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### Anglo-Afikpo War, 1902-1903

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#### Abstract

This paper “Anglo-Afikpo War, 1902-1903”, discusses the war that pitted the traditional Afikpo warriors against the British colonial force. The paper argues that the Anglo-Afikpo War of 1902-1903, has not received adequate scholarly attention and has not been addressed in military history context. It is in the light of the above that this research addresses the war battles as well as the British conquest of Afikpo within the period: 1902-1903. The findings reveal that there were actual war plans by the belligerent parties taking into consideration: mobilisation, battle order, weaponry, strategy and tactics. The paper concludes that Afikpo did not lose the war as a result of the British military superiority, but as a result of the indigenous allies of the British colonialists who sabotaged Afikpo people’s war efforts and designs. The reason for this argument is that regular European forces with military superiority have suffered defeat in the hands of irregular African forces with crude or primitive weapons as was the experience in the battle of Adowa in 1896 among other instances. The paper relied on primary sources of different kinds such as oral interviews and archival documents among others, and on secondary materials such as unpublished works, books and journals. The study adopted the descriptive and analytical pattern of historical research.

#### Introduction

The reconstruction of Afikpo history has been largely dominated by non-professional historians. Existing literature on the field tilt towards social, economic or political history to which the Anglo-Afikpo War has suffered same fate. Afikpo was one of the Igbo societies that were defiant to British take-

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over of their land. Thus, the eventual conquest of the people by the colonialists was not without show of arms as despite the military superiority of the colonial forces, the people wielding largely primitive weapons of warfare, engaged their better armed enemy forces in different battle encounters. How these battles were prosecuted taking into account, mobilisation, battle order, war plans, strategy and tactics, as well as the operational conducts of the belligerent forces in the theatres of operation is undertaken by the study.

Afikpo is in one of the 13 Local Government Areas (Afikpo North LGA) of Ebonyi State. Notable among the clans in the same Local Government area are: Amasiri, Akpoha and Unwana. It’s neighbours are Ohaozara and Onicha local government Areas to the North and West respectively; Afikpo South Local Government Area to the South and Abi Local Government Area of Cross River State to the east and south east.<sup>1</sup> The village group (Afikpo) lies in the extreme North-east of Ebonyi State<sup>2</sup> and is geographically grouped among the Eastern or Cross River Igbo.<sup>3</sup>

#### Background to the Anglo-Afikpo War

The Berlin Conference of 1884/1885, which saw to the partitioning of Africa by European powers saw the British having what is today Nigeria among other West African territories as it’s area of influence. Before 1900, European influence was already felt in Nigeria’s territory. Prior to British presence, Aro influence spanned over a large area of Igboland as Arochukwu colonies continued to be founded until well into the 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>4</sup> One significant factor which appear to have been instrumental to the growing Aro influence in Igboland was the *Ibini Ukpabi* oracle.<sup>5</sup> To a large extent, the *Ibini Ukpabi* functional links between the colonies and Arochukwu were very strong. The Arochukwu (colonists) acted locally as agents of the oracle and took instructions from the authorities at home to the colonies outside their homeland and vice versa.<sup>6</sup> This development and process of interaction gave rise to the Aro factor in Igboland. The people of Afikpo like in other parts of Igboland and beyond, had developed a well-organised and functional society as they were not static and dysfunctional before the incursion of the British into their land in the guise of pacification as the

Europeans claim. Afigbo has observed that “in law, the Eastern provinces became part of the British colonial empire on 5<sup>th</sup> June 1885 when the London gazette announced to the world that her Britannic Majesty had placed the Niger Districts under her gracious protection.”<sup>7</sup>

Whatever was the case, this was not with the consent of the people who were not consulted to decide whether or not they liked or accepted the so called “protection”. Not minding, the British was set to overthrow the indigenous authority and independence of the African people.<sup>8</sup> Towards the later end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the British incursion into Igboland was felt even though they were strenuously resisted by some people or groups, By the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the British had succeeded in concluding treaties with some Igbo communities.<sup>9</sup> Obviously, the Aro among other Igbo societies especially those who were under Aro authority, influence or affiliated to the *Ibini Ukpabi juju* of Arochukwu, refused entering into any form of agreement with the British. The 20<sup>th</sup> century therefore, saw a shift in British official interest from exploration to territorial acquisition that by 1901, the great military expedition and conquest of Igboland had begun.<sup>10</sup>

### **Anglo-Afikpo War, 1902-1903**

Following the British conquest of parts of Igboland, her military expedition continued and got to its peak with the destruction of the *Ibini Ukpabi Shrine*. Supporting this view, Aja submits that “by May 1902 the people of Arochukwu had been completely subjugated by the British troops with the Long Juju alias *Ibini Ukpabi* destroyed”.<sup>11</sup> The destruction of the Juju and the conquest of Arochukwu, Anini argued would bring down Arochukwu influence and guarantee easy conquest of Igbo territories which were also expected to surrender.<sup>12</sup> Despite the fact that there was fear and pandemonium over the subjugation of Arochukwu, the objective of the British appeared not to have been met as some Igbo groups such as the Afikpo and Bende among others, remained defiant to British exploits.

### **British Invasion of Afikpo**

Mbey opined that the first European contact with Afikpo was around 1814, following the expedition of John Beecroft

and J.B king, from the Cross River to Amaozara-Ozizza beach.<sup>13</sup> Another account by Aja submits that Reverend Sheter and Dr. Peter Rathony, both of the Church of Scotland Mission, first visited Unwana from Calabar on 1<sup>st</sup> October 1881 and made a second visit in 1883, when they converted Elder Inya Agha of Unwana.<sup>14</sup> Even though it is likely that Mbey’s account of early European contact with the area may not be outrightly dismissed, there was nothing significant about the adjudged 1814 expedition until well after 1883 when events began to unfold. There is agreement among scholars that the first mission in the entire area was established on the 25<sup>th</sup> of October 1888, with Reverend J.F.O Gartshore, as the resident minister at Unwana,<sup>15</sup> and before the actual European take-over of Afikpo between 1902-1903, there was already a missionary base with indigenous coverters at Unwana.<sup>16</sup>

With the fall of Arochukwu, the British, in an attempt to conquer the whole of Igboland, also found their way into the Afikpo area and landed at Unwana in 1902.<sup>17</sup> With the missionary base at Unwana, the movement of the troops from Arochukwu to Unwana, in preparation for the subjugation of Afikpo, was successfully done with no opposition from the natives of Unwana.<sup>18</sup> Two factors could be said to have been contributory to this non-resistance and lack of suspicion from the people of Unwana to the colonialists. One could be that the people were already used to European presence. The second reason could be that they could not differentiate between the missionaries and the colonialists, who’s intention they did not know. Whatever might have been the case, it is unarguable that the missionaries were both collaborators and conspirators.<sup>19</sup> Hence, the missionary base at Unwana was very instrumental to the British conquest of Afikpo.

While this was ongoing, it was not without the notice of the people who appeared to have gathered intelligence on the situation especially, following the fall of Arochukwu and the destruction of the *Ibini Ukpabi* shrine. Afikpo people got reports on the British intention to capture their land but became resolute in sustaining their authority and independence. This was done through the instrumentality of the Afikpo General Assembly gathering at Ogo okpoota-Amaizu. In support of the above, Agwo observed that the Afikpo have very effective traditional modes of control over

their societies.<sup>20</sup> The people's call for a General Assembly at Ogo-Okpoota Amaizu to address their worries over the British desires to take over their land was one of the control measures. Even though they had heard of the Aro-British encounter, they were not perturbed as resistance to British authority was paramount.

At Unwana and Enohia, the British had been able to recruit the locals who they used as indigenous allies and who guided and made information about the Afikpo available to them. One of such pronounced indigenous allies was Mr Unya of Enohia Itim among many Unwana indigenes.<sup>21</sup> In tense situation, both parties prepared for what was ahead but it appears the British had control of the unfolding events. Nevertheless, the Afikpo as Mbey posits, gathered intelligence on the British plan of action and prepared in line.<sup>22</sup> On the contrary, oral information holds that the people were unaware of the intention and plan of the British. Some factors combine in supporting this view. One of such could be that at the time, few or no native of Afikpo understood English and those who understood little English at the time, were more of stooges to the Europeans.<sup>23</sup> In addition, there were no blacks in command and as such, the Africans were not involved in the planning and thus, had no clue about the plan, strategy and tactics of the British.

As both parties prepared, the Afikpo who were warlike and who took pleasure in military glory, prepared for war. Intelligence available to the Afikpo pointed out that the Europeans following their colour were very soft beings and that a strong touch or stone thrown at them could pierce open their skin.<sup>24</sup> For this, they appeared ignorant of the machination and military superiority of the British. In the light of the above, Okoro Ugo Egwu Ali of Ngara Mgbom, at the Ogo-Okpoota Assembly, pledged to cut the white man's head.<sup>25</sup> He alongside other men of Afikpo in their numbers, began to lay ambush in the routes through Unwana-Enohia axis to Afikpo. Even though the British had intelligence on the Afikpo, they appeared ignorant and unaware of this development. More so, the ambush by the Afikpo became a continuous exercise as they waited for many days in futility. With everything in place, the stage was set for battle by both parties but most remarkably by the Afikpo.

The war was fought in the later part of 1902. The battles or encounters were in two phases. The first phase has come to be referred to as the battle of Iyioka; while the second phase which saw to the defeat and British conquest of Afikpo is referred to as the battle of Ugwu Ovum.<sup>26</sup>

### **Phase One: The Battle of Iyioka**

The British/colonial force in the company of few Enohia and Unwana indigenes, set out to Afikpo. Even though the British did not prepare for war against the Afikpo, it is possible that they were battle ready but were not determined to launch the offensive or first strike against the Afikpo people. It is on record that well-armed warriors had laid ambush along the Afikpo-Enohia Itim road through Iyioka,<sup>27</sup> in waiting for the British who had no knowledge of it. While the colonial force was under the authority of Major Heneker, the Afikpo warriors as Ole observed, were under the authority of the warrior families who controlled the land at the time.<sup>28</sup> Notable among those in the rank and file of the Afikpo warriors against the British were Obia Ibe Uka, Uhere Otuu Uka, Idume Ikwor, Egwu Idume and Egwini Inya, to mention but a few.<sup>29</sup>

As the colonialists advanced towards Iyioka where the Afikpo laid ambush, they fell under the attack of the traditional army armed with spears, stones, clubs, and machetes.<sup>30</sup> There is a version of oral history which holds that the Afikpo warriors were armed with dane guns, but a contrary version holds that they were armed with primitive weapons. By inference, it is more acceptable that the people were mainly armed with primitive weapons. If they were also armed with guns as some informants claim, a very insignificant number among them may have acquired the guns and as such, had limited fire power. As they launched attack against the British, it is recorded that Okoro Ugo Egwu Ali who had promised to kill the white man, saw him and considered him too feeble to be attacked. Rather, he dashed out from his position, advanced towards the white man, carried him on his shoulder and made for home with the intention to sacrifice him to his god; Nkamalu. The white man pulled out a concealed pistol and shot him. He fell down screaming and scampered for safety.<sup>31</sup> This alerted the others

who withdrew and reorganised against the invading force. A fierce battle ensued and the colonialists who were outnumbered, ill-prepared and not battle ready, withdrew to their base at Unwana.<sup>32</sup>

Mbey records that the whiteman who shot Okoro Ugo Egwu Ali was captured and killed but oral information negates his assertion. Nevertheless, it is argued that the belligerent parties recorded casualties by way of injury while Okoro Ugo Egwu Ali who had retired home died thereafter following the gun shot. Both parties retreated to their bases and prepared for another encounter and this brought the first phase of the Anglo-Afikpo war to an end.

### **Phase Two: The Battle of Ugwu Ovum and British Conquest of Afikpo**

The Afikpo identified a number of people or groups who they accused of aiding the colonialists against them. One of such people was the Enohia; an outskirt village of Itim community of Afikpo, and the people of Unwana, which formed the military base of the colonialist.<sup>33</sup> Angered by the actions of the Enohia and the Unwana, the Afikpo prepared attacks on them beginning first with the Enohia-Itim village of Afikpo.<sup>34</sup> On 20<sup>th</sup> December 1902, they invaded and attacked their outskirt village of Enohia-Itim. The Unwana people, out of fear fled their abodes and scampered for safety to the seeing of the British, knowing fully well they were the next to be attacked.<sup>35</sup> This also affected Lt. Croly and his force who were waylaid, while reconnoitering Enohia, by the Afikpo warriors who embarked on the attack.<sup>36</sup> This, in addition to the British first encounter with the people, and coupled with all they had been told about the Afikpo, sent some signals to the colonialists on the need to act fast and swiftly.

In readiness for battle and conquest of Afikpo, a detachment of well-armed infantry from Calabar was sent to reinforce the troops at Unwana.<sup>37</sup> On the British formation, rank and file, Ole averred thus:

Major WCS Heneker, DSO, commanded the army; he had under him, fourteen other European officers and two hundred and sixty-nine other ranks. Many Nigerians were recruited as gun carriers... There were on the whole (over) two

hundred and eighty-nine carriers out of which (about) two hundred and fifty men came from Unwana.<sup>38</sup>

The Afikpo on the other hand prepared and numbered over 2000 men under the command and control of Obia Ibe Uka of Ndibe, Uche Olughu and Ibe Uro of Mgbom, Oko Ehi of Ukpa, Ehihia Onwa of Amaechara, Oko Isu of Amuro, Ogwu Ogeri of Ngodo and Uhere Otuu Uka of Ugwuegu, who commanded the warriors in sections or columns and manned various locations through which they suspected the colonialists could pass through to invade them.<sup>39</sup> It is unarguable that the warriors outnumbered the colonial army. With everything in place, on the 28<sup>th</sup> of December, 1902, a British military force set out from Unwana to attack and conquer Afikpo.<sup>40</sup>

On weaponry, Enya posits that in 1902, the British invaded the town with formidable and superior military weapons against the primitive weapons of Afikpo.<sup>41</sup> With high morale, sense of defence of their independence and authority, the Afikpo was set against the formidable British colonialists who seemed to have gathered intelligence on the Afikpo who hadn't much intelligence on them. The stage was then set for the actual show of force which saw to the defeat and conquest of Afikpo by the British.

In the battle order and operational conduct of the war, the Afikpo in their usual manner laid ambushes at strategic locations in waiting for the advancing British troops. The British on the other hand through intelligence gathering and the lessons drawn from the first encounter appeared more cautious and tactical. The significant aspect of this phase was the British readiness for show of force against the Afikpo. They devised a strategy to out flank the Afikpo from the rear who were not expectant of such an attack from the rear. This as Ole posited, was made possible because the British were being aided by even the natives of Afikpo such as Egwu Onyia of Ndibe who was resident at Unwana and Ewa Ogbu of Enohia-Itim, both of whom were familiar with the terrain.<sup>42</sup>

The British mounted at Ugwu Ovum, some distance away; a position which gave them a clear view of the Afikpo settlements; they mounted their shelling machine and started shelling the area.<sup>43</sup> Oral information is replete with this fact

While some accounts have it that the British shelled the Afikpo into pandemonium, inflicting heavy casualties and damages on the people, another account is of the view that though the British shelled Afikpo, it was not aimed at annihilating them or destroying their land, but to scare the people into submission. The latter version of oral account on this appear factual and more convincing. Nevertheless, in the cause of shelling, even though the British mounted at a height which gave them a better view of the area, they may have inflicted unintended destruction on Afikpo.

As the shelling continued, the people scampered for safety while some still maintained their position. Ole argues that following this development, the colonial army could see the Afikpo warriors from a distance of 600 to 700 yards away.<sup>44</sup> Still, with crude or primitive weapons, the warriors engaged their enemy in what has gone down in history as the battle of Ugwu Ovum; signifying the name of the place where the battle was fought.<sup>45</sup> This encounter lasted for hours but in the end, the Afikpo scampered for safety, fleeing the battle ground for the better armed colonial force. Ole among others argue that the people were also armed with guns. It is unarguable though, that those who may had acquired the guns if any hadn't enough. If this is also applicable to the Afikpo, they may have had access to the guns through the Afikpo-Aro relations which could have made this possible but may have supplied them with limited and insignificant fire power. On the whole, they could not have had access to guns more than the Europeans and beyond reasonable doubt, they were ill-equipped unlike the colonial army.

The conquest of Afikpo by the British was on the 28<sup>th</sup> of December, 1902. After the battles or encounters, some elders of Afikpo met at Ogo-Amangbala to negotiate with the colonialists. The British were still at this point not relaxed as they looked for who their informants told them were like the leaders and evil men of Afikpo. These are the men mentioned earlier and who commanded different sectors or companies of the traditional forces against the British. This search lasted from 28<sup>th</sup> December, 1902, to 3<sup>rd</sup> January, 1903, when they eventually captured Obia Ibe Uka, who was forced to sit on a bunch of palm fruit and was tortured by the British but he remained unyielding<sup>46</sup> to the demands and dictates of the colonialists. It is remarked that Obia sent messages to his

allies, asking them to flee for what has come upon them is great. On the whole, they were all captured with the British identifying them as the powers that be.<sup>47</sup>

These men; Obia Ibe Uka, Uhere Otuu Uka, Uche Olughu, Ibe Uro, Oko Ehi, Ehihia Onwa, Oko Isu, and Egwu Ogeri among others, were latter appointed Warrant Chiefs in Afikpo by the British.<sup>48</sup> They formed the first set of Warrant Chiefs in colonial Afikpo. There is a popular view that it was mainly those who were considered "slaves" that were given to the British and thus, were made warrant chiefs, serving as agents of the British in different parts of Igboland. It is important to state here that the above did not wholly apply in Afikpo. From the findings following this study, it was discovered that it was those who were actually strong and considered powerful, and who led the people into resisting the British, that were later captured and made Warrant Chiefs.

#### **Effects of the Anglo-Afikpo War on Afikpo**

The British conquest of Afikpo between 1902-1903, like in other places, led to loss of self-independence and authority which the area and people, hitherto enjoyed. The introduction of the Warrant Chiefs System as well as the consequent appointment of Warrant Chiefs by the British, to some extent, altered the political balance earlier felt in Afikpo. It also gradually laid the foundation for the emergence of kingship institution in post-colonial Afikpo.<sup>49</sup>

The conquest opened the area for the Christian missionaries, leading to the subsequent institutionalisation of Christianity as well as the introduction of western culture and education.<sup>50</sup> This, established the background for the emergence of modern Afikpo society. Christianity, as evident, was to later, lay the foundation for attacks as well as the abandonment of the traditional cultural practices of the people through the indigenous converts,<sup>51</sup> who then began to practise a different kind of Christianity, embarking upon attacks on the traditional practices and system which once held sway. Aja has argued that the missionaries and colonialists:

Cannot escape the often-repeated accusations of builder and destroyer, for their enterprise had as its concomitant, negative social revolution in its

trail... Some harmless practices of the people upon which the missionaries could have built a solid foundation of the new faith, were condemned.<sup>52</sup>

Thus, it turned the people against themselves. The socio-cultural effect, by way of western influence, has negatively affected the acceptability of the Afikpo culture and tradition by the Afikpo themselves. The people's culture is now seen as evil by the people who are expected to protect and promote it. It is as a matter of fact that there has been constant assault on the African traditional ways by the modern system championed by globalisation.<sup>53</sup> The African culture has long been regarded as inferior by even the Africans themselves. The negative implication of this is the negligence as well as the abandonment of the positive aspects of the once revered traditional system and practices.

### Conclusion

By the turn of 1903, the British had succeeded in overthrowing the indigenous authority and independence of Afikpo. This was not without show of force as the people engaged the British in two battle encounters. Despite the military superiority of the colonialist, the defeat and British conquest of Afikpo would not had been easy without the assistance of the Afikpo indigenous allies of the British, who knew the terrain and thus, sold out the Afikpo people. This war was not without considerable effects on Afikpo as have been discussed in this study.

### Endnotes

<sup>1</sup>R. O. Aja, *A History of Afikpo Circa 1600*, Lagos: Mbey and Associates (Nig.) Ltd, 2005, p. 8.

<sup>2</sup>*ibid.*

<sup>3</sup>C. I. Uhere, "Afikpo and Her Neighbours to 1960: A Study in Inter-Group Relations", (Unpublished M.A Thesis, Nnamdi Azikiwe University, Awka, 2011), p. 10.

<sup>4</sup>U. I. Ukwu., "The Development of Trade and Market in Iboland", in *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria*, Vol. 3, No. 4, June, 1967, p. 651.

<sup>5</sup>Pius Ogbonnia Oko, Interview Cited.

<sup>6</sup>U. I. Ukwu., "The Development of Trade and Market in Iboland...", p. 652.

<sup>7</sup>A. E Afigbo, "The Eastern province Under Colonial Rule", in Obaro Ikime (ed), *Groundwork of Nigerian History*, Ibadan: Heinemann Educational Books (Nigeria) Plc., 1980, p. 410.

<sup>8</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>9</sup>U. I. Ukwu., "The Development of Trade and Market in Iboland...", p. 658.

<sup>10</sup>*ibid.*

<sup>11</sup>R.O. Aja, *A History of Afikpo Circa...*, p. 221.

<sup>12</sup>J. C. Anene, "The Protectorate Government of Southern Nigeria and the Aros, 1901-1902", *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria*, 1956, p. 21

<sup>13</sup>G. A. Mbey., *Origin of Ehugbo: Afikpo in Retrospect*, Ebonyi: Same as Author, 2004, p. 39.

<sup>14</sup>R. O. Aja., *A History of Afikpo Circa...*, p. 208.

<sup>15</sup>*ibid.* See Also, G. A. Mbey., *Origin of Ehugbo...*, p. 39.

<sup>16</sup>Ibiam Gedion Akaa, Age 70+, Retired Civil Servant, Interview at Unwana-Afikpo, on 1st March, 2019.

<sup>17</sup>Gabriel Agwo, "Afikpo and the Europeans: 100 Years After Encounter", *Afikpo Today*, Vol. 2, No. 6, July-December, 2002, p. 36.

<sup>18</sup>Ude Agha Ude, Age 70+, Retired Civil Servant, Interview Held at Uwnana-Afikpo, on 1st March, 2019.

<sup>19</sup>Isaac Otu Okorouka, Interview Cited.

<sup>20</sup>Gabriel Agwo, "Afikpo and the Europeans...", P. 37.

<sup>21</sup>Egwu Aja, Interview Cited.

<sup>22</sup>G. A. Mbey., *Origin of Ehugbo...*, p. 41.

<sup>23</sup>Chukwu Egwu, Age 80+, Retired Farmer, Interview Held at Ukpá-Afikpo, on 2<sup>nd</sup> March, 2019.

<sup>24</sup>Pius Ogbonnia Oko, Interview Cited.

<sup>25</sup>*ibid.*

<sup>26</sup>Irem Isu, Age 70+, Retired Civil Servant, Interview Held at Mgbom-Afikpo, on 15<sup>th</sup> March, 2019.

<sup>27</sup>G. A. Mbey., *Origin of Ehugbo...*, p. 41.

<sup>28</sup>H. Waddington, NAE (Hereafter, National Archives Enugu), Intelligence Report on Afikpo Clan, 1931, pp. 34-36. See Also, R. O. Ole, "Pre-Colonial Wars in Afikpo", (Unpublished B.A Thesis, University of Nigeria Nsukka, 1978), p. 26.

<sup>29</sup>Pius Ogbonnia Oko, Interview Cited.

<sup>30</sup>G. I. Enya, "The Good and the Bad of the Encounter", *Afikpo Today*, Vol. 2, No. 7, January-June, 2003, p. 75.

<sup>31</sup>Irem Isu, Interview Cited.

<sup>32</sup>Oko Irem, Age 70+, Retired Painter, Interview Held at Mgbom-Afikpo, on 20<sup>th</sup> March, 2019.

<sup>33</sup>Pius Ogbonnia Oko, Interview Cited.

<sup>34</sup>*ibid.*

<sup>35</sup>R. O. Ole, "Pre-Colonial Wars in Afikpo", (Unpublished B. A Thesis, University of Nigeria Nsukka, 1978), pp. 29-30.

<sup>36</sup>CO 520/18, Report from Major Heneker to the British High Commissioner, 1903.

<sup>37</sup>G. A. Mbey., *Origin of Ehugbo...*, p. 42.

<sup>38</sup>R. O. Ole, Pre-Colonial Wars in Afikpo..., p. 30.

<sup>39</sup>Oti Oko, Age 80+, Retired Civil Servant, Interview Held at Amachi-Afikpo, on 18<sup>th</sup> March, 2019.

<sup>40</sup>R.O. Aja., *A History of Afikpo Circa...*, p. 224.

<sup>41</sup>G. I. Enya, "The Good and the Bad of the Encounter...", p. 75.

<sup>42</sup>R. O. Ole, "Pre-Colonial Wars in Afikpo...", p. 30.

<sup>43</sup>Egwu Aja, Interview Cited.

<sup>44</sup>R. O. Ole, "Pre-Colonial Wars in Afikpo...", p. 31.

<sup>45</sup>Egwu Aja, Interview Cited.

<sup>46</sup>Pius Ogbonnia Oko, Interview Cited.

<sup>47</sup>G. A Mbey, Interview Cited.

<sup>48</sup>Isaac Otu Okorouka, Interview Cited.

<sup>49</sup>Resolution of the Afikpo Town Students Organisation (ATSO) on the Amadi/Chieftaincy Issues in Afikpo Town, A

letter Written by the Afikpo Town Students Organisation to the Secretary, Afikpo Local Government Arae, 24<sup>th</sup> August, 1977, pp. 2-3.

<sup>50</sup>Egwu Aja, Age 70+, Farmer and Retired Civil Servant, Interview Held at Mgbom-Afikpo on 5<sup>th</sup> March, 2019.

<sup>51</sup>Idume Isu, Age 70+, Farmer, Interview Held at Ugwuegu-Afikpo on 2<sup>nd</sup> March, 2019.

<sup>52</sup>R.O. Aja, *A History of Afikpo Circa 1600*, Lagos, Mbey and Associates (Nig) Ltd, 2005, p. 213.

<sup>53</sup> Professor C. C. C. Osakwe, Age: 50+, Civil Servant, Interview Held at Kaduna, on 21<sup>st</sup> May, 2019.