing⁸. In the case of agriculture, farming was the major occupation and it flourished as the society expanded. The dominant system was shifting cultivation because land was plentiful. In this system, a whole village could move to a particular farm-land for one year, after which, they moved to another one for next year leaving the previous land to lie fallow in order to regain its fertility. Farming was mainly at the subsistence level. There was division of labour as both the men and women played different roles. While the men planted the yam, the women weeded the farm, and planted their own crops such as maize, native beans (*akidi*), melon and vegetables such as *ugu* and *ugboghoro*. They also planted cocoa yam and wild yam (*edu*) which were heavily relied on during the season when yams were not available (*Unwu*).

It is note-worthy that cassava which has today become the major source of food for Ndi *Ehugbo* was unknown in pre-colonial Afikpo¹⁰. The economic activities of women have been expanded by increased physical mobility and by the introduction of cassava. Ehugbo women take a larger part in agricultural production than the men and they appear to work harder. They did virtually all the processing of food for home consumption and for sale. They were

the major carriers of the heavy loads from the farms to and from the markets. Women's farm-work schedule kept them busy all year, unlike the male-folk. The women, including their unmarried daughters, were engrossed in weeding plots of planted farms because weeds grew profusely during the period of rain and the farms needed to be weeded not less than twice¹¹. Women in Ehugbo cleared, cultivated and planted their own crops. They determined how and when to use the proceeds that accrued from their farming and processing activities. Based on this significant role which women played as farmers and food processors, Gloria suggested that "women held their families bowels or stomachs"¹².

Land and Land Tenure System in Pre-colonial Ehugbo

Land was the most important factor in trade economic structure. Generally, land was not scarce, though there were areas with poor soil conditions or with inadequate land to support the existing large populations. The organization of land for economic activities was regulated by laws and customs which were enforced by leaders of the communities. While the laws varied from one Igbo community to the other, there were certain common features¹³. Firstly, land was corporately owned and its administration vested in the community leaders. As trustees, they defended and upheld the people's right to their land. Throughout much of pre-colonial Africa, the idea of corporate land ownership remained unthreatened despite the infiltration of the Islamic and western ideas.¹⁴ Secondly, all descent groups in a community had the right to land; such rights remained inviolable, except in cases of external conquest. Therefore, an individual acquired the right to land for any legitimate economic activity only through membership of a descent group. Thirdly, a stranger could, after satisfying certain conditions, (which included payment of a token gift such as kolanuts), obtain land from his host or the community. This gift whether in cash or kind, was never regarded as payment for the land; rather, it was an acknowledgment that the stranger recognized the rights of his host who gave him the land to use¹⁵.

It was universally believed that land belonged not only to the living but also the ancestors and generations yet unborn. Among the Ehugbo land and women are the most productive properties and were matrilineal controlled. As a result of this, about 85% of farmlands in Ehugbo was matrilineally controlled and the rest patrilineal controlled¹⁶. The right to use the land of a major patrilineage was open to any male lineage members who must be an initiate of the village's secret society¹⁷.

Before each farming season, land was divided according to relationships, age (the older the man, the larger the share) and willingness to use the land. Interested men helped to clear the bush, particularly the section they expected to farm usually on the days set by the lineage elders. When the land had been divided, each man usually received the same portion he had when that particular land was last farmed. However, there were some changes to account for increased age, death, illness and the presence of new farmers. It was customary in Ehugbo that a wife must be allocated a piece of land to cultivate for feeding her household. A husband must see that each wife had sufficient farmland for herself and her own children. This was because the responsibility for the support of the household was divided between husband and wife because of the erroneous belief that a man's children are the wife's property since they belong to the same matrilineal group. Ideally, the wife should provide staple root and vegetable crops throughout the year, while the husband was expected to provide the yams during the period when they were available and meat or fish at the time of festivals.

The last factor of production was labour. An extended family unit constituted the main operative economic entity and was, therefore, central in production. Family labour was competent, effective, efficient and well-organized. There was, therefore, the family mode of production in which a man organized all his unmarried children, wife or wives and relatives living with him for production purposes. Men married as many wives as possible to increase the farm labour. They were, however, other methods of securing additional labour, and this included cooperative work groups which involved employing many able-bodied men (and sometimes women) within a community for a definite assignment. It was not usual for the beneficiary to pay wages, but he provided food and drinks. In Ehugbo, the division of labour of this sort was chiefly by gender. Men and women worked together, but there was division of labour. The men were mainly responsible for the cultivation of yams which were considered to be an especially valuable crop, and were associated with various supernatural beliefs¹⁸. Usually, the men cleared and prepared the land, planted their own yams, cut stakes, and tied the yam vines. They also built the yam barns and arranged crops in the barn. On the other hand, women grew cocoa yams, wild yam (edu), maize and other “small” crops. They also weeded and harvested the yams.

Trade and Marketing in Ehugbo Prior to Contacts with Europeans.

As with other Igbo communities, trade was an important sector of the traditional Ehugbo economy. There were two categories of trade-local and long distance-trade. By local trade, we mean the exchange of goods within Ehugbo and between Ehugbo and other immediate neighbours. Exchange of this category did not involve participants spending a night outside their homes. In the long distance trade, the exchange of goods took the traders away from home for a night or more¹⁹. Each village had its own local market. The main local markets in pre-colonial Ehugbo were *Ahia Okpu Ugwueguelu*, *Ahia Ogo* in *Amachara*, *Ogbanja* at *Ndibe*, “*Nkwo Ozizza*” in *Ozizza*. The *Ogbanja* market was more central than the others. Oral tradition has it that *Ndibe* people developed the habit of seizing beautiful girls and in some cases married women that attended the market and sending them to their influential men on forced marriage²⁰. As a result of this and general insecurity of life and property in the *Ogbanje* market, a new market was established at a place called *Nsikpu*. This new market was called *Ahia Nsikpu* but was located close to *Ndibe*. Due to its nearness, the *Ndibe* people continued in their obnoxious act. The markets held every four or eight day’s cycle of the Igbo week. The articles of trade in the local market were mostly agricultural products such as yam, cocoa yam, vegetables, domestic animals, both dried and fresh fish, and pots of different sizes, mats, baskets and ropes. Exchange, according to *Njoku*, was partly by barter and partly by the use of commodity currencies, in particular the manila (*Okpogo*) and cowries (*Ikiribe*)²¹. However, a more centrally located market at *Amangballa* called “*Eke Ukwu*” was also established. The *Eke Ukwu* market was larger and served as the central market of the town. The “*Eke Ukwu*” held mainly on *Eke* days. Its establishment was also to meet the demands of increasing external trade in the area.

Historically, the market-place was more than a forum for selling and buying. It was also a rendezvous for social interactions of various sorts-gossips, informal discussions, recreations and for making friends and dating lovers. Markets held immense attractions to young Igbo people both men and women which applies with equal force to Ehugbo women. *Basden* observed that:

On market days particularly, the whole female population move to the market place, either to trade or to enjoy the general

entertainment such gatherings affords. Igbo women cannot keep away from the native market any more than English women can be kept away from Regent street²².

One characteristic of these markets was that they were often cited in open spaces usually close to the residences of the community members, with trees stalls or tents providing shade. Sellers of similar commodities sat in different groups, an arrangement which helped buyers to easily locate the commodities they wanted to buy. Secondly, the markets provided a central place where various crafts-men, barbers and other occupational groups rendered services to their clients. Political and judicial activities occasionally took place there. The markets were well-organized, and trading went on in such a peaceful atmosphere that one nineteenth century European observer remarked:

That such immense crowds should meet day after day in perfect harmony and order (in West Africa Markets) and transact their affairs like one great family without fighting and bloodshed is more wonderful because it stands out in such bold contrasts to what is even in lands boasted for civilization and good government²³.

The orderliness was achieved through the agency of market officials and trade guides. Customary laws prohibited attack on defenseless market traders.

Long-distance trade in various Igbo communities had traders who specialized in carrying goods from one market to another. "The organization for external trade called for a complex network of routes, a well developed transport system, a highly organized merchant group, efficient credit institutions and language of commerce"²⁴. In traditional Ehugbo, long-distance trade could be said to have developed out of the need to make for economic deficiencies of the local and regional trade. It was mainly men that were involved, though few women braved it. What constituted long-distance trade in pre-colonial Ehugbo was the trade with *Onueke, Nkwegbe, Oriegbe, Uburu, Okposi, Aba-Omeghe, Akpoha, Item and Igbere*. Some of these commodities are now in Abia State, while majority are in present-day Ebonyi State. Trade with Cross River was prominent and mostly carried out by Ozizza and Enohia communities which are close to the river. The main articles of trade were fish, palm oil, palm kernel, yam and pottery products.

The oil palm tree was one of the indigenous economic trees exploited by the Igbo. Meek observed that "The oil palm tree occurred in deserted house lands, farm-lands and forest-lands"²⁵. In the first three cases, the village or community owned the palms individually or collectively. "The palm tree on the other hand, though it provided food, fuel, plank, broom, rope, wine and so on, was only of subsidiary importance in Igbo economy before the rise of palm oil trade in nineteenth century"²⁶.

Traditionally, Ehugbo women were free to collect ripe falling-nuts in their farm lands for processing, primarily for household consumption and the kernel oil was extracted and used mostly for cosmetic and medicinal purposes²⁷. The men climbed and harvested the palm fruits while the women carried it home, boiled and in most cases pounded the fruits at *uju ekwu*; that is, the processing centre. Cracking the nuts for extracting of kernel was also another economic engagement for Ehugbo women and their children, while the conveyance of the palm oil and other products to market was also an almost exclusive preserve of the women.

Local Industries

Industrial production was another aspect of women's economic activity. Salt-making was an important economic pursuit of Ehugbo women. The existence of brine lakes and springs in Uburu and Enyigba enabled the women to engage in salt production. Uburu salt was greatly valued for its assumed medicinal properties, a dietary necessity and an important article of trade. Thus, despite the use of instruments of coercion by British colonial government and the later importation of salt from Europe, the indigenous salt industry exhibited remarkable resilience and has continued to survive to this day.

Like salt-making, the Ehugbo pottery industry was a specialty of women. Its origin also dates back to very early times. While its production has been sustained by the availability of good quality clay. It was stated that Ehugbo pottery witnessed a period of boom while colonial rule lasted²⁸. This has been attributed to the expansion of trade along the coast, which facilitated the spread of Ehugbo pottery to specially dispersed customers. Though hard data are not available, it is reasonable to suggest that Ehugbo pottery was valued because it was easily affordable by most people, when compared to imported European utensils²⁹. Virtually, every Ehugbo women was a potential pot maker. Their pots were durable and beautiful. Typical was *Ite Ohe Omume* used by *Omume* title-takers.

Pre-colonial Ehugbo did very little of craft work besides the making of mat (uta) and ropes (udo). The production of these items was integrated into the domestic chores of women and girls. Actually, mats and ropes of different sizes were produced mostly by girls and nursing mothers who were not expected to participate in farm work. In traditional Ehugbo society, a girl was exempted from farm work months before she got married. Such a girl was said to be observing *nhiha* (fattening room) the idea being to ensure that she wedded within the bloom of her beauty. Before a girl reached puberty and got married, she was expected to have mastered how to make ropes of various sizes. Any girl unable to do so was deemed to be improperly brought up.

Ehugbo Women in colonial economic setting

The colonial economic philosophy, according to Chukwu, was anchored on the principle of laissez-fair, that is to say non- interference by the government³⁰. Thus, in formulating most of its colonial policies, the British government was guided by imperial needs. Consequently, the British colonial, political and economic systems in the Ehugbo area, like elsewhere in Igboland, were premised on the above principle. To ensure the realization of their economic objectives, a number of legal enactments came into force. These included the Roads and Creeks (Rivers) Ordinance of 1903. According to this ordinance,...

The High Commissioner could at any time declare that a water-way or road was to be maintained by chiefs of the village through which it ran, and the chiefs would have the power to call any man or woman of specified ages, residing in their areas of authority to work in the water way or road for any length of time not exceeding six days in a quarter³¹.

The above enactment inaugurated forced labour for most of government projects. While the Ordinance remained in force, able-bodied men in the Ehugbo area were often conscripted to do odd jobs like the construction of roads, bridges, court or rest houses, or be made to carry loads for the colonial officials to distant places.

These jobs usually took the men away from home for days, thereby compelling the women to take over men's responsibilities both at home and in the farms. These meant added responsibilities which the women detested, especially as the men received little or no pay at all, for all the odd jobs which they were conscripted to do. The women disenchantment with the Roads and Creek Ordinance was heightened by the punitive measures which were meted out to those men who failed to turn out for recruitment. They were often arrested and prosecuted by the Native courts and jailed on conviction or fined in lieu of imprisonment. The execution of the Ordinance in Ehugbo was in many instances sabotaged by the women, undeterred by the punitive measures which the colonial administration imposed on defaulters. Many men hid in the bush during the recruitment seasons with the active cooperation of the women who visited them in their hide-outs with food and other supplies.

An Ozizza informant asserted that the Ozizza hill was a haven for tax evaders and other people who ran away from colonial agents. No colonial official took the risk of pursuing those who took refuge there for fear of being crushed to death by the stones which could be rolled down the hill by those being pursued. But the women unfailingly brought food and other necessities of life to the men regularly irrespective of the duration of their stay on top of that hill³².

Similarly, Aja posits that those colonial officials who were resident in Unwana or those going to Arochukwu through the area usually commanded their able-bodied men to paddle their canoes or carry the loads for them to distant places without any prior notice. To protect their men from harassment, on sensing the arrival of any European, the women withdrew their canoes from the river within the locality. Thus, by the time the colonial officials arrived the beach, there would be no canoe available to ferry them across the river³³. The women's action in this regard was an effective way of expressing their aversion to an economic system that sought to exploit both their human and material resources. The Ordinance not only separated families but also imposed additional burden on the women. Its repeal in 1928, followed the introduction of direct taxation in the Eastern region of Nigeria, was without doubt, a great relief. Meanwhile, prior to the above development, the British colonial government attempted to encroach on the economic base of the women. This followed the enactment of the Market Ordinance in 1924, by which means government empowered the colonial government to take over the administration of the markets³⁴. According to Agha Onya, the sum of one shilling six pence per month was fixed for the use of the stalls erected by the Local Authority, while the sum of one penny per month was to be paid by the casual traders³⁵.

The exclusion of women from all political and administrative functions left the local market places as the only area where the traditional women organization could exercise their authority. Indeed, the Market Ordinance usurped the responsibilities of the women organizations in the area which they had previously regarded as their exclusive preserve. Besides, the native administration did not erect lock-up shops and open sheds at the 'Eke Ukwu' market where the women could display their wares. In the circumstance, they saw no justification in being asked to pay for amenities which were non-existent. The women, therefore, refused to pay the market tolls. They felt they should have been adequately informed beforehand. Several unsuccessful attempts by the women to make representations on the matter to the District Officer of Afikpo proved abortive³⁶.

Around this time too, there was a "revolution" in the Cross River area which is a close neighbour over similar issues and there was a possibility of the revolt spreading to other

areas. If the issues at stake were not properly handled, they became a matter of great concern to the government. The women's revolt was directed against the economic exploitation of their area by the British. It also signified a rejection of injustice as expressed in their refusal to pay the market tolls which resulted in the subsequent revolt. The women knew their rights were being infringed upon by the colonial administration, and so demanded for justice and fair-pay.

Subsequently, on April 1, 1928, direct taxation was introduced into the then Eastern region. This fiscal measure was unknown to the people, hence it attracted very negative reactions from both men and women, even before the actual collection of the tax³⁷. Also, the use of the unpopular Warrant Chiefs in the assessment, as well as in the collection of the tax made direct taxation very hateful. No doubt, women were never called upon to pay tax, but taxation still imposed a heavy burden on them since they fed their families and assisted their husbands in the education of their children. Thus, a good number of Afikpo women during this period encouraged their men to evade payment of taxes by ensuring their sustenance while they took refuge in the bush or on hill tops throughout the tax season.

After the assessment of taxable adult males in 1927, taxes were successfully collected in 1928. In 1929, a reassessment of taxable incomes of adult males, which led to the counting of women, children economic trees and domestic animals, was misconstrued to mean that the women were to be taxed. This suspicion sparked off another mass women reaction of unprecedented magnitude in most parts of Eastern region. It became known as the Women's War of 1929. Suffice it to say, however, that the Women's War had its roots in the socio-political and economic discontent that was generated in most parts of the Eastern Region by colonial presence. In other words, the nationalist sentiments among the women-folk found expression in violent assaults on government property and institutions which to them, were the bastion of colonialism. Warrant Chiefs and other government officials became targets of attack by the irate women because they were regarded as the perpetrators of injustice and lackeys of the colonialists. The warrant chief system of government collapsed in the wake of the protest of 1929. Thus, at a time when most Nigerian men were yet to articulate their thoughts, their women counterparts had already laid their lives in the struggle for the rights of all.

Moreover, women in Ehugbo rose to the challenge by embarking on extensive cultivation and sale of diverse cash and food crops to assist their husbands in the upkeep of the family. In some instances, women made cash available to their sons who could not afford to pay³⁸. The colonial government promoted the cultivation of export crops such as oil palm trees, cocoa, and rubber, as well as the rearing of livestock. Prior to 1930, the colonial economy was not diversified, hence, for long, palm produce remained the main export commodity. The processing of palm oil and kernel was handled mostly by women. It is pertinent to point out that palm oil was used in the lubrication of machine since the modern oil/engine oil was not available. The palm oil and palm kernel generated revenue which was used by the people to build markets, train their children and purchase of some of the exotic goods from Europe. Also during this period, Ehugbo women through the profit from this trade contributed foodstuffs to the war effort.

Nevertheless, the activities of women in the Ehugbo area were however, not limited to the economic sphere. The women played important roles in the provision of certain essential amenities for the development of their communities. From the onset of British colonial rule, the people knew they were dealing with an exploitative government which was not prepared

to provide their basic needs. Any recorded development was therefore accidental or unavoidable fallout from the colonial regime. Against this backdrop, most women in the community embarked on self-help development projects. They either took the challenge of executing a project alone or jointly with men. Several community development projects during this period were jointly, executed by men and women. According to Gabriel Agwos³⁹ by 1940 there were only four motorable roads in Ehugbo... Every other motorable road in Ehugbo was, at best, a foot path. They included Local Government-Ogo Amuro, Eke market road; Ngodi-Amachi-Eke market road; Ogo Amaha-Ugwuegu-W.T.C road, Amuzu-Amankwo-Ehohua Nkalu road; Amuzu-Ogo Ibe-Amaobolobo-Otu-Eke road among others. Some of these roads were made motorable by the then Afikpo county council while the rest were by community development efforts.

Uche Ewa⁴⁰ asserted that some group of women in Ubam, a village in Ugweguelu and other villages like Amuro, Mgbom, Amachi etc built a pit toilet as against the open public latrines that were in vogue in the area during this period. Agwo⁴¹, further stated that in the 1940s and 50s night classes organized at compound and village levels were in vogue in Ehugbo and both children and adults received basic education in these places. It was mainly the women who contributed money for the payment of the teachers and provision of foodstuffs to them.

CONCLUSION

From the foregoing, it could be rightly asserted that women made significant contributions in the economic development of the study area. First in their diverse roles as mothers, farmers, traders and producers, Ehugbo women also contributed to the process of nation-building. Second, their engagement in many economic pursuits led to improved living standards of the people in the area. Third, the economic opportunities created by British colonial administration necessitated their involvement in diverse occupational pursuits. Fourth, some efforts were made to sabotage the British colonial regime when it was reasoned that punitive colonial policies constituted obstacles to this development process, Ehugbo women in collaboration with their male counterparts played important roles in opposing colonialism in their area.

REFERENCES

- [1] V.C, Uchendu, *The Igbo of South East Nigeria*, (New York: Holt, Reinhart and Winston, 1965), 30.
- [2] Uchendu, *The Igbo of South East Nigeria*, 27.
- [3] Elizabeth Isichei, *A History of the Igbo people*, (London: The Macmillan Press Ltd, 1976), 33.
- [4] Isichei, *A History of the Igbo people*, 8.
- [5] S.O. Eze, E.A Onwubuya and A.N Ezeh, "Women Marketers' perceived constraints on selected Agricultural produce Marketing in Enugu South Area: Challenges of Extension Training for Women Groups in Enugu State Nigeria" in *Journal of Tropical Agriculture, Food Environment and Extension*, Vol 9, 3. 2010, 215-222.
- [6] Gabriel Mbey, *Origin of Ehugbo (Afikpo); Afikpo in Retrospect*, (Lagos: Barcy Associates, 2004), 113.

- [7] R.O. Aja, *A History of Afikpo Circa 1600*, (Lagos: Mbey and Associates Nigeria Ltd, 2005, 8.
- [8] G.O. Chukwu, "Pre-Colonial Economic History of Afikpo Agriculture, Trade and Craft", UNN, 1983,
- [9] Gabriel Agwo, Retired head teacher, Aged 82 years, interviewed at Ugwuegu-elu in Afikpo, 8/8/2014.
- [10] Raph Aja, *A History of Afikpo*, 12,
- [11] Gloria Ifeoma Chuku, "Igbo Women and Economic transformation in South Eastern Nigeria, 1900-1960", (New York and London: Routledge 2005), 329.
- [12] Toyin Falola, "African Pre-Colonial Domestic Economy", in J.A. Afanda, (ed) *Tarikh; An introduction to the Economic History of pre-colonial African*. Vol.8,...1987,...
- [13] Falola, "African Pre-Colonial Domestic Economy", 8.
- [14] Falola, "Africa Pre-Colonial Domestic Economy", 8
- [15] S. Otternberg, *Double Descent in An African Society: The Afikpo Village Group*, (Seattle and London University of Washington Press 1968) 211-12.
- [16] Otternberg, *Double Descent in An African Society*, 62.
- [17] Falola, "African Pre-Colonial Domestic Economy", 14-19.
- [18] A.E. Afigbo "Igbo Land Before 1800", in Obara Ikime, (ed) *Groundwork of Nigeria History* (Ibadan: Heinemann, 1999), 152.
- [19] Ajuka Ugwu cited in C.I Uhere, "Inter-Group Relations between Afikpo and Her neighbours 1900-1970, An unpublished M.A Thesis, Nnamdi Azikiwe University Awka, 2011, 22.
- [20] Onwuka N. Njoku, Ohafia, *A Heroic Igbo Society*, (Okigwe: Whytem Prints, 2000), 40.
- [21] G. T Basden, *Among the Ibos of Nigeria*, (London: Frank Cass & Co. Ltd, 1966), 198.
- [22] Falola, "African Pre-Colonial Domestic Economy", 16
- [23] Falola, *African Pre-Colonial Domestic Economy*, 19
- [24] C.K Meek, *Law and Authority in a Nigeria Tribe*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1939), 19
- [25] A.E Afigbo, *Ropes of Sand: Studies in Igbo History and Culture* (Ibadan: University Press Ltd. 1981), 128.
- [26] Uche Egwu, Pot maker and Fish seller, Aged 68 years Interviewed at Ozizza in Afikpo, 6/10/2014
- [27] C.I Uhere, *Inter-Group Relations between Afikpo and Her neighbours 1900-1970*. An unpublished M.A. Thesis, Nnamdi Azikiwe University Awka, 2011, 22.
- [28] Chukwu Ali, Lecturer, Aged 58 years. Interviewed at Abakaliki, 29/10/2014.
- [29] Dan O. Chukwu, *An Introduction to Nigerian Political History*, (Enugu; His Glory Publication, 2007), 103.
- [30] R. Olufemi Ekundare, *An Economic History of Nigeria, 1860-1960*, (London; Methuen and Co Ltd. 1973), 79
- [31] Elem Oko, Retired School Bursar, Aged 75 years, Interviewed at Amigbo Ozizza, 16/8/2014
- [32] Aja, *A History of Afikpo*, 12
- [33] Afidst 20/1/24. "Intelligence Report on Afikpo Clan", N.A.E, 1933, 15
- [34] Agha Onya, Retired Local Government Security and Wood Carver. Aged 76 years, Interviewed at Amuro Afikpo, 16/8/2014.
- [35] Orié Enyi, Women Leader and retired rice seller, Aged 82 years, Interviewed at Amachara Afikpo, 2/12/2014
- [36] Aja, *A History of Afikpo*, 25

- [37] Orié Enyi, Cited
- [38] Gabriel Agwo, “Afikpo and the Europeans: 100 Years After Encounter” in *Afikpo Today Magazine* Vol. 2, 6 July-December, 2002, 36-38
- [39] Uche Ewa, Retired Traditional birth attendant, Aged 81 years, Interviewed at Mgbom, Afikpo 4/2/2015
- [40] Agwo, :Afikpo and the Europeans: 38.