

## **Afikpo-Amasiri War, Circa 1700**

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### **Abstract**

Warfare has been described by scholars as part of a society's existence. Wars are fought for different reasons which could be economic, social or political. This is a study of the war fought by the Afikpo and Amasiri village groups in the pre-colonial period. The war is not well known in the history of the area and the few existing works on the war have not addressed in detail; the causes, course and time of the war. The study reveals that the Afikpo-Amasiri War was one of the earliest wars fought by the people of the area. The paper maintains that there was the application of the role of the super natural or what is recently coming to light in warfare as strategic spiritual intelligence in the prosecution of the war. Furthermore, the study reveals that the war was fought not later than circa 1700. Relying primarily on oral and secondary sources, the research adopted the analytical and descriptive method of historical analysis. It concludes that the *ogbugba ndu* (blood covenant) entered into by the belligerents which marked the end of hostility between the two village groups, strengthened the relationship between the village groups, that since the end of the war, there has not been any form of hostility between the two village groups.

### **Introduction**

Afikpo and Amasiri are communities in the present day Afikpo North Local Government Area of Ebonyi State. The communities have a common tradition of origin and are part of the Cross River or Eastern Igbo group according to A. E. Afigbo's classification.<sup>1</sup> As such, the relationship which has existed and still exists between them was and is still based on the fact that both towns maintain long standing ties of kinship.<sup>2</sup> During the pre-colonial days in which the dominant groups: the Egu, the Nkalu and the Igbo, struggled for territorial

occupation, some of the Egu and the Nkalu groups who were over powered by the Igbo group and who did not accept to settle in the Igbo group leader's name and authority, fled the area.<sup>3</sup> Some of the people who fled Afikpo are said to have been found and camped at where is today Amasiri. Oral information from the Afikpo area is unanimous that on seeing the people at the area where they camped, they averred, *wo masirim n'ibom*<sup>4</sup> (they are camped there) which metamorphosed to Amasiri (camp area). Oral evidence from the Amasiri area on the contrary negate the claim by the Afikpo of the Amasiri having come from there, but agreed that there was and is still strong tie of kinship between the two who they argue were kins who left Aro<sup>5</sup> in search of favourable places for settlement.<sup>6</sup> By and large, certain villages found in Afikpo are also found in Amasiri. Itiri has noted that:

certain villages in Amasiri are said to have originated from the Egu, who were the original inhabitants of Afikpo. Also, the people of Amuro in Amasiri are the kinsmen of Nkalu people, who also inhabited Afikpo in the earliest times.<sup>7</sup>

Additionally, Amaebor and Amaechara are also some of the names of Afikpo villages and hamlets that are also found in Amasiri. In all, while the communities in Ehugbo came under twelve (12) *isi ogo* (villages), Amasiri was under five (5) villages. It is important to note that the communities arrived to their locations at different times but with time, there were certain issues that led to strains in their relationship. Among the issues was the quest for and struggle over land for agricultural purposes as the people were mostly agrarian. The inability to effectively manage the strains in the relationship among the village groups degenerated into the Amasiri-Afikpo War which is the focus of this study. The study analyses the cause and course of the war including the processes adopted by the village groups in ending the war.

### **The Birth of Hostility**

The people of Afikpo and Amasiri existed side by side for years until the early part of the 18<sup>th</sup> century when series of strains began to manifest in their relationship.<sup>8</sup> These strains eventually led to hostility. This hostility led to armed conflict which has gone down in the history of the people as the Afikpo-Amasiri War. For a better understanding, the war has been divided into two phases. The first phase is referred to as *Agha Isi Nwa Eze* while the second phase has gone down as *Agha Ozara Ukwu*.<sup>9</sup> Claim over land has been adjudged the cause of this war beginning first with selected villages and communities in both societies.

### **Mobilisation, Command and Control**

The actual parties to the conflict were the Ezeke people of Amasiri against the people of Mgbom and Ukpa villages of Afikpo, but the actual man power supply for the war came from Afikpo and Amasiri beginning from the *Isi Elia* age group. On the command of the belligerent forces, it is on record that the Amasiri warriors who numbered over 800 men were under the command of Oko Ike while the Afikpo warriors who numbered even more than the Amasiri warriors were under the command of Uhere Unagha.<sup>10</sup> However, Itiri has argued that external alliances were sought for by the belligerents when he pointed out that while Amasiri was aided by the Akaeze and the Akpoha, Afikpo was aided by the Edda and the Nkalu.<sup>11</sup> Oral information negate Itiri's claim as there appear to have been no external aid or alliances but the wider involvement and assistance of the entire peoples of Afikpo and Amasiri for their kits and kins. By and large, Afikpo, Amasiri, Edda and Akpoha fought as allies for the Aro during the *Agha Umu Eru*<sup>12</sup> (Aro Wars). At some points in the war, men and spirits combined to make up the fighting forces as masquerades (Okpaa) also played significant role on the side of the Amasiri who also mobilised them for the war.<sup>13</sup>

### **Phase One: Agha Isi Nwa Eze**

The Amasiri who were encroaching into some portions of land earlier cultivated by the Mgbom people of Afikpo, began to lay claim of ownership of the lands which they began to cultivate in parts of Afikpo.<sup>14</sup> This claim and move by the Amasiri was resisted by the people of Mgbom of Itim community in Afikpo,<sup>15</sup> who border the Amasiri from that axis. This phase of the war was not marked with outright show of force and armed conflict but with skirmishes and surprise attacks and reprisals by both parties. On seeing what the people of Mgbom considered Amasiri encroachment into their land, the former called for Mgbom village Assembly.<sup>16</sup>

It was decided at the assembly that the people should head to the farm area and destroy whatever the Amasiri must have done on the land. Armed with hoes, machetes and clubs, the people left for the farm site. This was not to the notice of the Amasiri who appeared expectant of action from the Afikpo. Indigenes of Amasiri who were working on the farm area came under attack from the Mgbom people. This they returned home and informed their people about.<sup>17</sup> This resulted to raids and counter raids as well as the kidnapping of people of both areas at the disputed land.<sup>18</sup>

Mgbom appeared to have suffered more casualties from the hands of the Amasiri to the point that they were overpowered. When it became too difficult for the Mgbom to keep carrying out resistance and show of force against the Amasiri who were taking the lead in the skirmishes, the Mgbom called for an Afikpo Assembly at *Ogo Amachi*, where the people gathered and agreed to

assist her against the Amasiri.<sup>19</sup> While this was ongoing, it appears it was also being planned for at Amasiri. Itiri has observed that there was the tradition of *ozoru* (assistance) which existed in both communities. This implied that whenever an *Isi-Ogo* (village group) was attacked, the entire people will go for *ozoru* (assistance).<sup>20</sup> The people, it should be noted, did not just go to assist any village, it was usually being called for by the affected village and was not without some sacrifices or consequences. When a village calls the whole of Afikpo for assistance especially in land matters, at the end of the assistance, if victory was on the side of the Afikpo, the said land will become communally owned by the entire people.<sup>21</sup> This to a greater extent also applied to the Amasiri and was the basis upon which *ozoru* (assistance) was necessary and appreciated.

Prior to this arrangement, there were encounters of surprise attacks and reprisals by both parties. The first major encounter between the Afikpo and the Amasiri was at the farm land area called *Isi Nwa Eze*.<sup>22</sup> In the battle, the Amasiri had victory as she dealt a great blow on the Mgbom who suffered more casualties and defeat.<sup>23</sup> The attack and defeat suffered by the Mgbom angered the Afikpo who quickened war plans against Amasiri.

The preparation and plan against the Amasiri was sabotaged as Amasiri got intelligence on Afikpo's plan of action. It is argued that one Ogeri, an Ugwuegu woman who formerly belonged to the Egu, revealed the Afikpo plan to her kins at Amasiri.<sup>24</sup> The Amasiri took advantage of this intelligence and launched a surprised attack on the Ukpa village of Afikpo, dealt a heavy blow and inflicted casualties on the people with even war captives taken from the people who were not expecting an attack.<sup>25</sup> This development expanded the scope of the war; the parties involved and thus, ushered in the second phase of the war.

#### **Phase Two: Agha Ozara Ukwu**

While there was controversy over the *Isi Nwa Eze* farm site between the Amasiri and the Mgbom of Afikpo, there was also controversy over claim of ownership over the *Ozara Ukwu* farm site between the people of Amangwu Ezeke of Amasiri and the people of Ezi-Akani-Ukpa of Afikpo.<sup>26</sup> This may have been the basis upon which Amasiri invaded Ukpa village. This attack led to another Afikpo General Assembly at Ogo Amachi. This second assembly on the same subject matter which was then called for by the people of Ukpa village, saw to the consolidation and evaluation of the taught-up strategy and tactics after which the stage was set for the actual show of force by the belligerents as the Amasiri also prepared in line.

### **Operational Conduct, Strategy and Tactics**

Itiri argued that before the Afikpo arose to aid their brother villages of Mgbom and Ukpa, the people had already sued for peace following the devastating effects of the war on them.<sup>27</sup> Itiri's account cannot be taking hook and sinker. The reason is because even though the war had effects on the people who appeared demoralised, their moral was reinvigorated by the entry of other Afikpo village groups into the war as they quickly came together, organised and planned on how best to take on the Amasiri and to prevent further invasion from the Amasiri<sup>28</sup> as had been the case.

By this time, actual war had been declared as the belligerents suspected nothing short of an attack from each other. Afikpo took the war to Amasiri but could not advance into the Amasiri villages like the Amasiri did to Afikpo. The reason for this could be because the Amasiri was expecting attacks from Afikpo and as such, mobilised her warriors to her defense. The disputed *Ozara Ukwu* became the battle ground or theatre of this phase of the war.<sup>29</sup> The war saw to the invocation of charms and sorcery especially from the Amasiri against the Afikpo. Dennis and Oko hold strongly that the Amasiri were burying charms in *Ozara Ukwu* (the land disputed over).<sup>30</sup> Itiri on the contrary argued that the alleged burying of charms in the disputed land was a mere allegation against the Amasiri.<sup>31</sup> On the whole it appears that the belligerents engaged in charms and sorcery in the prosecution of the war. Thus, spiritual intelligence greatly played out as will be seen below.

The role of the supernatural in warfare is nevertheless, still a matter of controversy but is gradually coming to the fore. This role of the supernatural in warfare Nwolise has coined to mean Strategic Spiritual Intelligence (SSI). It has always been there and any society or military that fails to recognise it does so at its peril.<sup>32</sup> Highlighting instances of wars where strategic spiritual intelligence applied and which cut across all wars and societies of the globe to include the defeat of France by Nazi German forces in 1940, the Civil War in Liberia from 1989-1999, interactions between guerrillas and spirit medium in Zimbabwe, Nigeria's Niger Delta militants' spiritual engagement in spiritual service and the Boko Haram's hybrid war among others. Nwolise defines Strategic Spiritual Intelligence to mean secret information obtained advantageously as foreknowledge, from divine sources and other spiritual entities for the purpose of achieving the security, peace, development and welfare and happiness of people and nations.<sup>33</sup> Strategic spiritual intelligence by way of spiritual entities featured in the Afikpo-Amasiri war as it was applied by the belligerent. First, it was alleged the Amasiri buried charms in the disputed land and engaged in sorcery. Second, the involvement of the *Okpaa* masquerades goes a long way to justify this. Third, Akpu Alu's appearance with bells tied around his waist with which he announced his presence and

the application of the *Ogo egbele*/songs by the Afikpo to raise the morale of their warriors who killed the Amasiri warrior that posed as a nightmare to them equally count in this regard. In this war, strategic spiritual intelligence played out as highlighted below.

However, Afikpo launched an attack against the Amasiri during her *Mbe festival* (allegoric festival) associated with Okpa masquerades and dancing but were met with stiff resistance from the people who quickly organised her warriors through blowing the *Ofu* (traditional calling flute).<sup>34</sup> The Afikpo warriors were bewildered not because the Amasiri warriors had organised against them, but on seeing the Okpaa masquerades armed and war ready as they advanced and chased the Afikpo warriors who engaged them in a fierce battle at *Ugwu Nkoko* (Afikpo) or *Ugwu Okazi* (Amasiri) (present day Macgregor hill).<sup>35</sup>

Men and spirits (masquerades) alike, lost their lives in the encounter as both sides recorded casualties in both dead and injured warriors.<sup>36</sup> At this stage in the war, the Amasiri were on the defensive while Afikpo were on the offensive. Among the Amasiri warriors was:

A man called Akpu Alu. He was often called upon to aid the Amasiri whenever the Afikpo were taking the lead. He had magical powers and his presence in any battle meant victory for the Amasiri. He usually appeared at the battle ground bearing the traditional *Ikpo* (ringing bells) tied around his waist with which announced his presence. He inflicted heavy casualties in both dead and injured on the Afikpo who usually retreated at his sight.<sup>37</sup>

Akpu Alu became a nightmare to the Afikpo who suffered defeat in many battle encounters with the Amasiri. He appeared to have posed great challenge and danger to the Afikpo who began to look for ways to execute him. In one of the battles between the belligerents, the Afikpo as it had become a routine for them, had taken the war to Amasiri who at the peak of the battle summoned Akpu Alu for assistance. He appeared in his usual manner and took on the Afikpo most of whom fled the battle ground. Okorouka observed that:

While this was ongoing, a warrior from Nde Mbe Okoche family of Ugwuegu Afikpo, laid ambush for the Amasiri warrior (Akpu Alu) who chased the Afikpo warriors back towards Afikpo. As Akpu Alu crossed his position, the Afikpo warrior came out of his hideout and attacked Akpu Alu from the rear and had his head cut off.<sup>38</sup>

Oral information from the Afikpo area is replete with the fact that the head of Akpu Alu on the ground was talking to its be-header saying "*ogburu isi patanu isi*" (if you have killed me then carry my head). His be-header was overtaken by the supernatural powers, charms, and sorcery of Akpu Alu as he was neither able to carry the head as was usually the case nor able to flee the spot.<sup>39</sup>

The fall of Akpu Alu demoralised the Amasiri soldiers behind him and thus, they retreated. On the other hand, when the Afikpo got information that one of their warriors had killed the Amasiri warrior (Akpu Alu) but was being engulfed by the charms or sorcery of the beheaded warrior, made a U-turn with high moral and chanting the *Egbele* song (war songs), made for the spot where their victorious compatriot was kneeling unable to carry the head of his slain victim.<sup>40</sup> It should be noted that head hunting was a tradition in the area. According to Arua, “the pre-colonial era, it was culturally acceptable for members of a certain age-grade to go to war and come back with human heads as trophies. Successful warriors who brought back trophies were highly honoured among members of their age-grades and in the whole community”.<sup>41</sup> However, the Afikpo warriors encouraged him and made him carry Akpu Alu’s head which was taken to Afikpo and was used as a sacrifice at *Ekuma Ukwu*; a shrine at Ezi Ekuma- Ihuogo, Ugwuegu Afikpo.<sup>42</sup> With the fall of Akpu Alu, the Afikpo-Amasiri War came to an end. Ezeogo Ewa Elechi holds a contrary but related view when he submitted that there was a very powerful Amasiri warrior and wrestler who was being dreaded. There was a contest between the dreaded Amasiri warrior and an Afikpo warrior. The Afikpo warrior won the contest leading the people into making a covenant and never to have squabbles between them.<sup>43</sup>

There is controversy over the war coming to an end. While Itiri has submitted that the Afikpo sued for peace, Uhere argued that with the death of Akpu Alu, the Amasiri sued for peace which was made at a place called *Orie Egiriga* or *Ugwu Ogbugbandu*,<sup>44</sup> where the people entered into a blood covenant and agreed not to spill the blood of any member of the two village groups. Agwuchi Ogwu on the other hand, is of the view that the blood pact was entered into at Amasiri and not Afikpo because the Amasiri was afraid of the Afikpo and did not know what to expect from them should they go to their area for the exercise.<sup>45</sup> Unarguably, the war came to an end with the people entering into a covenant. The disputed land was divided between the Afikpo and the Amasiri.<sup>46</sup> Interview with Francis Otu Oko.

According to Aja, the age-long feud and hostility between the Afikpo and the Amasiri ended in 1917.<sup>47</sup> On the other hand, Itiri and Uhere are in agreement that the Afikpo-Amasiri war ended in 1897,<sup>48</sup> when the people entered into a blood covenant at *Ugwu Ogbugbandu* (hill of covenant). In disagreement to the above submissions by Aja, Itiri and Uhere, it is pertinent to note that by 1917, when Aja argued the war ended and a blood covenant entered into, there was already a well-established colonial administration and the colonialists could not have allowed wars or skirmishes between or among her territories as it would have had been of negative effect to them. More so, colonial records hold no proof of such occurrence in the Afikpo area

consequent upon the advent of colonial rule. Itiri has even argued that as a result of the military prowess and capability of Amasiri, she was identified as a great power and was being employed by the Aro as mercenaries against such Igbo areas like Nike (Enugu), Umuahia and Ezza among others.<sup>49</sup> Going by Itiri's postulation, does it mean that after the end of the Afikpo-Amasiri War in 1897, the people were still hired as mercenaries even at a time that Aro influence had dwindled following the destruction of the *Ibini Ukpabi* shrine and conquest of Arochukwu by the British colonialists in 1902? Of course, the answer is no.

Arguing further against 1897 as agreed by Itiri and Uhere, it is pertinent to note that the last wars fought by the entire people of Afikpo, Amasiri, Akpoha, and Edda were the *Agha Umu Eru* (Aro wars) which they fought as mercenaries and not for territories but to extol Aro hegemony.<sup>50</sup> The people of the entire area were also under Aro authority and influence and as such, fought no wars between or among themselves when they had come under Aro influence. By way of inference, Afikpo-Amasiri War and the blood covenant entered into by the people predate 1897. Additionally, oral informants are in agreement that the war and the blood covenant entered into by the two village groups, date back to distant past. Christopher Unya, Robert Amadi, Chukwuma Sunday Okorie, and Cornelius Uro Igwe, are among many who following the distant nature of this war, claim not to have heard of such a war and hold strongly that there has not been any war between the people of Afikpo and Amasiri<sup>51</sup> whereas there was. It is possible as Okorouka has suggested that the war lingered for a long time with the blood covenant entered into possibly towards the ending years of the 18<sup>th</sup> century around 1797,<sup>52</sup> about hundred years after the establishment of the Afikpo society.

### **Weaponry**

Aderinto has noted that there is a long tradition of the use of fire arms in Africa adding that in what is today Southern Nigeria, the blunderbuss, with its bell-shaped muzzle, was probably the earliest firearm used by the Igbo<sup>53</sup> to which the Afikpo and the Amasiri both belong. There is a long history of the use of the gun referred to by the Afikpo and the Amasiri as *Egbe Akpa*, which was introduced to the people by the Akpa; an Aro subgroup, which bought these weapons from coastal traders in Calabar and supplied to the people who made use of the gun before it was much later replaced with the Dane gun.<sup>54</sup> The Afikpo and the Amasiri both have a long history of Aro relations spanning over centuries which could have made it possible for them to have acquired firearms. But it is not unlikely as oral evidence posits that guns were not part of the weapons used to prosecute this war for the following reasons: (1) the Aro monopolised the firearms business in the region as the guns were so expensive. This was in the attempt to ensure that hostile neighbours or groups



did not acquire large consignment which could be used against Aro interest. (2) a good warrior to the Igbo was the one who killed his rival at a closer range with a machete and sword, having his head cut off. Thus, only those who obtained a head in close fighting with a sword could go to war with guns. (3) the thick vegetation of the Igbo territory limited the use of firearms which require visibility with no obstruction.<sup>55</sup>

Notwithstanding, oral evidence holds strongly that the Afikpo-Amasiri War was prosecuted with locally-made weapons. Supporting this view, Ogot has noted that there were four basic military technologies used in West Africa during the pre-colonial period and they were: bow and arrow; spear and sword; horse and gun.<sup>56</sup> Afikpo being part of West Africa made use of the above military technologies but not wholly as guns seem to have been introduced much later to the people through the Aro. This was also to the exclusion of horses which the people appeared not to have employed in warfare. The people of Afikpo and Amasiri traditionally relied on “Okpi and Odi” - wooden clubs used in fighting, “Arua”, “mpama” and “Opia” - metal implements and lastly stones as their weapons of war.<sup>57</sup>

#### **Impact of the Afikpo-Amasiri War on Afikpo and Amasiri**

The major aim of engaging in wars is to achieve objective(s) which can economic, social and or political. The main factor in the Afikpo-Amasiri war was land for economic purposes. However, the belligerents employed different strategies to achieve their aims. At the end, these strategies left some impact on the people bordering on political, economic, socio-cultural and military life of the people.

As long as the war lasted, there was high level of insecurity in the land. The war at its peak, led to serious insecurity as the non-combatants of the belligerent groups could no longer travers the lands freely as was the case before the outbreak of hostility. The war also led to the depopulation of the belligerent parties as many of the combatants lost their lives. There were also considerable casualties in the number of the wounded and the captives from the theatre of war which was felt on both sides.<sup>58</sup> Interview with Isaac Otu Okorouka.

Itiri puts it more differently when he observed that, especially in the Ozara Ukwu battles, many people died and women and children who had gone for one farming activity or the other were slain, leading to limited rate in reproduction and decline in the population growth<sup>59</sup> of the communities.

The Afikpo-Amasiri War had a profound effect on agriculture. The war led to reduced production in agriculture and affected the economic viability of the area during the period.<sup>60</sup> Itiri observed that famine crept in following the destructions and devastating effects of the war on farm sites.<sup>61</sup> *Isi Nwa Eze* and *Ozara Ukwu*, the lands the belligerents fought over, were large portions

of agricultural lands. As the war lasted, fear could not allow people to go about their farming activities in the area. Aside farming, the war crippled economic activities of all kinds between the warring communities as they remained in isolation and stopped attending each other's markets.<sup>62</sup> This had serious negative effect on the people whose economic life seemed practically paralysed. It is worthy of note that to a greater extent, Amasiri provided the assess routes to the interior by land for Afikpo who in turn, provided the assess route to the water ways for Amasiri. Thus, the communities had their shares of the effect of the war.

Furthermore, the end of hostility following the Afikpo-Amasiri War exposed the belligerents to the individual communities' military capabilities and prowess. The *ogbugba ndu* (blood covenant) entered into by the warring factions which marked the end of hostilities, led to a very cordial relationship between the two communities.<sup>63</sup> The blood pact brought about peace and strengthened inter-group relations (economic relations, inter-marriages and closer cultural integration) between the two communities.

### **Conclusion**

There appear to be a missing link in the history of the two village groups in this study. This stems from the fact that the war fought by the Afikpo against the Amasiri is largely not known to the members of the communities. There is controversy surrounding the time of the war as is evident through the works of a few scholars who have attempted the reconstruction of the war and have argued that the war was fought around 1897 as posited by Itiri and Uhere, and by 1917 as argued by Aja. Contesting the dates as given above, the paper submits that the Afikpo-Amasiri War was one of the earliest wars fought by the people of the area and was fought not later than Circa 1700. The study further reveals that the *ogbugba ndu*, which is still binding up to date, has in no little measure, shaped the relationship between the Afikpo and the Amasiri to become more cordial. Hence, it is as a result of the blood covenant that there has not been any other form of hostility between the people from the time of the end of the war to the present.

**Endnotes**

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3. Okpani Christopher Isu, 72years, farmer, interviewed at Ndibe, Afikpo, on 23rd April, 2019.
4. Gabriel Agha. Mbey, 90years, retired Civil Servant, interviewed at Ugwuegu-Afikpo, on 20th December, 2018.
5. Omezue Igwe Enya, 84years, retired farmer, interviewed at Amasiri, on 6th April, 2019.
6. N. U. Itiri, "Warfare in the Nineteenth Century Amasiri"..., p. 35.
7. *Ibid.*
8. Uhere, C. I., "Intergroup Relations Between Afikpo and Her Neighbours, 1900-1970", (Unpublished M.A Thesis, Nnamdi Azikiwe University, Awka, 2011), p. 30.
9. Chukwu Egwu, 84years, retired farmer, interviewed at Ukpa, Afikpo, on 24th December, 2018.
10. N. U. Itiri, "Warfare in the Nineteenth Century Amasiri"..., p. 37.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 39.
12. Isaac Otu Okorouka, 93years, retired civil servant and trader, interviewed at Ugwuegu Afikpo on 19th March, 2019.
13. N. U. Itiri, "Warfare in the Nineteenth Century Amasiri"..., p. 38.
14. *Ibid.*, p.36.
15. Egwu Aja, 75years, farmer and retired civil servant, interviewed at Mgbom-Afikpo on 28th December, 2018.
16. *Ibid.*
17. Interview with Egwu Aja...
18. N. U. Itiri, "Warfare in the Nineteenth Century Amasiri"..., p. 36.
19. Interview with Chukwu Egwu...
20. N. U. Itiri, "Warfare in the Nineteenth Century Amasiri"..., p. 39.
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22. N. U. Itiri, "Warfare in the Nineteenth Century Amasiri"..., p. 37.
23. Andrew Agwuchi Ogwu, 79years, retired farmer, interviewed at Amasiri, on 8th April, 2019.
24. *Ibid.*
25. Interview with Andrew Agwuchi Ogwu. See Also, N. U. Itiri, "Warfare in the Nineteenth Century Amasiri"..., p. 37.
26. Francis Otu Oko, 81years, retired civil servant, interviewed at Ukpa, Afikpo, on 26th December, 2018.
27. *Ibid.*, pp. 39-40.
28. Omezue Dennis Otu, 90years, retired trader, interviewed at Ugwuegu, Afikpo, on 16th December, 2018.

29. Interview with Andrew Agwuchi Ogwu.
30. Interview with Omezue Dennis Otu. See also, interview with Francis Otu Oko.
31. N. U. Itiri, "Warfare in the Nineteenth Century Amasiri"... , p. 38
32. OBC Nwolise, "Preface to his Book", *Strategic Spiritual Intelligence in the Intelligence Process*, Ibadan: Gold Press Limited, 2019, p. xv.
33. *Ibid.*, p. 30.
34. Interview with Omezue Igwe Enya.
35. N. U. Itiri, "Warfare in the Nineteenth Century Amasiri"... , pp. 37-38.
36. Interview with Andrew Agwuchi Ogwu.
37. Emmanuel Aluu Egwu, 81years, retired farmer and Obiahu Egwu, 76years, farmer, interviewed at Ugwueg, Afikpo, on 22nd December, 2018.
38. Interview with Isaac Otu Okorouka.
39. Interview with Emmanuel Aluu Egwu and Obahu Egwu.
40. *Ibid.*
41. Arua Oko Omaka, "The Forgotten Victims: Ethnic Minorities in the Nigeria-Biafra War, 1967 – 1970," *Journal of Retracing Africa*, Vol. 1, Issue 1, 2014, p. 35.
42. *Ibid.*
43. Ezeogo Ewa Elechi, 83years, Traditional Ruler and Architect, interviewed at Ukpa, Afikpo, on 19th April, 2019.
44. See N. U. Itiri, "Warfare in the Nineteenth Century Amasiri..." , pp. 39-40. See Also, C. I. Uhere, "Intergroup Relations Between Afikpo and Her Neighbours..." , p. 30.
45. Interview with Andrew Agwuchi Ogwu.
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47. R.O. Aja, *A History of Afikpo Circa 1600*, Lagos, Mbey and Associates (Nig) Ltd, 2005, p. 186.
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