The land has changed: history, society and gender in colonial Eastern Nigeria

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History, Society and Gender in Colonial Eastern Nigeria
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NOTES

FOREWORD

6 Ibid., 192.
7 Korieh, “Introduction,” 2.
8 Ibid., 13.

INTRODUCTION: PERSPECTIVES, SETTING, SOURCES

1 Interview with Grace Chidomere, Umuchieze, Mbaise, 13 December 1998.
2 Interview with Chief Francis Enweremadu, Mbutu, Mbaise, 2 January 2000.
3 Interview with Comfort Anabalam, Umuchieze, Mbaise, 13 December 1998.
4 National Archive of Nigeria, Enugu (NAE), ABADIST, 14/1/873, “A. Jamola, to the District Officer, Aba,” 21 July 1943.
8 In the settler colonies of southern and eastern Africa, where Africans competed with capitalist agriculture, the labour of African men and the subsistence production of African women also helped to subsidize the state, capitalist agriculture, mining, and industry. See, for example, Colin Bundy, The Rise and Fall of the South African Peasantry (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979).
9 However, the pace of agricultural transformation varied widely from the cash crop producing regions of West Africa to southern and eastern African societies, where farmers faced more direct demands


13 There appears to be a consensus on the decline in the level of agricultural production, although there is less agreement
on exactly what are the causes and what should be the remedies. Furthermore, critics seeking general explanatory models of the nature of agricultural crisis have reproduced this error. The current ubiquitous use of the word “crisis” in explaining the decline in African agriculture is not without uses, but it needs the addition of specific local details to avoid over-generalization. The general “crisis” thesis has led to distortions in the description of the nature of the agrarian crisis and sustainability because the discourse has not been adequately grounded in the social structures and everyday life of the studied societies. An in-depth understanding of the varied nature of the African agricultural crisis calls for an exploration of regional variations and experiences. For a general review of the literature on the African agricultural crisis, see Sara Berry, “The Food Crisis and Agrarian Change in Africa: A Review Essay,” African Studies Review 27, no. 2 (1984): 59.


For more on this debate, see Berry, “The Food Crisis,” No Condition Is Permanent, 10–6; Lofchie and Commins, “Food Deficit and Agricultural Policies in Tropical Africa,” 1–25.


The discussion should (arguably) centre on gender because its relational nature would lead to a critical examination of economic, social, and political processes. This is crucial in examining agricultural change, since men and women are defined in terms of one another in the organization of production. For a clear articulation of this position, see Joan Wallach Scott, “Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis,” in Joan Wallach Scott, Gender and the Politics of History (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988). See also Marnie Hughes-Warrington’s fine articulation of Scott’s ideas on gender in Fifty Key Thinkers on History (London: Routledge, 2000), 279–80.


See Martin, Palm Oil and Protest.


For a social history of the civil war, see Axel Harneit-Sievers, Jones O. Ahazuem, and Sydney Emezue, A Social History of the Nigeria Civil War: Perspectives from
Below (Enugu, Nigeria: Jemezie Associates, 1997).

34 By a “food-reserve-deficit” area, I mean an area without the capacity to produce enough for reserve during one farming season. Parts of Igboland, which were food-reserve-deficit areas, depended largely on food produced in other regions.


41 For a description of rural poverty among the Igbo by the late nineteenth century, see Iliffe, The African Poor, 82–94.

42 See George, Journal, 21 January 1866, CMS CA3/O. 18/23; F. M. Denis, Journal,
17 November 1908, CMS: UP 4/F2; T. J. Dennis, Journal, March 1907, CMS: UP 89/F1, cited in Iliffe, African Poor, 82.


46 Usoro, The Nigerian Oil Palm Industry.


“WE HAVE ALWAYS BEEN FARMERS”: SOCIETY AND ECONOMY AT THE CLOSE OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY


8 Okigbo, Plants and Food. See also Echeruo, “Aro and Nri: Lessons,” 206.


12 Ibid., 126.


14 Cocoyam, known as a woman’s crop, is ritualized as yam and controlled by similar taboos.


16 See W. B. Morgan, “Farming Practice, Settlement Pattern and Population Density


18 Ibid., 3.


22 According to his autobiography, written in 1789, Olaudah Equiano (c. 1745–1797) was born in Igboland. He was kidnapped and sold into slavery when he was eleven years old. His involvement in the movement to abolish the slave trade led him to write and publish The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano, or Gustavus Vassa, the African (1789). There is heated debate today over Equiano’s nativity raised by Vincent Carretta in Equiano, the African: Biography of a Self-Made Man (University of Georgia Press, 2005). For a contrary view see, Chima J. Korieh, ed., "Introduction,” in Olaudah Equiano and the Igbo World: History, Society, and Atlantic Diaspora Connections, 1–20 (Trenton: Africa World Press, 2008).

23 Morgan, “The Influence,” 52.


25 Extracts from Koler, Einige Notizen über Bonny, in Isichei, Igbo Worlds, 14–17. Yam is the common name applied to about 500 species of the genus Dioscorea of the Dioscoreaceae family. Tubers vary in size and shape, averaging 3–8 lb., but sometimes reaching more than 60 lb.


31 Western Equatorial Africa Diocesan Magazine, 1904, 29ff., cited in Isichei, Igbo Worlds, 207–8. Cassava is a perennial woody shrub with an edible root, which grows in tropical and subtropical environment.

36 Morgan, “The Influence,” 49.


43 David R. Smock and Audrey C. Smock, Cultural and Political Aspects of Rural Transformation: A Case Study of Eastern Nigeria (New York: Praeger, 1972), 21. This high population density is reflected in the 1991 population census. An important demographic characteristic is the high female population ration in the region, which is on the average 10,000 more than the male population in most areas. The demographic composition has gender and development implications including access to resources and contribution to agricultural production. See Federal Office of Statistics “1991 Population of States by Local Government Areas,” Digest of Statistics, December 1994.


46 Ibid.


48 William Allan distinguishes between obligatory and voluntary shifting cultivation. Voluntary shifting cultivation is found where land is plentiful in relation to population. Here populations could move to new areas without the restrictions imposed by the need to allow cultivated land to regenerate. See William Allan, The African Husbandman (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1965), 6–7.

49 See Morgan and Pugh, West Africa, 322.

50 Shifting cultivators could also rate the fertility of a piece of land and its suitability for a particular crop by the vegetation that covers it and by the physical characteristics of the soil. For a discussion of the ecological basis of soil and agricultural systems, see Allan, The African Husbandman, 3–19.
Interview with Mbagwu Korieh, Umuchieze, Mbaise, 18 December 1998.


It is likely that by the end of the eighteenth century most parts of Igboland and neighbouring areas were so well inhabited that founding new communities became nearly impossible. The development of a more permanent agricultural practice, therefore, became inevitable.


Ibid., 35.


The importance of age in determining gender and social relations is important in many Nigerian communities. For the case of the Yoruba of southeastern Nigeria, see Oyeronke Oyewumi, “Mothers Not


Davison, “Land, Women and Agricultural Production,” 2. Chubb described land among the Igbo as the fons et erigo (fountain and origin) of human morality, productivity, and fertility and therefore, to that extent, the principal legal sanction. See Chubb, Ibo Land Tenure, 6–7. See also Uchendu, The Igbo, 22.

In traditional Igbo society, a variety of factors including initiation into adulthood, age, and marriage determined one’s status as an adult, but they also determined when one became economically independent.

67 The Igbo week calendar is made up of eight days. The major market days in the week are Orie, Afo, Nkwo, and Eke with four minor market days on the same nomenclature.

68 Davison, “Land, Women and Agricultural Production,” 2. Chubb described land among the Igbo as the fons et erigo (fountain and origin) of human morality, productivity, and fertility and therefore, to that extent, the principal legal sanction. See Chubb, Ibo Land Tenure, 6–7. See also Uchendu, The Igbo, 22.

The Ofo is the symbol of authority in Igbo society and each lineage head remained the custodian of the Ofo until he died. See Anyanwu, “Igbo Family Life,” 147–48.

69 Interview with Mbagwu Korieh, Umuchieze, Mbaise, 18 December 1998.

60 Interview with Ugwuanya Nwosu, Owerri, 20 December 1998.

71 The Igbo week calendar is made up of eight days. The major market days in the week are Orie, Afo, Nkwo, and Eke with four minor market days on the same nomenclature.

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75 Interview with Ugwuanya Nwosu, Owerri, 20 December 1998.


77 See Afigbo, Ropes of Sand, 130.

78 Interview with Ugwuanya Nwosu, Owerri, 20 December 1998.


80 William Bosman, A New and Accurate Description of the Coast of Guinea (London, 1705), 344.
84 Hopkins, An Economic History, 21.
85 On African farming systems and division of labour, see Baumann, "The Division of Work," 328.
86 Allison, The Interesting Narrative, 39.
87 Basden, Niger Ibos, 93.
88 Interview with Chief Theophilus Onyema, Umualorlu, Isu, 5 January 2000.
94 Basden, Niger Ibos, 389–90, 394.
95 The Church Missionary Intelligencer, August 1891, 573, cited in Isichei, Igbo Worlds, 256.
96 Interview with Linus Anabalam, Umuchieze, Mbaise, 13 and 14 December 1998.
102 Ibid.
103 Interview with Agu Elija Ukaeme, Umunumo Mbaise, 3 August 1999.
104 Interview with Nze James Eboh, Obowo, Etiti, 2 January 2000.
107 Ibid., 28.
108 Ibid.
110 Ibid., 74.
112 Achebe, Things Fall Apart, 16, 33–34.
113 NAE, OWDIST, 4/13/70, file no. 91/27, “Cultivation of Crops, Owerri District,” District Officer to Resident Owerri Province, June 1928.
114 Onwuejeogwu, “Evolutionary Trends,” 60.
116 During my field interviews, people talked about the growing of yams as if it were synonymous with farming.
117 Morgan, “The Influence,” 52.
118 Basden, Niger Ibos, 389.

Cited in Onwu, Uzo Ndu.


Interview with Chief Theophilus Onyema, Umuorlu, Isu, 5 January 2000.

Isichei, A History of the Igbo, 10.


Ibid.

Ibid., 651–55. See also Dike and Ekejiuba, The Aro.

Ibid.


Ibid.

David Eltis and David Richardson estimated that about one in seven Africans shipped to the New World during the whole era of the transatlantic slave trade originated from the Bight of Biafra. See


Morgan, “The Influence,” 53.

For the link between the slave trade and the local agrarian economy, see, for example, Martin, “Slaves, Igbo Women and Oil Palm.”


Jones, From Slaves, 41.

Calculated from Eltis et al., eds. The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade.


Barbot, A Description, 379–80.

Ibid., 465.

Jones, From Slaves, 40.


150 American Memory, “Evidence of Capt, the Hon J. Denman, to the Select Committee on West Coast of Africa, 1942,” http://memory.loc.gov/ll/llst/014/0100/01780107.gif, [accessed 19 February 2006].


152 Jones, From Slaves, 50.


155 Dike, Trade and Politics, 101.


160 Jones, From Slaves, 53.


162 Ibid., 206–7.


167 Ibid.

168 Ibid.


172 Cited in Mba, Nigeria Women, 48.

173 Raymond Gore Clough, Oil Rivers Trader (London: C. Hurst, 1972), 41–42.

174 Ibid., 41–42.

175 Henderson, The King, 230–43. See also Mba, Nigeria Women, 49.

176 Mba, Nigeria Women, 32.

177 Ibid., 48.


NOTES
2 PAX BRITANNICA AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF AGRICULTURE

1 New York Times, 12 April 1903.
2 Ibid.
4 Report by The Hon. W.G.A. Ormsby-Gore (Parliamentary Under-Secretary for State for the Colonies) on his Visit to West Africa during the year 1926 (London: HMO, 1926), 77.
6 RH, Mss Afr. s. 1873, Robert B. Broocks Papers.
7 London Gazette 5 June 1885, 2581. Cited in J. C. Anene, "The Foundation of British Rule in Nigeria (1885–1891)," Journal of Historical Society of Nigeria 1, no. 4 (1959): 253–62. Named after palm oil, the major export product from the region, the protectorate originally also included territories like Benin and Itsukiri, which later became part of Western Nigeria.
11 Ibid., 33.
13 Ukwu, "The Development of Trade," 656.
15 Other military expeditions include the Douglas Expedition (ogu Douglas), Ahiara Expedition, 1905.
16 On Aro commercial activities, see, for example, Adiele Afigbo, "The Eclipse of the Aro Trading Oligarchy of Southeastern...


17 See Ohadike, The Ekumeku Movement.


20 Lugard, Dual Mandate, 193.

21 RH, Mss Afr. s. 1073, “Extract from a circular from the secretary.”

22 RH, Mss Afr. s. 1073, “Extract from a circular from the secretary.”

23 Ibid.

24 Ibid.


26 Although some Muslim intellectuals like Aminu Kano served as a voice of dissent and dissatisfaction with the Anglo-Fulani hegemonic collaboration, the ruling class collaborated with the British largely to preserve their own authority and privileges.

27 RH, Mss Afr. s. 1073, “Extract from a circular from the secretary.”

28 Ibid.


30 RH, Mss Afr. s. 1073, “Extract from a circular from the secretary.”


32 Lugard, Dual Mandate, 193.

33 Lugard was also committed to containing the expansion of Islam to non-Muslim groups. Lugard did not want non-Muslim groups to be forcibly placed “under Moslem rule (which in practice means their conversion to the Moslem faith) even though that rule may be more advanced and intelligent than anything they are as yet capable of evolving themselves.” See Muhammad S. Umar, Islam and Colonialism: Intellectual Responses of Muslims of Northern Nigeria to British Colonial Rule (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 34.

28), at a Dinner of the African Society on 13 March 1928.


37 RH, Mss Afr. s. 2288/2, Alex J. Braham papers.


39 Ibid.

40 RH, Mss Afr. s. 1000 (1), Edward Morris Falk papers.

41 RH, Mss Afr. s. 1873, Robert B. Broocks, papers.

42 Ibid.

43 Ibid.


45 RH, Mss Afr. s. 1881. A.F. B. Bridges papers.


49 Ibid.

50 Ibid.

51 Interview with Onyegbule Korieh, Ihitteafoukwu, Mbaise, 17 December 1998.


53 RH, Mss Afr. s. 1924, A.E. Cooks papers.

54 RH, Mss Afr. s. 1000 (1), Edward Morris Falk papers.


56 RH, Mss Afr. s. 1873, Robert B. Broocks papers.


59 RH, Mss Afr. s. 1873, Robert B. Broocks papers

60 Ibid.

61 Ibid.

62 C.O. 520/26, Egerton to C.O. (Confidential), November 5, 1904.

63 C.O. 520/14, Moor to C.O. No. 183, April 17, 1902.


67 Several attempts were made to introduce the production of cotton in the region. Such attempts were frustrated by a combination of factors, including the lack of interest on the part of farmers, and the unsatisfactory soil conditions in many parts of Igboland.


West Africa, 26 July 1924.

Ibid.

Ibid.


Nigeria, Annual Report on the Agricultural Department, 1932, 29.


F. M. Dyke was struck by the high degree of skill and knowledge shown by the native farmers in the care of their palm. See Report on the Oil Palm Industry in British West Africa, cited in Usoro, The Nigeria Oil Palm Industry, 37.

92 Ibid.
94 See Uchendu, The Igbo of Southeast Nigeria, 26.
95 Ibid.
97 Usoro, The Nigeria Oil Palm Industry.
98 Interview with Christina Marizu, Nguru, 25 December 1999.
99 Clough, Oil Rivers Trader, 38.
100 RH, Mss Afr. s. 1000, Edward Morris Falk papers.
101 Clough, Oil Rivers Trader, 51–52.
103 RH, Mss Afr. s. 1924, A. E. Cooks papers.
104 Ibid.
105 Interview with Eugenia Otuonye, Umuchieze, 23 December 1998.
106 RH, Mss Afr. s. 1924, A. E. Cooks papers.
109 CO 583/193/8, ‘Palm Oil Industry.’
110 Nigeria, Annual Report on the Agricultural Department, 1932, 22.
111 RH, Mss Afr. s. 546, Frederick Bernard Carr paper.
112 Interview with F. Enwemadu, Mbutu Mbaise, 2 January 2000.
113 Nigeria, Report on the Agricultural Department, 1912, 23.
114 RH, Mss Afr. s. 546, Frederick Bernard Carr paper.
115 Ibid.
117 CO 583/193/8, “Palm oil Industry.”
118 Ibid.
120 Interview with Onyegbule Korieh, Mbaise, 17 December 1998.
121 RH, Mss Afr. s. 1873, Robert Bernard Broocks Papers.
122 RH, Mss Afr. s. 1000, Edward Morris Falk papers.
123 Ibid.
125 Nigeria, Report in the Agricultural Department, 1912, 23–24.
126 RH, Mss Afr. s. 1000, Edward Morris Falk papers.
131 Ibid., 20.
133 See NAE, ABADIST, 14/1/397, file nos. 851; NAE, AHODIST, 14/1/465, relating to pawning of persons as security for debts.
134 Interview with Linus Anabalam, Mbaise, 13 December 1998.
135 Iliffe, The African Poor, 92.


Meek, *Land and Authority*, 15–16.

Green, *Ibo Village Affairs*, 43.


Jones, *From Slaves*, 1.


3 GENDER AND COLONIAL AGRICULTURAL POLICY


The recognition of difference and diversity is a common trend running through the writings of African feminist scholars. See, for example, Obioma Nnaemeka, ed., *Sisterhood, Feminism and Power: From Africa to the Diaspora* (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 1998). For the work of a culturally sensitive writer, see, for example, Chilla Bulbeck, *Re-orientating Western Feminism: Women’s Diversity in a Postcolonial World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

See, for example, NAE, OWDIST, 4/13/70, file no. 91/27, “Cultivation of Crops, Owerri District,” District Officer to Resident Owerri Province, June 1928. The District Officer acknowledged that statistics were not available for women’s crops.


NAE, CALPROF, 14/8/711, file no. 1018/13, The Quarterly Report of the Agricultural Department, 1918. See also Superintendent of Agriculture, Eastern Province, “Report on the Progress of Pupils attached to the Agricultural Department.”


NAE, ONDIST, 12/1/578, “Instruction for Farmers’ Sons.” District officer, Nsukka Division to Resident, Onitsha Province, 3 February 1934.


NAE, ONDIST, 12/1/578, “Instruction for Farmers’ Sons,” B. W. Walter, District officer, Udi Division to Superintendent of Agriculture, Onitsha, 6 February 1934.


Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.

This was the situation in most of the colonial territories. See, for example, Janice Jiggins, Gender-Related Impacts and the Work of the International Agricultural Centres, CGIAR Study Paper 17 (1986), 1–2.
Ibid.


See Eastern Region, Annual Report, Agriculture Division, 1958/59.

For report from various agricultural divisions, see NAE, LD 51-ESIALA, 27/1/53, “Matter relating to agricultural loans.”

Ibid.


Nigeria, Second Annual Bulletin of the Agricultural Department, 1923. See also Gray, “Native Methods of Preparing Palm Oil,” 29.

See Lugard, The Dual Mandate, 268–69.


Baker, Agricultural Change, 22.


See Anyanwu, The Igbo Family Life, 200.


Usoro, The Nigerian Oil Palm Industry, 93.

Morgan, “Farming Practice,” 332.

Ibid.

Ibid., 330.

Ibid., 331.


Mba, Nigerian Women Mobilized, 75.

Martin, Palm Oil and Protest, 1988. See also Mba, Nigerian Women Mobilized.

See Ukaegbu, “Production,” 233. See also Mba, Nigerian Women Mobilized, 106.

NAE, CALPROF 7/1/2339, file no. 4577, “Restlessness among the Annang Women.” District Officer Opobo to The Senior Resident, Calabar Province, 27 February 1952. For the threat on the traditional rights of women with the introduction of new technology, see Margery Perham, ed., Native Economies of Nigeria (London: Faber and Faber, 1946), 229.

NAE, CALPROF, 7/1/2339, file no. 4577, “Agenda from Annang Women Association to be discussed with ADO, Opobo, 2 September, 1952,” E. S. James, Assistant District Officer to the District Officer, 10 February 1952.

Interview with Christopher Chidomere, Mbaise, 13 December 1998.


For a useful critique of the broad and generalized framework on understanding the role of gender in economic change, see Margaret P. Stone, “Women, Work and Marriage: A Restudy of the Nigerian Kofyar” (PhD dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of Arizona, 1988), 16.


Sara Berry, Cocoa, Custom, and Socio-economic Change in Rural Western Nigeria (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975). Polly Hill’s study of the development of rural capitalism in Ghana may also be noted. These changes in the direction of capitalist societies were largely driven by the market rather than ideology, although they ultimately transformed social structures including gender. See also Polly Hill, The Migrant Cocoa-farmers of Southern Ghana: A Study in Rural Capitalism (Hamburg: LIT, James Currey with the IAI, 1997).


A. M. Iheaturu, interview with Andrew Anyanwu, aged 80, Ogbe Ahiara, 30 August 1972 and 16 December 1972, transcribed in Isichei, Igbo Worlds, 81.


Mba, Nigerian Women Mobilized, 47.

Ibid.

Interview with Eliazer Ihediwa, Owerrenta, 24 July 1999.

Interview with Linus Anabalam, Mbaise, 13 December 1998.


Interview with E. Ihediwa, Owerrenta, 24 July 1999.

Interview with Serah Emenike, Owerri, 22 December 1999.

Interview with Francis Eneremadu, 31 December 1999.

Interview with Christiana Marizu, Nguru Mbaise, 25 December 1999.

Women in various parts of the Eastern Region protested men’s participation in what they regarded as women’s spheres and often asked colonial officials to intervene on their behalf.


Hart, The Political Economy, 97–98.


See Mba, Nigerian Women Mobilized, 112–14.

See Eastern Region: Annual Report for the Department of Agriculture for 1953/54.

4 PEASANTS, DEPRESSION, AND RURAL REVOLTS

2 Ibid.
9 NAE, UMPROF, 1/5/2, file no. C.53/929, vol. I, part 2, Resident Owerri to Secretary Southern Provinces, March 1930.
10 Ibid.
11 This was often carried out on a man who abuses his wife or commits other serious offences against the women of a village of the community. See Judith Van Allen, “‘Aba Riots’ or ‘Igbo Women’s War’? Ideology, Stratification, and Invisibility of Women,” in *The Black Woman Cross-Culturally*, ed. F.C. Steady, 60 (Cambridge, MA: Schenkmian, 1981); and “Sitting on a Man: Colonialism and the Lost Political Institutions of the Igbo,” *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 6, no. 11 (1972): 178.
12 Commission of Inquiry, 96.


19 Aba Commission of Inquiry, 19.

20 NAE, AWDIST, 2/1/57, file no. 62/1925, "Anti-Government Propaganda in Abakiliki," District Officer Awgu to Senior Resident, Onithsa, 12 March 1926. See also NAE, ONPROF, 7/12/92, file no. 391/1925, J. C. Iwenofu to District Officer, Awgu, 3 November 1925.


22 Aba Commission of Inquiry, 19.

23 NAE, ONPROF, 7/12/92, file no. 391/1925, "Bands of Women Dancers Preaching Ideas of Desirable Reforms," Senior Resident, Onitsha Province to District Officer, Awka, 9 November 1925.


28 Commission of Inquiry, 33.

29 Ibid., 54.

30 Interview with Eleazer Ihediwa, Owerrenta, 24 July 1999.


33 Ibid.

34 This is usually a piece of paper issued to oil sellers, which they used to exchange their oil for various goods in European trading factories. Clough, *Oil Rivers*, 99.

35 Ibid.

36 For example, the United States Department of Agriculture created the Farm Security Administration (FSA) in 1937. The FSA and its predecessor, the Resettlement Administration (RA) were New Deal programs designed to assist poor farmers who suffered from the Dust Bowl and the Great Depression.

37 For more details, see Morgan, “Farming Practice,” 332.


39 Ibid.

40 Interview with Linus Anabalam, Mbaise, 13 December 1998.


42 Clough, *Oil Rivers Trader*, 98.

43 NAE, UMU PROF, 1/5/5, file no. C53/1929, "Women Movement Aba, Bende," E. S. Wright to District Officer, Umuahia, 2 January 1930. NB: Mbawsi price 1d per measure more than Umuahia; Uzuakoli price – 1 pence per measure less than Umuahia.

44 See Notes of Evidence.


During the 1926 tax assessment, the people of Oloko and Ayabe had been told that the counting of persons was simply part of the census. Then taxation was introduced in 1928. On this occasion, the women felt...
that the authorities could not be trusted. See Mba, *Nigerian Women Mobilized*, 76.

The Commission of Inquiry acknowledged this view. See *Commission of Inquiry*, 96.

Morgan, “Farming Practice,” 331.

NAE, OWDIST, 4/13/70, file no. 91/27, “Cultivation of Crops, Owerri District,” District Officer to Resident Owerri Province, June 1928.

*Commission of Inquiry*, 93.

Mba, *Nigerian Women Mobilized*, 76.

*Commission of Inquiry*, 12.

Interview with Nwanyiafo Obasi, Umu-nomo, Mbaise, 30 July 1999.

*Notes of Evidence*, 13.


Ibid.

PRO, CO, 583/176, “Native Unrest.”


Ibid.


See *Commission of Inquiry*, 103.

Ibid., Appendix III (1), 32.


Ibid.


*Notes of Evidence*, 114.

NAE, UMUPROF, 1/5/11, file no. C. 53/1929/vol. X, “Assault on Customary heads and Court members during recent disturbances,” the Resident, Owerri Province to the Honourable, the Secretary, Southern Provinces, 12 February 1930.

Ibid.

*Notes of Evidence*, 98.

Feierman, *Peasant Intellectuals*, 103.

*Notes of Evidence*, 57. The evidence by administrative officers, police officers, missionaries, and others of many years’ experience in the area indicates that local officials were very corrupt. This was not an issue for women alone. Many male witnesses strongly raised the issue of corruption by the native courts and warrant chiefs.


RH, Mss Afr. s. 1000, Edward Morris Falk Papers,

NAE, UMUPROF, 1/5/1, “Women’s Movement, Aba.”


Ibid.

PRO, CO, 583/176/9 “Native Unrest in Calabar and Owerri Provinces: Correspondence Arising from, 1930.”

Feierman, *Peasant Intellectuals*, 3.

*Notes of Evidence*, 57.


*Commission of Inquiry*, 260.

PRO, CO, 583/176, “Native Unrest.”

*Commission of Inquiry*, 19.


See Report of the Commission of enquiry appointed to inquire into the disturbance in the Calabar and Owerri Provinces, December 1929 (Sessional Paper No. 28), hereafter (Commission of Inquiry). See also Notes of Evidence Taken in the Calabar and Owerri Provinces on the Disturbance 1930, 8 vols. Minutes of Evidence Taken at Owerri 1930, Minutes of Evidence Taken at Opobo 1930.


Ibid.


Oriji, “Igbo Women.”

RH, Mss Afr. s. 546, F.B Carr papers.

Ibid.

Ibid.


RH, Mss Afr. s. 546, F. B. Carr papers.

Ibid.

Ibid.

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5 THE SECOND WORLD WAR, THE RURAL ECONOMY, AND AFRICANS

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155 Interview with Nwadinma Agwu at Ishiagu, 29 October 2007, transcribed in Ihediwa, “The Role of Women.”
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157 Interview with Margaret Nwanevu, Amumara Mbase, 30 October 2007, transcribed in Ihediwa, “The Role of Women.”
158 Interview with Chinyere Iroha, Uvuru, Mbase, 30 October 2007, transcribed in Ihediwa, “The Role of Women.”
159 Iyegha, Agricultural Crisis, 35. See also Federal Office of Statistics, Review of External Trade (Lagos, 1979), 83.
165 The estimates of oil revenue have not been consistent from different sources. This is a problem associated with much of the official data from Nigeria. On petroleum production and revenue from 1973 to 1979, see International Financial Statistics 33, no. 12 (1980): 288. See also Myer, “This Is Not Your Land,” note 4, 136.
168 Ibid.
169 Myers, “This Is Not Your Land,” 94.
171 Berry, *No Condition*, 77.
182 Interview with Onyegbule Korieh, Umuchiezie, Mbaise, 17 December 1998.
184 There emerged absentee farmers, who hired labour to work on rented farms.
186 Ibid., 20.
188 Interview with Onyegbule Korieh, Umuchiezie, Mbaise, 17 December 1998.
189 For some treatment of the boom and bust period in Nigeria and the impact on farmers, see, for example, Michael Watts, ed., *State, Oil and Agriculture in Nigeria* (Berkeley: Institute of International Studies, University of California), 19.
191 See Nigeria, *Third National Development Plan*.
192 This argument is borne out in my research and oral interviews with rural farmers. Many rural farmers consistently argued that political officials who were not farmers often controlled the sale and distribution of fertilizers.
195 The Land Use Decree gave the federal and state governments power to take over any land within their jurisdiction without compensation. The decree has been extensively used to alienate land in areas close to the urban centres.

196 See Myers, “This Is Not Your Land,” 29. In this period, there was interest in agricultural investment by foreign capital. In 1978, the federal commissioner for agriculture informed a Dutch delegation that the Land Use Decree would help the government to acquire land for foreign investors. See Watts and Lubeck, “The Popular Classes,” 123.


201 Ibid., 24.

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206 See Berry, No Condition is Permanent, 182.

207 Gains were limited. For a review of irrigated rice farming schemes in five West African countries, see, for example, Robin Palmer and Neil Parsons, ed., The Root of Rural Poverty in Central and Southern Africa (London, 1981), 412–13.


7 ON THE BRINK: AGRICULTURAL CRISIS AND RURAL SURVIVAL


The term agricultural crisis is used here to describe the manifestation of low agricultural productivity, food insecurity and a decreasing farming population as experiences in central Igboland. The term is useful in explaining trends in the agricultural history of the region in terms of productivity and farming population. For a review of the literature seeking to establish the causes and potential remedies for agricultural decline, see Sara Berry, “The Food Crisis and Agrarian Change in Africa: A Review Essay,” African Studies Review 27, no. 2 (1984): 59–112. On internal-external factors of African agrarian problems, see M. F. Lofchie and S. K. Commins, “Food Deficit and Agricultural Policies in Tropical


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7 Interview with Eugenia Otuonye, Umuchieze, Mbaise, 23 December 1998.

8 Interview with Isidore Korieh, Umuchieze, Mbaise, 5 May 2008.


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23 Martin, *Palm Oil and Protest*.


26 Interview with Ugwuanya Nwosu, Owerri, 22 December 2000.


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Morgan, “Farming Practice,” 331.

For quantity of gari export to northern Nigeria, see NAE, ABADIST, 14/1/875, file no. 1646, vol. IV, “Gari Control,” District Officer Aba, to the Senior Resident, Port Harcourt, 20 July 1942.


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For the early kinds of migration in response to population pressures, see John...


58 Official provincial estimates per square mile recorded by Forde and Jones were as follows: Onitsha (1921) 306, (1931) 224; Owerri (1921) 268, (1931) 154. It is obvious that these official figures are unreliable. The population dynamics would suggest that the population density for 1931 would have been relatively higher than the density for 1921. Despite this negative growth, which cannot be explained, contemporary estimates suggest that most of the Igbo territory experienced very high densities. See Daryll Forde and G. I. Jones, *The Ibo and Ibibio Speaking Peoples of Southeastern Nigeria* (London: International African Institute, 1950), 10–13.


67 See Goldman, “Population Growth.”


72 See, for example, Eicher and Liedholm, *Growth and Development*, 78.


75 Jones, *From Slaves to Palm Oil*, 104.

76 RH, Mss Afr s 1520, Sylvia Leith-Ross papers.


78 Interview with Linus Anabalam, Umuchieze, Mbaise, 12 December 1999.


82 The region was a former German colony until World War I. On 4 February 1916, the English and the French shared the
Cameroon territory that they had just forcefully gained from the Germans.

83 Interview with Linus Anabalam, 12 December 1999.

84 NAE, CADIST, 3/3/840, Denis Ugwu and others to the Senior District Officer, Calabar, 4 June 1949.

85 NAE, CADIST, 3/3/686, I. Uchendu and others to District Officer, Calabar, 17 February 1949.


87 Ibid.


90 On the labour migration to Fernando Po, see, for example, PRO, CO 554/127/5, “Labour for Fernando Po.”


95 Loise, interviewed by Anthony Ohams, 30 December 2005.

96 Interview with Alban Onyesoh, Umuchieze, Mbase, 18 December 1998.

97 Interview with Onyegbule Korieh, Umuchieze, Mbase, 17 December 1998.

98 Interview with Alban Eluwa, Umuchieze, Mbase, 18 December 1998.

99 The expression ‘dry’ means lack of resources. Interview with Onyegbule Korieh, Mbase, 17 December 1998.


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111 Interview with Onyegbule Korieh, Umuchieze, Mbase, 17 December 1998.

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**CONCLUSION**


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4. NAE, ABADIST, 1/26/958.