

Igbo Historiography: Parts 1, II & III

Gloria Chuku
Africana Studies, UMBC

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Abstract

Igbo historiography has advanced since the publication of the epic narrative of Olaudah Equiano in 1789 and its different versions, especially that of Paul Edwards, a British literary historian in 1969. The main objective of this essay is to demonstrate the vitality and diversity of Igbo historical studies and provide informative and thoughtful interpretations of its strengths and weaknesses. In three parts, the essay examines the origin, dispersal and settlement of the people; sociopolitical institutions and organization; economic systems, including slavery and the transatlantic slave trade, and the colonial economy; Igbo religion, Islam, Christianity and Western education; colonial encounter; the Igbo in precolonial and modern Nigeria with focus on intergroup relations, ethnicity and the Nigeria-Biafra War; and Igbo intellectual history. The essay makes a spirited critique of areas of overemphasis and the conceptual and methodological issues. It suggests important neglected themes that require further historical investigations. Its primary goal is to nudge Igbo historiography in new and challenging directions and inspire historians interested in Igbo studies to adopt a historiographical approach that emphasizes currency, relevance and usability.

Igbo Historiography: Part II

Part II is a fellow-up to Part I of this article which examines Igbo historiography in the areas of the origin, dispersal and settlement of the people; and their sociopolitical institutions and organization. In this Part II, attention is focused on the historiography of Igbo economic systems, including slavery and the transatlantic slave trade, and the colonial economy; as well as on Igbo religion, Islam, Christianity and Western education.

Economic Systems

Igbo economic historiography has focused on three anchors of the people's economic system, namely, agriculture, manufacturing, and trade. Among the most important works on Igbo economy are Afigbo (1981a) which focuses on precolonial economic foundation of the people, Chuku (2010, 2005, 1999, 1995), presenting a broad coverage of Igbo economic activities and women's agency during the colonial period, and Korieh (2010, 2007), examining the colonial and postcolonial agricultural changes. Others include Achebe (2005) and Martin (1988, 1984) focusing on the Nsukka Igbo and the Ngwa people respectively, both emphasizing gender dimension in Igbo economy; as well as Northrup (1978) on the nature of precolonial and colonial Igbo production and distribution; and Ohadike (1981) on the spread of cassava cultivation; and Njoku (1983) discussing palm oil export production in the era of "legitimate" commerce. Studies on Igbo economy show that prior to 1500, the Igbo had developed a strong economic system based on agriculture, manufacturing and trade through the dynamic experimentation and mastery of their environment, and the application of their technological skills and ingenuity. With knowledge and skill in iron-work, the people tackled the challenges of their forest environment. They farmed, processed food, domesticated and raised animals such as goats, sheep, tsetse-fly resistant dwarf cows and poultry, as well as fished, hunted and gathered food, fruits, vegetables, and spices.

Farming was central to Igbo economy, with both men and women, including children playing important and often gendered roles. The chief crops were yams, cocoyams, and three-leaved yams, as well as vegetables such as pumpkins, beans, okra, maize, melons, peppers and others. Valuable economic trees included kola, breadfruit, cowpea, benniseed, oil palms, raffia palms, castor oil beans, native pear, oil bean,

bananas, and starapple. The sophistication in the cultivation of these crops, vegetables and trees and their processing into food for the high population density of the Igbo and for exchange outside Igbo areas suggest a long history of their presence in the region. The Igbo adopted certain American and Southeast Asian species of yam, cocoyam and rice as well as cassava, corn, potatoes, bananas, plantain, tobacco, tomatoes, and a variety of citrus fruits, including mangoes, grapefruit, oranges, tangerine and sugarcane which offered new varieties of food and further transformed Igbo economy and the people's dietary system. Farming as well as yams and cocoyams were highly ritualized with ritual performances and festivities especially during planting and harvesting seasons.

As an agrarian people, land constituted the basic principle of economic organization, the most important economic asset, and the active spirit force that played a central role in their religious beliefs and cosmological worldview. Because land was the abode of the Earth Goddess, a burial place for the dead, the sustainer of the living, a source of security and sustenance, there were taboos, sanctions and reversionary rights that protected it from alienation and speculation. Membership of a lineage guaranteed an individual's access to land. Thus, the Igbo emphasized use rights over ownership as land was owned by the lineage and held in sacred trust by the male elders. Igbo land tenure and relations of production privileged male elders who enjoyed control over communal lands and the labor of their wives, children and other young members of their lineage. Labor was a key factor in Igbo agriculture. Labor needs within the household, the basic unit of production, explained why the Igbo valued large families and engaged in polygynous marriages. Wealth in people through polygyny and other acquisitive processes meant increased labor for production and defense, and enhanced

socioeconomic mobility for the head of the household. The gerontocratic nature of Igbo society also guaranteed heads of lineage access to free labor from members of the lineage and cooperative work groups such as age grades. The latter was also accessible to their members and other lineage people who could afford their cost of entertainment. There were also wage labor or contract portorage (such as the Nike and Igbera) and unfree labor of slaves and pawns deployed in agricultural, manufacturing and commercial activities.

Igbo manufacturing activities included blacksmithing, salt production, pottery, cloth weaving, carving, mat making, basket weaving, soapmaking, and palm oil and kernel processing. Many of these crafts and industries were governed by guilds, which controlled methods and standards of production, prices, and entry into the industry. What we know of Igbo iron industry came mostly from archaeologists, anthropologists and art historians such as Sutton (2001), Anozie (1979), Neaher (1979, 1976), Shaw (1977, 1970), Lawal (1972), and Hartle (1967, 1966, 1965), who focus mainly on the Igbo-Ukwu objects and the Awka blacksmiths. Major historical studies on Igbo iron industry are those of Njoku (1991a, 1991b, 1986). These studies show that metal industry was the preserve of men and was associated with the Awka, Udi, Nkwerre, Abiriba, Afikpo, and Nsukka Igbo who had rich deposits of iron ore and produced a range of agricultural and other tools, war implements, household utensils, monetary objects and those used for social ceremonies and religious rituals. While pottery and salt manufacturing were preserved for women, men controlled carving. Women dominated the cloth weaving industry except in Abakaliki where men wove cloths used in religious rituals and exclusively male secret societies.

Historiography on Igbo commercial activities covers the people's involvement in local, regional and international trades (Chuku, 2005; Nwaubani, 1999; Dike and Ekejiuba, 1990; Udeagha, 1987; Oguagha, 1983; Northrup, 1978, 1972; Afigbo, 1977, 1973). These studies have shown that differential in natural endowments among various Igbo groups and between the Igbo and their neighbors facilitated local trade within Igbo areas and regional trade with their Edo/Bini, Efik, Ibibio, Idoma, Igala, and Ijo neighbors. A trading network through land and water rounds bound the Igbo area together and also linked it with other regions to the east, west and north and was crisscrossed by Igbo professional traders such as the Aro, Awka, Abiriba, Aboh, Nike, Aku, Isuochi, and Nkwerre who dominated these trades. In addition to trading, the Awka, Nkwerre, and Abiriba were famous blacksmiths, the Aro and Umunneoha oracular agents, and the Nri ritual and medical specialists. The Igbo obtained fish and salt from their Niger Delta neighbors, and horses, ivory, coral beads and other articles from the Igala and other northern non-Igbo traders in exchange for farm produce, mostly yams and palm oil, and small animals.

By the seventeenth century, Igbo economy was integrated to the larger regional economy of the Bight of Biafra when the major export commodity was slaves following the development of the transatlantic slave trade in the sixteenth century. Historiography on slavery and the slave trade, which included the internal organization of the trade, the merchandise, and major actors, has attributed the emergence of the Aro to the increased number of the Igbo slaves exported across the Atlantic Ocean. The Aro enjoyed regional prominence of their oracle, the Ibiniukpabi, which provided them travel immunity; they engaged in judicious marriages and covenants with prominent local rulers and

individuals; and took advantage of regional institutions such as the Ekpe and Okonko secret societies and their trading diaspora throughout the Niger Delta and its hinterland (Nwokeji, 2010; Dike and Ekejiuba, 1990; Chuku, 1989; Oriji, 1987, 1982, 1981; Afigbo 1981a; Dike, 1956). Other professional Igbo traders who fostered the expansion of the slave trade were the Aboh, Awka, Abiriba, Nike, Ohafia, Osomari, Oguta, and Onitsha. Historians Apeh and Opata (2009), Afigbo (2006), Nwokeji (1998), Ohadike (1998), Brown (1996), Nwaka (1985), Offiong (1985), Oguagha (1983), Northrup (1979), Nwachukwu-Ogedengbe (1977), Ogedengbe (1971), Harris (1942); and anthropologists and others such as Ezeanya (1967), Horton (1954), and Leith-Ross (1937) have discussed the nature of servitude in Igbo society, the processes and challenges of the abolition of the slave trade and emancipation of the enslaved, and the impact of the trade on the people and their society, including social stratification and exclusion of some Igbo. One outcome of the transatlantic slave trade was the presence of the Igbo and their descendants in Europe and the Americas. Some historical studies have captured the activities of these individuals, their survival strategies and involvement in anti-slavery campaigns. Others have focused on the demography and estimated number of enslaved Igbo exported across the Atlantic; their agency and impact in connection to the Atlantic slave trade and its diasporic linkages; and on the problematic of Igbo ethnic formation and identity in the Americas (Falola and Njoku, 2016; Chuku, 2013b; Korieh, 2009, 2006; Warner-Lewis, 2007; Chambers, 2002, 1997; Northrup, 2000).

Part of the Igbo commercial historiography has focused on the transition from the slave trade to the export trade in palm oil and kernels during the colonial period. It also covers the nature of the colonial export-import trade and the organization of internal and

regional trade in palm produce, foodstuffs and imported goods; indigenous capital formation, the trust system and the banking sector; and the impact of foreign trade on the Igbo and their society, including the contradictory effects on Igbo business elite (Chuku, 2012c, 2005, 1999; Njoku, 2008; Martin, 1995; Nwabughuogu, 1984, 1983; Amadi, 1981; Ekechi, 1981; Njoku, 1980; Nwaka, 1979; Northrup, 1978; Ofonagoro, 1976; Ekejiuba, 1967). Igbo commercial activities since independence have not received any serious attention by historians (Meagher, 2009; Olutayo, 1999; Brautigam, 1997, 1995; Silverstein, 1984; Egboh, 1976).

Religion and Formal Education

Since the existence of Igbo society, religion had continued to shape the daily activities of the people. Among the Igbo, are practitioners of three major religions: Igbo religion (indigenous beliefs and rituals), Christianity and Islam. The first two have played a central role in Igbo life and society. Understandably, pioneer studies on Igbo religion have been carried out by early European anthropologists, ethnographers and missionaries (Horton, 1956; Basden, 1938; Meek, 1937), and Igbo scholars (Nwoga, 1984; Ikenga-Metuh, 1981; Osia, 1981; Metuh, 1973), who have examined some of the principal themes of the religion, including the functions of deities and religious agents such as diviners, doctors, priests and priestesses. Historiography on Igbo religion has focused on the people's beliefs, ideas, values, practices and their unified vision of the cosmos and the reality. The cornerstone of Igbo religion is belief in the existence and powers of deities and spirits; and in religious worships and sacrifices to ensure favorable dispositions and the prevalence of peace and harmony between humans and spirits. Igbo people believed

in a number of deities arranged in hierarchical order of their supremacy and range of territorial influence. Thus, there was the Supreme Being, the creator of universe; then the powerful deities such as the Earth Goddess, god of sun, the thunder god and others; and minor deities or spirits, and ancestors whose influence was restricted to local areas such as villages, kindreds and families. The activities of these deities determined human existence just as the sanctions associated with them reinforced the people's behavioral codes, ethics and moral standards.

Using twenty-three autonomous communities around Okigwe, Ubah (1982) examines Igbo people's ideas on the three pillars of Igbo religion: the Supreme Being, divinities, and ancestors, the relationships between these deities and their implications to the people's material world. While acknowledging the commonalities in Igbo religion and worldview among various autonomous communities, he also highlights the heterogeneity in their beliefs and practices. Historians and non-historians have studied other important themes in Igbo religion, including sacrifice (Arinze, 1970), oracles and divination (Ogbaa, 1992; Nwala, 1982; Ottenberg, 1958), purification (Ikenga-Metuh, 1985b), sacred authority (Oriji, 1989), religious symbols and prayers (Ejizu, 1987; Ikenga-Metuh, 1986, 1985a), reincarnation (Stevenson, 1985), gender dimension, status, and change agencies (Kalu, 1991; Ubah, 1988; Uchendu, 1964).

Although Islam had existed in the northern parts of Nigeria for centuries, it did not penetrate Igbo society until much later. There is no consensus on the advent of Islam in Igbo society. While some scholars point to the nineteenth century origin through the activities of Igala, Hausa-Fulani and Nupe traders as well as Muslim soldiers stationed in Igbo territories such as Asaba by the Royal Niger Company (Ozigboh, 1988b; Doi, 1984;

Isichei, 1969), others suggest a twentieth century introduction and conversion of Igbo people (Uchendu, 2011a, 2011 b, 2010; Ottenberg, 1971b). The conversion of the Igbo into Islam may have started in the late nineteenth century, but the process gained momentum with the establishment of first Muslim communities in Enugu Ezike (near Nsukka) and Enohia (in Afikpo) in the 1950s. Uchendu and Ottenberg have examined the process of establishing these Muslim communities among a people whose majority saw and still see Islam as a basic threat to their way of life and existence. Ottenberg's study centers on Okpani Egwuani, later Sheikh Ibrahim Niass Nwagui, who founded the Enohia Muslim community. Literate, wealthy and with charismatic qualities and important connections outside Afikpo, and often viewed as supernaturally gifted, Nwagui destroyed communal shrines and sacred bushes, attributes and actions which attracted followers to his religion but also created frictions among Igbo Muslims and non-Muslims. Uchendu expanded on Ottenberg's study, by tracing the history of the conversion of Igbo people to Islam since the late 1930s and how the converts practiced being Muslim Igbo by simultaneously maintaining Igbo and Islamic identities. In her second article, she examines different levels of interaction between Muslims (both Igbo and non-Igbo) and non-Muslims in various parts of Igbo society before and after the Nigeria-Biafra War. She notes that while at village-level, cooperation and accommodation define Muslim and non-Muslim relation due to the prevalent bonds of mutual existence, in the cities, such relationship is characterized by cooperation, mutual suspicion and tension.

Douglas Anthony (2000) focuses on male Igbo migrants in predominantly Muslim Hausa city of Kano in northern Nigeria who converted to Islam. Using six case studies, Anthony analyzes the experiences of pre-war (old) and postwar (new) Igbo

converts to Islam; arguing that the new converts who emphasize the universality of Islam, maintain both their Igbo and Muslim identities against the old converts who were subjected to “Hausanization” by completely changing their identity to Hausa and Muslim. With their organization—the Igbo Muslim Community—founded in 1990, which provides social and educational services; and membership of Igbo ethnic associations, the new converts enjoy access to a broader array of support networks than their pre-war counterparts. He argues that since after the Nigeria-Biafra War, the pressure on Igbo converts to sever ties with home and family has diminished but the tension between Igbo and Muslim identities has not. Further studies focusing on Igbo women converts, including those who married and are still married to Muslim Hausa and Igbo men will further complicate the intersections of ethnic, gender, religious and other categorizations and broaden our understanding of Igbo-Islamic historiography.

The Christianization of Igbo society, which has had fundamental impact on the Igbo and their homeland, was pioneered by African repatriates from Sierra Leone, mostly of Igbo origins, Bonny and Igbo, European and West Indian missionaries. It began in 1841 with the work of Simon Jonas, a Sierra Leonean of Igbo parentage, at Aboh. However, the first Christian mission in Igbo region was established at Onitsha in 1857 by the Church Missionary Society (CMS) under the leadership of Samuel Crowther and John Christopher Taylor. The activities of these men of African descent, who were socialized in European culture (the so-called Black Europeans), helped to minimize culture shock and Igbo resistance. The arrival of white missionaries of different denominations and their taking over of the leadership of the CMS boosted Christian evangelism and the introduction and spread of formal schooling in Igbo homeland. The activities of Father

Lutz, Father Leon Lejeune and Bishop Joseph Shanahan of the Holy Ghost Fathers, which led to the establishment of the first Catholic mission in Igbo society at Onitsha in 1885; and Father Carlos Zappa of the Society of African Missions that was based at Asaba, were instrumental to the spread of Catholicism in Igbo society and for their use of a formal school system of education as a primary instrument of evangelization. West Indians of African descent also played important role in the spread of Presbyterian mission, medical evangelism and education in Igbo homeland with their first station built in 1888 at Unwana. There were also Primitive Methodist Mission and others which carried out missionary and educational work in Igbo region.

One of the highly-quoted historical works on the subject of Christian evangelism and formal education in Igbo society is Ekechi's book (1972a), which was a revised version of his 1969 doctoral dissertation from the University of Wisconsin, USA. The book is a study of interdenominational rivalry and competition among different Christian missions and in particular between the Protestants and the Roman Catholics in Igbo society as well as the people's varied responses to the introduction of Christianity and the impact of the new religion on them and their society. Unfortunately, the book is limited in time and scope, covering only the period to 1914. Ekechi relies mainly on secondary sources and says little or nothing on the role of Bishop Shanahan of the Holy Ghost Fathers, and the educational and health achievements of the CMS, such as the Awka Training Institution and the Iyi Enu medical center. Another important aspect of mission education in Igbo society that is omitted in the book was the early education of Igbo girls and women. Historical studies by Nicholas Omenka (1989, 1986), Chinedu Ubah (1988, 1980), Samuel Nwabara (1978, 1971), Elizabeth Isichei (1973, 1970), E. A. Ayandele

(1973, 1966), Ekechi (1972a, 1972b, 1971), and non-historical works such as Okafor (2005), Kalu (2003), Ilogu (1974) among others, have contributed to our understanding of Christian mission activities and their impact on the Igbo and their society.

The Igbo acceptance of Christianity was a gradual process. Although Christian teachings resonated with the marginalized and underprivileged population in Igbo society such as people of servile origins, outcasts, women, children, the sick, the poor, and the needy, who saw the missions as their shelter and source of protection, the traditional elite and title holders were skeptical and reluctantly embraced the new religion. Ayandele's "The Collapse of 'Pagandom' in Igboland" where "the Bible rolled through Igboland like a Juggernaut, crushing the gods to atoms" was an exaggeration that did not reflect the reality (1973:127). The missionary condemnation of Igbo religious beliefs and cultural practices, such as polygyny, made their religion unattractive to the people, at least, during the initial stages of its introduction. Ubah (1988) has discussed the passivity of Christian God, and the missionary disregard for deities, ancestors and reincarnation as additional reasons why the Igbo were slow in embracing Christianity. However, phenomenal expansion of Christian missionary activities in the area began after 1915 and especially between the 1920s and 1940s due to a number of factors. The imposition of colonial rule and the appointment of warrant chiefs helped to facilitate the spread of Christianity. The chiefs helped gather their people for the new message, and also provided community land to the missions for church and school structures. Moreover, missions' schools and health centers became instruments of conversion of the Igbo to Christianity as the people came to realize the importance of formal education in securing employment opportunities and the efficacy of modern medicine in curing certain illnesses and diseases (Ekechi, 1993,

1972a; Ubah, 1988; Horton and Peel, 1976; Horton, 1975a, 1975b; Ifeka-Moller, 1974; Isichei, 1970).

The Roman Catholic Mission played a leading role in the establishment of primary and secondary schools; the Roman Catholic High School, Onitsha, being the first to be opened in 1901. While Ozigboh (1988a, 1985) have attributed medical services, redemption and rehabilitation of slaves, social outcasts and the helpless, playing on the psychological and aesthetic susceptibilities of the evangelized, and aggressive pursuit of literacy and vocational education to rapid expansion of the Catholic mission in Igbo society, Omenka (1989) demonstrates that the mission's desire to out compete rival missionary organizations, taking advantage of government grants, and the need to meet Igbo demands were responsible for its success in building and running a very extensive educational network in the area. The CMS established a training school for catechism at Asaba in 1892, which was later moved to Inyieniu and finally to Awka as St. Paul's Teacher Training College, Awka in 1904. The CMS was the first to provide any form of post-primary education for girls and young women with the establishment in 1892 of St. Monica's Women Training College, Ogbunike, and Onitsha Girls School in 1895. By the early 1900s, there were a number of primary schools scattered in different parts of Igbo homeland and a few postprimary ones located in major towns (Omenka, 1989; Ubah, 1980; Nwabara, 1978; Ekechi, 1972a; Fafunwa, 1974; Ayandele, 1966).

Igbo enthusiastic attendance to school reached unprecedented levels among the lowly and less privileged members of society. The people's enthusiastic pursuit of formal education has been attributed to a number of factors, including their emphasis on competition and achievement over inheritance, their substantial socioeconomic mobility

and freedom of choice, and their receptivity and adaptability to change. The Igbo realized that knowledge was power and that formal education was a surety to socioeconomic mobility through highly lucrative and respectable careers as clerks, teachers and catechists. British colonialism helped in the expansion of Christian missionary work and mission-run educational system in Igbo region in many ways: government's need for educated Igbo personnel—interpreters, low-level administrators, court clerks, court messengers, stenographers, typists, bookkeepers, policemen, teachers and artisans—and improved transportation and communication systems, establishment of law and order, enactment and enforcement of laws, and financial support.

Many of the pioneer missionaries such as Samuel Crowther, John C. Taylor, Thomas J. Dennis, and George T. Basden of the CMS and pioneer Igbo products of mission evangelism and education did not only serve as missionaries, evangelists, catechists, teachers, writers, and interpreters, they also laid the foundation of Igbo studies: teaching and studying Igbo language, literature, culture and history (Crowther and Taylor, 1968; Adams, 1932; Spencer, 1901). It is instructive that the development of formal school system, standard Igbo as a written language, and the spread of English and Igbo languages in written forms, facilitated Igbo identity formation through a linguistic unity and a common historical origin and experience.¹ Christianity and formal education engendered rapid social transformations and class and gender differentiations in Igbo

¹ Igbo language with many dialects has been described as one of the most difficult languages in Africa. The process of developing “Standard” Igbo has been a very long and treacherous one. The development stages include the Igbo Esperanto or Isuama Igbo (1841-1872), The Union Igbo (1905-1939), Central Igbo (1939-1972), and the Standard Igbo (since 1973). In spite of their deficiencies, credit should be given to such early foreign missionaries and Saro Igbo as J. P. Schon, John C. Taylor, Solomon Perry, Samuel Crowther, A. Ganot, and Thomas John Dennis as well as such Igbo experts as Frederick Chidozie Ogbalu, and H. I. Nnaji. Ogbalu was a pan-Igbo nationalist educator and language enthusiast, who founded in 1949 the Society for Promoting Igbo Language and Culture (SPILC) under whose leadership the Standard Igbo was produced in 1973. See, Fulford (2002), Afigbo (1995), Bersselaar (1997), Omenka (1986), Ogbalu and Emenanjo (1982, 1975).

society. They produced a new class of privileged Igbo both from freeborn and the enslaved or ex-slaves. Persons of servile origin and the underprivileged who embraced these two forces experienced significant measures of socioeconomic mobility.

Certain percentage of Igbo women who acquired modern skills and knowledge through formal education were able to take advantage of new economic opportunities introduced during this period (Ejikeme, 2011; Daggers, 2011; Chuku, 2005, 1999). But it was boys and men who benefited most due to the mission and colonial gendered educational system. More boys' than girls' schools were established; and more boys and young men had the opportunity to attend formal school than girls and young women. And while female education was domestic oriented, boys and young men were trained in English language, science, and new technologies that equipped them to take up leadership and other positions in business, the mission, and the growing bureaucracies. Thus, Christianization, introduction of formal schooling and the emergence of a new class of lettered elite attracted the trappings of the neopolitical and neocapitalist systems in Igbo society.

Christianity affected Igbo society in other ways. Backed by the colonial forces, the missionaries fought to suppress inhuman practices among the Igbo such as human sacrifice, slavery, twin infanticide, banishment and ostracization of people, especially those accused of witchcraft, or suffering from certain illness, or guilty of certain offences, including murder and abomination (Ejikeme, 2008; Bastian, 2001). Mission health education and health services improved and saved Igbo life. There was however, a decline in the influence of Igbo oracles such as the Ibiniukpabi, Agbala, Igwekala, and Kamanu. The passage of the Native Ordinances Act of 1901 that declared all judicial

institutions but the native courts illegitimate was a major blow to oracular consultation in Igbo society. Despite the decline of the practice, Igbo people continued to seek the services of indigenous health practitioners such as diviners, priests, priestesses, herbalists, bonesetters, and midwives. Christian missionary activities contributed to the violation of native laws and customs, misguided assaults, and desecration of sacred religious sites and objects by converts, especially the overzealous ones. Missionaries and their overzealous converts were often regarded as cultural polluters and dangerous innovators who had no respect for Igbo culture and indigenous authorities, such as the elders and parents.

See Part III for the historiography on the Igbo and colonial encounter; intergroup/interethnic relations in precolonial and modern Nigeria, including the Nigeria-Biafra War; and the conclusion of the entire three-part essay.

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