

January 2016

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### Recommended Citation

Njoku, Ndu Life. "The Dual Image of the Aro in Igbo Development History: An Aftermath of their Role in the Slave Trade." *Journal of Retracing Africa*: Vol. 2, Issue 1 (2015): 29-48. <https://encompass.eku.edu/jora/vol2/iss1/4>

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## **Cover Page Footnote**

This article is based on the materials the author collected during archival and oral fieldwork research in parts of the south-eastern Nigerian hinterland from November 2013 through January 2015. The author is grateful to Johnson Ndubuisi, Theodore Obinna Iyala and Solomon S. Duru for helping in various ways in making the study a reality.

# The Dual Image of the Aro in Igbo Development History: An Aftermath of their Role in the Slave Trade

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**Abstract:** The Arochukwu people, popularly known as the Aro, are the most debated sub-cultural group in Igboland. The Aro, whose ancestral home is near the Cross River, and their co-Igbo neighbors were an integral part of the early history of the hinterland of the southeastern region of Nigeria. The Aro dominated commerce, politics, and religion in the region in pre-colonial times. With the introduction of the Atlantic slave trade in the fifteenth century, they emerged as significant players. The Aro's role in the region in both precolonial and colonial times has shaped the way they are perceived in contemporary Igbo society. This article examines two sides of the image of the Aro people in contemporary Igbo society and argues that the negative and positive experiences that neighboring Igbo communities had of the Aro since the fifteenth century helped to evoke hatred, fear, and horror on the one hand, and wonder, awe, and admiration on the other. The article traces the origins of this dual perception of the Aro and analyzes the reasons why it persists.

**Keywords:** Southeastern Nigeria, Igboland, Aro, Slavery, Inter- group Relations, Trade, Precolonial era, the Atlantic Slave Trade, Migration, Diaspora

## Introduction

The literature on inter-group relations in pre-colonial southeastern Nigeria acknowledges the influence of the Aro in the region.<sup>1</sup> The Aro dominated their neighbors in the hinterland, especially during the era of the Atlantic slave trade. The leading role the Aro played in the slave trade led to their dominance and resulted in what came to be “the fear of the Aro” by neighboring communities, villages, and towns. This fear has in turn led to the generally held view that the overall Aro's positive influence “also had a dark side.”<sup>2</sup> The fear of the Aro was so strong that in the early years of colonial rule, a British official observed that Igbo and non-Igbo groups in the hinterland still dreaded their Aro neighbors.<sup>3</sup> That fear

<sup>1</sup>K. O. Dike and F. Ekejiuba, *The Aro of Southeastern Nigeria, 1650-1980: A Study of Socio-economic Formation and Transformation in Nigeria* (Ibadan: University Press Ltd., 1990), 223-226.

<sup>2</sup>Kate Meagher, *Identity Economics: Social Networks and the Informal Economy in Nigeria* (Ibadan: Heinemann, 2010), 34.

<sup>3</sup>G. Ugo Nwokeji, “The Atlantic Slave Trade and Population Density: A Historical Demography of the Biafran Hinterland,” *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 34, no. 3 (2000): 633.

derived from the slave trade, which, as Inya Eteng argues, “left enduring hatred between the Aro and their war mercenaries, on one hand, and community-casualties of their slave raids, on the other.”<sup>4</sup> Apollos Nwauwa insists that the Aro owe “their notoriety” not only to what they did with their famous religious deity, Ibini Ukpabi, but also to their skill in the formation and operation of a network of trading oligarchy, mainly in human cargoes, especially in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>5</sup>

From the era of the slave trade in Igboland there remains “an ambivalent social attitude of most people of various Igbo sub-groups toward their Aro neighbors.”<sup>6</sup> This article discusses some of the factors that shaped this attitude toward the Aro within Igboland, and how in modern times a “dual image” of the Aro exists.<sup>7</sup> It attempts to establish the veracity and nature of this dual image, as well as its ethno-historical underpinnings. Aro participation in the Atlantic slave trade is an especially important point of reference particularly because the scale of their activities and involvement in the trade constituted a critical turning point in their relations with their neighbors.

### **Aro Relations with their Neighbors**

Decades before and after the fifteenth century, the southeastern region of Nigeria was characterized by great population movements, human settlements, and demographic changes resulting from migrations, raids, intra/ inter-ethnic squabbles, and various socio-economic tensions and challenges. Aro relations with the rest of their Igbo neighbors within this region can be interrogated in five important historical stages. The first was the pre-Atlantic stage. This stage, which began before 1400, was the period when the forces which led to the basic formation of the Aro demographic composition, their fascinating state or kingdom, and their economy were systematically coming into fruition through an elaborate network based on a combination of the various institutions of trans-local connections.<sup>8</sup> As K.O Dike and F. Ekejiuba note, early Aro demographic configuration and development

<sup>4</sup>Inya Eteng, *Onye Ajuru Aju Anaghi Aju Onwe Ya: Ndi Igbo in Post-Civil War Crisis of Disunity*, 2004 Ahiajoku Lecture (Owerri: Ministry of Information, 2004), 46.

<sup>5</sup>Apollos Nwauwa, “State Formation and Evolution of Kingship Revisited: A Case Study of the Origin of the Aro Kingdom,” in *Between Tradition and Change: Sociopolitical and Economic Transformation among the Igbo of Nigeria*, ed. Apollos Nwauwa and Ebere Onwudiwe (Glassboro: Goldline & Jacobs Publishing, 2012), 41.

<sup>6</sup>Ndu Life Njoku, “The Atlantic Slave Trade, Environmental Changes, and Human Migrations in West Africa: the Case of the Aro of Southeastern Nigeria,” *Igbo Studies Review* 1 (2013): 32.

<sup>7</sup>This is similar to the dual image of the Jews in English and American literature. See Jay L. Halio, ed., *The Merchant of Venice* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 4-5.

<sup>8</sup>Njoku, “The Atlantic,” 20-23; Nigerian National Archives, Enugu (hereafter, NNAE.) H. F. Mathews, ARODIV 20/1/15: Being the various accounts of Intelligence Reports on the Aro Clan, Arochukwu District, Calabar, 1927; A. Harneit-Sievers, *Constructions of Belonging: Igbo Communities and the Nigerian State in the Twentieth Century* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2006), 18-20.

economy derived, on the one hand, from an internal source, that is, from a series of small-scale migrations from the savanna fringes of the central plateau of the region, only to converge in the rainforests of the Cross River basin.<sup>9</sup> No doubt, this laid the foundation for the transformation of the Aro economy through the intensification of agriculture, competition for productive resources, and the growth of commerce. On the other hand, an external source of change derived mainly from the Atlantic slave trade, which also increased the momentum of internal migrations.

The second stage, which dates from about 1500, was that of the Atlantic slave trade. The Aro economy had developed before the Atlantic slave trade began, but the Atlantic trade was an important agent of change that contributed in developing the perceptions of the Aro by their neighbors. The slave trade era witnessed the emergence of the three-legged Aro trading oligarchy: the commercial, the diplomatic, and the cosmological/oracular. Positioned as the middleman in the Euro-African trade, and eager to meet the demand for captives by rising up to the challenge of tapping the thickly populated Igbo hinterland, the Aro entered into various alliances with neighboring communities, availing them to the sought-after European trade goods and procuring slaves in exchange. They not only used their dreaded oracle, the Ibini Ukpabi, to achieve their commercial goals, but also hired people of neighboring Igbo war-like clans of Abam, Ohafia, Edda, and Nike to assist them with captive-catching, expeditions, or raids, and to generally protect Aro interests and enforce their will whenever it was necessary to do so. The United States of America's domination of the modern world is similar to the Aro influence in the area. R. C. Njoku succinctly captures this:

As the US today controls the world with superior technology and military muscle, the Aro employed the use of their all-powerful oracle, known as the Ibinukpabia (Long Juju), and their military alliance with the Ohafia, Abam and Eda as instruments of fear and domination. The Aro-Ohafia-Abam-Edda military alliance, like the US-led North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), accorded the Aro the military muscle to threaten and often raid other communities who were opposed to their commercial and religious interests.<sup>10</sup>

Thus, the Aro emerged as the leading captive-recruiting merchant class of the region.<sup>11</sup> With the clear advantage they had over their neighbors, Aro traders seized and enslaved populations, grew wealthy by selling many slaves, while retaining

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<sup>9</sup>For details, see Dike and Ekejiuba, 31.

<sup>10</sup>R. C. Njoku, "Neoliberal Globalism in Microcosm: A Study of the Precolonial Igbo of Eastern Nigeria," *Mbari: The International Journal of Igbo Studies* 1, no. 1 (2008): 59.

<sup>11</sup>Martin Klein, "The Atlantic Slave Trade and Decentralized societies in West Africa," Public Lecture, Imo State University, Owerri, Nigeria, January 22, 2000, 11.

some for domestic use. By so doing, they were able to maintain and sustain a complex network of client-patron relationships across Igboland and beyond, with their Arochukwu homeland as the metropolis.

For the majority of people in the Igbo hinterland, the rise of the Atlantic slave trade led to high-level feelings of insecurity.<sup>12</sup> As a result of Aro- instigated raids, many villages either had their community life disrupted or simply ceased to exist. That European officers in latter-day colonial Nigeria filed reports about villages that had been “exterminated” or “almost exterminated”<sup>13</sup> suggests the prevalence of high incidences of raids to meet the demands of the trade, especially from the eighteenth century onward when the increasing demand in the Americas for African captives provoked changes in the interior of the Bight of Biafra.<sup>14</sup> At the end of such raids, “the practice then was for majority of survivors to seek refuge, for instance, in nearby hilly or forested locations, where, in some cases, they might try to set up brand new communities; it was also not unusual for some survivors to escape to their maternal home, that is, the land of birth of their mothers.”<sup>15</sup> Available evidence indicates that during this period when the business of slaving was the most lucrative business available, households across Igboland became prepared to migrate at a moment’s notice, to change occupation, residences, and social networks with little apparent hesitation.<sup>16</sup> The incessant sense of helpless preparedness and readiness to switch gears, in some cases, made the capacity to maintain recognizable and usable forms of collective solidarity and collaboration difficult. In the economic realm, the crisis which came in the wake of the Atlantic slave trade created major challenges related to maintaining the level of well-being for people of the non-exploiting classes at the lower ends of the slave market economy. Socially, the arrival of immigrants, European goods, and images that were perceived as “strange” created feelings of anxiety. Along with these were stories about cannibalism associated with the export trade, which created an atmosphere of fear and hatred for stranger elements, including the

<sup>12</sup>For details, see Njoku, “The Atlantic Slave Trade,” 26-28.

<sup>13</sup>NNAE., F. A. Goodlife, “Intelligence Report on the Otanzu, Okigwe Division, Owerri Province, 28935 CSE 1/1/5, 1933 & 1952; NNAE., I.R.P. Heslop, “Intelligence Report on the Nkalu Clan, Orlu District, Okigwe Division, Owerri Province, CSE 1/85/6197A, 1936.

<sup>14</sup>Njoku, “The Atlantic Slave Trade,” 27-29; see, also, Ndu Life Njoku, “Women’s Resistance against the Slave Trade in Igboland, Southeastern Nigeria,” *Ofo: Journal of Trans-Atlantic Studies* 2, no. 1 (June, 2012): 34.

<sup>15</sup>Udochukwu E. Akukwe, (retired teacher, now trader, age 81), interview with author, Umuejechi, Nekede, Owerri, Imo State, December 15, 2013.

<sup>16</sup>Chief Anthony Ogu, (trader, age 80), interview with author, Afor-Eziama Market, Ezianya, Ikeduru, Imo State, November 28, 2014.

Aro.<sup>17</sup> In the face of the challenges that these developments posed, however, the Aro still triumphed. Over time they established settlements in parts of non-Aro Igboland and beyond, with invitation in some cases, along with large quantities of assorted gifts, from those desirous of their presence.<sup>18</sup>

The third stage is that of legitimate trade which began about the last decade of the eighteenth century. For the generality of the people of southeastern Nigeria, this stage was a critical period of commercial transition from trade in “human cargo” to trade mainly in oil palm products. Particularly for the Aro, the picture and challenge this new stage presented, as Chima Korie points out, were such that “they were unable to monopolize the palm oil trade in the same way they had monopolized the slave trade. Unlike the slave trade, the production and marketing of palm oil were readily open to local competition since the oil could be produced by anyone who had access to the trees.”<sup>19</sup>

During this period of legitimate commerce the Aro struggled to smoothly transition to agricultural production, thus threatening their control of the better part of the southeastern regional market. The difficulties the Aro faced in making this shift, coupled with the threat to their regional dominance, underscores the viewpoint that in the period before the legitimate trade, the Aro economy was indeed driven by the slave trade.

It also gives credence to the crisis of adaptation view expressed by A. G. Hopkins and others in reference to the Aro in the context of the legitimate trade that opened up a new market economy.<sup>20</sup> However, that the transition diminished Aro control of trade did not mean a total collapse of their trading system. On the contrary, Aro hegemony did not end as they became active to some extent in the new palm produce trade in parts of the region by using old trading contacts, organizational skills, and capital accumulated during the slave trade. The stage of colonial rule saw a change in Aro regional position of dominance, with the proclamation by the British of a Protectorate over the whole of southern Nigeria in 1900. This political action automatically brought the Arochuku district within the Old Calabar Administrative Province. The British understood clearly that to consolidate power in the conquered areas, they had to undermine the Aro influence.

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<sup>17</sup>The initial story then was that those enslaved were taken to the coast for sale to *ndi Potokiri*, that is, people of Portugal, who would eat them up. Pa Nduka Clifford Opara (village elder, age: 85+), interview with author, Umuokoro, Achi Mbieri, Mbaitoli, Imo State, December 18, 2013; and Udochukwu E. Akukwe.

<sup>18</sup>Uche Ohia, *Patriotism and Community Development: A History of Arondizuogu Patriotic Union* (Aba: Silverduck, 2007), 6-7.

<sup>19</sup>Chima Korie, “The Nineteenth Century Commercial Transition in West Africa: The Case of the Biafran Hinterland,” *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 34, no. 3 (2000): 597.

<sup>20</sup>See, for example, the arguments of A. G. Hopkins as captured in Korie, 597-598.

As the British colonial officer, Colonel Moorhouse, put it: It was inevitable, in my opinion, that in the extension of the [British] Administration, there should be a conflict between the Government and the Aros in the conditions that existed at the time.” He insisted that “It was in order to break down the trade monopoly of the Aros far more than any missionary influence that the decision to open up the country was made.<sup>21</sup>

With colonial rule in place, the British embarked on an anti-Aro expedition between 1901 and 1902 during which they defeated the Aro. This defeat culminated in the destruction of their major source of influence - the Ibini Ukpabi oracle.<sup>22</sup> The defeat of the Aro and the destruction of their oracle paved the way for the gradual introduction of Christianity and Western culture into Arochukwu and the rest of the Igbo territory.<sup>23</sup> Although Western influence undermined Aro power in the region, the pre- conquest Aro-inspired migrations and intermingling yielded various forms of inter-group relationships between the Aro and their neighbors in the Igbo and even non-Igbo areas. Although Aro migrations and settlements had various long-lasting effects, the most prominent result is the permanent geographical dispersal of the Aro in various parts of Igboland and beyond, encapsulated in what is popularly referred to as the “Aro Diaspora.”<sup>24</sup> In spite of the many challenges which the Aro in the homeland and those “in Diaspora” had to face especially during the colonial era, quite a good number of them still distinguished themselves in the different areas they found themselves, often taking advantage of Western education to enhance their prestige. Such Aro sons as Mbonu Ojike, Alvan Ikoku, K. O. Mbadiwe, S. G. Ikoku, Reverend Inyama, to mention just a few, had the impact of their achievements felt in the post-colonial period in the fields of politics, education, and religion, among others.<sup>25</sup> However, to what can the Aro be said to owe their ascendancy in Igboland? Moreover, what generally were their capabilities? To these questions, we now turn.

### **Domains of Aro Influence and Capabilities in Igboland**

Aro traders were unarguably the driving-force behind Aro success and ascendancy in Igboland. The traders owed their reputation, influence, and dominance more to an accident of geographical location than to anything else. Arochukwu was

<sup>21</sup>Nigerian National Archives, Kaduna (NNAK), Minute dated 28/9/1920 attached to letter No. 2532 of 17/12/21 in the file Conf. NO.80/1920.

<sup>22</sup>The oracle, associated with immense religious and judicial powers, was the instrument of Aro commercial dominance in the Igbo country (and beyond): NNAE, ABADIST 20/1/3– Long Juju of Aro Report on, 1909-1923.

<sup>23</sup>NNAE, ARODIV, 20/1/15, 13; NNAE., ARODIV, 31/1/55, 15.

<sup>24</sup>Njoku, “The Atlantic,” 31-32; see Ohia, 6-8.

<sup>25</sup>Dike and Ekejiuba, 325-329.



strategically located around the Enyong Creek, which links it to the main artery of the Cross River system – “the highway by which ‘light and civilization’ would penetrate the remotest recesses of the *terra incognita* inhabited by the Ibo, the Ibibio and the Ogoja peoples.”<sup>26</sup> Therefore, it had the advantage of commanding the gateway into the densely peopled Igbo hinterland, apart from being within easy reach of the main southeastern Nigerian coastal ports. Thus, with a location that was favorable, the Aro naturally manipulated their geographical advantage to gain high economic status.

Aside from a favorable geographical location, the Aro had the advantageous influence of the authority of the widely famed Ibini Ukpabi oracle. The oracle conferred on the Aro the appellation “*Umu Chukwu*” (“Children of the high God”), making them almost untouchable as they traversed the length and breadth of the Igbo territory.<sup>27</sup> In addition, there was the Aro military alliance system which they relied on to protect their interests. They made use of the services of war-like neighboring Igbo clans who, even on short notice, served to ensure the protection of Aro interests in the region. Any analysis of the factors and strategies behind Aro success and dominant influence in Igboland is incomplete without recognizing the remarkable Aro spirit of enterprise and adventure, and their flexible social system embodied in the trinity of the trader, the diplomat, and the oracular agent. With their array of exotic wares, wherever the itinerant Aro trader paused, prominent men literally fell over each other to host him, and even tried to lure him to establish a resting place of sorts. Then, the readily available agent of the Aro oracle would act as a guide for consulting the oracle, and also serve as a guarantee for security along hazardous routes. Finally, the presence of the Aro diplomat was necessary for ending those inter-community feuds, which were adjudged unprofitable to Aro interest because of the challenges of insecurity they posed to travelers. Additionally, the presence of the diplomat was a known deterrent to attack from potential invaders because of both the fear of real or imaginary repercussion from the dreaded Aro oracle and the fear of the inevitable military reprisal that would certainly follow such action.<sup>28</sup>

The image of the Aro in Igbo development history hinged essentially on what constituted Aro sources of influence and capabilities, especially in the slave trade era. It is possible to present these in five distinct domains. The first is “the domain of human social capabilities.” This embodies Aro ability to apply common-sense

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<sup>26</sup>A. E. Afigbo, “Trade and Politics on the Cross River Basin, 1895-1905,” *Journal of the Historical Society of Ghana* xiii, no. 1 (1972): 21.

<sup>27</sup>Pa Michael Abiakam, (retired trader/village council elder, age 90+), interview with author, Ogonaluma, Umuoziri, Inyishi, Ikeduru, December 23, 2013; and Udochukwu E. Akukwe.

<sup>28</sup>Ohia, 6.

psychology in controlling the land and peoples of their homeland region. After mastering the regional land and river transportation network systems, Aro traders and diplomats divided the environment into two parts: the abode of “bush people,” whom they called *ndu mba ohia*, and the abode of “littoral people,” or *ndu mba mmiri*. While the “littoral people” consisted of all those who lived close to the coast, such as the Efiks and the Ijaws, “bush people” referred to those who lived in the hinterlands.<sup>29</sup>

Being in direct contact with the coast-based Europeans, the littoral communities were better armed and they were also largely organized under centralized political structures. Additionally, their men of authority occupied a strategic middleman position in the slave trade. By virtue of the geographic location of such communities, the Aro avoided raiding them for captives. Rather, exchange of trade goods, which included human cargo, and diplomatic cooperation with the leaders of these communities, mainly through the instrumentality of the Ibini Ukpabi, were the defining characteristics of the relationship between these communities and the Aro. On the other hand, seeing the “bush people” of the decentralized Igbo hinterland largely as people of “primitive tribes” that were very much uninformed about the goings-on in the coast-based Euro-African relations at the time, the Aro designated their abode as the main source of captive extraction. The abode of the littoral people was the main destination point of captives before shipment across the Atlantic. Little wonder then that the catchphrase for punishing a recalcitrant fellow in the Igbo hinterland during that period of insecurity was simply: *iresi ya ndi mba mmiri*;<sup>30</sup> that is, “to sell the fellow off to the littoral people” or people of the coast. Furthermore, the Aro, not insensitive to local cultural forms, were thoughtful and smart to appropriate and put to use the important element of trust, building it into their unequal social relations with their neighbors. To facilitate this, they dutifully adopted the dialect of their host. Moreover, in recruiting professional load carriers from host communities, the Aro relied on the advice of local men of authority, whose trust and confidence they earned and to whom they gave material presents, but also a promise to provide for the load carriers’ security/protection. In addition, they re-invented the institution of *Igbandu* (“blood pact”) to service their trade relations. Whereas *Igbandu* was originally used, for instance, to re-establish confidence between disputants, especially in kinship relationships, the itinerant Aro trader used it in forming friendships and alliances with alien groups.<sup>31</sup> In other words, they adapted the institution to establish strong links with non-Aro Igbo

<sup>29</sup>Pa Abiakam and Pa Opara.

<sup>30</sup>Udochukwu E. Akukwe and Pa Opara.

<sup>31</sup>For details, see, F. I. Ekejiuba, “Igba-Ndu: An Igbo Mechanism of Social Control and Adjustment,” *African Notes* VIII, no. 2 (1972): 9-24.

sub-groups, thereby making it possible for them to gain entry into areas where a forcible entry would disrupt trade by generating hostility or resistance. Thus, *Igbandu* removed the element of mutual suspicion, established confidence in the contracting parties, and made it obligatory for local chiefs and men of authority to keep trade routes open and secure for Aro traders to ply their business without hindrance.

Next is “the domain of economic capabilities” under which the Aro became the major purveyors of European trade goods, including the exotic/ luxury ones, such as gun and gunpowder, obtained from within the abode of the littoral people. With such goods, they endeared themselves to the elites in the abode of “bush people,” and stimulated differences in wealth and social status in these communities. For instance, the possession of a gun by an individual, and the firing of gunshots during ceremonies, such as funerals, soon became indicators of a high-level social status.<sup>32</sup> Thus, the Aro depended on the coast-bound export trade to generate luxury goods with which they increased their power and prestige vis-à-vis their neighbors. As a result of exposure to what was perceived by the standards of the time as “better things of life,” expectations were raised, and this “created in these areas a new class of men anxious to acquire wealth and titles – a class with whom the Aro also allied to extract captives through kidnapping and occasional raids.”<sup>33</sup> Therefore, Aro dominance was based on wealth accumulation through trade and military power, as is evident in the politico-legal domain

With the influence and authority conferred on them by their oracle, the Aro became key negotiators in local socio-political disputes, enthroning the justice system of their oracle in the abode of the so-called “bush people.” With time, the Aro justice system became fundamental to the social organization of people in various parts of the Igbo hinterland.<sup>34</sup> For instance, as an integral part of the traditional Igbo judicial system, consulting with the Ibini Ukpabi oracle at Arochukwu became an effective means of achieving genuine reconciliation and of re-establishing confidence between disputants whose relationship was so strained that normalcy was impaired. With their justice system installed, even without having to push ultimately for the acceptance of their political lordship, the Aro used the services of fighting allies to assert some quasi-political supremacy whenever the need arose. By the same token, however, the allies were also used to

<sup>32</sup>Chief Joseph Nduhuisi, (retired teacher, aged 75 years), interview with author, Obinkita, Arochukwu, Abia State, December 18, 2013; and Mazi Sunday Okoro, (retired teacher, aged 65 years), interview with author, Obinkita, Arochukwu, Abia State, December 18, 2014.

<sup>33</sup>Udochukwu E. Akukwe.

<sup>34</sup>See, for instance, NNAE, J.G.G. Allen, *Intelligence Report on the Ngwa Clan*, Vol. 1, 1933, 41; see, also Elizabeth Isichei, *A History of Igbo People* (London: Macmillan, 1976), 105; Pa Opara and Udochukwu E. Akukwe.

raid for captives in the abode of the “bush people.”

The importance of the Ibini Ukpabi in Aro ascendancy should not be overstressed. As much as the oracle was paramount in the imposition of Aro hegemony, it operated in perfect symbiosis with the great Aro commercial acumen: the utilization of contacts made in the course of promoting it to advance Aro commercial interests, and vice versa. As pointed out earlier, the ability of the Aro to impose their authority in Igboland also rested on their military prowess. The exercise of the ability to implement this policy was, however, guided by tact because, as Alan Burns explains, the Aro were not a military people but owed their power to their relatively great intelligence when compared with the neighboring groups.<sup>35</sup>

Under the “domain of culture and cosmology,” the Aro advertised their oracular power and propagated the *Ekpe/Okonko* society in many parts of Igboland,<sup>36</sup> using the cult members to further expand their commercial interests. Remarkably with time, the use to which the Aro put their oracle contributed in influencing or changing Igbo cosmology, having impacted the Igbo worldview, as Aro agents were often invited to different parts of Igboland to help to establish local shrines, or *Ihu Chukwu*, of the great *Chukwu*, the high God of the Igbo pantheon. For the Aro, the spirito- psychic field involving occultism and the use of charms was very useful in the very dangerous business of slaving. Though risky, under the effective protection of their dreaded oracle, and distinguished as “children of the high God,” the Aro confidently strutted from one community to the other, directing the procurement and movement of captives.

Finally, there was “the domain of the physical environment.” With no encumbrances, the Aro travelled and traded extensively in the course of which they built up a sequence of resting places stretched out as a trade diaspora along the trade routes. The subsequent proliferation of Aro settlements in pre-colonial Igboland was a corollary of these resting- places. According to David Northrup, the more important resting places gradually became trading centers, and finally Aro settlements.<sup>37</sup> From these trading centers, new settlements were, in turn, founded owing either to Aro initiative or the initiative of a local man of authority. This was the genesis of “Aro imperialism,” which became the

<sup>35</sup>Sir Alan Burns, *A History of Nigeria* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1978), 215.

<sup>36</sup>For information about the power of the *Ekpe* society, see NNAE File No. B 1680/15 J. N. Cheetam, “Report on Secret Societies,” 1915; see, also, John N. Oriji, “Transformations in Igbo Cosmology during the Slave Trade: A Study of the Genesis of Place-Names, Totems and Taboos,” in Nwauwa and Onwudiwe, eds., 106; and, F. Ekejiuba, “Aro Worldview: An Analysis of the Cosmological Ideas of Arochukwu People of Eastern Nigeria,” *West African Religion*, 8 (1970): 1-11.

<sup>37</sup>David Northrup, *Trade without Rulers: Pre-Colonial Economic Development in South-Eastern Nigeria* (London: Oxford University Press, 1978): 126.

foundation of effective Aro hegemony. Once a settlement was formed, as Uche Ohia notes, the Aro acquired landed property and took wives from among their host communities. Such affinities served both to ensure peaceful co-existence and to increase the size of Aro groups since, while freely marrying non-Aro women, the Aro men at the time never permitted their daughters to marry a non-Aro.<sup>38</sup>

Thus, the Aro migrated and settled permanently in choice or strategic parts of Igboland either to enable them advertise and promote the powers of their oracle, or simply to be better able, among other things, to tap captives from even the most isolated but well-populated hinterland communities. This strategy produced two types of Aro: “the *Aro-uno*,” the home-based Aro or those Aro who remained at home in Arochukwu, and “the *Aro-mba*” or “*Aro-Uzo*,” the Aro abroad or the Aro living outside the homeland.<sup>39</sup> In other words, the strategy led to the formation of Arochukwu confederacies, which maintained direct links with the Atlantic market even though they were not under any central authority.<sup>40</sup>

With the inception of colonial rule in Nigeria, most non-Aro Igbo, for fear of domination, became determined to halt Aro expansion into neighboring territories, an expansion that had been going on for hundreds of years. In many cases, the Diaspora Aro soon began to be treated as “aliens,” especially under the Native Lands Acquisition ordinances of the British colonial state, notwithstanding the number of generations for which they had been settled in non-Aro areas, or the means through which they acquired titles to land. In some cases, they were made not to acquire land, or alienate it, without the permission of their indigenous landlords.<sup>41</sup> In the final analysis, commercial reasons connected to the Atlantic trade were certainly not the exclusive motive for Aro migrations/settlement outside their immediate homeland, but they were, indeed, a powerful incentive for temporary or permanent movement of the Aro across the Arochukwu borders. They moved across their home borders in order to bridge different contexts in the commerce of the time, or, they just left Arochukwu as fortune-hunters in search of greener pastures elsewhere. Accordingly, Aro migrants can best be described as entrepreneurial pioneers, as bricoleurs making the best out of the changes associated with the trade of the Atlantic community. So, even though it is valid to say that the Atlantic trade did not shape or initiate Aro responses to changes in the region, it did set the parameters for the forms of change that took place in the area. For the Igbo hinterland area of southeastern Nigeria, migrations by a predatory group

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<sup>38</sup>Ohia, 7.

<sup>39</sup>Ibid.

<sup>40</sup>G. Ugo Nwokeji’s *The Slave Trade and Culture in the Bight of Biafra: An African Society in the Atlantic World* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

<sup>41</sup>Njoku, “The Atlantic,” 31-32.

like the Aro were undertaken to cope with environmental and demographic changes and demands occasioned by the slave trade and resistance to it. Thus, trade and environmentally instigated migrations resulted in the permanent geographical dispersal of the Aro in various parts of the Igbo territory and even beyond; but, for the same reason, they also form the background factors of what later led to their dual image.

### **Aro Dual Image**

In the context of ethno-history, the dual image of a people rests upon their achievements, exploits, and performance recognized as impacting favorably or profitably and otherwise on some other people or groups. The dual image of the Aro is a function of the level of their overall attainment rooted at all levels of their material, psychic, and spiritual being. At the exoteric level, it derives from a people's ethno-history and culture; that is, from the level of their material and non-material achievements, modes and methods of living, and the story which is told, or history which is written, about them.<sup>42</sup> Each group of people is a product of history. Their past has brought them to where they are today.

A dual image can be the attribute of an individual person or a group. An individual can have this image either as a result of what he has achieved as a person or by belonging to a group that has made a particular mark in human history because of its placement on the ladder of culture and civilization. Thus, a Mazi Nwachukwu Okoroafor of Arochukwu, even if he is a lily-livered fellow will attract, at least outside his Arochukwu homeland, the same dual image associated with an average Aro man because of the Aro exploits in the past. An individual achievement can be a freak occurrence, but a group's achievement can, and usually does, gel into a system or what we may call "culture and civilization."<sup>43</sup> Thus, for emphasis, the achievements and exploits of an individual cannot confer a dual image on a group, though a group's achievement/exploits can confer a dual image on a person who belongs to it, even if he was an outright failure. That an individual's exploits or achievements cannot give a group a dual image is like the old story or adage that a tree cannot make a forest, or one swallow makes a summer.

The exploits or achievements from which a dual image derives can fall into any of the following three fields of activity: i) mentifacts by which we mean mental constructs; ii) socio-facts or social institutions and usages; and iii) artifacts or tools for doing work. In the field of mentifacts are areas such as philosophy and ethics; in socio-facts things like religious, political, economic and legal

<sup>42</sup>A. I. Nwabughuogu, "Ugwu Ndi Igbo in the Nigerian Nation State," *Ugwu Abia* (Umuahia: Ministry of Information, 2000): 33-34.

<sup>43</sup>A. E. Afigbo, "Ugwu Isi Oji or the Blackman in the Context of Global Civilization," *Ugwu Abia*, (Umuahia: Ministry of Information, 2000): 59.

systems, social life and values, language, etc., count; and artifacts are such things as material tools for getting things done. Put in simpler terms, human social achievements and exploits can be compartmentalized into two large fields, the spirito-psychic and the mental-material fields. For pre-colonial Igboland, especially in the heydays of the Atlantic slave trade, the spirito-psychic field, which includes occult and oracular powers, was, in a sense, almost the exclusive playing turf of the Aro through the instrumentality of their Ibini Ukpabi oracle. With this oracle, Aro cosmological influence in the context of their relations with communities in the Igbo hinterland, for example, spread out to take Igboland (*nay*, the south-eastern region) by storm.

Even though the mental-material field, in this case, Western science and technology, was the private domain of the West, the Aro were at least among the first of the hinterland southeastern Nigerian peoples to have a toehold claim in this field through their middleman position in the trans- Atlantic trade. Aro acquisition, through trade with Europeans at the coast of items such as gun and gun powder, umbrella, narrow, etc., at a fairly early historical age paid off for them as it constituted part of the secret of the dazzling successes they recorded in their many-sided relations with the rest of the Igbo. This trade, indeed, set the foundation for their early superior positive and popular image in Igboland, which became an important basis of their domination of the region. It is possible, now, to highlight some crucial aspects of this domination, which are germane to the issue of an Aro dual image in the area.

Igboland was predominantly a decentralized society whose growth and development, given the overall impact of the slave trade, was not in any way promoted by internal Aro exploitation for captives. Decentralized societies were victims rather than predators within the Atlantic slave system. There were two kinds of decentralized societies in the context of the slave trade: those raided by outsiders and those internally exploited for captives. Igboland fell into the second category. At no time did any neighboring non-Igbo group directly raid the Igbo for captives.<sup>44</sup> Together with their allies, the Aro did. They masterminded the raiding of communities and sub-groups, especially in the Igbo hinterland, but were themselves never raided. To fall into the hands of an internal group of predators was, for all intents and purposes, worse than to be raided by outsiders. Aro-led internal exploitation of their own ethnic group proved quite disastrous for Igboland. Thus, by the middle of the 18th century the area had become one of the most important sources of slaves for the Euro-African trade.<sup>45</sup>

Further, it may well be that the internal Aro predatory role was mainly

<sup>44</sup>Njoku, "Women's Resistance," 33.

<sup>45</sup>Northrup, chapters 1-3.

responsible for the existence of the village-type political structure in most parts of Igboland, such as outside Oguta, Onitsha, and parts of western Igboland. The Aro strategy of internally exploiting and tapping Igboland inch by inch weakened societal solidarity and undermined any successful anti-slave resistance. With the Aro strategy of instigating inter- and intra-group squabbles, resistance could not be possible in the absence of a centralized authority.<sup>46</sup> The strategy may have exposed the Aro to the generally advantageous small-scale political organization of non-Aro Igbo communities, which, at the time, they may have found suitable, at least in the short run, for their captive extraction business. But, in the long run, such a strategy also discouraged the game-changing move towards political centralization. As Kate Meagher rightly avers, Aro “predatory relationship with the Igbo hinterland, which involved the encouragement of slave raiding and other institutions of slave procurement, may have contributed to their inability to consolidate their extensive coordinating role into the formation of a centralized state.”<sup>47</sup> In any case, the fact remains that, tapping one village after another was, *par excellence*, the Aro “divide and rule” policy, or a “divide and *enslave*” tactic, suitable to their slaving business since it kept local units fragmented and therefore vulnerable.

The Aro, whose own in-built and self-perpetuating rationale for acquiring wealth through slaving activities was to see it more as a means of exchange than as means of production, contributed in building the foundations of a spineless feudalism in pre-colonial Igboland. They first led the way in inoculating the Igbo with the virus of a *nouveau appetite* for European trade goods, leading, in the end, to the “de-industrialization” of the indigenous economy.<sup>48</sup> Next, they stimulated differences in wealth among the Igbo in a manner that paved way for a rabid acquisitive propensity and instigated the commoditization of “everything around them and the commercialization of life” leading to “the rise of mercenary instinct in a good number of the people.”<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>46</sup>It is obvious that the Aro preferred that the fragmented polities of Igboland remained decentralized and bound together by social and economic institutions, which Elizabeth Isichei in *A History of the Igbo People* (London: Macmillan, 1976) describes as “a dense network of tiny capillary veins,” 67.

<sup>47</sup>Meagher, 32.

<sup>48</sup>For details on some local industries that were affected, see NNAE, ABADIST 9/1/1303– Akwete Cloth Weaving, Aba Division, D.O. Aba to the Resident, Owerri Province, Umuahia, 18 June, 1947; NNAE OP. 1760 Vol. 1, Local Industries Ondist 12/1/1224; and NNAE Memo No. NS. 810/16 of May 31, 1938, from D.O. Nsukka to Senior Resident, Onitsha Province; according to P. A. Talbot, the “export trade in (local) cloth flourished until the third quarter of the nineteenth century, whence it gradually declined owing to great expansion in the import of Manchester goods.” P. A. Talbot, *The Peoples of Southern Nigeria: A Sketch of their History, Ethnology and Languages with an Abstract of the 1921 Census* Vol. 3 (London: Frank Cass, 1969), 941.

<sup>49</sup>Victor Ukaogo, “Clapping with One Hand, Sleeping with One Eye: Repositioning the Igbo Agenda in a Competitive and Globalizing World,” *Igbo Studies Review*, 1 (2013): 111.



Under the influence of the Aro, accumulating captives and selling them off into slavery became the much sought-after occupation in order to “get-rich quick” and as a means to provide revenue to purchase European goods. Domestically, it even became a class status symbol to acquire captives and use them as slaves. In fact, the growth of the local Aro-driven slave trade created sinister opportunities for capital accumulation by the elite, but also imposed burdens on the agricultural economy because of the undue emphasis on the enslavement process, the institutionalization of slavery, and the neglect of the subsistence sector due to the heightened commoditization of human beings.<sup>50</sup> Thus, the Aro may be the precursors of “the negative entrepreneurial spirit that is today legendary and proverbial in Igboland.”<sup>51</sup>

In the area of cosmology, the proliferation of oracular deities in pre-colonial Igboland is traceable to the Aro. Monday Noah’s research shows that “the Long Juju,” as visiting Europeans nicknamed the Aro oracle, was specifically designed or re-designed for the commoditization of human beings, and might have been the largest single vault in the region “where human beings were held awaiting shipment.”<sup>52</sup> Dike also considers the Aro oracle as the medium through which the captives exported from the ports of the Niger Delta were largely recruited, and estimates that half or more of the slaves exported from this region had passed through its mysterious portals.<sup>53</sup> As we noted earlier, the influence of the Ibini Ukpabi contributed in changing Igbo cosmology, with deities and shrines mushrooming in different parts of Igboland as if in emulation of the Aro. Yet, the influence of the Aro oracle continued to dwarf other oracles such as the Igwekala of Umunoha, the Ogbunorie of Ifakala, the Amadioha of Ezianya, the Agbala of Awka, the Kamalu of Ozuzu, etc.<sup>54</sup> Given the foregoing, it may be difficult to rule out that, considering the extent of their cosmological impact on the rest of Igboland, the Aro may also have laid the institutional foundations of ritual slavery, or the Osu caste system, in parts of the Igbo hinterland.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>50</sup>Njoku, “The Atlantic,” 28-29; this was in spite of the fact that the Aro brought new crops, such as *Ede Aru* – a special type of cocoyam allegedly introduced in Igboland by them (the Aro), as its name suggests. Pa Opara.

<sup>51</sup>Ukaogo, 111.

<sup>52</sup>Monday Noah, *Old Calabar: The City-States and the Europeans* (Uyo: Scholars Press, 1980), 75.

<sup>53</sup>K. O. Dike, *Trade and Politics in the Niger Delta, 1830-1885* (London: Oxford University Press, 1956), 40-41.

<sup>54</sup>For the role of the oracles in integrating Igboland, see Simon Ottenberg, “Ibo Oracles and Inter-group Relations,” *South-western Journal of Anthropology*, xiv (1958): 295-317; Interview with Mr. Harrison Nwachukwu, aged 78 years, retired civil servant, Umunah, Orlu Local Government Area, Imo State, 21/12/2013.

<sup>55</sup>The evidence on the institution of Osu “suggests that it is of relatively recent origin, and adopted its present form in the era of the trans-Atlantic slave trade;” see, Isichei, 6.

The Aro art of long distance trading, as well as their habit of migrating, settling, and integrating into host societies have had a demographical impact on the greater part of non-Aro Igboland, resulting in high population densities, population re-configuration, the fear of domination on the part of host communities, and land disputes. The ripples of some of these may have worsened the negative image of the Aro. But, the Aro spirit of enterprise and adventure which manifested in their art of long distance trading also manifested in the Diaspora Aro's habit to contribute meaningfully to the development of host society, while not forgetting their homeland. On another front, the Igbo, now well-known for their presence in virtually all parts of the civilized world, would appear to have emulated or copied the Aro spirit of enterprise and adventure. Shrewd and resourceful, the pre-colonial Aro had led the way in introducing local institutional mechanisms, such as armed convoys, organized rest houses, marital alliances, fictive kinship, and indigenous credit system, for overcoming the risks and lightening the burden of long distance trade in the then fragmented and insecure pre-European political environment of Igboland and environs. It has therefore been rightly argued that the rapid expansion of the Igbo diasporas was a product not only of population pressure at home, but of the prior development of social "blueprints for migration" in pre-colonial Igbo social organization.<sup>56</sup> The organization of traders and fortune hunters into itinerant groups created a framework for migration that did not rupture linkages between migrants and their home areas. Pre-colonial institutions requiring the annual return of migrants to their home town for festivals were well established among the Aro, and spread to other Igbo groups with the passage of time.<sup>57</sup> According to a study on entrepreneurs in Nnewi, which was a commercial Igbo town, "systems of apprenticeship also followed a diasporic pattern, in which masters settled apprentices in other parts of Nigeria in order to widen their networks and avoid problems of oversupply in a given area."<sup>58</sup>

Thus, what is now the Igbo diaspora began, in a very real sense, in the pre-colonial era as the Aro trade diaspora in order to benefit maximally from the slave trade. The Aro successfully colonized strategic trade routes and places in non-Aro Igboland and beyond in their own form of Aro *lebensraum*, if you will.<sup>59</sup> Clearly, the Aro were successful, in part, because their trade diaspora was not tied to the apron strings of the political agenda of an expansionist state. To some extent, therefore, they were the precursors of what one may now refer to as the modern globalization of the Igbo, continuing, as it were, from where it stood following

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<sup>56</sup>Meagher, 41.

<sup>57</sup>Ibid.

<sup>58</sup>Ibid.

<sup>59</sup>Njoku, "The Atlantic," 28-32; Ohia, 4-8.

the abolition of the slave trade.

Finally, the character of Anglo-Aro relations during the period of colonial conquest, and the nature of Aro resistance influenced Anglo-Igbo relations for the better part of the colonial period. Unlike the majority of the rest of the Igbo sub-groups, the Aro perceived rather quickly that the presence of the British posed a great threat to their economic interests.<sup>60</sup> Although they realized the military superiority of the British, the Aro believed that they were clever enough to outwit them:

They decided therefore to engage in endless negotiations while, at the same time, determined not to yield an inch of territory to the British. Employing to the fullest that Aro capacity for sweet but tortuous double-talk, they got the British bogged down in fruitless negotiations for five years. It was not until 1899 that the British were able to see through the Aro game and decided on military conquest. The experience left a decided impression on the British about the Igbo.<sup>61</sup>

Because of the nature of Anglo-Aro relations, the British and the Igbo never really came to love each other, even if there existed until the end of colonial rule a certain uneasy type of admiration between them. Aro predatory relationships with the rest of the Igbo, which involved the encouragement of raiding and other institutions of captive procurement, impacted Igboland. However adventurous, enterprising, and materially successful the Aro were through their key role in the slave trade in Igboland, the flipside is that their ascendancy and influence are irrevocably tied to the unpleasant memory of a remarkable aspect of brutal Igbo history.

## Conclusion

This article has shown that the dual image of the Aro is traceable to the central role they played in the slave trade in Igboland, the memory of which lingers in the

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<sup>60</sup>A British colonial officer captured an important part of the Aro economic interest during this period as the phenomenon of “clandestine slave dealing, especially in small children,” being an internal trade which the British needed to get “automatically and completely suppressed.” For details see NNAE., CSE 1/85/2924, EP 5279, vol. 1 Williams, acting Secretary, Southern Provinces, to Governor, December 13, 1939; and, NNAE., CSE 1/85/2924, EP 5279, Vol. 1 Chief Secretary for the government, February 5, 1924.

<sup>61</sup>G. N. Uzoigwe, “Ndi-Igbo in Modern Nigerian History,” unpublished manuscript. The slave trade and the Aro oracular practices persisted for more than a decade after their formal elimination, leading to a second destruction in 1912. In fact, it took several decades of repression and punitive sanctions to dismantle the economic systems and sanctioning powers of Aro-centered commercial organization. See A. E. Afigbo, *Ropes of Sand: Studies in Igbo History and Culture* (Ibadan: Ibadan University Press, 1981). On the doggedness with which the British colonial administration hunted down the agents of the Aro see, also, A. E. Afigbo, “The Eclipse of the Aro Slaving Oligarchy 1901-1927,” *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria* 6, no. 1 (Dec. 1971): 3-24.

consciousness of many Igbo people in southeastern Nigeria. The Aro dominance of pre-colonial Igboland was notoriously based on the cold logic of their built-in and self-perpetuating rationale for acquiring wealth through infamous slaving activities. That the slave trade could and did develop in the context of the southeastern Nigerian hinterland despite the absence of a strong centralized power was largely because of the Aro factor. Within the context of the Atlantic economy, it is to their credit that the lack of a central government in Igboland during this period did not prevent the formation of a complex commercial network, one that remarkably was, in part, supported by private enterprise dominated by the Aro people. Aro trade merchants were successful as cultural brokers who connected small Igbo communities to the wider world. With great wealth amassed in the process, the Aro were emboldened by their achievements and came to refer to themselves as “Aro *oke-Igbo*” (“Aro – the great Igbo” or “Aro – the male Igbo”); and they were reverentially regarded throughout precolonial period as “the government” of that period.<sup>62</sup> The respect accorded to the Igbo by their neighbors was due in part to Aro economic, religious, and military power. The Aro oracle commanded respect that extended to Isoko, Urhobo, Idah, and Idoma.<sup>63</sup> A German Doctor, Hermann Koler, reported in

1840 that the dominance of the Igbo language in the southeastern region and the respect neighboring societies had for the Igbo had to do with the Aro-driven trade of the Igbo and their warlike nature.<sup>64</sup>

Yet, one cannot account for the many-sided setback of Igboland as a result of the slave trade without the unsavory realization that it has much to do with the predatory role of one of its very own sub-groups. The Aro remain a critical aspect of the unpleasant memories of inter-group relations in pre-colonial Igboland. The place of the Aro in the pre-colonial history of Igboland can be better explained in the context of a successful creation of a network of an exploited people connected to the Atlantic economy. This is so because the Atlantic Ocean, and with it the Atlantic economy, redefined Igboland, and on this ocean a trauma is inscribed.

One aspect of the aftermath of pre-colonial Aro activities in Igboland is that many Igbo sub-cultural groups tend to loathe the Aro presence to the extent of abhorring relating closely with them and even forbidding marital ties with them. As one oral informant cynically put it, “Even if we now have started trusting the

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<sup>62</sup>Ohia, 5 and 7.

<sup>63</sup>Nwabughuogu, 35.

<sup>64</sup>Hermann Koler, “Bonny and Igboland in 1840,” reproduced in Elizabeth Isichei, *Igbo Worlds* (London: Macmillan, 1977), 14-17.

Aro, the demon in them we do not trust!”<sup>65</sup> Those who refuse to trust the Aro have continued to harbor anti-Aro sentiments; they continue to view their presence with suspicion, easily justifying their attitude by evoking memories of “what they regard as the treacherous Aro activities in the age of the Atlantic trade of the not-too distant past.”<sup>66</sup> Nonetheless, there are still people across Igboland that are convinced that Aro socio-economic ascendancy in the area, far from constituting a disaster, was an unmitigated blessing. To this group, the Diaspora Aro have been whole-heartedly accepted in their midst as their kith and kin, having lived in their host communities for decades, if not centuries. This has often been portrayed by statements such as: “*Ndi Aru bu Bekee mbu anyi ma; ha weteere anyi ihie,*”<sup>67</sup> which translates to “The Aro were the first Europeans/white men we knew; they brought us civilization.”

The introduction of the slave trade marked a great turning point in the history of Igboland. The Aro participation in the trade had some positive, though mainly negative, repercussions for the Igbo people, who still evoke memories of its impact. Studying the Aro-Igbo aspect of the long history of the trade and its repercussions advances a better understanding of the interplay of international and local socio-economic dynamics in intra/inter-group relations. For in Igboland, inter-group relations over these centuries were not overtly guided by the alliance of coercion and capital.<sup>68</sup> On the whole, the study analyzes the role of the Aro in the slave trade in Igboland and the reason for the kind of memory it evokes in contemporary social relations among groups in the area. Additionally, it reveals how a particular understanding of the tensions and complexities of a critical aspect of the Igbo present is embedded in the past.

### Acknowledgments

This article is based on the materials the author collected during archival and oral fieldwork research in parts of the south-eastern Nigerian hinterland from November 2013 through January 2015. The author is grateful to Johnson Ndubuisi, Theodore Obinna Iyala and Solomon S. Duru for helping in various ways in making the study a reality.

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<sup>65</sup> Anonymous informant. One, however, thinks that the so-called “demon in the Aro” is all about their shrewdness and ability to succeed against all odds.

<sup>66</sup> Njoku, “The Atlantic,” 32.

<sup>67</sup> Pa Opara.

<sup>68</sup> Charles Tilly, *Coercion, Capital, and European States, AD 990-1982* (Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell, 1992).

### **Notes on Contributor**

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