British Journal of Multidisciplinary and Advanced Studies,7(1),1-12, 2026

Agriculture

Print ISSN: 2517-276X

Online ISSN: 2517-2778

https://bjmas.org/index.php/bjmas/index

Crops, Culture, and Colonialism: Agricultural History of Itak Clan, Akwa Ibom State, Nigeria, 1880-1959

Ekaette Umanah Ekong
Department of History and International Studies,
Faculty of Arts, University of Uyo, Nigeria
Email: ekaetteekong@uniuyo.edu.ng
ekaetteumanahekong@yahoo.co.uk

doi: https://doi.org/10.37745/bjmas.2022.0509 Published February 14, 2026

Citation: Ekong E.U. (2026) Crops, Culture, and Colonialism: Agricultural History of Itak Clan, Akwa Ibom State, Nigeria, 1880-1959, *British Journal of Multidisciplinary and Advanced Studies*,7(1),1-12

Abstract: *This paper investigates the agricultural history of the Itak clan in Ikono Local Government Area, Akwa Ibom State, with emphasis on the transition from pre-colonial subsistence farming to colonial-era transformations. Using oral traditions, interviews with elders and youths across eleven villages, and limited textual sources, the study reconstructs farming practices, land tenure systems, crop cultivation, and labour organisation. In the pre-colonial era, agriculture was deeply intertwined with cultural beliefs, communal landholding, and rituals that honoured the soil as "Mother Earth." Staple crops such as yam and cassava defined social status, while shifting cultivation and age-grade labour groups sustained production. The colonial period introduced mechanised farming and expanded cash crop cultivation; palm oil, coconut, and rubber, reshaped the socio-economic landscape and integrated Itak into global trade networks. Persistent challenges such as land fragmentation, inadequate infrastructure, and misallocation of agricultural inputs revealed the enduring legacies of colonial policies. The study situates Itak's agrarian history within broader Ibibio and West African contexts highlighted the interplay of crops, culture, and colonialism in shaping rural development.*

Keywords: Itak, colonialism, land tenure, traditional, mixed cropping

INTRODUCTION

Agriculture has long been recognised as one of humanity's oldest and most enduring occupations, shaping economies, cultures, and identities across generations. In the Itak clan of Ikono Local Government Area, Akwa Ibom State, Nigeria, agriculture was not merely an economic activity but a way of life deeply embedded in cultural beliefs and social organisation. Land, revered as 'Mother Earth,' was central to subsistence and survival, provided food, water, and raw materials, and served as the foundation of communal identity.

Print ISSN: 2517-276X

Online ISSN: 2517-2778

https://bjmas.org/index.php/bjmas/index

Despite its significance, the agricultural history of Itak remains under-documented, with most knowledge preserved through oral traditions and fragmented accounts. The pre-colonial era was characterised by subsistence farming, shifting cultivation, and communal landholding, with yam and cassava as staple crops and symbols of wealth and status. Agricultural practices were closely tied to rituals and taboos; it reflected the interplay between culture and production. The colonial period, however, introduced mechanised farming and expanded cash crop cultivation; particularly palm oil, coconut, and rubber. It integrated Itak into global trade networks and simultaneously disrupted traditional systems.

This paper seeks to analyse the continuity and change in agricultural practices in Itak clan, situating local experiences within broader Ibibio and West African contexts. By examining land tenure, farming methods, crop choices, and labour organisation, the study highlights how crops, culture, and colonialism intersected to shape the socio-economic development of the community.

Statement of Problem

Despite the centrality of agriculture to the socio-economic life of the Itak clan, its historical development remains poorly documented. Much of the available knowledge is preserved through oral traditions, which are vulnerable to distortion and loss. The absence of written records has hindered systematic analysis of agricultural practices and their transformations across time.

In the pre-colonial era, farming methods were largely subsistence-based; it relied on shifting cultivation and rudimentary tools such as hoes and machetes. While effective for small-scale production, these methods limited productivity and constrained the expansion of agriculture. Cultural taboos, included restrictions of farming activities on certain days, further reduced efficiency.

Colonial interventions introduced mechanisation and cash crop cultivation, yet structural challenges persisted. Land fragmentation prevented large-scale farming, while inadequate infrastructure—particularly the absence of feeder roads, restricted access to markets. Misallocation of agricultural loans and fertilisers often diverted to wealthy intermediaries rather than farmers compounded these difficulties. Even when fertilisers were available, cultural beliefs discouraged their use, with fears that they would reduce crop quality.These enduring problems highlight the need for a critical historical study of agriculture in Itak clan, tracing how cultural traditions, colonial policies, and structural constraints have shaped present-day agricultural challenges.

METHODOLOGY

This study employed a combination of primary and secondary sources to reconstruct the agricultural history of the Itak clan. Primary data formed the core of the research, derived from oral interviews conducted with thirteen individuals representing eleven of the sixteen villages in the clan. Informants included elders, aged between 56 and 76 years, who were presumed to possess extensive knowledge of past agricultural practices, as well as younger respondents aged 30 to 45

years, who provided insights into contemporary conditions and the persistence of traditional methods.

Interviews were semi-structured; it allowed flexibility to probe cultural beliefs, land tenure systems, farming techniques, and colonial transformations. The researcher encountered challenges such as informant bias, demands for compensation, and occasional withholding of information, which required careful triangulation of responses to ensure reliability. Secondary sources were limited, given the scarcity of published works on Itak's agricultural history. Nevertheless, relevant literature on Ibibio land tenure, West African agriculture, and colonial economic policies was consulted to situate local practices within broader regional contexts. The integration of oral testimony with textual evidence provided a balanced framework for analysing continuity and change in agricultural practices across the pre-colonial and colonial eras.

Objectives of the Study

The central aim of this research is to provide a comprehensive historical analysis of agricultural practices in the Itak clan, with particular attention to the transition from the pre-colonial to the colonial era. To achieve this, the study sets out the following specific objectives:

a) To document pre-colonial and colonial agricultural practices in Itak clan, including farming methods, land tenure systems, and cultural rituals associated with cultivation.
b) To examine the changes and continuities in agricultural practices across the two eras, highlighting the impact of colonial interventions on traditional systems.
c) To analyse farming implements and techniques**,** as well as the types of crops cultivated before and during the colonial period.
d) To explore cultural beliefs and activities that shaped agricultural practices, including taboos, rituals, and the role of land deities.
e) To assess the socio-economic impact of agriculture on the development of Itak clan, situating local experiences within broader Ibibio and West African contexts.

By pursuing these objectives, the study seeks to bridge the gap in existing scholarship and provide a nuanced understanding of how crops, culture, and colonialism intersected to shape the agrarian history of Itak.

Significance of the Study

This research is significant for several reasons. First, it provides an authentic historical account of agricultural practices in the Itak clan, a subject that has received little scholarly attention despite the centrality of agriculture to the community's socio-economic life. By documenting pre-colonial subsistence farming methods, land tenure systems, and cultural beliefs, the study preserves valuable indigenous knowledge that might otherwise be lost.

Second, the analysis of colonial transformations—particularly the introduction of mechanised farming and cash crop cultivation, offers insights into how external interventions reshaped local

economies and cultural practices. This contributes to broader debates on the impact of colonialism on rural development in Nigeria and West Africa.

Third, the study highlights persistent challenges such as land fragmentation, inadequate infrastructure, and misallocation of agricultural inputs, situating them within historical contexts. Understanding these legacies is crucial for policymakers, development practitioners, and scholars seeking sustainable solutions to contemporary agricultural problems.

Finally, by situating Itak's agrarian history within the wider Ibibio and West African experience, the research enriches comparative studies of African agricultural systems and underscores the interplay between crops, culture, and colonialism in shaping rural societies.

Scope and Limitations of the Study

Scope

This study focuses on the agricultural practices of the Itak clan in Ikono Local Government Area, Akwa Ibom State, with particular attention to the pre-colonial and colonial eras. The scope is defined by a time-perspective approach: the pre-colonial era refers to the period before European encroachment into Ibibio land, while the colonial era encompasses the period of European administration in Nigeria. Within this framework, the research examines farming methods, land tenure systems, crop cultivation, labour organisation, and cultural beliefs that shaped agricultural practices. Although the primary emphasis is on Itak, occasional references are made to neighboring Ibibio communities to provide comparative insights and strengthen contextual understanding.

Limitations of the Study

The research encountered several constraints. First, the absence of extensive written records on Itak's agricultural history necessitated reliance on oral traditions, which sometimes presented inconsistencies or biases. Second, financial limitations restricted the researcher's ability to travel across all sixteen villages, resulting in interviews with a select group of informants. Third, some respondents demanded compensation before releasing information, while others provided exaggerated accounts to enhance personal prestige, requiring careful evaluation of data reliability. Finally, the scarcity of secondary sources posed challenges in corroborating oral testimony. Despite these limitations, the combination of oral evidence and available literature provided sufficient material to construct a credible historical analysis.

The Land and the People

The Land

The Itak clan is situated within Ikono Local Government Area of Akwa Ibom State, approximately 14 kilometers north of Uyo, the state capital. Geographically, Itak occupies a contiguous territory without natural boundaries such as rivers or mountains, which has facilitated cohesion and rapid development. The clan is bordered to the north by Ediene, to the west by Ndiya, and to the south

Print ISSN: 2517-276X

Online ISSN: 2517-2778

https://bjmas.org/index.php/bjmas/index

and east by Abak and Itu Local Government Areas respectively. The sixteen villages, as recognised in the Traditional Rulers Edict of 1973, Itak is one of the largest clans in Ikono in terms of landmass and population density. The topography is predominantly flat, supporting extensive agricultural activity. Climatic conditions are defined by two major seasons—the rainy season (April to October) and the dry season (October to April)—which directly influence farming cycles. Rituals invoking the deity '*Abam Itak*' traditionally marked the beginning of cultivation, underscored the spiritual dimension of land use.

The People

The origin of the Itak people is preserved through oral traditions, which present varying accounts. The most widely accepted narrative traces their ancestry to *Abam Itak*, a legendary leader who migrated with his lineage from Abak after earlier dispersal from Ibom in present-day Arochukwu. Conflict and hostility in Abak prompted further migration, culminated in settlement at the present location. Alternative traditions, however, argued for autochthonous origins, claiming centuries of continuous occupation of the land. According to Edet (1983) and Abia (2015), despite these divergent accounts, consensus exists on the centrality of agriculture to Itak identity. Farming was the dominant occupation, engaged by over 95 percent of the population. Subsistence crops such as yam and cassava were staples, while oil palm and coconut served both subsistence and commercial purposes. Animal husbandry complemented crop cultivation, with goats, sheep, poultry, and cattle provided nutritional and economic value.The people's worldview was deeply agrarian, with land regarded as sacred and communal. Rituals, taboos, and sacrifices reinforced the belief that fertility and prosperity were inseparable from spiritual observance. Thus, the land and the people of Itak were bound together in a symbiotic relationship that defined their cultural and economic existence.

Agriculture in Itak Clan

Agriculture was the dominant occupation in the Itak clan and, by extension, in Ibibio society. Estimates suggest that more than ninety-five percent of the population derived their livelihood directly from farming activities. The pre-colonial economy was essentially subsistence-based, with households cultivating food crops primarily for consumption rather than for commercial purposes. In the view of Umoh (1994), the Itak people attached profound cultural and spiritual significance to land. Every farming season, rituals and sacrifices were offered to the deity '*Abam Itak'* to ensure fertility and abundant harvests. Farming was regarded not only as an economic pursuit but also as a sacred duty, which reinforced the symbiotic relationship between the people and their environment.

Ekong (2001) pointed out that, the agricultural calendar was closely tied to seasonal variations. Bush clearing typically began in late November, followed by burning of dried vegetation between January and March. Planting commenced with the onset of rains in April. Yam and cassava were the principal subsistence crops, and conferred social prestige on farmers who cultivated them extensively. Oil palm and coconut, though required less intensive care, were also significant, and served both subsistence and commercial purposes.

Print ISSN: 2517-276X

Online ISSN: 2517-2778

https://bjmas.org/index.php/bjmas/index

Beyond crop cultivation, animal husbandry formed an important component of the agrarian economy. Goats, sheep, poultry, and cattle were reared for nutritional and economic purposes, ownership of cattle served as a marker of wealth and social status. Farming was thus a full-time occupation, complemented by part-time activities such as palm oil processing, hunting, fishing, and craft-making.In summary, agriculture in Itak clan during the pre-colonial era was a holistic enterprise; it integrated subsistence production, cultural rituals, and social organisation. It laid the foundation upon which colonial interventions later introduced mechanisation and cash crop expansion, and reshaped the agrarian landscape.

Land Tenure and Land Reserve System

Land Reserve System

In the Itak clan, certain parcels of land were designated as sacred groves, locally referred to as *Akai*. Ekong (2001), emphasized that these lands were dedicated to deities, ancestral spirits, or individuals who died under unusual or socially condemned circumstances, such as suicide or oath-breaking. Sacred groves also served as meeting grounds for secret societies, including *Ekpe, Ekpo,* and *Idiong,* and as sites for sacrifices to community ancestors. Entry into these areas was strictly prohibited for non-members, and cultivation or exploitation of resources within them was forbidden. The existence of reserved land underscores the deep interconnection between agriculture, spirituality, and social organisation in pre-colonial Itak.

Land Tenure System

Udo (1983), added that, land tenure in Itak reflected broader Ibibio traditions, with land held in trust by traditional rulers on behalf of ancestors. Allocation was typically made to male members of the community, particularly newly married men, for settlement and farming. The size of plots varied according to family size, with larger families often holding multiple small parcels scattered across the village.

Three major categories of landholding existed

Communal Land

Owned collectively by the village, with usage determined by elders. Palm trees and other resources were harvested in rotation by age groups, this reinforced communal solidarity.

Lineage Land

Inherited from ancestors or acquired when a family member died without heirs, jointly owned by the extended family.

Individual Holdings

Acquired through inheritance, purchase, or clearing virgin forest, representing the most personal form of ownership.

Farmlands and Cultivation System

Village farmlands were divided into units, each cultivated for a year before being abandoned to fallow for four to seven years. Udo (1983) and Ekong (2001) both noted that, shifting cultivation

Print ISSN: 2517-276X

Online ISSN: 2517-2778

https://bjmas.org/index.php/bjmas/index

system allowed soil fertility to regenerate naturally. While effective for subsistence farming, it limited long-term productivity and hindered the introduction of mechanised agriculture.

Farming Implements Used Before and During the Colonial Era

Agricultural production in the Itak clan was predominantly traditional in the pre-colonial era; reliance was on simple tools and manual labour. The most common implements were the hoe and the machete, which were indispensable for bush clearing, weeding, and ridge construction. These tools, though rudimentary, were well adapted to the subsistence farming system and the small-scale plots characteristic of shifting cultivation.

The farming process typically began with bush clearing, where men cut down shrubs and small trees using machetes. The vegetation was left to dry before being set on fire, a practice that facilitated soil preparation. Hoes were then used to create ridges and furrows across the farmland. Women and children carried yam seedlings and cassava stems to the plots, while men undertook the physically demanding task of planting yams. Women were responsible for planting cassava and other crops; this reflected a clear gendered division of labour.

During the colonial era, mechanised farming was introduced, though its adoption in Itak was limited due to land fragmentation and the persistence of traditional practices. Farm machines such as ploughs and harvesters were employed in select areas to expand production, particularly for cash crops like palm oil, coconut, and rubber. However, majority of farmers continued to rely on hoes and machetes, underscoring the resilience of indigenous farming techniques even in the face of colonial innovations.

Types of Crops Cultivated Before and During the Colonial Era

Agriculture in the Itak clan was defined by a diverse range of food and cash crops, reflecting both indigenous traditions and colonial introductions. Etuk (2015), noted that in the pre-colonial era, yam (*bia* or *udia*) was the most important staple, cultivated individually and regarded as a symbol of wealth and prestige. Several varieties were grown, including yellow yam (*enem*), water yam (*ebre*), and cocoyam (*ikpong*), each adapted to the fertile soils of the region. Yam cultivation was central to social identity, as extensive yam farms conferred high status on their owners.

Cassava (*iwa*) emerged as the second major crop, it gained popularity during the colonial period due to its high yield and adaptability. It became a reliable substitute for other staples and quickly integrated into the local diet. Alongside yam and cassava, oil palm and coconut were widely cultivated, served both subsistence and commercial purposes. Oil palm, in particular, grew wild and required minimal attention, yet its products; palm oil and kernels, became vital trade commodities.

The colonial era introduced new crops such as cocoa, guava, mango, pawpaw, sweet potato, avocado pear, and citrus fruits. These crops diversified the agricultural base and linked Itak farmers to broader economic networks. While adoption was gradual due to technical challenges and

cultural preferences, their integration marked a significant shift from subsistence to semi-commercial agriculture.

Thus, crop cultivation in Itak reflected both continuity and change: indigenous staples remained central to subsistence and cultural life, while colonial introductions expanded the agrarian economy and reshaped its socio-economic trajectory.

Methods of Cultivation

Agricultural practices in the Itak clan reflected both indigenous knowledge and environmental adaptation. The most common method was shifting cultivation, whereby a plot of land was farmed for one season and then abandoned to fallow for four to seven years, this allowed natural regeneration of soil fertility. This system was effective for subsistence farming but limited long-term productivity.

Other methods included:

Mono-cropping

Cultivation of a single crop, often cassava or melon, favored under specific climatic conditions.

Mixed cropping

Planting different crops such as yam, maize, and melon together, maximise land use but often produced uneven yields.

Rotational cropping

Alternating crops across seasons to maintain soil fertility.

Intercropping and mixed farming

Combined crops and livestock to diversify production and reduce risk.

These methods reflected a pragmatic balance between ecological sustainability and subsistence needs.

Organisation of Labour

Labour organisation in Itak was structured along family, social, and gender lines. Family labour was the most common, with tasks divided by age and sex: men undertook heavy work such as bush clearing and yam staking, while women and children handled planting, weeding, and crop transport.Beyond the household, age-grade groups formed cooperative labour gangs, pooled manpower for large-scale tasks. The **Ebuana system** exemplified rotational labour, where members worked collectively on each other's farms in turn. Free labour arrangements also existed, allowed individuals to assist friends or relatives without expectation of payment.This labour organisation fostered social cohesion and ensured timely completion of farming tasks. It also reinforced cultural values of reciprocity, solidarity, and gender specialisation, which were integral to the agrarian economy.

Colonial Transformations

The advent of colonial rule marked a significant turning point in the agricultural history of the Itak clan. While pre-colonial farming was largely subsistence-based and deeply rooted in cultural

traditions, colonial interventions introduced new dynamics that reshaped both production and socio-economic organisation.One of the most notable changes was the introduction of mechanised farming techniques**.** Although adoption was uneven due to land fragmentation and limited access to resources, colonial administrators encouraged the use of ploughs and other farm machinery to expand cultivation. This shift facilitated the growth of cash crops, particularly palm oil, coconut, and rubber, which became central to the colonial economy. These crops were not only cultivated for local consumption but also exported to Europe, integrating Itak into global trade networks.

Udo (1983), Ekong (2001) and Etuk (2015) all agreed that colonial policies emphasised infrastructural development; roads, railways, and ports, primarily to facilitate the extraction and transportation of agricultural produce. While these projects improved connectivity, they were designed to serve imperial interests rather than local development. Farmers often faced challenges accessing markets, as colonial economic structures prioritised export-oriented production over subsistence needs.The colonial period further altered labour organisation and land use. Communal and lineage-based systems persisted, but increased demand for cash crops encouraged individual holdings and commercial ventures. This shift weakened traditional cooperative labour systems such as *Ebuana* and age-grade groups, as farmers sought to maximise personal profit.

Despite these transformations, colonial agriculture in Itak was marked by contradictions. Mechanisation and cash crop expansion promised modernisation but were undermined by structural challenges; small landholdings, inadequate access to credit, and cultural resistance to certain innovations such as fertiliser use. These legacies continue to shape agricultural practices in the post-colonial era.

Challenges and Legacies

Agriculture in the Itak clan, though central to socio-economic life, has long been constrained by structural and cultural challenges. These difficulties, many of which originated in the colonial era, continued to shape farming practices and rural development in the present day. Some of these challenges and legacies are discussed below:

Land Fragmentation

One of the most persistent problems is the fragmentation of landholdings. With inheritance practices dividing plots among family members, farms became increasingly small and scattered. This pattern hindered mechanisation and limited the possibility of large-scale commercial farming, and reinforced subsistence production.

Inadequate Infrastructure

Colonial infrastructure projects were designed primarily to facilitate the extraction of cash crops for export rather than to support local farmers. The absence of feeder roads and storage facilities restricted access to markets, leaving farmers dependent on local consumption and small-scale trade. This legacy continues to impede agricultural modernisation.

Print ISSN: 2517-276X

Online ISSN: 2517-2778

https://bjmas.org/index.php/bjmas/index

Misallocation of Agricultural Inputs

Loans, fertilisers, and other inputs introduced during the colonial period were often misallocated, reaching wealthy intermediaries rather than smallholder farmers. Even when fertilisers were available, cultural beliefs discouraged their use, with fears that they would reduce crop quality or harm the land. Such attitudes, reinforced by historical experience, have slowed the adoption of modern farming techniques.

Cultural Constraints

Traditional taboos, such as restrictions on farming activities on certain days, reduced productivity and limited flexibility in agricultural scheduling. While these practices reinforced cultural identity, they also constrained efficiency in a competitive economic environment.

Enduring Legacies

The combined effect of these challenges has been the persistence of subsistence farming, limited commercialisation, and underdevelopment in rural Itak. Colonial policies that prioritised export-oriented production left structural weaknesses that remain unresolved. The resilience of cultural traditions, while valuable for identity, has also complicated efforts to modernise agriculture.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Conclusion

The agricultural history of the Itak clan reveals a dynamic interplay between crops, culture, and colonialism. In the pre-colonial era, farming was deeply embedded in cultural traditions, with yam and cassava serving as both staples and symbols of social prestige. Land tenure systems emphasised communal and lineage ownership, while rituals and taboos reinforced the sacredness of land. Labour organisation through family units, age-grade groups, and rotational systems ensured social cohesion and sustained subsistence production.

Colonial interventions introduced mechanisation and expanded cash crop cultivation, integrated Itak into global trade networks. Yet these changes were accompanied by structural challenges; land fragmentation, inadequate infrastructure, and misallocation of agricultural inputs, that limited modernisation. Cultural resistance to innovations such as fertiliser use further constrained productivity. The legacies of colonial policies continue to shape agricultural practices, leaving subsistence farming dominant and rural development uneven.

This study underscores the resilience of indigenous agricultural systems, the disruptive impact of colonialism, and the enduring challenges that confront rural communities in Akwa Ibom State. By situating Itak's agrarian experience within broader Ibibio and West African contexts, the research contributes to understanding how agriculture functions as both an economic activity and a cultural institution.

Print ISSN: 2517-276X

Online ISSN: 2517-2778

https://bjmas.org/index.php/bjmas/index

Recommendations

Infrastructure Development
Construction of feeder roads, storage and processing facilities and irrigation systems will enhance market access and reduce post-harvest losses.

Land Reform
Policies to address land fragmentation, enabling consolidation and mechanisation of farming plots, particularly a revisit of the Land Use Decree of 1978 would improve land access for agricultural and other purposes.

Equitable Distribution of Inputs
Transparent allocation of loans, fertilisers, and improved seedlings to smallholder farmers rather than intermediaries would ensure that farmers are the beneficiaries of these projects and not political hangers-on.

Cultural Integration
Agricultural modernisation should respect and incorporate cultural practices, and ensure that innovations align with local beliefs and traditions.

Capacity Building
Training programs is needed for farmers and extension workers on sustainable practices, mechanisation, and crop diversification to balance subsistence. Commercial production would improve farming yields.

Comparative Research
Further studies across Ibibio and West African communities to deepen understanding of agricultural transitions and inform regional development strategies need to be undertaken on a regular basis.

REFERENCES

Umoh JE, (1994), *Agricultural Potentials*, In: *Akwa Ibom State: The Land of Promise, A Compendium*, by Peter SW, Iwok EP and Uya OE (eds), Lagos: Gabumo Publishing Co. pp. 191-196.

Udo, EA (1983). *Who are the Ibibio?* Onitsha: Africana-Feb Publishers, pp. 194-212

Etim, (1994). *Agriculture and Rural Development in Ibibio Land*. Uyo: Scholars Press.

Ekong EE (2001), *The Sociology of the Ibibio: A Study of Social Organisation and Change*, Calabar: Modern Business Press Limited, pp. 92-98

Hopkins AG, (1973), *An Economic History of West Africa*, London: Wesley Longman Group Limited.

Print ISSN: 2517-276X

Online ISSN: 2517-2778

https://bjmas.org/index.php/bjmas/index

Etuk I, (2015), *Ibibio Indigenous Economy In: Philip Afaha (ed), Witness To History: In Honour of Sir Sebastian J. Umoren,* Abuja: Command Publishers, pp. 275-284.

Ina KE, (2017), *The Changing Faces of Ibibio History: 1885-1987,* Uyo: NDECO Educational Publishers, pp. 7-10