



THE LAND HAS CHANGED

History, Society and Gender in Colonial Eastern Nigeria

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ISBN 978-1-55238-545-6

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NOTES

FOREWORD

- 1 A. G. Hopkins, *An Economic History of West Africa* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1973), 168–69.
- 2 See, for example, Thurstan Shaw, *Igbo Ukwu: An Account of Archaeological Discoveries in Eastern Nigeria*, 2 vols. (London, [1970], M. A. Onwuejogwu, “The Dawn of Igbo Civilization,” *Odinani* [1971]).
- 3 Victor Uchendu, *The Igbo of Southeastern Nigeria* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1965), 22.
- 4 G. I. Jones, *The Trading States of the Oil Rivers* [1963], 13.
- 5 Robert Stevenson, *Population and Political Systems in Tropical Africa* [1968], 190.
- 6 *Ibid.*, 192.
- 7 Korieh, “Introduction,” 2.
- 8 *Ibid.*, 13.
- 6 For an analysis of the oil palm trade in Nigeria, see, for example, Eno J. Usoro, *The Nigerian Oil Palm Industry: Government Policy and Export Production, 1906–1965* (Ibadan, Nigeria: Ibadan University Press, 1974); and O. N. Njoku, “Trading with the Metropolis: An Unequal Exchange,” in *Britain and Nigeria: Exploitation or Development*, ed. Toyin Falola, 124–41 (London: Zed Books, 1987).
- 7 Igbo culture and ecological areas can be broadly categorized as follows: Western or Delta Igbo (Asaba, Ika, Ndokwa); Northwestern (north and south Niger flood plain: Onitsha, Idemili, Aguata, Nri, Awka [Anambra]; Northern [Awgu, Enugu, Nsukka, Abakaliki: Enugu State and part of Ebonyi State]; Central [Orlu, Owerri, Nkwere, Ideato, and Mbano, Mbaise, Etiti, Okigwe: Imo State]; Southwest [Ohaji, Egbema, Oguta, Ndoni, and Ikwerre: part of Imo and Rivers States]; South [Ngwa, Asa, Etche, Ukwu: Abia State]; and Eastern [Umuahia-Ikwuano, Bende, Ohafia, Afikpo, Aro: part of Abia and Ebonyi States]). Taken from Ogbu U. Kalu, “Osondu: Patterns of Igbo Quest for Jesus Power,” unpublished paper.

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.
- 5 Cited in Elizabeth Isichei, *A History of Nigeria* (London: Longman Group, 1983), 400.
- 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

- on their lands and labour from European settlers. The different colonial experiences account for the varied nature of African agricultural transformation, the farmers' responses, and the effects of the decline in the agricultural economy. For an account of the process of agricultural change in Africa, see, for example, H. J. W. Mutsaers, *Peasants, Farmers and Scientists: A Chronicle of Tropical Agricultural Science in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Springer, 2007); W. J. Barber, "The Movement into the World Economy," in *Economic Transition in Africa*, ed. M. J. Herskovits and M. Harwitz, 299–29 (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1964); Sara Berry, *No Condition is Permanent: The Social Dynamics of Agrarian Change in Sub-Saharan Africa* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1993); W. R. Duggan, *An Economic Analysis of Southern African Agriculture* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1986); Anthony G. Hopkins, *An Economic History of West Africa* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1973); Martin A. Klein, ed., *Peasants in Africa: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives* (London: Sage, 1980); David Siddle and Kenneth Swindell, *Rural Change in Tropical Africa: From Colonies to Nation States* (Cambridge, MA: B. Blackwell, 1990); J. Tosh, "The Cash Crop Revolution in Tropical Africa: An Agricultural Reappraisal," *African Affairs* 79 (1980): 79–94.
- 10 In 1985, for example, an estimated 10 million Africans left their homes and fields because they were unable to support themselves. An additional 20 million were reported to be at risk of debilitating hunger. See Lloyd Timberlake, *Africa in Crisis: The Causes, the Cures of Environmental Bankruptcy* (London: Earthscan, 1985). Numerous World Bank reports since 1981 have indicated an overall pattern of severe economic deterioration and stagnation manifested in food security problems and low levels of growth in the agricultural subsector. See especially World Bank, *Accelerated Development in Sub-Saharan Africa: An Agenda for Action* (Washington, DC: World Bank, 1981); *Towards Sustainable Development in Sub-Saharan Africa: A Joint Program of Action* (Washington, DC: World Bank, 1984); *Sub-Saharan Africa: From Crisis to Sustainable Development* (Washington, DC: World Bank, 1989). Studies of agricultural sustainability include Abe Goldman, "Threats to Sustainability in African Agriculture: Searching for Appropriate Paradigms," *Human Ecology* 23, no. 3 (1995): 291–334. See also G. K. Douglass, "The Meaning of Agricultural Sustainability," in *Agricultural Sustainability in a Changing World Order*, ed. G. K. Douglas, 3–29 (Boulder, CO: Westview, 1994); George J. S. Dei, "Sustainable Development in the African Context: Revisiting Some Theoretical and Methodological Issues," *African Development* 18, no. 2 (1993): 97–110; and C. K. Eicher, *Sustainable Institutions for African Agricultural Development*, International Service for National Agricultural Research (ISNAR), Working Paper no. 19 (The Hague: ISNAR, 1989).
 - 11 Studies of agricultural change in Nigeria have focused on how state actions transformed rural agricultural economies and threatened agricultural sustainability. See, for example, Jerome C. Wells, *Agricultural Policy and Economic Growth in Nigeria, 1962–1968* (Ibadan, Nigeria: Oxford University Press, 1974); Food and Agricultural Organisation, *Agricultural Development in Nigeria, 1965–1980* (Rome: FAO, 1966).
 - 12 There is also an argument that the economic reforms driven by the IMF and the World Bank in Africa over the last decades have exacerbated the pace of agricultural and economic decline. For the implications of structural adjustment programs (SAPs) on African agriculture, see S. Commander, ed., *SAP and Agriculture: Theory and Practice in Africa and Latin America* (London: Overseas Development Institute, 1989). See also Christina H. Gladwin, ed., *Structural Adjustment and African Women Farmers* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1991); and Commonwealth Secretariat, *Engendering Adjustment for the 1990s: Report of a Commonwealth Expert Group on Structural Adjustment* (London: Commonwealth Secretariat, 1989).
 - 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.
- 14 See Berry, "The Food Crisis." Berry extends her argument for a need to reconceptualise African agrarian discourse in *No Condition is Permanent*, especially, 10–16. See also M. F. Lofchie and S. K. Commins, "Food Deficit and Agricultural Policies in Tropical Africa," *Journal of Modern African Studies* 20, no. 1 (1982): 1–25. See also M. F. Lofchie, "The Decline of African Agriculture," in *Drought and Hunger in Africa: Denying Famine a Future*, ed. Michael H. Glantz, 85–110 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987); J. Hinderink and J. J. Sterkenburg, "Agricultural Policy and Production in Africa: The Aims, the Methods, and the Means," *Journal of Modern African Studies* 21, no. 1 (1983): 1–23; Michael Watts and Thomas Bassett, "Crisis and Change in African Agriculture: A Comparative Study of the Ivory Coast and Nigeria," *African Studies Review* 28, no. 4 (December, 1986): 3–27; R. Baker, "Linking and Sinking: Economic Externalities and the Persistence of Destitution and Famine in Africa," in *Drought and Hunger in Africa*, ed. M. H. Glantz, 149–70 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987). See also Ray Bush, "The Politics of Food and Starvation," *Review of African Political Economy* 68 (1996): 169–95.
- 15 See, for example, FAO, *Regional Food Plan for Africa* (Rome: FAO, 1980); World Bank, *World Development Report* (Washington, DC: World Bank, 1978); and World Bank, *World Development Report* (Washington, DC: World Bank, 1980).
- 16 For more on this debate, see Berry, "The Food Crisis," 10–6; Lofchie and Commins, "Food Deficit and Agricultural Policies in Tropical Africa," 1–25.
- 17 See, for example, Bade Onimode, *Imperialism and Underdevelopment in Nigeria: The Dialectics of Mass Poverty* (London: Zed Books, 1982). On agriculture and commodity production, see, for example, A. Faloyan, *Agriculture and Economic Development in Nigeria: A Prescription for the Nigerian Green Revolution* (New York: Vantage Press, 1983); J. O. Ahazuem and Toyin Falola, "Production for the Metropolis: Agriculture and Forest Products," in *Britain and Nigeria: Exploitation or Development*, ed. Toyin Falola, 80–90 (London: Zed Books, 1987); Bade Onimode, *Imperialism and Underdevelopment in Nigeria: The Dialectics of Mass Poverty* (London: Zed Books, 1982). See also O. N. Njoku, "Trading with the Metropolis"; Hopkins, *Economic History*; Rodney, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*; E. A. Brett, *Colonialism and Underdevelopment in East Africa: The Politics of Economic Change* (London: Heinemann, 1974); G. Kay, *The Political Economy of Colonialism in Ghana* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972); I. W. Zartman, ed., *The Political Economy of Nigeria* (New York: Praeger, 1983). For the relationship between peasant agriculture and the government at federal and state levels during the colonial era and the first four years of independence, see Gerald Helleiner, *Peasant Agriculture, Government and Economic Growth in Nigeria* (Homewood, IL: R. D. Irwin, 1966). See also D. Rimmer, "The Economic Imprint of Colonialism and Domestic Food Supplies in British Tropical Africa," in *Imperialism, Colonialism and Hunger: East and Central Africa*, ed. Robert I. Rotberg,

- 141–65 (Lanham: MD: Lexington Books, 1984).
- 18 Cited in Huss-Ashmore, “Perspectives in African Food Crisis,” 12.
- 19 Levi and Havinden, *Economics of African Agriculture*, 129–30. See also Ayodeji Olu-koju, “The Faulkner ‘Blueprint’ and the Evolution of Agricultural Policy in Inter-War Colonial Nigeria,” in *The Foundations of Nigeria: Essays in Honor of Toyin Falola*, ed. Adebayo Oye- bade, 403–22 (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 2003).
- 20 Michael Watts, *Silent Violence: Food, Famine and Peasantry in Northern Nigeria* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), xxiii.
- 21 Sara Berry, “The Food Crisis and Agrarian Change in Africa: A Review Essay,” *African Studies Review* 27, no. 2 (1984), 61.
- 22 Robert E. Clute, “The Role of Agriculture in African Development,” *African Studies Review* 25, no. 4 (December 1982): 3. See also Chima J. Korieh, “Food Production and the Food Crisis in Sub-Saharan Africa,” in *Africa, Vol. 5: Contemporary Africa*, ed. Toyin Falola, 391–416 (Durham, NC: Carolina Academic Press, 2003); Chima J. Korieh, “Agriculture,” in *Africa, Vol. 5: Contemporary Africa*, ed. Toyin Falola, 417–36 (Durham, NC: Carolina Academic Press, 2003).
- 23 Clute, “The Role of Agriculture,” 2–3.
- 24 *Ibid.*
- 25 Ester Boserup, *Women’s Role in Economic Development* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1970).
- 26 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.
- 27 See A. V. Chayanov, *The Theory of Peasant Economy* (Homewood, IL: R.D. Irwin, 1966). On the evolution of peasant societies in parts of Europe, see, for example, Peter Hoppenbrouwers, Jan Luiten van Zanden, and J. Luiten van Zanden, ed., *Peasants into Farmers? The Transformation of Rural Economy and Society in the Low Countries (Middle Ages–19th Century) in Light of the Brenner Debate* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2001).
- 28 See Sara Berry, *Cocoa, Custom and Socio-Economic Change in Rural Western Nigeria* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975).
- 29 See Polly Hill, *The Migrant Cocoa-farmers of Southern Ghana: A Study in Rural Capitalism* (Hamburg: LIT, James Currey with the IAI, 1997).
- 30 See Johannes Lagemann, *Traditional Farming Systems in Eastern Nigeria* (Munich and New York: Weltforum Verlag Humanities Press, 1977). For other differentiations, see Onigu Christine Okali and C. Otite, ed., *Readings in Nigerian Rural Society and Rural Economy* (Ibadan, Nigeria: Heinemann Educational Books, 1990); and D. W. Norman, *Economic Analysis of Agricultural Production and Labor Utilization among the Hausa in the North of Nigeria*, African Rural Employment Paper no. 4 (East Lansing: Michigan State University, 1973).
- 31 See Martin, *Palm Oil and Protest*.
- 32 For a general discussion of the development of agriculture in the post-colonial era, see Jerome C. Wells, *Agricultural Policy and Economic Growth in Nigeria, 1962–1968* (Ibadan, Nigeria: Oxford University Press, 1974); and Tom Forrest, “Agricultural Policies in Nigeria, 1970–78,” in *Rural Development in Tropical Africa*, ed. J. Heyer, P. Roberts, and G. Williams, 222–58 (London: Macmillan, 1981).
- 33 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.
- 35 On the development of the palm oil industry, see Eno J. Usoro, *The Nigerian Oil Palm Industry: Government Policy and Export Production, 1906–1965* (Ibadan, Nigeria: University of Ibadan Press, 1974). For developments in the period after the abolition of the slave trade, see Martin Lynn, *Commerce and Economic Change in West Africa: The Palm Oil Trade in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); Susan Martin, *Palm Oil and Protest: An Economic History of the Ngwa Region, South-Eastern Nigeria, 1800–1980* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988); and Allister E. Hinds, “Government Policy and the Nigerian Palm Oil Export Industry, 1939–49,” *Journal of African History* 38 (1997): 459–78.
- 36 For a good introduction to feminist analyses, see Rosemarie Tong, *Feminist Thought: A More Comprehensive Introduction*, 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1998). For studies of gender in the context of colonialism and imperialism, see, for example, Elizabeth Schmidt, *Peasants, Traders, and Wives: Shona Women in the History of Zimbabwe, 1870–1939* (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 1992); Nancy J. Hafkin and Edna Bay, *Women in Africa: Studies in Social and Economic Change* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1976); and Chima J. Korie, “The Invisible Farmer? Women, Gender, and Colonial Agricultural Policy in the Igbo Region of Nigeria, c. 1913–1954,” *African Economic History* 29 (2001): 117–62.
- 37 See the following works by Jane I. Guyer: *Family and Farm in Southern Cameroon* (Boston: Boston University Africa Studies Centre, 1984); “Naturalism in Models of African Production,” *Man* 19 (1984): 355–73; “Multiplication of Labor: Historical Methods in the Study of Gender and Agricultural Change in Modern Africa,” *Current Anthropology* 29 (1988): 247–72; and “Female Farming in Anthropology and African History,” in *Gender at the Crossroads of Knowledge: Feminist Anthropology in the Postmodern Era*, ed. M. di Leonardo, 257–77 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991).
- 38 Oyeronke Oyewumi, *The Invention of Women: Making an African Sense of Western Gender Discourse* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997), 121. See also Helen Callaway, *Gender, Culture and Empire: European Women in Colonial Nigeria* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987); Nupur Chaudhuri and Margaret Strobel, ed., *Western Women and Imperialism: Complicity and Resistance* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992); and Malia B. Formes, “Beyond Complicity versus Resistance: Recent Work on Gender and European Imperialism,” *Journal of Social History* (Spring 1995): 629–41.
- 39 See, for example, Jean Allman, Susan Geiger, and Nakanyike Musisi, ed., *Women in African Colonial Histories* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002); Margot Lovett, “Gender Relations, Class Formation and the Colonial State in Africa,” in *Women and the State in Africa*, ed. Jane Parpart and Kathleen Staudt, 23–46 (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1989); and Mona Etienne, “Women and Men, Cloth and Colonization: The Transformation of Production-Distribution Relations among the Baule (Ivory Coast),” *Cahiers d’Etudes Africaines* 17 (1977): 41–63.
- 40 See Northcote W. Thomas, *Anthropological Report on the Ibo Speaking Peoples of Nigeria*, Vol. 1 (London: Harrison and Sons, 1913–1914), 97. See also Elizabeth Isichei, *A History of the Igbo People* (London: Macmillan, 1976), 27, 79; John Iliffe, *The African Poor: A History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 92.
- 41 Barry Floyd, *Eastern Nigeria: A Geographical Review* (London: MacMillan, 1969), 57.
- 42 For a description of rural poverty among the Igbo by the late nineteenth century, see Iliffe, *The African Poor*, 82–94.
- 43 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.
- 44 See Anthony O'Connor, *Poverty in Africa: A Geographical Approach* (London: Pinter, 1991), 4. See also Goldman, "Population Growth."
- 45 G.E.K. Ofomata, ed., *A Survey of the Igbo Nation* (Onitsha, Nigeria: Africana First Publishers, 2002), especially Part 2.
- 46 Usoro, *The Nigerian Oil Palm Industry*.
- 47 Susan M. Martin, "Farming, Cooking, and Palm Processing in the Ngwa Region of Southeastern Nigeria, 1900–1930," *Journal of African History* 25, no. 4 (1984): 411–27.
- 48 Gloria Chuku, *Igbo Women and Economic Transformation in Southeastern Nigeria, 1900–1960* (New York: Routledge, 2005).
- 49 Nwando Achebe, *Farmers, Traders, Warriors, and Kings: Female Power and Authority in Northern Igboland, 1900–1960* (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 2005).
- 50 For dependency theory, see, for example, Walter Rodney, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* (Washington DC: Howard University Press, 1984); Giovanni Arrighi and John S. Sane, *Essays on the Political Economy of Africa* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1973); and Emmanuel Arghiri, *Unequal Exchange: A Study of the Imperialism of Trade*, trans. B. Pearce (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1972). For Nigeria, see Bade Onimode, *Imperialism and Underdevelopment in Nigeria: The Dialectics of Mass Poverty* (London: Zed Books, 1982); A. Faloyan, *Agriculture and Economic Development in Nigeria: A Prescription for the Nigerian Green Revolution* (New York: Vantage Press, 1983); and J. O. Ahazuem and Toyin Falola, "Production for the Metropolis: Agriculture and Forest Products," in *Britain and Nigeria: Exploitation or Development*, ed. Toyin Falola, 80–90 (London: Zed Books, 1987). For similar analysis of other parts of Africa, see E. A. Brett, *Colonialism and Underdevelopment in East Africa: The Politics of Economic Change* (London: Heinemann, 1974); and G. Kay, *The Political Economy of Colonialism in Ghana* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972). On the relationship between peasants and the government, see Gerald Helleiner, *Peasant Agriculture, Government and Economic Growth in Nigeria* (Homewood, IL: R. D. Irwin, 1966). See also D. Rimmer, "The Economic Imprint of Colonialism and Domestic Food Supplies in British Tropical Africa," in *Imperialism, Colonialism and Hunger: East and Central Africa*, ed. Robert I. Rotberg, 141–65 (MA: Lexington Books, 1984).
- 51 See T. Shanin, *Peasants and Peasant Societies* (Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin, 1976); Bundy, *Rise and Fall*, 4; and Deborah Bryceson, Chrstobal Kay, and Jos Mooji, ed. *Disappearing Peasantries? Rural Labor in Africa, Asia and Latin America* (London: Intermediate Technology Publications, 2000). See also L. A. Fallers, "Are African Cultivators to be called 'Peasants'?" *Current Anthropology* 2, no. 2 (1961): 108–10; and John S. Saul and Roger Woods, "African Peasantries," in *Peasants and Peasant Societies*, ed. Theodor Shanin, 103–14 (Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin, 1971). See also Terence Ranger, "Growing from the Roots: Reflections on Peasant Research in Central and Southern Africa," *Journal of Southern African Studies* 5, no. 1 (1978): 99–133; and Martin A. Klein, ed. *Peasants in Africa: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives* (Beverly Hills, CA: Sage, 1980), 9–14.
- 52 See Paul Thompson, "Historians and Oral History," in *The Voice of the Past: Oral History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988). Reproduced in *The Oral History Reader*, ed. Robert Perks and Alistair Thomson, 21–28 (London: Routledge, 1998).
- 53 For the use of life histories and oral narratives, see Susan Geiger, *Tanu Women: Gender and Culture in the Making of Tanganyika Nationalism, 1955–1965* (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann; Oxford: James Currey, 1997), 15–19. For the connections between fieldwork experience and the resulting ethnography, see Judith Okely, "Anthropology and Autobiography: Participatory Experience and Embodied Knowledge," in *Anthropology and Autobiography*, ed. Judith Okely and Helen Callaway, ASA Monographs 29, 1–28 (London

- and New York: Routledge, 1992). See also Juliana Flinn, Leslie Marshall, and Jocelyn Armstrong, ed., *Fieldwork and Families: Constructing New Models for Ethnographic Research* (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai'i Press, 1998), 5–6. See George E. Marcus and Michael M. J. Fischer, *Anthropology and Cultural Critique: An Experimental Movement in the Human Sciences* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), for a discussion of ethnography's alliance of observation with involvement in the daily life and experiences of local people.
- 54 For the use of life histories in historical reconstruction and the problems of interpretation and representation, see Geiger, *Tanu Women*, 16. See also Kathleen Barry, "Biography and the Search for Women's Subjectivity," *Women's Studies International Forum* 12, no. 6 (1989): 561–77.
- 55 Studying one's own society has been an issue elaborately discussed by anthropologists. See, for example, Donald Messerschmidt, *Anthropologist at Home in North America: Methods and Issues in the Study of One's Own Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981); Akemi Kikumura, "Family Life Histories: A Collaborative Venture," in *The Oral History Reader*, ed. Perks and Thomson, 140–44; and R. Merton, "Insiders and Outsiders: A Chapter in the Sociology of Knowledge," *American Journal of Sociology* 78 (1972): 9–47. For support of insider research, see Victor Uchendu, *The Igbo of Southeastern Nigeria* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1965); and G. K. Nukunya, *Kinship and Marriage among the Anlo Ewe* (New York: Humanities Press, 1969).
- 56 For a discussion of this, see Enya P. Flores-Meiser, "Field Experience in Three Societies," in *Fieldwork: The Human Experience*, ed. Robert Lawless et al., 49–61 (New York: Gordon and Breach, 1983).
- 57 Ndaywel E. Nziem, "African Historians and Africanist Historians," in *Profile of a Historiography*, B. Jewsiewicki and D. Newbury, ed., 20–27 (Boulder, CO: Sage, 1986). While this view assumes the unity of African perspective, the fundamental problem of academic literature, Jewsiewicki argues, however, lies in the question of where and by whom it is produced as well as where and by whom it is read. See Bogumil Jewsiewicki, "African Historical Studies, Academic Knowledge as 'Usable Past': A Radical Scholarship," *African Studies Review* 32, no. 3 (1989): 9.
- 58 Richard Wright, "Introduction: Blueprint for Negro Writing," in *The Black Aesthetics*, ed. Addison Gayle, Jr., 315–26 (New York: Doubleday, 1972).
- 59 Obioma Nnaemeka, ed., "Introduction," in *Sisterhood, Feminisms and Power: From Africa to the Diaspora*, ed. Obioma Nnaemeka, 2 (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 1998).
- 60 Samuel Raphael, "Introduction," in *Village Life and Labour* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1975).
- 61 For useful comments on credibility of oral accounts, see Jan M. Vansina, *Oral Tradition: A Study in Historical Methodology*, trans. H. M. Wright (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1961), first published in 1961 as *De la tradition orale: Essai de méthode historique and Oral Tradition as History* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985).
- 62 Hoopes, *Oral History*, 15. For comments on the problematic nature of text and archived materials, see also Ruth Finnegan, *Oral Traditions and the Verbal Arts: A Guide to Research Practice* (London: Routledge, 1992), 82.
- 63 John Rae, "Commentary," 175. Quoted in Hoopes, *Oral History*, 15.
- 64 Thomas Spear, *Mountain Farmers: Moral Economies of Land and Agricultural Development in Arusha and Meru* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 11.

- 1 “WE HAVE ALWAYS BEEN FARMERS”: SOCIETY AND ECONOMY AT THE CLOSE OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY
- 1 M. Fortes and E. E. Evans-Pritchard, eds., *African Political Systems* (London: Oxford University Press, 1940), 5–6.
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- 3 See A. E. Afigbo, “The Indigenous Political Systems of the Igbo,” *Tarikh* 4, no. 2 (1973): 12–23; M. A. Onwuejeogwu, “Evolutionary Trends in the History of the Development of the Igbo Civilization in the Culture Theater of Igboland in Southern Nigeria” (1987 Ahiajoku Lecture) Owerri, Nigeria: Ministry of Information and Culture, 1987).
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- 8 Okigbo, *Plants and Food*. See also Echeruo, “Aro and Nri: Lessons,” 206.
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- 10 W. B. Morgan, “The Influence of European Contacts on the Landscape of Southern Nigeria,” *Geographical Journal* 125, no. 1 (1959): 53.
- 11 See Adiele Afigbo, *Ropes of Sand: Studies in Igbo History and Culture* (Ibadan, Nigeria: University Press in Association with Oxford University Press, 1981), 126.
- 12 *Ibid.*, 126.
- 13 *Ibid.*, 125–26. See also J. E. Flint, *Nigeria and Ghana* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1966), 63.
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- 17 G. I. Jones, *From Slaves to Palm Oil: Slave Trade and Palm Oil Trade in the Bight of Biafra* (Cambridge: African Studies Center, 1989), 1.
- 18 *Ibid.*, 3.
- 19 On indigenous trading networks, see David Northrup, *Trade Without Rulers: Precolonial Economic Development in Southeastern Nigeria* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978).
- 20 Duarte Pacheco Pereira, cited in David Northrup, “The Growth of Trade among the Igbo before 1800,” *Journal of African History* 13, no. 2 (1972): 220.
- 21 For pre-colonial exchange relations, see Northrup, *Trade Without Rulers*. See also Northrup, “The Growth of Trade,” 217–36. See also Hermann Koler, *Einige Notizen über Bonny* (Göttingen, 1840), trans. Uche Isichei, in *Igbo Worlds: An Anthology of Oral Histories and Historical Descriptions*, ed. Elizabeth Isichei, 14–17 (Philadelphia: Institute for the Study of Human Issues, 1978).
- 22 “Mr. John Grazihier’s voyage from Bandy to New Calabar,” in John Barbot, *A Description of the Coasts of North and South Guinea* (Vol. V in Churchill’s *Voyages and Travels*) (London, 1746), 380–81. Cited in Isichei, *Igbo Worlds*, 10.
- 23 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).
- 24 Equiano, *The Interesting Narrative*, 39.
- 25 Archibald John Monteith’s memoir was written by Reverend Joseph Horsfield Kummer in 1853. Kummer served the Moravian Mission in Jamaica and this account was edited by Vernon H. Nelson from the manuscript in the Archives of the Moravian Church, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. See “Archibald John Monteith: Native Helper and Assistant in the Jamaica Mission at New Carmel,” *Transactions of the Monrovia Historical Society* 21, no. 1 (1966): 30. See also Maureen Warner-Lewis, *Archibald Monteath: Igbo, Jamaican, Moravian, Jamaican, Moravian* (Kingston: University of the West Indies Press, 2007).
- 26 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.
- 27 C.M.S Archives, CA3/010, W. E. Carew, *Journal*, January 1866. Cited in Isichei, *Igbo Worlds*, 210.
- 28 F.O. 403/233, Harcourt, Report on the Aquette Expedition, 29 February 1896–29 March 1896, cited in Isichei, *Igbo Worlds*, 211.
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- 30 Onwuka Njoku, *Economic History of Nigeria: 19th and 20th Centuries* (Enugu, Nigeria: Magnet, 2001), 9.
- 31 C.O. 520/31, “Political Report on the Eza Patrol,” encl. in Egerton to Lyttelton, 16 July 1905, cited in Isichei, *Igbo Worlds*, 242.
- 32 *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.
- 33 Morgan, “The Influence,” 52.
- 34 Allison, *The Interesting Narrative*, 39.
- 35 Victor Uchendu, *The Igbo of Southeastern Nigeria* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1965), 30.

- 36 Morgan, "The Influence," 49.
- 37 See Barry Floyd, *Eastern Nigeria: A Geographical Review*. New York: Frederick C. Prager, 1969.
- 38 Morgan, "The Influence," 52. Population pressure and land scarcity have fundamentally influenced Igbo agriculture where the characteristically poor soil continued to deteriorate rapidly with frequent cultivation. For the impact of soil type on agricultural productivity in Eastern Nigeria, see, for example, G. Lekwa, "The Characteristics and Classification of Genetic Sequences of Soil in the Coastal Plain Sands of Eastern Nigeria" (PhD dissertation, Michigan State University, 1979). See also R. K. Udo, "Pattern of Population Distribution and Settlement in Eastern Nigeria," *Nigerian Geographical Journal* 6, no. 1 (1963): 75.
- 39 Morgan, "The Influence," 53.
- 40 The Biafra hinterland was a major source of slaves during the Atlantic trade. For an analysis of Igbo participation in the slave trade see, for example, Ugo Nwokeji, "The Biafran Frontier: Trade, Slaves and Aro Society, c.1750-1905," (PhD thesis, University of Toronto, 1998). On the transition from slave trade to commodity trade, see Robin Law, *From Slavery to 'Legitimate' Commerce: The Commercial Transition in Nineteenth century West Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); and Martin Lynn, *Commerce and Economic Change in West Africa: The Palm Oil Trade in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997). For an analysis of the gender implication of the transitions, see, for example, Martin, "Slaves, Igbo Women."
- 41 ONPROF, 7/15/135, "World Agricultural Census," Resident, Onitsha to District Officer Awgu, 16 January 1929.
- 42 See the works of Margaret M. Green, *Land Tenure in an Ibo Village in South-Eastern Nigeria. Monographs on Social Anthropology (London School of Economics Monographs on Social Anthropology no. 6)* (London: Berg, 1941); and J. Harris, "Human Relationships to the Land in Southern Nigeria," *Rural Sociology* 7 (1942): 89-92. See also Abe Goldman, "Population Growth and Agricultural Change in Imo State, South-eastern Nigeria," in *Population Growth and Agricultural Change in Africa*, ed. B. L. Turner II, R. Kates, and G. Hyden, 250-301 (Gainesville, FL: University of Florida Press, 1993).
- 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.
- 44 Rhodes House Oxford (hereafter RH), Mss. Afr. s. 823 (1), J. R. Mackie Papers on Nigerian Agriculture.
- 45 W. B. Morgan and J. C. Pugh, *West Africa* (London: Methuen, 1969), 322-23.
- 46 Ibid.
- 47 Sylvia Leith-Ross, *African Women: A Study of the Igbo of Nigeria* (London: Faber and Faber, 1939), 48.
- 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.

- 51 Interview with Mbagwu Korieh, Umuchieze, Mbaise, 18 December 1998.
- 52 For a study of the impact of fallow on the soil, see B. T. Kang, G.F. Wilson, and T. L. Lawson, *Alley Cropping: A Stable Alternative to Shifting Cultivation* (Ibadan, Nigeria: International Institute of Tropical Agriculture, 1984), 22. See also O. A. Opara-Nadi, "Soil Management Practices and Agricultural Sustainability in Traditional Farming Systems," in *Agriculture and Modernity in Nigeria: A Historical and Contemporary Survey of the Igbo Experience*, ed. Jude C. Aguwa and U.D. Anyanwu, 86–104 (New York: Triatlantic Books, 1998).
- 53 B. N. Okigbo, "Plant and Agroforestry in Land Use Systems of West Africa," in *Plant Research in Agroforestry*, ed. P. A. Huxley, 25–41 (Nairobi: International Council for Research in Agroforestry, 1993).
- 54 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.
- 55 J. W. Wallace "Agriculture in Abakaliki and Afikpo," *Farm and Forest* 2 (1941): 89–95, cited in Morgan and Pugh, *West Africa*, 69; Forde and Jones, *The Ibo and Ibibio*, 14.
- 56 Anthony G. Hopkins, *An Economic History of West Africa* (London: Longman, 1973), 38.
- 57 *Ibid.*, 35.
- 58 See, for example, C. Meillassoux, "Essai d'interprétation du phénomène économique dans les sociétés traditonelles d'auto-subsistence," *Cahiers d'études africaines* 4 (1960): 38–67. See also Emmanuel Terray "L'Organisation sociale des Dida de Côte-d'Ivoire," *Annales de l'Université d'Abidjan*, Serie F, vol. I, part 2.
- 59 On patriarchal mode of production and its relevance in stateless societies in pre-colonial Africa, see Jeanne Koopman Henn, "The Material Basis of Sexism: A Mode of Production Analysis with African Examples" (Boston University Working papers/ African Studies Center, no. 119, Boston, MA: African Studies Center, 1986).
- 60 For more on African modes of production, see Wim van Binsbergen and Peter Geschiere, eds., *Old Modes of Production and Capitalist Encroachment: Anthropological Explorations in Africa* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1985).
- 61 For the classification of land among the Igbo, see S.N.C. Obi, *The Ibo Law of Property* (London: Butterworth, 1963).
- 62 In reality, the notion of individual ownership is quite alien to Igbo indigenous culture. Land is assumed to belong to the community, lineage, the ancestors and the generations yet unborn. For the models of communal tenure, see, for example, John M. Cohen, "Land Tenure and Rural Development in Africa," in *Agricultural Development in Africa*, ed. R. H. Bates and M. F. Lofchie, 349–99 (New York: Praeger, 1980); Horoshi Akabane, "Traditional Patterns of Land Occupancy in Black Africa," *Developing Economies* 8 (1970): 161–79; William Allan, *The African Husbandman* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1965), 360–74; and Frank Mifsud, *Customary Land Law in Africa* (Rome: Food and Agricultural Organization, 1967).
- 63 NAE, OWDIST, 9/15/2, file no. 4/29, "Rural Land Policy," District Officer, Owerri to Resident, Owerri Province, Port Harcourt, May 1929.
- 64 NAE, CALPROF, 14/7/1698, file no. E/2994/12 "Land Tenure in the Aba District" District Commissioner, Aba District to the Provincial Commissioner, Eastern Province, October 1912. See also NAE, CALPROF, 14/7/1698, file no. E/2994/12 "Report on Land Tenure" Acting District Commissioner, Orlu to H.P.C Calabar, November, 1912.
- 65 W. B. Morgan, "Farming Practice, Settlement Pattern and Population Density in Eastern Nigeria," *Geographical Journal* 121, no. 3 (1955): 326.
- 66 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

- Women: Making an African Sense of Western Gender Discourse" (PhD dissertation, University of California at Berkeley, 1993), 2. See also Onaiwu Ogbomo, *When Men and Women Mattered: A History of Gender Relations among the Owan of Nigeria* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 1997), 2–6; and Karen Sacks, *Sisters and Wives: The Past and Future of Sexual Equality* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1982).
- 67 The patrilineal systems of many Igbo communities allowed men a high degree of authority in decision-making about land, but not necessarily in agricultural production. For an assessment of the impact of patriarchy on land ownership, see, for example, Uchendu, *The Igbo*, 22; Thomas, *Ibo*, vol. 1, chap. 10, cited in Iliffe, *African Poor*, 92. On gender relations and land in African agriculture, see Jean Davison, "Land and Women and Agricultural Production: The Context," in *Agriculture, Women and Land: The African Experience*, ed. Jean Davison, 1–32 (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1988). See also Simi Afonja, "Changing Mode of Production and the Sexual Division of Labour among the Yoruba," in *Women's Work*, ed. Eleanor Leacock and Helen I. Safa, 122–35 (South Hadley, MA: Bergin and Garvey, 1986). For an analysis of gender differences in control over resources and labour at the household level, see Ann Whitehead, "I'm Hungry, Mum': The Politics of Domestic Budgeting," in *Of Marriage and the Market*, ed. K. Young, C. Wolkowitz and R. McCullagh, 88–111 (London: CSE Books, 1981).
- 68 Davison, "Land, Women and Agricultural Production," 2. Chubb described land among the Igbo as the *fons et origo* (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.
- 69 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.
- 70 Interview with Mbagwu Korieh, Umuchieze, Mbaise, 18 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.
- 72 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.
- 73 Interview with Eleazer Ihediwa, Owerrinta, Isiala Ngwa, 24 July 1998. See also John Oriji, *History of the Ngwa People*, 64–67.
- 74 Interview with Comfort Anabalam, Umuchieze, Mbaise 13 December 1998. On Isusu in Igbo socio-political economy, see Anthony I. Nwabughughu, "The Isusu: An Institution for Capital Formation among the Ngwo Igbo: Its Origins and Development," *Africa* 54 (1984): 46–58.
- 75 Interview with Ugwuanya Nwosu, Owerri, 20 December 1998.
- 76 See Don C. Ohadike, *Anioma: A Social History of the Western Igbo People*, (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 1994) and "When Slaves Left, Owners Wept': Entrepreneurs and Emancipation among the Igbo People," in *Slavery and Colonial Rule in Africa: Studies in Slave and Post-Slave Societies and Cultures*, ed. Suzanne Miers and Martin A. Klein, 189–207 (London: Routledge, 1999). See also Carolyn Brown, "Testing the Boundaries of Marginality: Twentieth-Century Slavery and Emancipation Struggles in Nkanu, Northern Igboland 1920–29," *Journal of African History* 37, no. 11 (1996): 51–80.
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- 81 Denis de Cardi, "A Voyage to Congo," *A Collection of Voyages and Travels*, 4 vols. (London, 1704), 1–622, 629, 630–31.
- 82 Walter Rodney, *A History of the Upper Guinea Coast 1545–1800* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), 103.
- 83 Catherine Coquery-Vidrovitch, *African Women: A Modern History*, translated by Beth Gillian Raps (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1997), 11–12.
- 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, Umuorlu, Isu, 5 January 2000.
- 89 Interview with Luke Osunwoke, Umuorlu, Isu, 5 January 2000.
- 90 Harris, "Paper on Economic," 12, Anyanwu, *Igbo Family Life*, 137.
- 91 Chuku, "Igbo Women," 39.
- 92 Alexander Falconbridge, *An Account of the Slave Trade on the Coast of Africa* (London, 1788), 21.
- 93 Cited in Onwuejogwu, "Evolutionary Trends," 59.
- 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.
- 97 Emmanuel Nlenanya Onwu, "Uzo Ndu an Eziokwu: Towards an Understanding of Igbo Traditional Religious Life and Philosophy," 2002 Ahiajoku Lecture (Owerri, Nigeria: Ministry of Information, 2002).
- 98 RH, Mss. Afr. s. 1000, Extract from Edward Morris Falk Papers.
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- 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.

- 119 Onwuejeogwu, "Evolutionary Trends," 58.
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- 122 Interview with Chief Theophilus Onyema, Umuorlu, Isu, 5 January 2000.
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- 124 Adiele E. Afigbo, "Trade and Trade Routes in Nineteenth Century Nsukka," *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria* 7, no. 1 (1973): 77–90; Adiele E. Afigbo, "The Nineteenth Century Crisis of the Aro Slaving Oligarchy of Southeastern Nigeria," *Nigeria Magazine* 110–12 (1974): 66–73; G. I. Jones, "Who are the Aro?," *The Nigerian Field* 8, no. 3 (1939): 100–3; and G. I. Jones "Native and Trade Currencies in Southern Nigeria during the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries," *Africa* 28, 1 (1958): 43–54.
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- 129 Ibid., 651–55. See also Dike and Ekejiuba, *The Aro*.
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- 134 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 David Eltis and David Richardson, "West Africa and the Transatlantic Slave Trade: New Evidence on Long Run Trends," *Slavery and Abolition* 18, no. 1 (1997): 16–35. See Douglas B. Chambers, "My Own Nation: Igbo Exiles in the Diaspora," *Slavery and Abolition* 18, no. 1 (1997): 72–97. For African export figures for 1470s–1699, see Paul E. Lovejoy, "The Volume of the Atlantic Slave Trade: A Synthesis," *Journal of African History* 23 (1982): 478–81. For 1700–1809, see David Richardson, "Slave Exports from West and West-Central Africa, 1700–1810: New Estimates of Volume and Distribution," *Journal of African History* 30, no. 1 (1989): 1–22.
- 135 Chambers, "My Own Nation," 75–7.
- 136 Birgit Muller, "Commodities as Currencies: The Integration of Overseas Trade into the Internal Trading Structure of the Igbo of South-East Nigeria," *Cahiers d'études africaines* 97, 25, no. 1 (1985): 65.
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- 149 See, for example, Anyanwu, "Igbo Family Life," 260; Dike, *Trade and Politics*, 49; and A. J. Latham, *Old Calabar 1600–1891: The Impact of the International Economy upon a Traditional Society* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973).
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- 13 Ukwu, "The Development of Trade," 656.
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3 GENDER AND COLONIAL AGRICULTURAL POLICY

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4 PEASANTS, DEPRESSION, AND RURAL REVOLTS

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6 THE AFRICAN ELITE, AGRARIAN REVOLUTION, AND SOCIO-POLITICAL CHANGE, 1954–80

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- 74 *Ibid.*
- 75 Floyd and Adinde, "Farm Settlements," 193.
- 76 Okoro, "The Uzouwani Farm Settlement," 29.
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- 79 Nwana, "Ohaji Farm Settlement," 110.
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- 85 See NAE, ESIALA, 64/1/1 for details of these amenities completed by December 1963.
- 86 Floyd and Adinde, "Farm Settlements," 193.
- 87 Floyd, *Eastern Nigeria*, 232.
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- 94 See Oham, "Labor Migration," 33.
- 95 Loise, interviewed by Anthony Oham, 30 December 2005.
- 96 Interview with Alban Onyesoh, Umuchieze, Mbaise, 18 December 1998.
- 97 Interview with Onyegbule Korieh, Umuchieze, Mbaise, 17 December 1998.
- 98 Interview with Alban Eluwa, Umuchieze, Mbaise, 18 December 1998.
- 99 The expression 'dry' means lack of resources. Interview with Onyegbule Korieh, Mbaise, 17 December 1998.
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- 104 Jones, *From Slaves to Palm Oil*, 107.
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- 107 Egejuru, *The Seed Yams*, 219.
- 108 Interview with Linus Anabalam, Umuchieze, Mbaise, 13 December 1998.
- 109 For the role of female income and wage work in household sustainability, see Janice Jiggins, *Gender-Related Impacts and the Work of the International Agricultural Research Centers*. CGIAR Study Paper No. 17 (Washington, DC: World Bank, 1986), 51; and FAO, "Special Problems of Female Heads of Households in Agriculture and Rural Development in Asia and the Pacific," (Bangkok: FAO, 1985).
- 110 Interview with Jonas Onwukwe, aged c. 70, Umunkwo-Emeabiam, May 2001.
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- 112 Interview with Linus Anabalam, Umuchieze, Mbaise, 13 December 1998.
- 113 Interview with Eugenia Otuonye, Umuchieze, Mbaise, 23 December 1998.

- 114 Interview with Onyegbule Korieh,
Umuchieze, Mbaise, 17 December 1998.
- 115 Uchendu, *The Igbo*, 30.

CONCLUSION

- 1 Allen Isaacman and Richard Roberts made this argument in the case of cotton producing areas. See Allen Isaacman and Richard Roberts, *Cotton, Colonialism, and Social History in Sub-Saharan Africa* (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 1995), 2.
- 2 NAE, ABADIST, 14/1/872.
- 3 Ibid.
- 4 NAE, ABADIST, 1/26/958.