

**Drums and voices from the grassroots:
local women and the Hallelujah Chorus among
Anglican churches in Ukwuaniland, Delta State,
Nigeria, 1841-1941**

Jones Ugochukwu Odili

Department of Religious and Cultural Studies, Faculty of Humanities, University of Port Harcourt,
Choba, Rivers State, Nigeria

Abstract

From the mid-19th century a certain consistent and encrusted paradigm in African Christian historiography emerged, lamenting the voicelessness of the roles local people played in the evangelisation of their kith and kin during the modern missionary enterprise in that region. In their bid to sing of the unsung roles of indigenous agents in that enterprise, the high pitch of androcentricism drowned a vital but marginalised note. Using Ogbu Kalu's (2005) theoretical framework (the concentric approach) and the case study and historical approaches to the study of religious phenomenon, this study echoes and reconstructs, from the grassroots, the gist of how indigenous, hitherto nameless Anglican women in their local communities encountered the power of the gospel. The study reveals that Ukwuani women understand Anglicanism through indigenous categories and gives credence and authenticity to the indispensability of grassroots women in the universal choir of Christianity. It recommends that local women should be taken seriously in African Christian historiography.

Introduction

An analysis of African Christian historiography reveals that after the institutional, missionary and nationalist approaches to the study of Africa encounter with the gospel, voice is given to the problem of indigenous agency. Until the middle of the 20th century masculinity dominated the discussion; feminine canons were ignored. As far as the scaffold project of reconstructing a universal and holistic church history is concerned, the struggles and achievements of local women have been relatively unexplored, underexplored or passively explored. The invisibility and voicelessness of women in history, scriptural writings, anthropological and other literary sources and academic disciplines have been commonplace (Peel 1968; Turner 1967; Omoyajowo 1978; Hayward 1990; Aiyeboyin and Ishola 1997). Although certain publications attempt to rectify the situation, many areas are still muted (Dirven 1970; Ezeanya 1976; Ferris 1978; Florenza 1996; Beddeo 1987; Daniel 1987; Miles 1990; Anderson and Zinsser 1990; Hackette 1985; Adetoun 1992; Bowie and Kirkwood 1993; Basdin 1993; Mulenga 1998; Anderson 2002; Gbule 2003; Kent 2004; Nwaura 2005; Odili 2010). Moreover, any analysis of how local women experience the power of the gospel, and the vibration of its encounter on various aspects of indigenous life, stops prematurely if it does not dare to examine the broad issue of the bearing of patriarchal cultures on the empowerment or the marginalisation of local women and the heavy cloak of resounding silence of their challenges and achievements.

The urgent task now is to hear "her story" or *herstory* by giving a coherent gist of the challenges and courage of grassroots women in the indigenisation enterprise, to name the nameless heroines who participated actively in the Christianisation of Africa during the modern western missionary movement, to assess the extent to which they have made their kith and kin feel at home with the Christian faith in their various communities, and to correct their disparaged image in the androcentric mosaic of African Christian historiography. This study, "Drums and voices from the grassroots: local women and the Hallelujah Chorus among Anglican churches in Ukwuaniland, Delta State, Nigeria, 1841-1941", is an attempt to aid in the task of striving to transform social, cultural and religious stereotyped concepts, pictures, customs, beliefs and policies that dehumanise, limit and distort womanhood. A quantitative and circumscribed reconstruction of this nature presupposes a historical approach to the study of religion. As a case study, it is conducted in one jurisdiction, Anglican churches in Ukwuaniland of Delta State, Nigeria, and over a specific period of time, 1841-1941. Oral sources, over 60 years of age, were directly involved in the drama as actors and actresses, or eyewitnesses or their children.

A concentric approach to feminism

Feminism, a fundamental concept in dispute, stirs up negative feelings in the minds of many. Some scholars are reluctant to advocate feminism because they are uncertain about its meaning (Hooks 2000). With respect to Africa, some critics avoid the term on the grounds that it is alien to the continent (Sofa 1998; Walker 1983; Hudson-Weema 1998). As a movement feminism refers to any form of opposition to any form of religious, social, personal or economic discrimination which women suffer because of their sex (Okoh 2003). To Lerner (1977) feminist consciousness means a woman is aware of a distortion in her social status as a woman, questions tradition and actively moves on in a new direction in search of autonomy. This concept of feminism is evident in the response of Ukwuani Anglican women to a male-dominated faith in a male-dominated culture.

The way in which gender roles in Christianity are interpreted – or better, reinterpreted – in, and from, the perspectives of African women affects and mutates the understanding and presentation of the entire history of Christianity. It is, then, no longer reasonable to treat North Atlantic history and androcentric accounts as the central solo pieces of universal history, with interest in non-western worlds only when Europe came in contact with it or started to exploit it. An integral writing of women in church history is needed. No one perspective can provide the whole truth. Inter-perspective, interconnectedness, is needed. Church historians must experiment with the multi-factor explanations and analyses and relate their work to that of historians in general. All these perspectives must be brought into critical conversation with each other. Only thus can denominational, racial, cultural, gender or national particularities be transcended and something catholic achieved.

This calls for a new historical approach, the people's approach, a "grassroots approach", "a history from below" or a "concentric approach". This model, postulated by Ogbu Kalu (2005), may be described as a pastoral-practice model of church historiography; it is not so much in terms of institutions but of beliefs and experiences of common people, a presentation of the gist of the people, by the people and for the people, an ecumenical perspective in church history which reconstructs from the grassroots the experiences of women in a community and the meaning of Christ in their midst. A new look at gender roles in church history requires a new methodology that combines written (archival) and oral sources. This new approach to African Christian historiography is based on the perspectives, reactions, responses and initiatives of African women, most of which are not found in missionary accounts.

Echoes of gospel women

There is clear and irrefutable evidence, though the documentation is rare and spasmodic, that both in biblical times and in the early church women such as Phoebe, Dorcas, Aquila, the nameless Samaritan woman and Eunice played very significant roles in the work of converting the pagans. Together with the many women missionaries whose achievements were credited to their husbands or to other male missionary colleagues, a few outstanding individuals have left their names, as well as their marks – but no history. The need to recruit women and involve women missionaries in active evangelism during the modern missionary enterprise in Africa made male missionaries recognise that unless direct contact was established with the women in the receiving countries, only one third of the population might be reached. A deeper reason for the indispensability of women missionaries was that without them it was impossible to model the Christian monogamous family life that was hoped to bring about a transformation of societies not yet influenced by the gospel (Cunningham 1993). With respect to Islamic societies, if the Muslim women must be reached, women missionaries must be given priority (Fitzgerald 1996).

By the first decade of the 20th century women actually outnumbered men in mission fields (Williams 1976; Douglas 1977; Ryan 1981; Hunter 1984; McDonnell 1986; Friedman 1995). By 1916 57% of American missionaries overseas were women (Harlan et al 1916). Recounting the stories of women missionaries of the Baptist convention in Nigeria, Patterson (1957:57) is bold to assert: "Our women were the ones who bore the brunt of suffering; we have more than twice as many graves of women missionaries in Nigeria than men ... Yet they kept coming, even though for 50 years they were not accounted as missionaries." Women missionaries played a diversity of roles. These include women doctors, linguists, interpreters and translators of the Bible, hymns and religious works. It has been observed that certain human qualities which are properly feminine and which give valuable support to evangelism make women more suited to activities involving personal relationships (David 1992). Women missionaries tend to befriend people and learn their customs before overpowering them with schools and hospitals. Women missionaries focused on the transformation of society by small degrees, which may seem insignificant but are not (Kent 2004).

Women missionaries were not officially involved in policy matters or in decisionmaking processes. Nevertheless, they formed a large and potent part of the workforce. Much of the day-to-day

running of the missions fell on their shoulders (Francis-Dehqari 2000). Women's and men's experiences of missionary work differ because of their respective structural positions (Salomon 1987). In a number of ways, men and women missionaries led different lives in Nigeria. Women tended to work on a day-to-day basis which they felt more comfortable with. Technically, 19th century male missionaries thought in terms of dioceses, parishes, building and laity. Conversely, the women missionaries tended to think of people in need. Their work focused on the church as a process, that is, as a living and changing entity not tied up by rigid laws and division.

Drums and voices from the grassroots: Anglican women in Ukwuaniland, 1841-1941

In the early phase of the Anglicanism in Ukwuaniland, women agents played very significant roles in making the Anglican Church in Ukwuaniland a place to feel at home. They were of fundamental importance to defining, developing and shaping the course of Anglicanism in the area. Together with the many women agents whose achievements were credited to their husbands or to other male agent colleagues, a few outstanding individuals have left their names, as well as their marks on history. Mention should be made of Grace Maluagu (Ejechi 2009), a gifted and formidable organiser, involved in house-to-house evangelism and in the establishment and running of mission stations with their numerous duties, calling for the courage and stamina which all that entailed. Worthy of note is the story of another remarkable woman, widowed at a very young age. Madam Mary Ibesom (c 1856-1945), like Anna in the New Testament, was a "woman of the Church". She threw her entire energy into the maintenance and cleaning of the church. Her early life was that of sorrow. She was widowed at an early age and was bereaved of her only daughter one year after. She was from Ogbe Onodi at Emu-Unor of the Emu clan (Agwaturu 2002).

She was drawn to the Christian teaching on the equality of sexes and the opportunities for education and training that mission gave to women. Mary Ibesom faced stiff opposition from indigenous Ukwuani men and women when it became known that some of the girls and wives in Emu-Unor had been converted to Christianity through her influence. She was dubbed a demon and was accused of witchcraft. She was a kind of social misfit since she was childless and accused of killing her husband (Asueke 2005). Women liked her for her denouncement of the inheritance of widowhood and other practices that were inimical to women's wellbeing. To the Anglican male and female converts, she represented a virtue to be sought. She was called *Nne Uka* (Mother of the Church). Her traditional outfit was a white wrapper, which to the brethren was a symbol of purity and association with Jesus Christ. She was the first Christian Mother of St Peter's Anglican Church in Emu-Unor and she had the responsibility of instructing young women converts. Madam Mary Ibesom was a woman of prayer; she was often seen around the mission house praying for hours on end. She usually rose at 4:30 am to organise Morning Prayer services in the church, during which she prayed for those who came according to their psychological and social needs. On some days she prayed for as many as 30 people, the majority of them women and children (Okwuegbue 2002). She is reported to have spent those hours praying for Mr Godwin Ikwuasum Okeriaka, who led the house-to-house evangelistic campaign, and for generations yet unborn. Her whole life was given to intercession for the growth of the church. She often prayed that the good reports heard of in Urhoboland and Isokoland be experienced in Emu-Unor. Her zeal for evangelism was such that one Agundu was known to have warned her to keep away from his wives and daughters for fear that she would convert them. Mary Ibesom spared no opportunity at the cassava mills to witness Christ to women. She was also involved in Godwin Okeriaka's campaign. Any unconverted women who paid a visit to the church would be said to have involved herself in Mary Ibesom's "problem"; Mary would follow up on such a woman until she became a committed member of the church (Asueke 2005). She led the womenfolk in the cleaning of the church. She led the women on a three-kilometre trek to obtain *uro ochra* (white clay) from a stream, with which they decorated the church walls every Saturday. The women also used cocoyam leaves, which do not stain when dry, to rub the mud benches. It is reported that they dug up the white clay with broken calabashes. The Anglican converts at Emu-Unor took care of her in her old age. She died in 1945.

The story of the conversion of one Agnes is worth reporting to illustrate how some women experienced religious change. Agnes was a priestess of *mmo* (a divinity), she went regularly into the forest to worship. As she was returning from one of such visits, the *mmo* was said to have instructed her: "Move aside, move aside; enter the nearby bush; for very mighty and powerful men are approaching" (Adishi 2009). Agnes was unhappy at this since she saw no reason why she should abandon the road for some men approaching. Perplexed as she was, she continued to move along the road. The voice of the *mmo* came persistently and threatened to desert her if she would not enter the nearby bush to give way to the powerful men before resuming her journey. At last she entered a bush where she had to wait for quite a time before she saw from her hiding place some men whom she

perceived to be Christians, passing by and singing of the grace of God and His power over *mmo*, witches and sorcerers. After they had passed, Agnes was told by the same voice to re-enter the road and resume her journey. Back at home, she made inquiries about the “singing men” and she was told that they were members of the Anglican prayer band from Obiaruku. The following day she went to the forest, removed the images of the *mmo* and took them to Obiaruku where they were burnt.

There was considerable resistance to women as agents of religious and social change. At Abbi some Anglican women on their way to vigils and early morning prayers walked through the Eworo criers group, which was forbidden to women. It was the gravest sacrilege for a woman to see the Eworo criers in operation. Thus in 1914 as a protest against the atrocities perpetuated by the Christians against the indigenous religion the citizens angrily pulled down the church building and set it on fire (Eseagu 2006). At Sanubi, for instance, twin babies were stowed away to Obiaruku through the intervention of Nedu, a midwife and G Ezenwa, a church agent (Ezenwa 2009). This was not to be taken lightly by the people. To them, it was a misfortune for twins to be born, and to bring them up was to incur the wrath of the *Ndichie* ancestors). Consequently, they prevented the converts from building a church house on this score. In Iyege-Ama in the early 1930s, the wife of one Ajeh gave birth to twins and the people attempted to kill them. The converts reported the matter to a court clerk. Consequently the twins were saved and the people were sternly warned to desist from the practice of twin killing (Ogbuka 2008). Ogbuka also recalled that while he was at Umukwata a female convert was courageous enough to save her baby, which did not cry at birth and therefore according to custom should have been allowed to die from neglect.

Women attached themselves to the Anglican Church for a multitude of reasons: they might be escaping brutal husbands or unwelcome marriages, as additional wives to some rich polygamists. They might be objecting to having to let their babies die because they had not cried at birth or because they were twins. At no point did deep maternal feminine instinct cry out so emphatically against custom and in favour of Christian views just as at no other point did the church feel so required to challenge immediately and absolutely the practice of custom. For instance, at Abbi one Beatrice Amoji was said to have fled to the Anglican Church with her twin babies, in order to save their lives. It is reported that she had not been able to give birth to a child after 12 years of marriage. Her husband Mr Amoji, a farmer, was also said to have joined her in the church (Eseagu 2006).

We wish to analyse the experiences of Ukwuani girls and women as they struggled to make sense of the conflicts, contradictions, opportunities, limitations and the transformation created by their conversion into Anglican churches in Ukwuaniland. The first generation of the Anglican mission in Ukwuaniland comprised social misfits, the unwanted and vulnerable members of the society. There were, however, those who were motivated by the spirit of adventure and who ran away to mission stations. In many cases those who pioneered joining the missions constituted either the unwanted or the aberrant youth in society. When combing the countryside for possible catechumen Anglican agents might be offered the daughter of a dead relation. This was the fate of the mother of an informant, who was given away in 1935 to the Anglican Church in Obinumbe (Abamba 2005). She lived in Obinumbe with her parents, and stayed with relatives when they died. They offered the adolescent girl to the church. Seemingly relieved of their responsibility they never checked to find out how she was, but she lived to a ripe old age.

For most women, association with the Anglican churches in Ukwuaniland involved more than a religious conversion: it also led to cultural and social transformation. The most noticeable and immediate changes in the lives of Ukwuani Anglican girls were external. As a first step towards the “cleansing” of the wards, most female catechumen were taken to Asaba where they had mission schools for girls, where they were stripped of their traditional attire and jewelry. These were replaced with mission uniforms. Reminiscing over the experiences of young Ukwuani girls in Asaba mission schools, Magrette Eseagu (2006) an ex-mission woman said: “We were cleaned up, given new clothes and fed. It was a home away from home.” It was, however, a different type of home. The girls underwent instruction, which alienated them from village life. Initiation ceremonies, especially female circumcision, polygamy, payment of dowry and divination, among other customs, were considered pagan and, therefore, incompatible with Christianity.

Removed from their familiar sociocultural milieu, the girls became misfits in their own societies. Not allowed to participate in the various cultural festivities and everyday social activities, they became increasingly alienated. Members of their peer groups and relatives held them in ridicule and treated them as incomplete members of society since they had not undergone some of the vital rites of passage in Ukwuaniland (Nduka 2006). As part of the assimilation process, some girls began to question certain cultural practices within their own societies. More often than not, they were torn between antagonistic factions in various controversies. The catechumen fluctuated between two systems, the old and the new, each driven by a desire to appropriate their absolute allegiance.

One of the most protracted and traumatic conflicts emanating from missionary attempts to redefine the life patterns of their wards revolved around the issue of female circumcision, *clitorodectomy*. Disenchanted with the surgery and its preceding festivities, the Anglican Church declared that female circumcision was incompatible with Christianity. This controversy hinged on an institution deemed central to a people's social organisation. Missionary attempts to persuade the community to stop female circumcision resulted in a massive abandonment of Anglican churches in Ukwuani (Asueke 2002). When in 1929 the missions began to insist that children of people who supported female circumcision would not be allowed to attend their schools, a crisis of unprecedented magnitude was unleashed. This brought all the simmering misunderstandings and misinterpretations of Ukwuani culture and Christian doctrines to the fore. The controversy tore the church apart. Nduka (2006) states as follows: "Mission adherence fell by over 40 per cent. Parents withdrew their children from schools rather than give up the rite. The parting of ways seemed inevitable."

What did all this mean to female converts, especially for those of them who had undergone circumcision? The *Ogene* song, which condemned both Christianity and colonialism at the height of the female circumcision controversy, best summarises the ridicule and contempt in which such girls were held. For instance an *Ogene* song runs thus: "Agnes you are not costly; only seven tubers of yam and you marry in church" (Odili 2010). Their rejection of the rite jeopardised an age-old paradigm of societal organisation. To the wider Ukwuani community, dismay at the girls' betrayal of traditional religious values was reflected in the diminished status of mission girls. The whole concept of womanhood was at stake. What did it mean to be a 20-year-old female who never graduated to the status of a woman? The marriageability of such women was questionable. No woman, unless a mission convert, wanted an uncircumcised daughter-in-law. Neither did men outside the mission fold consider marrying such women.

As a result of the growing chasm between mission and non-mission people, there was an increasing tendency for missions to encourage their girls to marry Christian boys. Such marriages did not always have the support of the parents of the couples involved and they resulted in protracted conflicts. The missions, however, did not hesitate to officiate in marriages where parental consent had not been granted. In order to protect themselves and the newly married couples from parental harassment after the wedding, churches sought the approval of Local District Commissioners. A case in point was that of Osunuya Ebeagu of Usumkpe and his daughter Elizabeth. In 1933 following his refusal to give Elizabeth's hand in marriage to one Matthew, Ikechukwu, the head Christian, reported the case to the District Officer at Kwale. The District Officer ruled in favour of Matthew and Elizabeth. Osunuya Ebeagu was ordered to accept the traditional bride price from Matthew. Conflict over the marriage of mission girls embraced wider social concerns relating to the patriarchal control of women and the circulation of wealth among elders. It also had to do with the control of older women over younger ones. Mission interference in and regulation of the marriages of mission women and men threatened established local authority structures. This elicited opposition from all manner of people.

Female converts were caught in a trap as they continued to oscillate between two cultural types: one familiar, the other an unknown novelty. Attempts to combine elements of the two met with vehement opposition. At Eziokpor, one Julie sought to persuade the church to agree to her father's insistence on what the missionaries considered an exorbitant dowry. She was disappointed with the unyielding attitude of the missionaries and threatened to leave. Despite her threat, the church remained adamant and she left the church (Agadaga 2009). Where neither the church nor the local communities were willing to budge, the girls found themselves in a difficult situation. In many cases, as the bridge between the protagonists, they paid the price.

For some women, the missions provided an escape from overbearing husbands and relatives. To the wider community, however, they were seen as asylums for girls and women who had broken societal mores by transferring the mediating role in family disputes to external institutions. In so doing, they disobeyed their elders and husbands. This was the case of Nwamaka Chukuwosa of Umutu. Nwamaka was from Umutu. Her parents died while she was still a child. Her uncle Okoyoku, a rich village farmer, brought her up. Nwamaka found life in her paternal uncle's home hard and difficult to cope with; she felt overworked and not sufficiently rewarded for her labour. She thought that Okoyoku's biological children did less work than her and got better rewards for it. Nwamaka attributed this supposed discrimination to the fact that Okoyoku was not her biological father and therefore had no affection for her. The latent conflict between Nwamaka and her uncle came into the open over the issue of marriage. In theory, the Umutu clan did not practise forced marriages; boys and girls were left to choose their partners without undue parental pressure. In practice, this was not always the case. There were times when parents, in search of good connections and wealth, arranged for their daughters to marry wealthy and famous individuals without considering the girls' wishes. In a sense, such marriages were forced. In 1933, Okoyoku arranged with a wealthy polygamist to marry his foster

daughter. The arrangement was made behind Nwamaka's back. To Okoyoku's embarrassment, Nwamaka rejected the man chosen for her. This provoked open hostilities between her and her uncle. She questioned her paternal uncle's motives in arranging a marriage for her. Since she had grown to mistrust Okoyoku's attitude to her, she could not help believing this to be another instance of exploitation by an unscrupulous foster father. To her uncle, her behaviour was an act of insubordination, intended to humiliate him.

A family conflict over marriage coupled with desire to marry a man of her own choice led Nwamaka to join the Anglican Church. Hers was not an isolated case. The bulk of women who joined the mission during the pioneering period were motivated by this factor. Like Nwamaka, a significant number of those women were fleeing marriages arranged by their foster parents. More so, the story of Nwamaka Chukwuosa illustrates how some Ukwuani girls were first drawn to the missions. At first, some Ukwuani communities were strongly opposed to girls attending mission churches. Mission attendance was fiercely resisted because it tended to divert women from their essential role as homemakers. Secondly, it was feared that mission attendance would offer girls unwarranted freedom that might manifest in their going to the cities to become prostitutes. This would both bring shame to the girls' parents and deny them the benefit of receiving a handsome bride price.

Conclusion

Ukwuani Anglican women, in the period 1841-1941, understood Anglicanism through indigenous categories and selectively appropriated those aspects of it that corresponded to local values and scales of social worth in ways that advertised their Christian intentions without undervaluing their Ukwuani credentials. As active mechanisms in the indigenisation process, they successfully appropriated the self-supporting, self-propagating and self-governing policy of Henry Venn in entrenching Anglicanism and making the Anglican Church in Ukwuaniland a place to feel at home, thereby giving credence and authenticity to the axiom of Africa for Africans. The women were able to record these achievements because of the pragmatic nature of Ukwuani religious and sociocultural heritage. Those factors that empowered women proved insurmountable obstacles to male indigenous agents; they are proof that there are challenges that can only be surmounted by female missionaries or by a joint effort by both sexes. Indeed, the study has successfully used Kalu's (2005) paradigm on indigenisation (the concentric approach) to re-echo and re-construct, from the grassroots, the gist of how, hitherto, nameless and voiceless local Anglican women encountered the power of the gospel and its vibrations in various aspects of Ukwuani indigenous and sociocultural life.

Works consulted

- Adetoun, IO 1992. African women's economic, social and cultural rights: towards a relevant theory and practice, in Cook, RY (ed.), *Human rights of women: national and international perspectives*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Anderson, A 2002. *African Reformation*. Trenton, NJ: African World.
- Anderson, GS & Zinsser, JP 1990. *A history of their own: women in Europe from prehistory to the present*. London: Penguin.
- Anderson J 1970. *The struggle for the school*. Nairobi: Nairobi Publishers.
- Anderson, O 2004. Women preachers in Mid-Victorian Britain: some reflections on feminism, popular religion and social change. *The Historical Journal* 12:46-84.
- Ayeyboyin DY 1990. Women in mission: a case study of the Baptist Women's Missionary Union in Nigeria. PhD Thesis. University of Ibadan.
- Ayeyboyin DY & Ademola I 1997. *African Indigenous Churches: a historical perspective*. Lagos: Greater Heights.
- Beddeo, D 1987. *Discovering women's history*. London: Pandora.
- Bowie, F 1993. The elusive Christian family missionary attempts to define women's role: case study from Cameroon, in Bowie, Fiona & Kirkwood, Deborah (eds.), *Women and mission, past and present: anthropological and history perceptions*. Oxford: Berg.
- Bowie, F & Kirkwood, D (ed.) 1993. *Women and missions past and present: anthropological and historical perceptions*. Oxford: Berg.
- Cunningham, V 1993. God and nature intended you for a missionary's wife: Mary Hill, Jane Eyre and other missionary women in the 1840s, in Bowie, F & Kirkwood, D (eds.), *Women and missions: past and present: anthropological and historical perspectives*. Oxford: Berg.

- David, J 1992. *Women, church and feminist theology: a bibliographical guide*. Faculty of Protestant Theology, Yaounde Cameroon.
- Dirven, PJ 1970. The Maria legio: the dynamics of a breakaway church among the Luo in East Africa. PhD Thesis. Pontifica University as Gregorian, Rome.
- Douglas, A 1977. *The feminization of American culture*. New York: Knopf.
- Engels, F 1973. *On the origins of the family private property and state*. London: Lawrence & Wishart.
- Ezeanya, SN 1976. Women in traditional religion. Lectures at the 10th Annual Religious Studies Conference, University of Ibadan, March: 105–126.
- Ferris, T 1978. Exposition on Acts 16:11-40, in Buttrick, GA et al (eds.), *The interpreters Bible*. (vol. ix. 24th edition). Nashville: Abingdon.
- Fitzgerald, R 1996. A peculiar and exceptional measure: the call for women medical missionaries for India in the late nineteenth century, in Bickers, R & Seton, R (eds.), *Missionary encounters sources and issues*. Richmond: Curzon.
- Florenza, ES 1996. Tie that bird: domestic violence against women, in Manaizan, MJ et al (eds.), *Women resisting violence spirituality for life*. New York: Orbis.
- Friedman, J 1995. *The enclosed garden: women and community in the evangelical south, 1930*. Chapped Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- Gbule, NJ 2003. One hundred years of Anglicanism in Uvuawhu Clan. Unpublished MA Thesis. Department of Religion and Cultural Studies, University of Port Harcourt, Nigeria.
- Hackette, RIJ 1985. *Sacred paradoxes: women and religious plurality in Nigeria*. n.p.
- Hackette, RIJ 1989. *Religion in Calabar: the religious life and history of a Nigerian town*. Berlin: Monto de Gruyter.
- Hackette, RIJ 1995. Women and new religious movements, in King, U (ed.), *Religion and gender*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Hackette, RIJ 1996. Beyond afternoon tea: images and roles of missionary women in Old Calabar, in Kulp, PM (ed.), *Women missionaries and cultural change. Studies in Third World Societies* 40: 47-54.
- Hayward, V (ed.) 1990. *African Independent Church Movement: essay in honour of Harold W. Turner*. Elkhart Mission Focus.
- Hooks, B 2000. *Feminism is for everybody: passionate politics*. Cambridge: South End.
- Hudsiob, WC 1998. African womanism, in Obioma N (ed.), *Sisterhood: feminism and power from African to the Diaspora*. Washington DC: Harvard University Press.
- Hunter J 1984. *The Gospel of gentility: American women missionaries in the turn-of-the-century China*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Kent, EF 2004. *Converting women: gender and Protestant Christianity in colonial South India*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Kirkwood, D 1993. Protestant missionary women: wives and spinsters, in Bouwie, F et al (ed.), *Women and missions. Past and present: anthropological and historical perspective*. Oxford: Berg.
- Koedt A et al (eds.) 1973. *Radical feminism*. New York: Quadrangle.
- Kulp, PM 1987. Mothers, wives and co-workers: women missionaries in the Church of the Brethren North Eastern Nigeria, in Kulp, PM (ed.), *Women missionaries and cultural change: studies in third world societies*, 40:1-13.
- Lerner, G 1977. *The female experience*. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill.
- McDonnell, C 1986 *The Christian home in Victorian America, 1840-1906*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- McDonnell, C 2002. Beyond Dr. Bobson: women, girls and focus on the family, in Bendroth, ML & Bereton, VL (eds.), *Women and twentieth century Protestantism*. Urbana: University of Illonois Press.
- Miles, R 1990. *A woman's history of the world*. London: Paladin.
- Mulenga, K 1998. *Blood in their hands*. Lusaka: Zambia Educational.
- Ndiokwere, N 1981. *The African Church today and tomorrow: enculturation in practice*. Vol. 1 Enugu: Snaap.
- Nwarua, PN 2005. Gender and power in African Christianity: African Instituted Churches and Pentecostal Churches, in Kalu, OU & Horfiney, JW (eds.), *African Christianity: an African story*. Pretoria: University of Pretoria Press.
- Odili, JU 2010. The roles of pastoral agents at indigenizing Anglican churches in Ukwuaniland, 1841-1941. Unpublished PhD dissertation, Department of Religious and Cultural Studies, University of Port Harcourt, Nigeria.
- Oduyoye MA 1986. The roots of African Christian feminism, in Pobee, JS & Creuz, CF (eds.), *Variation in Christian Theology in Africa*. Nairobi: WCC.

- Omoyayowo, AJ 1970. The Cherubim and Seraphim Movement: a study in interaction. *Orita*. 4(2): 16-35.
- Omoyayowo, AJ 1978. *Cherubim and Seraphim: the history of an African Independent Church*. Lagos: Nok.
- Oxford Dictionary of Saints* 1978. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Patterson LN 1957. *Continent in commotion*. Nashville: Covenant.
- Peel, JDY 1968. *Aladura: a religious movement among the Yoruba*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Ryan, M 1981. *Cradle class: the family in Oneida Country, New York, 1790-1865*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Salomon FA 1987. Feminist mission-sisters, nurses, midwives, and Joans-of-all-trades: the Dominican Sisters in Nigeria in Kulp, PM (ed.), *Women missionaries and cultural change. Studies in Third World Society*, 40: 31-46.
- Sider EM 1987. Hannah Frances Davidson: pioneer brethren in Christ Missionary, in Kulp, PM (ed.), *Women missionaries and cultural change: Studies in Thirds World Societies*, 40: 55-76.
- Sofala Z 1998. Feminism and African womanhood, in Obioma, Nnaemeka (ed.), *Sisterhood: feminism and power from Africa to the Diaspora*. New Jersey: African World.
- Steady, FC 1989. African feminism: a worldwide perspective, in Terborg-Penn, R et al (ed.), *Women in Africa and the Diaspora*. Washington, DC: Harvard University Press.
- Turner, HW 1967. *History of an African Independent Church*. Vols. 1 and 2 London: Clarendon.
- Ulanov, AB 1971. *The feminism in Jungian psychology and in Christian Theology*. Evanston: Northwestern University Press.
- Williams, CP 1976. The recruitment and training of oversea missionaries in England between 1850 and 1900, with special reference to the records of the Church Missionary Society, the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, the London Missionary Society and the China Inland Mission. MLitt Thesis. University of Bristol.

Personal interviews

- Abamba, Sunday. Personal interview, 12 March 2005.
- Adishi, C. Personal interview, 2 November 2009.
- Agadaga, CO. Personal interview, 9 December 2009.
- Agwuaturu, Johnson. Personal interview, 14 July 2002.
- Atieku, E. Personal interview, 10 December 2009.
- Idu, John. Personal interview, 5 April 2002.
- Okuegbue, Akpogbue Peter. Personal interview, 13 June 2002.
- Omesa, Mary. Personal interview, 13 February 2002.
- Osaewe KC. Personal interview, 15 February 2006.
- Ozeh, Beatrice. Personal interview, 17 February 2005.