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## A History of Ibibio People of Southern Nigeria

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### Abstract

This paper examines the origin, migration and settlement of the Ibibio people, Nigeria's fourth largest ethnic nationality who inhabit the Akwa Ibom State in the South-South geo-political zone of Nigeria. The Ibibio forebears inhabited the Central Benue valley after their arrival in present-day Nigeria from "farther North" before they dispersed to the Nigerian side of the Cameroon border where they settled at a place known as Usak Edet (Edik Afaha). From there some sea-borne Ibibio migrants accessed present-day Ibibio land while others moved to Ibom in Arochukwu region of present-day Abia State. In about 1550, resource conflict between the Ibibio and the Aro-Igbo resulted in the Igbo-Ibibio War. The Aro-Igbo enlisted the support of a mercenary group known as Akpa who used firearms to dislodge the Ibibio. This led to massive dispersal of new wave of migrants into Ibibio land. By the time the new wave of migrants arrived, they met the earliest settlers on ground. This paper refutes a proposition by some non-historians who erroneously claim that Ibibio land was first inhabited by the Ibibio migrants who were dislodged in Ibom following Igbo-Ibibio War in 1550. The paper also points out that Ibibio land had received migrants from more than one direction. Indeed, apart from the Ibibio group, other ethnic nationalities particularly the Aro-Igbo have been assimilated into the mainstream of the Ibibio. This is because of the fact that there is no homogenous breeding population anywhere in the world.

### Introduction

The Ibibio live in South Eastern part of Nigeria. They are the fourth largest ethnic group in Nigeria and the oldest ethnic group in the country. The present-day Akwa Ibom area occupied by the Ibibio was described by colonial authorities as the six Ibibio districts of Calabar Province consisting of Abak, Eket, Ikot Ekpene, Itu, Opobo (now Ikot Abasi) and Uyo.<sup>1</sup>

The ancestors of the Ibibio people are believed to have occupied the Central Benue valley along with other population upon their arrival from "further North". While in the region, they evolved the proto-Bantu language and other religious and social institutions, including the conception of God.<sup>2</sup> From the Central Benue valley, they dispersed to Usak Edet region on the Nigerian side of the Cameroon Mountain from where they accessed present-day Ibibio area via the sea. From this point, a section of them migrated and settled at Ibom in present-day Abia State, established a functional socio-political organisation including the much revered *Ibritam Inokon* (the Long Juju of Arochukwu).<sup>3</sup> After many generations, scarcity of land triggered conflict between the Ibibio and the Aro Igbo. The Aro Igbo sought an alliance with a group of mercenaries known as Akpa. The alliance resulted in the defeat and expulsion



of the Ibibio from Ibom. The arrival of the new wave of migrants triggered massive dispersal within Ibibio land.

It should be noted that as is common in race formation, every group in Ibibio has mixed up with some other groups. Indeed, strictly speaking, there is no homogenous population anywhere in the world. The Ibibio themselves were a part of some other group or groups before they broke off to establish, over many centuries, a distinctive identity of their own today.<sup>4</sup>

### The Earliest Identity of the Ibibio

According to Noah, the earliest known reference to the Ibibio appeared in a work written in 1627 by a priest who worked among the slaves in Latin America. In an attempt to distinguish between the ethnic origins of these slaves, Sandoval gave the name of "Moko" as an ethnic group represented by the slave population in the New World. Noah suggests that Moko was the name by which Ibibio slaves were known in the West Indies. He adds that the term "Moko" was a corruption of Ibibio word *omokop* (have you heard?). Thus it would appear that *Moko* was derived from what was originally a trade parlance but which came to be perpetuated by the European traders. Similar instances by which a people were named after their actions or language are not lacking. The early European traders were known among the Ibibio as *ononikosi* after the trade language of "how much does it cost?" and the Yoruba and Hausa are known by the Ibibio as *Okusa* and *Sanu* respectively after their greetings.<sup>5</sup>

Noah also opines that

The term "Moko" was likely derived from the Ibibio word *mboko* (sugar cane). According to this account, many slaves of Ibibio origin were employed in the sugar cane plantations in the Caribbean Island. Since these slaves were already familiar with sugar cane in their country of origin, nibbling at this plant was a favourite pastime and virtually an addiction. This sweet juice from sugar cane was handy to quench their thirst after long hours in the Caribbean sun...the name came about as a result of the frequent request which these slaves made to their overseers, seeking permission to be allowed to nibble at the plant – *yak nketa mboko*, which translate literally to mean, "permit me to go and eat *mboko* (sugar cane)." To the slave driver who did not understand the language, the only word which he understood (through demonstrations) was *mboko*, hence the name...It seems, however, that by the eighteenth century, the designation of the people as Ibibio had gained wide currency.<sup>6</sup>

Edet Akpan Udo however states that:

C.G.A. Olderrops, a missionary in Sierra Leone, had placed the Moko near the Ijaw of new Calabar and distinguished them from both the Igbo and Bibi (Ibibio) and that by 1850 the name had been in use by the Aro Igbo who called the Ibibio "Ibibi" and the Efik who called them "Ibibio".<sup>7</sup>

Abasiattai also notes that:

The early Europeans who visited the Ibibio coast variously designated the Ibibio people. Those who lived or whom they found around Andoni were called *Moko*, those around Ibeno, Kwa, those around Oron and Calabar, *Agbisherea*; and those around Itu, *Egbo Shary*. He explains that while Kwa and Moko were respectively Umani (Bonny) and Andoni names for Ibibio, *Agbisherea* and *Egbo Shary* were probably coined by the Europeans from two Ibibio words which seemingly best identified the Ibibio or their culture, viz: *ekpo*, the dominant Ibibio secret society, and *esiere*, the principal term of Ibibio salutation.<sup>8</sup>

### The Ibibio Origin and Migration

The origin of the Ibibio people has been a matter of intense speculation. Written records are generally silent on this matter except vague testimonies of Ibibio antiquity in their present location. Thus, Talbot cited in Noah states that the region occupied by the Ibibio "with its forest abounding in wild fruits, its waters teeming with fish, and salt to be obtained from the mangroves and sea water, may have been inhabited from very early times. Accordingly, he observed that the Ibibio are the most ancient descendants of the Semi-Bantu people in Nigeria.<sup>9</sup>

Noah observes that recent scholarship has increasingly tended to reinforce the belief that Southern Nigeria has been peopled for a very long time. According to him, persuasive speculations have been made both by Armstrong and Posnasky that based on antiquity and continuity of the major linguistic groups of Southern Nigeria, population movements and migrations into the area might have involved small groups of people trickling through the forest belt over a longer period of time ever before the expansion of the bantu-speaking peoples. In this regard, Noah cites Talbot as arguing that by 7000 B.C., firm formations of some of the ethnic groupings in the area had begun. In another work, Talbot records that "in origin (the Ibibio language) is probably the most ancient of all the semi-Bantu languages – indeed, according to certain traditions it is older than the Ijaw".<sup>10</sup>

Indeed, very little archaeological work has been carried out in the Ibibio area and archaeological finds have been mostly accidental and unprocessed with the result that they have not yielded dates known to scholars. In a study of the cluster of languages of the Upper Cross River region, Sterk asserts that, based on the degree of cognancy between the languages, migration into the area might have happened about 2,500 years ago. Noah therefore reasons that judged by this postulation, and if indeed, the Ibibio were one of the earliest settlers in Southern Nigeria and given the speculated dates of 4000 B.C. for the Ijaw and 2,500 years for the Upper Cross River peoples, a tentative date of 8000 B.C. for Ibibio settlement in Nigeria seems prudent. Thurstan Shaw's excavation have revealed evidence of Stone Age habitation in the forest regions of Southern Nigeria with radio carbon dates ranging between 9000 B.C. and 1,000 B.C.<sup>11</sup>

Even though traditions of origin do not provide firm dates of their migrations to the present locale, there is a consensus that the Ibibio came from the East of their present

location - the area around Nigeria/Cameroon border. Available evidences, oral, written, structural and conjectural on the subject of Ibibio origin and migrations tend to support the thesis that the Ibibio people evolved somewhere in the area around Usak Edet about 8000 B.C. Talbot notes strong similarities between the Ibibio and the Bakoko people of Southern Cameroon.<sup>12</sup>

Noah draws attention to the fact that migrations at this early period did not necessarily involve tens of thousands or even thousands of people, rather, "the pioneers may have been few in number, "who achieved their success through rapid reproduction. This suggests that Ibibio people had been gradually migrating in trickle from the Cameroon highland over the centuries and through variety of routes, settled in various parts of Ibibio land including Ibom, Eket, Oron and the estuary of the Cross River now known as Calabar as well as other places. This appears a natural postulate because to suggest otherwise would carry the unnatural implication that there was dateline on which on which migration was supposed to commence."<sup>13</sup>

Notable Ibibio historians such as Monday Abasiattai, Edet Akpan Udo and Monday Noah unanimously corroborate existing written evidence by colonial and missionary sources that prior to the Ibibio migration to Usak Edet region of present-day Cameroon, they had lived in the Central Benue region - the "cradle land of Bantu expansion".

Edet Akpan Udo writes that:

The Ibibio-speaking people belong to the semi-Bantu stock whose cradle land has been located in the Central Benue valley...to this group belong Boki, Gayi, Yakoro. Akunakuna, Abine, Yakur, Asinga, Ekuri, Ukelle, Oposto, Mteze, Olulomo...from their cradle land to the Cameroon area southwestwards through the equatorial rainforest to the Savannah grassland...using as they did the Cross River and its tributaries, they reached Ibom, now in Arochukwu, and later Itu in modern Ibibio land...<sup>14</sup>

Abasiattai has offered some explanations for the movement of the ancestors of the Ibibio and other proto-Bantu people from the Central Benue region in search of other home-lands. Citing the position of pre-historians, he stated that after 2,500 B.C., the Sahara region, hitherto, supporting vegetation and some population at advanced stages of hunting, gathering, fishing and possible agriculture began to desiccate. This forced its population to move outwards-northwards towards the Maghreb, and southward towards the Guinea Savannah and forest fringes. Those moving southwards must have pressed on the Proto-Bantu speakers in the Central Benue region, which eventually precipitated the beginning of Bantu dispersals.<sup>15</sup>

Explaining further, Abasiattai states that:

In the course of moving from the Central Benue woodlands into the forest region, the ancestors of the Ibibio further developed their methods of procuring food, their language, religion and social organisation, and microlithic technology. They consolidated their hunting and gathering and possibly vegecultural techniques into agriculture during the first century A.D. when similar agricultural developments are known through

archaeology to have occurred among the Bantu people, who dispersed into Central Africa. Their technology also advanced to include the use of iron.<sup>16</sup>

In this context, Noah remarks that:

The Ibibio are Afaha people whose original home was at Usak Edet in the Cameroons. Upon leaving the Cameroons, the Ibibio seem to have migrated to their present location...one group reached Nigeria, perhaps by overland route and settled at Ibom in Arochukwu, probably about 8000 B.C., where they established the famous shrine now known as the Long Juju of Arochukwu. It was from that point that the Ibibio people in Abak, Uyo and Ikot Ekpene migrated and this is the area described as Eastern or Ibibio proper...there were others who reached Ibibio mainland by sea...these seaborne Ibibio people upon arrival moved northwards and eastwards until they came up against the eastern Ibibio expanding southwards.<sup>17</sup>

During this period of movement of the Ibibio people, apart from smaller Ibibio communities, several large centres of concentrated Ibibio populations emerged, known as *Ibom*, where the various Ibibio groups lived. One of such Ibom was reported in the Oban forest in the present-day Cross River State, being the Eastern Ibibio migration route. Another *Ibom*, as noted above, was located in the present Arochukwu district; while Usak Edet and Ikot Oku Ikono and Ibeno Districts grew on the Ibom-settlement principle. Later-day manifestation of this principle was the naming of some Ibibio clans after Ibom, such as Iman Ibom, Nsit Ibom, Ibiono Ibom, Ikpa Ibom and Ibom Iboku (Efik). Indeed, that *Abasi Ibom* (the Supreme God), is named after Ibom indicates that the Ibibio had established at least one Ibom settlement in common in the Central Benue region, or after leaving the region, before their south ward movement bifurcated.<sup>18</sup>

#### The Ibibio Settlement at Ibom

Noah writes that at Ibom in Arochukwu, the Ibibio had settled, established their shrine popularly known among historians as *Ibritam Inokon* (the Long Juju) or the Arochukwu Oracle.<sup>19</sup>

Shakland, Assistant District Officer for Arochukwu notes as follows:

It seems fairly certain that before the coming of the Igbo (into Arochukwu) the Ibibio had a *juju*, *Ibritam* situated by a little stream not far from the present town of Ibom. What particular property or power was attached to the juju in those early days will be ever uncertain but certain it is that the Juju survived the (Ibibio) War and was before long to become the most famous shrine in Nigeria, indeed on the West coast.<sup>20</sup>

Further population pressure by the advancing Igbo, the quest for land and other conflicts with the Ekoi led to warfare and social tensions. According to oral traditions, one of the reasons why the Aro-Ibibio War occurred was that an Ibibio man at Ibom named Uruk bought an Igbo slave whom he also named Uruk Nta. The later became the

principal instigator of the Ibibio-Igbo War during which the Igbo hired Ekoi mercenaries to fight and drive the Ibibio (excepting some remnants) from Ibom. Significantly, Uruk, meaning "sympathy", is the Annang or (Western Ibibio) version of the word *Uduk* in (Central Ibibio). This implies that, Uruk, the principal personality in the Aro-Ibibio war, was most probably an Annang man. This point further shows the extent of Ibibio ethnic solidarity in Ibom, since Igbo tradition refers to the war as the "Ibibio war".<sup>21</sup>

Aro confederacy consisted of three groups of the Ibibio, the Igbo and the Akpa. The last named were of Okoyong origin "being a fragment of a Cameroon "tribe" now long resident in Calabar Division". Even though the Ibibio were the earliest settlers and indeed the owners of Ibom country, the arrival of the Igbo made the ethnic configuration complex. As noted above, driven by land hunger, the Igbo came into collision with the Northern fringes of the Ibibio and this resulted in the war.<sup>22</sup>

Shankland adds that:

At the beginning of the hostilities it would appear that the Igbo met with no outstanding success in the struggle with their opponents until the third tribal element appeared from the scene. Tradition is agreed throughout the Aro towns that at this juncture the Igbo sought the aid of the Akpa mercenaries.<sup>23</sup>

Noah provides a significant insight on what followed thereafter thus:

After having left the Cameroons, the Akpa are reported to have settled in Akamkpa which was the centre of the Okoyong clan. This advantageous location of the Akpa had brought them into contact with the Europeans in Creek Town which enabled them to acquire arms in the course of the slave trade "a few blunder-buses of primitive type". Led by two notorious war captains, Osim and Okuma, the intervention of the Akpa on the side of the Igbo tipped the scale against the Ibibio.<sup>24</sup>

Percy Talbot also assents to the fact that the Akpa whom the Aro used to overrun the Ibibio used firearms in the process.<sup>25</sup> Having lost in the Ibibio War, the bulk of the Ibibio migrated to join their kinsmen in the mainland Ibibio some of whom had settled there for centuries before the Ibibio War. Noah strongly notes that some Ibibio had peopled the estuary of the Cross River and parts of the mainland long before the Ibibio War and the Ibibio had lived in their present location for several millennia long before the Ibibio War. He adds that the Ibibio expulsion from Ibom occurred in the 16th century.<sup>24</sup>

What is obvious is that the Akpa fought and dislodged the Ibibio from Ibom with firearms which they obtained from the Portuguese at Calabar. Efik historian, Effiong Ukpong Aye corroborates this point thus:

In 1472 the Portuguese arrived on the Calabar River in three masted-ships...they brought a kind of cloth which became identified by that name. They saw the Efik dressed in *ikpaya*, a raffia cloth that was locally woven, and as the Portuguese cloth attracted the attention of the natives so did *ikpaya*, the strangers. It was this incident that gave

rise to Efik expression: *ikpaya ndise, itu ita ndise* (*ikpaya* an object of spectacle, *itu ita* an object of spectacle). But the friendly commercial dealings were marred when in 1530, Alfonso, a Portuguese captain, kidnapped the first Efik sons away...It is probable that it was at this time that the present name "Calabar" is said to have been derived from the Portuguese words "Cala-barra" (the river is silent), for Harry Johnston, Consul for the Bight of Biafra in the 1880s, remarked that "at the entrance of the Old Calabar River, unlike all the other river mouths, there is no perceptible bar and consequently no noise of breakers."<sup>25</sup>

The above revelation which has been documented in European records indicates without any doubt that the Portuguese had arrived Calabar in 1472 and started transactions with the Efik (a section of Ibibio who dispersed from Uruan area to their present-day abode in the Cross River State). This confirms the position that Ibibio land had been inhabited for centuries by Ibibio people who accessed the present locale from Usak Edet region. Since the Igbo-Ibibio War at Ibom, Arochukwu, is believed to have taken place in 1550 A.D.,<sup>26</sup> it is very obvious that the Ibibio had settled in present-day abode and that the "Ibom episode" is a recent event. It also shows that it was after the Ibibio had settled in Ibibio land (present-day Akwa Ibom) that the Portuguese arrived Calabar in 1472. It was after this period that slave trade began and the Akpa got the firearms that they used to collaborate with the Aro to dislodge a section of the Ibibio at Ibom. After their dislodgement, they moved in to present-day Ibibio land to live with their fellow Ibibio who moved in earlier to settle from Usak Edet region of Cameroon.

#### **The Ibibio Settlement in Present-day Akwa Ibom Area**

Abasiattai's account in this respect is that the later occupation of the mainland part of the state (present-day Akwa Ibom) by the Ibibio was a gradual process. He adds that the dispersal was:

Considerably expediated by the Igb-Ibibio War at Ibom. The subsequent migration of new waves of Ibibio into the mainland following the war caused further pressure on Ibibio peoples already concentrated in the Ikot Oku Ikono district and in turn triggered massive dispersal from this district in all directions over the Ibibio Mainland....The Igbo-Ibibio War at Ibom has been variously dated. We shall base our dating on available Efik king-list, applying a mean reign of 11.8 years suggested by some researchers for the 25 Efik "kings" who reportedly "reigned" between the Efik (and other Ibibio) dispersals from Ibom and 1834. This places the War at about 1534 or between 1500 and 1550 by relative dating. The subsequent major Ibibio dispersal over the Mainland continued till well into the eighteen century...<sup>27</sup>

The subsequent dispersal of the Ibibio from Ikot Oku Ikono centre otherwise described as "the fanning out model of expansion" by G.I. Jones, a colonial officer who



extensively served in Eastern Nigeria, and also conducted extensive research and wrote some path-breaking books on the area was triggered by the Igbo-Ibibio War.

In this respect he submits that:

A study of the present distribution of the Ibibio tribes suggests an earlier scatter of Ibibio over an area extending from Arochukwu in the north, Ika in the west and Oron in the south. This was followed by a massive dispersal north and south from a centre somewhere between the present Abak and Uyo Government Stations and a differentiation into Annang (Western) and Ibibio (Eastern). The dispersion is clearly preserved in the tribal traditions, all but a few tribes in the extreme north, south and west tracing their origin and present territorial distribution to this movement.<sup>28</sup>

A Nigerian major historian, C.C. Ifemesia re-echoes Jones' "fanning-out model" of the Ibibio at Ikot Oku Ikono area with some modifications thus:

The present distribution of the Ibibio indicates an early location over an area extending from Arochukwu in the north to Ika in the west and Oron in the south. There is an area called Ikono, situated between Abak and Uyo and surrounded by a ring of villages, each of them the parent of a group of Ibibio villages. Most groups of the Ibibio - except perhaps the Oron, Eket and Ika - trace their origins and present distribution to the dispersal from this area. Of the reported dispersal of the Enyong or northern Ibibio from the high ground now occupied by the Itu and the Arochukwu Igbo, it might be stated that such a movement might not be earlier than the sixteenth century, since the raiders who came upstream along the Cross River, are said to have been equipped with firearms.<sup>29</sup>

The above explanation confirms the fact that Ikot Oku Ikono which is indeed the area of Ikono "situated between Abak and Uyo and surrounded by a ring of villages each of them a parent of a group of villages" such as Iman, Nsit, Etoi, Offot, Itam, Ibiono, Oku, Itak etc., is the dispersal centre of the Ibibio. Moreover as pointed out by Ifemesia, the dispersal occasioned by the Igbo-Ibibio War, did not take place earlier than the 16th century. Also another crucial confirmation of the fact that the Igbo-Ibibio War is a recent event that happened centuries after the Ibibio described as a people of hoar antiquity had settled in their abode is the fact that the Akpa raiders used firearms to accomplish their operation.

Indeed this stance that the Ibibio people had dispersed from a location near Uyo after their arrival from Usak Edet region has been documented by the Ibibio people in the *Ibibio State Union Memorandum Submitted to Professor G.I. Jones Commission of Enquiry into the Position, Status and Influence of Chiefs and Natural Rulers in the Eastern Region of Nigeria* states that:

The Ibibio people belong to one common ancestry or stock - *Ibom*. That the various clans spread, in search of fresh and fertile land, games and dominion and wandered into many areas carrying their culture and tradition where they went... Ikono elements are found in

Ikot Ekpene, Abak, Uyo and Ibekwe divisions and their deity, *Etefia Ikono* has replicas in all these places. The original home of Ikono seems to have been in Uyo Division from where they shot off in their great trek. The same applies to Ibiaku and Ukpum kindred of which are in nearly all the six divisions... It will be observed further that each clan was a unit of administration.<sup>30</sup>

Also, Obio-Offiong states that the Afaha (Ibibio) people who first accessed Ibibio mainland (present-day Akwa Ibom) came from Akwa Akpa (Cross River estuary). He opines that a wave of the migrants came in from Uruan and some settled in present-day Ibesikpo before a section of them moved to present-day Nsit area and established Obio-Nsit and settled and initiated their worship system with *Anyang* as the chief deity.<sup>31</sup>

## Conclusion

The Ibibio are a people of hoar antiquity who have inhabited the present local in South-Eastern Nigeria for thousands of generations. Their forebears migrated from the Central Benue valley after their arrival in present-day Nigeria from "farther North" before they dispersed to the Nigerian side of the Cameroon border where they settled at a place known as Usak Edet (Edik Afaha). After living in Usak Edet region for a long time, some of them dispersed into present-day Ibibio land using the Cross River estuary.

Others moved to Ibom in Arochukwu region of present-day Abia State and established themselves there. One of the legacies the Ibibio left behind at Ibom was the famous Aro Oracle known as *Ibritam Inokon* (the Long Juju of Arochukwu). In about 1550, resource conflict between the Ibibio and the Aro-Igbo resulted in the Igbo-Ibibio War. To achieve victory, the Aro aligned with the Akpa group, a warlike group that first had access to firearms in the Cross River region following the arrival of the Portuguese. With this advantage, the Ibibio were defeated in the war. This resulted in massive dispersal of new wave of migrants into present-day Ibibio land. It should be noted that the new set of migrants met those who had already settled around Ikot Oku Ikono in present-day Uyo Local Government Area. This is the area "surrounded by a ring of villages, each of them the parent of a group of Ibibio villages". This area is referred to as the "ancestral home of the Ibibio".

There is need for extensive research on the Ibibio origin and migration using the inter-disciplinary research methodology. This will reveal most of the groups that are ancestrally related to the Ibibio especially the ethnic nationalities in present-day Northern Nigeria. This is very needful particularly in an era that the "North/South" dichotomy and other manifestations of clannishness are posing serious challenges to national integration and development.

## Endnotes

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<sup>2</sup>Monday Benson Abasiattai. *Akwa Ibom and Cross River States: An Introduction to the Land, the People and their Culture*. Calabar: Wusen Press, 1987, p. 52

- <sup>3</sup>Edet Akpan Ukpong. "The Origin and Migrations of the Ibibio People (Part One)". *Ibom Journal of History*. No. 8, 1999, p. 10
- <sup>4</sup>Edet Akpan Ukpong. "The Origin and Migrations of the Ibibio People (Part One)". pp. 10-11
- <sup>5</sup>Monday Efiog Noah. "Ibibio Origin and Migration in Historical Perspective". *Nigeria Magazine*, Nos. 134-135, 1981, p. 86
- <sup>6</sup>Monday Efiog Noah. *Ibibio Pioneers in Modern Nigerian History*. Uyo: Scholars Press (Nig.) Ltd., 1980, p. 5
- <sup>7</sup>Edet Akpan Udo. *Who are the Ibibio?* Onitsha: Africana-FEP Publishers, 1983, p. 2
- <sup>8</sup>Monday B. Abasiattai. "The Ibibio: An Outline History-1960". *The Ibibio: An Introduction to the Land, the people and their Culture*. Calabar: Alphonsus Akpan, 1991, p. 53
- <sup>9</sup>Cited Monday Efiog Noah. "Ibibio Origin and Migration in Historical Perspective". *Nigeria Magazine*, Nos. 134-135, p. 88
- <sup>10</sup>*Ibid.*
- <sup>11</sup>*Ibid.* pp. 88-91
- <sup>12</sup>Cited Monday Efiog Noah. *Proceedings of the Ibibio Union. 1928-1937*. Uyo: Modern Business Press Ltd. 1988, p. 6
- <sup>13</sup>Cited Offiong T. Abia. "The Oil Palm Industry and the Economic Transformation of the Lower Cross River Region, 1807-1960". *Unpublished PhD Dissertation. Department of History, University of Calabar*, 1991, p. 8
- <sup>14</sup>Edet Akpan Udo. *Who are the Ibibio?* Onitsha: Africana FEP Publishers, 1983, pp. 106-108
- <sup>15</sup>Monday Abasiatti. *Akwa Ibom and Cross River State. An Introduction to the Land, the People and their Culture*. Calabar: Wusen Press, 1987, p. 53
- <sup>16</sup>*Ibid.* p. 56
- <sup>17</sup>Monday Efiog Noah. *Ibibio Pioneers in Modern Nigerian History*. p. 7
- <sup>18</sup>Monday B. Abasiattai. "The Ibibio: An Outline History – 1960". *The Ibibio: An Introduction to the Land, the People and their Culture*. pp. 62-63
- <sup>19</sup>Monday Efiog Noah. *The Proceedings of Ibibio Union 1928-1937*. p. 6
- <sup>20</sup>T.M. Shankland. *Intelligence Report on Aro. Aro Div. 1/1/55*. National Archives Enugu, 1931, p. 8
- <sup>21</sup>Cited Monday Abasiatti. *Akwa Ibom and Cross River State. An Introduction to the Land, the People and their Culture*. p. 64
- <sup>22</sup>Monday Efiog Noah. *The Proceedings of Ibibio Union 1928-1937*. p. 7
- <sup>23</sup>Percy Amaury Talbot. *The Peoples of Southern Nigeria. A Sketch of their History, Ethnology and Languages With An Abstract on the 1921 Census*. p. 184
- <sup>24</sup>Monday Efiog Noah. *The Proceedings of Ibibio Union 1928-1937*. p. 9
- <sup>25</sup>E.U. Aye. *The Efik People*. Calabar: Glad Tidings Press Limited, p. 58
- <sup>26</sup>David Ukpong, Martin Akpan and Nnamso Akang. *Ikono the Cradle of Ibibio Nation (Historical Origin and Cultural Heritage)*. Uyo: Dorand Publishers, 2001, p. 3
- <sup>27</sup>Monday Abasiattai. *Akwa Ibom and Cross River State. An Introduction to the Land, the People and their Culture*. p. 55

- <sup>28</sup>G.I. Jones. *The Trading States of the Oil Rivers. A Study of Political Development in Eastern Nigeria*. London: International African Institute, 1963, p. 31
- <sup>29</sup>C.C. Ifemesia. *South-Eastern Nigeria in the Nineteenth Century: An Introductory Analysis*, p. 8
- <sup>30</sup>*A Memorandum Submitted by Ibibio State Union to Professor G.I. Jones Commission of Enquiry into the Position, Status and Influence of Chiefs and Natural Rulers in the Eastern Region of Nigeria*. p. 4
- <sup>31</sup>Obio-Offiong, Udo-Ekong Etuk. *A First Step to the Study of Ibibio History*. Aba: The Aman Press, 1958, p. 15