



Interpreting Women's History with Museum Sources: An Experience in a Nigerian Museum

INTERPRETER L'HISTOIRE DES FEMMES AVEC DES SOURCES DE MUSEE: UNE EXPERIENCE DANS UN MUSEE DU NIGERIA

Winifred E. Akoda^{1,*}

¹Ph.D. Department Of History/Int'L Studies, University Of Calabar, Calabar, Nigeria

*Corresponding author.

Email: winiakoda@yahoo.co.uk

Received 10 September 2011; accepted 15 November 2011

Abstract

Until recently, the history of women had remained largely neglected in a male dominated society. Thanks to women like Mary Bread and Gerda Lerner who laid the foundation for women's history to be studied and documented. Works focusing on women gradually swelled bookshelves especially from the nineties of the last century. Some of these scholars, Marion Arnord (1997); Eva Rosander (1997); Nnaemeka and Korieh (2011) have promoted women's history and placed their roles in correct perspective. This paper, realizing the imbalance in documenting women's history with museum sources is an attempt at promoting, documenting, and placing in proper perspectives the history of women through the relics found in Jos Museum, Nigeria. The research concludes with an agitation for a Museum of Women's History to inspire other women to create their own history. It also applauds women for their commitment to the economic, social and political transformation of their societies.

Key words: The history of women; Imbalance; Museum sources; Political transformation

Résumé

Jusqu'à récemment, l'histoire des femmes était restée largement négligée dans une société dominée par les hommes. Merci à des femmes comme Marie Pain et Gerda Lerner qui ont jeté les bases de l'histoire des femmes à être étudiés et documentés. Travaux axés sur les femmes progressivement gonflé étagères en particulier des années nonante du siècle dernier. Certains de ces savants,

Marion Arnord (1997); Eva Rosander (1997); Nnaemeka et Korieh (2011) ont promu l'histoire des femmes et placé leurs rôles dans une perspective correcte. Ce document, en réalisant le déséquilibre de la documentation de l'histoire des femmes avec des sources de musée est une tentative de promotion, la documentation, et en plaçant dans la perspective appropriée de l'histoire des femmes à travers les vestiges trouvés dans Jos Museum, au Nigeria. La recherche conclut avec une agitation d'un Musée de l'histoire des femmes à inspirer d'autres femmes à créer leur propre histoire. Elle applaudit également aux femmes pour leur engagement pour la transformation économique, sociale et politique de leurs sociétés.

Mots clés:

L'histoire des femmes; Déséquilibre; Sources de Musée; Transformation Politique

Winifred E. Akoda (2011). Interpreting Women's History with Museum Sources: An Experience in a Nigerian Museum. *Canadian Social Science*, 7(6), 201-206. Available from: URL: <http://www.cscanada.net/index.php/css/article/view/j.css.1923669720110706.176> DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.3968/j.css.1923669720110706.176>

INTRODUCTION

In the last three decades, there has been a growing corpus of literature on women's history. Haleh Afshar's *Women And Politics In The Third World* (1996); Marie Maman and Thelma Tate's *Women in Agriculture* (1996); Marion Arnords, *Women and Arts in South Africa* (1997); Estelle Freedman's *Feminism, Sexuality and Politics* (2006) and Dayo Gore's *Radicalism at the Crossroads: African American Women Activists in the Cold War* (2011) all highlight the role of women in transforming their societies through their political, social and economic activities. In spite of these contributions to Women History, however, documenting the history of women with museum sources has not been given sufficient attention.

The role of Museums all over the world in documenting and preserving the cultural heritage of mankind through the relics found in them cannot be over-emphasized. Yet, reconstructing the history of women with museum sources, especially in Africa, proves to be a herculean task since the history of women is usually seen as an appendage of men's history thereby resulting in their meagre documentation.

Accordingly, this work attempts to document the history of women, with emphasis on Nigerian women, through the relics adorning the Jos museum, located in central Nigeria.

The Jos Museum

The Jos museum located in Jos, central Nigeria is the second largest and second oldest museum in Nigeria after the Esie museum. It houses works in archaeology, ethnology, Benin – Ife works, Nok Terra – Cotta figurines, pottery and traditional architecture. (Arduin, 1995, p.50-52). Established in 1952 through the initiative of K. C. Murray and B. E. B. Fagg, the museum was for many years the headquarters of the Federal Department of Antiquities until it was moved to Lagos.

Two very important factors clearly necessitated the establishment of the Jos museum. They included the discovery of mineral deposits, largely tin ore which gave Jos its name 'Tin City,' and the discovery of the Nok Terra- Cotta figurines in Southern Zaria in 1944 (National Museum, Jos, 1978, p.56). The various sections in the Museum include the gallery/ exhibition halls, pottery workshop, Museum store, laboratory, transport exhibition ground, craft shop, Museum library and the zoo amongst others.

Relics such as sculptures, graphics paintings, textiles and crafts exhibited in the Museum gallery cut across major ethnic groups in Nigeria and demonstrate the artistic ingenuity of the Nigerian people. Ethnic groups represented include the Hausa, Fulani, Nupe, Jukun, Igala and Edo. From the carved Igbo, Idoma and Ibibio face masks, the Benin and Ife bronze casting, the Hausa and Yoruba musical instruments, and the Fulani and Jukun traditional attires, the Jos Museum displays Nigerian cultures and architecture in unique styles. These artistic expressions leave no one in doubt about the similarities existing in the diversity of Nigeria's multi- ethnic nation. The gallery also houses stone artifacts such as axes of the Oldowan industry, Archeulian industry, and Sangoan industry. The Terra Cotta human figurines of the Nok culture are also on display mostly in head forms.

SOURCES OF WOMEN'S HISTORY AT THE JOS MUSEUM

Material relics that depict the female gender especially in carved forms constitute part of the Jos Museum exhibits. Similarly, instruments highlighting the vocation of women

are proudly displayed in the gallery and tell the history of women in their cultural milieu.

These exhibits clearly illustrate that women constitute a vibrant part of the Nigerian populace playing vital roles in the political, economic and religious life of their multifarious societies as illustrated in the neatly arranged gallery of the Jos Museum.

A female Igbo carving with *Ichi* decoration is one of such monuments in the museum gallery. *Ichi* decoration (on women's body), depicted title or honour bestowed on women who exhibited exceptional qualities and exercised significant roles in the society. Female advisers, traditional midwives, women representatives or even those blessed with exceptional fertility were usually accorded recognition in their communities with titles signifying their contributions to their society. In parts of Onitsha, titled women have their wrists, arms and ankles adorned with elephant tusks reflecting the strength of the mammal (Goge Africa, Nigerian Television Authority Documentary (N.T.A.) Lagos). Also revered are the Umuada (first born daughters) in Igboland and Adiaha among the Efik people of Southern Nigeria. In Northern Nigeria, the role of the Magira (Queen Mother) as a member of the Emir's Kitchen cabinet and a major adviser to the Emir cannot be over-emphasized.

From all indications, women in Africa were not altogether passive in the political socio-economic and religious spheres of their diverse societies. As observed above, titled women played major political roles as advisers to elderly men. As traditional midwives, women were the local gynecologists and during the colonial era, made several attempts to prevent colonial infiltration to their area of influence as in the Cameroon's (Lynn Schler, 2004, p.319). Oliver and Aujoulat acknowledged their expertise in traditional medicine where they made use of plants and herbs to induce labour and speed up contractions (Lynn Schler, 2004, p.325). It has been maintained that, although traditional healing was a profession on both sexes, more often, women practitioners were charged with handling children and other women's medical needs.

Based on these attributes and their contribution to societal development, the Igbo of South – eastern Nigeria find it befitting to honour outstanding women with *Ichi* decorations as represented in the carving.

The Jukun speaking people occupy the area known as Wukari in the present Taraba State of modern Nigeria. Among these people, women are indispensable parts of their religious life. The Jukun believe in the existence of a supreme being, "*Chido*", as portrayed in feminine terms. *Chido* is approached through Ama (a female deity) and other intermediary deities, and offerings made in her shrine. The carved image of Ama is visible in the museum gallery. Among other Nigerian ethnic groups, the religious significance of women in their domain cannot be sufficiently stressed as delineated in the

image of goddesses such as the goddess of fertility. For instance, among the Efik of Calabar there is the existence of one supreme god (*Abasi*) who is venerated through an intermediary deity (*Ndem Efik*) or (water deity) as conceived in feminine terms (Akoda, 1999, p.89). The monarch of the divinity, *Ekanyin* (our divine mother) when consulted by spiritualists, gives blessings to the people and children to the barren (Akak, 1982, p.293).

Although women, in traditional Africa, have sometimes been presented as the weaker of the two genders, yet many possess mystical powers as evident from the Gelede Masks, another relic in the Jos Museum which depicts the mystic powers of women embodied in *Aje* (a word referring to witches and also to women and mothers). The mask is worn on the head by members of the *Gelede* society in Yoruba land and parts of the republic of Benin. Membership of this society is open to both sexes although many of the important offices are vested in women (National Museum Jos, 1978, p.33), a situation which symbolizes the influence of women in exercising authority. Among the Ibibio of Southern Nigeria, women wield great influence through associations like "*Iban Isong*" and '*Ebre*,' where they exercise uncontrollable power over their male counterparts and ensure that domestic violence/disputes between couples are curtailed through their intervention. Similarly, Efik women have significant functions that were clearly designated for them during the coronation ceremony of a new monarch (Obong). Men could not perform these roles and as a result, a monarch could not be installed without their active participation. From the foregoing, the idea of women as a subjected race formerly upheld by some scholars is extinct. Mary Bread who (1876-1958) started the idea of Women Studies in her work *Women as a Force in History* argued against women as the weaker or subjected race. Among Nigerian groups, women played very significant roles in their societies and wielded much influence as to transform their societies, economically, socially and otherwise. Only, these were not sufficiently stressed in a male dominated African society.

The Jos Museum also displays relics associated with womanhood which captures the history, social life and vocation of the female gender confirming that they were full participants in trade, agricultural and manufactures.

Textile manufacturing which is of great importance to mankind and society constitutes the bulk of women's economic activity in Nigeria because it was an indoor activity and could be accomplished at home, and with domestic equipments. Some of these textiles are the most outstanding cultural artifacts that can be viewed in the Museum. These fabrics, which are locally produced with hand spun cloth (loom) differ in their techniques of production, colour and styles. From the *Adire* cloth used by the Yoruba, to the *Akwete* by the Igbo and *Ogodogo* used by the Tiv/ Idoma, these textiles reveal the diversity in Nigerian culture and artwork as well as the rich artistic heritage of a heterogeneous Nigerian society. Wrappers

of all designs and styles for domestic purposes, festive occasions and those associated with ritual events such as funerals, have added self esteem, brought prestige and value to those that adorn them. Yet the significance of textiles to mankind cannot be sufficiently stressed.

According to Finch and Putman, a history of textiles is virtually a history of civilization, for man all over the world has made textiles from the earliest times (Finch and Pitman, 1977, p.13). P. J. Shea further justified the importance of textiles and its industry by stating that it "stimulated cultural and technological changes as well as brought about movements of people between different areas" (Shea, 1975, p.53). Similarly, the historical importance of textiles as presented by Afigbo is that it shows societal happenings/ changes, past, present and future (Afigbo, 1998, pp.11-20).

From all manifestations and various researches embarked upon by this writer, women formed the bulk of participants in the manufacturing industry, and therefore can be regarded as agents or vanguards of change in their abode. They can be said to contribute greatly in ensuring a vibrant and non-static Nigerian society. A reference point can be made using the Idoma women whose contribution to the successful manufactures of the local *Ogodogo* cloth cannot be in doubt. Agada had analyzed the three stages involved in the production of the cloth as the ginning, carding and spinning, and women usually partook in the ginning which implies removing seeds from cotton balls. They were also engaged in the fiber preparation as well as weaving/spinning because this was an indoor activity which enabled them to care for their families (Agaba, 2007, p.188). Nurudeen Abubakar has also acknowledged the role of Hausa women in manufactures (with emphasis on textile industry too) when he stated that "the spinning of cotton was an acknowledged preserve of women." (Abubakar, 2007, p.220).

Salt production was also a dominant industry among the 'Chadic' speakers of the Jos Plateau. This industry was traditionally women's activity. As Fwatshak has stated, "shem" (cultural salt) was not only used for food preparation, but had various medicinal values. It was used for ritual purposes and was an item of exchange among the local population. The scholar explained further that every practitioner claimed to have learnt salt production through their "mothers or mother in-law ..," (Fwatshak, 2007, p.263), suggesting that it was an all female affair – a manifestation of the commitment of the female gender to the economic upliftment of their communities.

The domestic sector of every Nigerian home is usually the responsibility of the female members. This has been illustrated in the series of traditional household utensils which every community fashions out based on its need and on available materials in the locality. These utensils are of different shapes, sizes, colours, designs and craftsmanship (see Jos Museum gallery). Although some of these domestic apparatus serve social, religious, ceremonial,

storage and preservation purposes, they are essentially utilitarian and have both functional and aesthetic values. Such utensils are various exhibited in the Museum gallery. They include calabash containers used for carrying the local milk (*Nono*) when engaged on a distant journey. Called *Montol* among the Shendam people, this devise is indispensable to the female traders of Northern Nigeria origin. The calabash spoons, *Makamfaci* (in Hausa) used for decorating the home, the wood stool for sitting, the straw broom for sweeping, and the straw tray used for drying foodstuffs in the sun are clearly showcased in the Museum gallery and simply illustrate the technological and artistic skill of Nigerian women. Similarly, the wooden carrier (*naraguta*) used for carrying all kinds of load as well as the clay pots (*Kateni*) for cooking meals while on a stand, all attest to the indispensable role of women in the manufacturing industry, and their commitment in laying a solid foundation for a greater technological advancement.

Among the Eggon people of Nassarawa State, pottery is known to be an exclusive preserve of the women folk which is passed from mother to daughter and from generation to generation (Azgaku, 2007, p.248). This vocation engages women between the ages of thirty and sixty. The Eggon pottery which is usually painted red on black perform different functions such as food storage and cooking (pots); for planting flowers and beautification (vases); for storing and preserving jewelries (Trinket boxes); for drinking (cups and glasses); as well as for eating (plates) (Azgak, 2007, p.251-252). Like in Northern Nigeria, the ingenuity of the Efik women in Southern Nigeria is replicated through their beautifully decorated beaded shoes, bags, and appliques which are all produced locally and testify to their skillful nature.

The Jos Museum craft village which is situated at the exterior part of the main Exhibition Hall has been the vanguard for the projection of the Museum's craft work—such as traditional hair plaiting by women, the production of leather materials (shoes, bags and mats) and these capture the rich culture of the Jos people. The craft village for this reason hosts a great number of tourists that visit the Museum.

Of all the beautifully arranged relics in the Jos Museum, none was more fascinating to this researcher than the locally made floor tiles situated at the basement of the Museum. Interestingly, the production of the tiles is traced to an unlettered but talented woman named Binta Abaket Bako. The history of the Jos Museum would certainly be incomplete without the mention of this highly skilled woman whose ingenuity as a potter was outstanding even beyond the shores of Jos Museum. Binta has received little attention in historical literature and the reason for this cannot be farfetched. Female scholar, Khurram Ali Shafique rightly maintains that, history has been written primarily for men since more often than not, formal systems of education were restricted to

male candidates only. Accordingly the events recorded in history were those which largely concerned the men (Retrieved from <http://www.pakistanspace.tripod.com>). This assertion conforms with traditional African societies where the activities of women were less emphasized upon in history until recently. Yet, in spite of this imbalance, Nnaemeka and Korieh (2011) have acknowledged the role of Nigerian women as historical actors in their various domains. Binta can best be described as one of these actors and the “last link between the past and the present” (Izere News Magazine, 1(3), p.17). An account of this heroine will further illustrate the role of museum sources in documenting women's history as well as illuminate women's contribution to the economic and cultural life of the Nigerian society.

BINTA ABAKET BAKO, 1900-1990

Mama Binta, as she was fondly referred to, was born in 1900 in Federe District of Afizere (Jarawa) in Jos, Central Nigeria. (Izang, n.d., p.15). Although very little is known about her early life, she learnt traditional pottery later in life which was the primary occupation of all Jarawa or Afizere women. Unequaled among her peers in the production of pots and pottery stands, Mama Binta's ingenuity could not be hidden for long because in 1958, her crafts attracted Mr. Bernard Fagg (a former Director of defunct Department of Antiquities) when he was absorbed in the collection of pottery and other relics (Izang, n.d., p.16). Impressed by his encounter with the potter, the European invited her to the Museum, where along with other commissioned artisans like carvers, blacksmith, weavers, and potters, she was given a shed to practice her trade for the public to see and sell her crafts. However, this was only possible after serving the museum for some time.

During her employment with the Jos Museum, Binta was engaged in the production of different types of pots synonymous with the Afizere people as well as pottery stands (Izang, n.d., p.16). She produced decorated pots which were used to adorn the roof tops of the houses of village heads. The head of Mama Binta's village in particular had some specially decorated pottery symbols placed on his rooftop courtesy of this talents woman with artistically endowed attributes. They decorated pottery symbols on the Chiefs rooftop were symbolic as they had some ritual connotations. The belief was that, anyone that ran into the Chief's house, having the symbols on the rooftop, was free from molestation (Izang, n.d., p.16).

Mama Binta perfected herself in the technology of pottery making and went ahead to specialize in the production of decorated floor tiles made from clay, as well as flower pots, cooking pots, mats and baskets which she sold to the public. It is indeed gratifying to note that her skill spread beyond Jos as some of her works can be seen adorning the roofs of the Lagos Museum kitchen. Others

were taken to Kafin Madaki in Bauchi, Gidan Makama in Kano and other Nigerian Museums (Izang, n.d., p.16). The bulk of Binta's works, however, remains in the Jos Museum.

Binta Abaket Bako was one woman who gave her all to the vocation she lived for. This earned her recognition by her ethnic group, and in December 1989, she was honoured for her role in projecting Afizere culture to the world and the first Izere Plateau woman to be employed by the Museum (Izang, n.d., p.17).

An accident she had in 1980 which left her hand permanently injured brought an end to her career as a renowned potter, and she was subsequently given the option to stay in the Museum as a full time worker when others were laid off. She died on the 23rd of March, 1990 (Izang, n.d., p.17).

About this talented potter and pride to womanhood, Atang Izang, n.d. said:

She was indeed a symbol of pioneering Nigerian artisans and craftsmen and women who brought their skill to the young and growing museum and whose various works are gallantly and proudly on display in the galleries and offices not only in Jos Museum, but also many Museums within the country (Izang, n.d., p.17).

Similarly, the head of the Jos Museum had also paid glowing tribute to Binta in these words:

Abaket Binta Bako will be remembered especially by the National Museum, Jos for her dexterity, her evenness, and vigour even at a very advanced age (Izang, n.d., p.16).

Indeed, Professor Adiele Afigbo had challenged historians to incorporate into historical studies the common people and to write more biographies of authentic heroes and heroines whose life would inspire others. Mama Binta Bako is one of such woman in this category who possessed neither the bravery of Queen Amina nor the political clout of Funmilayo Kuti and Margaret Ekpo (Nigerian heroines) to merit the epitaph, "heroine". Yet, she was a remarkable woman and a heroine whose services to humanity will always remain cherished in the history of Jos Museum and beyond. Binta has been described variously as 'a living museum exhibit', a manifestation of the culture of her people, a symbol of what the museum stands for and above all a heroine of repute. Her life of service should indeed inspire others to dare and achieve in their chosen vocation.

When the names of talented Nigerian artists are mentioned, history would only be justified should women like Binta Abaket Bako are mentioned as having contributed to the artistic heritage and socio-economic life of the Nigerian nation. This is clearly illuminated in the relics preserved for posterity at the Jos Museum. Ironically, the expressed industry, ingenuity and artistic contributions of the Nigerian women are almost subsumed in those of their male counterparts who in most cases are the "middle men" of these artistic products.

RECOMMENDATION/ CONCLUSION

In our submission, the Jos Museum has gone a long way in illustrating the cultural affinity among the diverse Nigerian ethnic groups through the material relics found in them. These similarities should help to foster a greater unity among Nigerians especially in this era where ethnicity is bound to be a divisive factor in the Nigerian polity. In the words of Okon Uya, "evidence from museum artifacts and other sources provides concrete basis for the unity and nation building efforts in our country, which have not been maximally exploited (Uya, 2006, p.10). It is our candid opinion, that Nigerians should close ranks and emphasize on those aspects of life that unite rather than divide them.

Through the relics located in the Jos Museum, it is evident that Nigerian women have not only enriched the nation's textile industry but have actively participated in sustaining local trade and industries such as textiles, manufactures, salt production, and pottery. These women laid the foundation for higher technological advancement are vanguards of change in their respective localities. Their modest contributions should be encouraged and in this regard, gender friendly organizations are advised to fund or aid women's co-operative societies engaged in local manufactures. This will only ensure that local industries remain relevant in the face of competition from their foreign counterparts.

Museums are divided into public, private and specialized institutions. Just as there are specialized museums in Europe like the museums of Natural History which custody fossils and skeletal remains and those of Science and Technology, there should be museums dedicated to showcase and celebrate womanhood. A Museum of Women's History should, as a matter of urgency be established in Nigeria with a view of encouraging the younger generation of women to emulate female role models who have excelled in their various profession. On March 30, 2011, Carolyn Maloney and Senator Susan Collins, United States legislators re-introduced the National Women's History Museum Act. Nigerian female legislators should borrow a leaf from this. Should this be achieved, Binta Abaket Bako, whose pottery adorns several museums in Nigeria, and other talented but unsung women, would definitely claim their rightly position in the annals of history.

REFERENCES

- Abubakar, N., (2007). *Indigenous Knowledge System (IKS) As Manifested in the Mastery of Ecology for Sustainable Development in the Iron and Textile Industries of Nineteenth Century Hausa Land*. In Akinwunmi O. et al (Eds.), *African Indigenous Science and Knowledge Systems, Triumphs and Tribulations. Essay in Honour of Professor Gloria Thomas Emeagwali* (pp.214-226). Abuja, Nigeria: Roots books.

- Afigbo, A. E. (1998). Textile Arts and Culture in Southern Nigeria. *Nigeria Heritage: Journal of the National Commission for Museum and Monuments*, 17, 11-20.
- Afshar, Haleh (Ed.), (1996). *Women and Politics in the Third World*. London: Routledge.
- Agaba, J. E. (2007). Evolution of the Textile Industry in Idoma. In Akinwunmi O. et al (Eds.), *African Indigenous Science and Knowledge Systems, Triumphs and Tribulations. Essay in Honour of Professor Gloria Thomas Emeagwali* (pp. 183-196). Abuja, Nigeria: Roots books.
- Akak, E. O. (1982). *Efik of the Old Calabar: Culture and Superstition*. Calabar, Nigeria: Akak and Sons.
- Akoda, W. E. (1999). The Political and Religious Roles of Efik Women in Pre-colonial Calabar. *Calabar Journal of Religious Studies*, 1, 84-95.
- Arnold, Marion (1997). *Women and Art in South Africa*. New York: Martins Press.
- Azgaku, C. B. (2007). Pottery Making Industry in the Pre-colonial Lafia Area of Nasarawa State, Nigeria. In Akinwunmi O. et al (Eds.), *African Indigenous Science and Knowledge Systems, Triumphs and Tribulations. Essay in Honour of Professor Gloria Thomas Emeagwali* (pp. 248-253). Abuja, Nigeria: Roots books.
- Fwatshak, S. U. (2007). Sources of Knowledge and Resilience of Sham (Cultural Salt) of the Chadic – Speaker of the Jos Plateau from the Pre-Colonial Period to the Present. In Akinwunmi O. et al (Eds.), *African Indigenous Science and Knowledge Systems, Triumphs and Tribulations. Essay in Honour of Professor Gloria Thomas Emeagwali* (pp. 262-279). Abuja, Nigeria: Roots books.
- Finch, K. & Putman, G. (1977). *Caring for Textile*. London: Watson-Guptill Publication.
- Freedman, Estelle (2006). *Feminism, Sexuality and Politics*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press.
- Gore, Dayo (2011). *Radicalism at the Crossroads: African-American Women Activists in the Cold War*. New York: New York University Press.
- Izang, Atang (n.d.). Wreath of Honour for a Woman of Honour. *Izere News Magazine*, 1(3).
- Maman, Marie and Thelma Tate (1996). *Women in Agriculture: A Guide to Research*. New York: Garland.
- National Museum Jos. (1978). A Museum Document/ Handbook.
- Nnaemeka, Obioma and Korieh, C. (2011). *Shaping our Struggles: Nigerian Women in History, Culture and Social Changes*. NJ: Africa World Press.
- Rosander, Eva (Ed.). (1997). *Transforming Female Identities: Women's Organizational Forms in West Africa*. Uppsala, Sweden: Nordic African Institute.
- Schler, Lynn (2004). Writing African Women's History with Male Sources: Possibilities and Limitations. *History in Africa: A Journal of Method*, 31, 319-333.
- Uya, O. E. (2006). *Museums: Bridging Cultures*. A Lecture presented during the International Museum Day Celebration at the Old Residency Museum Calabar.