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The Growth and Development of Nigerian Historiography: The History of Historians and Historical Writing in Nigeria

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Abstract

Articulating and writing what constitutes Nigerian historiography had been quite challenging and tautuous. In a bid to achieve coherent structure and better understanding of the paper, the work is divided into three parts, respectively addressing the 'past', the present and the future of Nigerian historiography. The past, reinforces the argument that there existed cultural repertoires from the Nigerian history before the advent of colonialism. Other key themes discussed here are to wit: the vitality of oral history and pre-colonial Nigerian history. The section on the 'present' completely recapitulates the Nigerian historiography since independence, the first historians trained abroad, the first doctorates and the first books published; conceptual debates-politicization, secularization and interdisciplinary, the Study institutionalization and training of leading Nigerian historians, Islamic Centres shaping Nigerian historiography, the emergence of Nigerian historians in the diaspora and the crisis of Modern Nigerian Historiography. In the last segment, the 'future', strengthens the argument on the changing trend in Nigerian historiography which reflected in the overall success of Nigerian universities to rebranding themselves by adding International Studies in order to attract more students. Involve surveying the scene in the last five to ten years; what are the major books that have been delivered and what has the major themes been? It will determine themes that will remain dominant and ones that will dominate in the future. We argued that with the introduction of International Studies, other themes that were emerging and remained dominant were: diplomacy, international law, Refugees Studies, Politics of Development and Underdevelopment, Gender Studies, Border and Security Studies just to mention but a few; and that all these issues are determined by changing Nigerian historiography overtime. We therefore concluded that as developed by the professional historians, modern Nigerian historiography has come a long way with unprecedented breakthroughs and challenges.

Keywords: Growth, Development, Nigerian Historiography, History of Historians, Historical Writing

Introduction

This paper is divided into three parts, respectively addressing the past, the present and the future of Nigerian historiography. The introductory section on the 'past' shall focus on the cultural repertoires from the pre-colonial history of Nigeria before the advent of colonialism. Some of the key themes that will be discussed here are Oral tradition and pre-colonial Nigerian history. In Nigerian historiography, the increasing use of Oral tradition by Nigerian historians like other African historians remains a healthy development. It is significant to note that this is part of our argument in this paper. We shall also argue the vitality of oral history.

The section on the 'present', shall examine Nigerian historiography since independence to the present. It will examine the establishment of universities across Nigeria and engage with the historians working and crafting histories in them. The first historians trained abroad, the first doctorates as well as the first books published. It will also discuss the emergence of new schools of interpretation for example the Islamic School in the North in the 1970s. The paper will equally structure this section with subsections making it clear which historians are emerging when, and where, and how the

field is evolving. Moreover, it will include the emergence of the Diaspora of Nigerian historians.

The 'future', in this context would involve surveying the scene over the last five to ten years: what are the major books that have been delivered, and what have the major themes been? It will also determine themes that will remain dominant into the future as well as the ones that will dominate in the future. Some key themes focused on were the flourishing of multidisciplinary perspectives, and the overall success of Nigerian universities to rebrand themselves by adding International Studies in order to attract more students. We further argued that other themes that were emerging and remained dominant were as a result of the introduction of international studies were diplomacy, international law, Refugee studies, Politics of Development and Underdevelopment, Gender studies, peace and conflict studies, border and security studies just to mention but a few. The key sources used in this segment were primarily journal articles and text books. All these issues can be determined in consideration with the changing Nigerian historiography overtime.

The Past

In our analysis of the state of Nigerian historiography, there was no doubt that there was Nigerian historical consciousness prior to the coming of the European Colonization. There is an obvious one, which is oral tradition. Infact, this is one evidence of the vitality of the field and of its viability as a historical discipline. It may be necessary to give a brief account of the growth of oral traditional studies in Nigeria. Be that as it may, the flag-bearers in Nigeria were K.O. Dike and S.O. Biobaku who first called out for a recourse to Oral traditions. Dike went to Bonny as well as a few places in the Niger Delta, although, he did not use oral traditions to any appreciable degree in his major work, *“TRADE AND POLITICS IN THE NIGER DELTA, 1830-1885: AN INTRODUCTION TO THE ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL HISTORY OF NIGERIA”*¹. However, he realized the inadequacies of relying solely on the written sources which were external in origin as well as external in their orientation. Despite the challenges, a great deal of Dike’s

appeal at the time related to his exposure of the inadequacies of the external approach to African history, and therefore emphasized seriously on the need for oral tradition. Biobaku’s *THE EGBA AND THEIR NEIGHBOURS*², made use of oral traditions in addition to material in the British Publish Record Office in London. Biobaku also wrote some papers on oral tradition,³ such as *“THE PROBLEM OF TRADITIONAL HISTORY, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO YORUBA TRADITIONS”*, and *“THE YORUBA HISTORICAL RESEARCH SCHEME”*⁴, just to mention but a few. Furthermore, Dike and Biobaku subsequently, directed schemes for the recovery of local history through interdisciplinary study in the Benin and Yoruba historical research schemes.

In the area of Oral historiography, as explained above, “it is evident that the recording of Oral tradition has become a major pre-occupation.”⁵ Against this background, the following works passed through the print media.⁶ Indeed, given the plethora of works and overwhelming interest

¹Dike K.O, *Trade and Politics in the Niger Delta, 1830-1885: An Introduction to the Economic and Political History of Nigeria*, (London Oxford University Press, 1956)pp.1- 250

²Biobaku, S.O., *The Egba and Their Neighbours 1842-1872* (London Oxford University Press in 1957), p. 1-228

³ Biobaku, S.O. “The Problem of traditional history, with Special Reference to Yoruba traditions,” *Journal of Historical Society of Nigeria*, Vol. 1, No.1, 1956, pp. 43-47;

⁴ Biobaku, S.O. “The Yoruba Historical Research Scheme”, *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria*, Vol. 1, No. 1, 1956, pp. 59-60; H.F.C. Smith, “The Benin Study”, *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria*, Vol. 1, No.1, 1956, pp. 60-61.

⁵ Dike K.O., and Ajayi J.F. A., “African Historiography”, p. 399.

⁶ Aye, E.U. *Old Calabar through the Centuries*, (Calabar, 1967); J.S. Boston’s “Oral Tradition and the History of Igala,” in *J.A.H*, X, 1, 1969; and *The Igala Kingdom* (Ibadan, 1965); M.G., Smith’s “Field Histories Among the Hausa” in *J.A.H* 2, 1961; G.I. Jone’s “European and African Tradition on the Rio Real” in *J.A. H*, 4,

in Oral tradition as a legitimate source for historical reconstruction, one can go on to catalogue almost indefinitely the works on our area of study. Notwithstanding colossal contributions of world famous scholars such as Jan Vansina⁷ and Wyatt MacGaffey⁸ in demonstrating the validity of oral evidence, W.G. Clarence-Smith⁹ and D.P. Henige¹⁰ have done their best to distort as well as invalidate oral tradition but to no avail. In Nigerian historiography, the increasing use of oral tradition by Nigerian historians like other African historians remains a healthy development.

At the time, most academic studies using oral tradition started with an apology concerning the shortage of written records which has obliged the author to turn to oral traditions. However, the deeper we get into the study of oral traditions, within the discipline itself, I would argue, the wider the field of enquiry

opens up as new problems appear as quickly as old ones are solved. Undoubtedly, this is one evidence of the vitality of the field as well as of its viability as a historical discipline. In Nigeria or West Africa, not much has issued in the publication of substantial works, but there are some material from younger scholars in the form of unpublished theses and dissertations. E.J. Alagoa's work of systematic collection and analysis of Ijo oral tradition was published only in 1972.¹¹ Substantial work in the collection of oral tradition and its use in the reconstruction of the early history of peoples and kingdoms has been done in East Africa in the 1960s, and 1970s, following the work of Bethwell A.Ogot.¹²

Yet in another genre, Nigerian historians had the sustained the fact not only of historiography deriving from distant ages as well as distant lands, such as Mesopotamia

1963, C.K. Meek's, *A Sudanese Kingdom: An Ethnographical Study of the Jukun-Speaking Peoples of Nigeria*, (New York, 1969); E.J. Alagoa's, *A History of the Niger Delta: An Historical Interpretation of Ijo Oral Tradition* (Ibadan, 1972); "Oral Tradition Among the Ijo of the Niger Delta" in *J.A.H.*, VII, 3, 1966; "The Development of Institutions in the States of the Eastern Niger Delta" in *J.A.H.*, 12, 2, 1971; and "Songs as Historical Data, Examples from the Niger Delta" in *Research Review*, 5, 1, 1958; Erim O. Erim, "Cultural Totemism and the Idoma Pre-Colonial History" in *C.H.J.* Vol. 2, 1979; Abdullahi Smith, "Some Considerations Relating to the Formation of States in Hausaland" in *J.H.S.N.* 5, 3, 1970; B.A. Ogot, "The Concept of the Outsider in African History", Public Lecture four at the Colloquium of the Second World and African Festival of Arts and Culture, Lagos, Nigeria, 1977; A.B/ Aderibigbe, *Trends and Patterns in Recent Historical Research in Nigeria* (International Congress of Africanists, Addis Ababa, 1973, (Mimeographed); S.O. Biobaku, *The Egba and their Neighbours, 1842-1872* (Oxford, 1957); K.O. Dike, *Trade and Politics in the Niger Delta, 1830-1885* (Oxford, 1956).

⁷Vansina Jan, *The Tio Kingdom of the Middle Congo, 1880-1892* (London, 1973); "Recording the Oral History of Bakuba I. Methods" in *J.A.H.*, II, 1960, pp. 45-54; "Recording the Oral History of the Bakuba II-Results" in *J.A.H.*, II, 1960, pp. 257-270; and *Oral Tradition: A Study in Historical Method* (Chicago, 1965).

⁸MacGaffey Wyatt, "Oral Tradition in Central Africa" in *International Journal of African Historical Studies* VII 3, 1975; and *Custom and Government in Lower Congo* (Berkeley, 197).

⁹Clarence Smith W.G., "A Note on the 'Ecole Des Annale's and the Historiography of Africa" in *History in Africa: A Journal of Method*, Vol. 4, 1977, pp. 275-281.

¹⁰Henige D.P., *The Chronology of Oral Traditions: Quest for a Chimera*, (Oxford, 1974).

¹¹ Alagoa E.J., *A History of the Niger Delta: An Historical Interpretation of Ijo Oral Tradition* (Ibadan, 1972).

¹² Ogot B.A., *History of the Southern Luo: Migration and Settlement 1500-1900* (Nairobi, 1967).

which Butterfield talked about, but also of the historiography of the pre-Nigeria Nigerians which was nearer in time as well as space. With respect to pre-Nigeria historians of Nigeria, we mean in this context those men as well as women, of fertile and shimmering imagination who span as well as propagated the rather mesmerizing historical constructs, often referred to in general literature as myths, which formed the ideological as well as philosophical base and stability for the two major state-systems which grew as well as flourished in the territorial area that later became Nigeria—that is among the peoples and cultures of the Niger-Benue area. also reflected in the changing trend in Nigerian historiography was in terms of shifts in focus as well as approach, and the outcome was increasing interest in pre-colonial Nigerian history as well as a decreasing in the use of history as a tool for political assault. In this respect, Robert A. Hess had contended that “Even a casual reader of African history is struck by the fact that significant shifts in focus and approach have occurred during the past decade (since 1960)”, and these shifts in

focus and approach tend to stress “the role of Africans—their institutions, their attitudes, and their internal forces” than “the activities of Europeans in Africa.”¹³ It is in this direction that one can understand the increased interest in pre-colonial Nigerian societies by Nigerian historians as evident by “the amount of research which has already been published on pre-colonial trade.”¹⁴ It is in this light that the work by E.J. Alagoa titled “*LONG DISTANCE TRADE AND STATES IN THE NIGER DELTA*”¹⁵, is quite instructive. Similarly, these shifts in focus and approach resulted in the discarding of the idea of using history as a political weapon.¹⁶ Thus, this change in academic fashion, despite Robin Hallet’s decrying of the tendency of African historians of “having sympathy for the heroic leaders of gallant resistant movements than for the conquerors, the agents of imperial power,”¹⁷ or Hugh Trevor Roper’s claim as late as 1963, that to study African history before the coming of the Europeans was to “pry into the unrewarding gyrations of the barbarous tribes in picturesque but irrelevant corners of the globe,”¹⁸ is a welcome

¹³ Robert A. Hess, J.F.A Ajayi and the New Historiography in West Africa” in African Studies Review, Vol. XIV, No. 2, September 1971, p. 273.

¹⁴ Austen Raph A., “Economic History” in African Studies Review, Vol. XIV, No. 3, December, 1981, p. 426.

¹⁵ Alagoa E.J. “*Long Distance Trade And States In The Niger-Delta*” Journal of African History, Vol. XI, No. 3, 1970,

¹⁶ Dike K.O., Twenty Five Years Ago and Today in J.H.S.N., Vol. X, No. 3, December, 1980., pp. 14-15.

¹⁷ Hallett Robin, Africa Since 1875: A Modern History (London: The University of Michigan Press 1974), p. 25.

¹⁸ Quoted in Uya O.E., “Trends and Perspectives in African History”, in Perspectives and Methods of Studying African History (Enugu, Fourth Dimension publishers, 1984), p. 2.

development. This is because the viewing of a society through the mind and eyes of the outsider or through the adoption of what O.E. Uya called the White Filter approach¹⁹ distorts and slants the historical reality by presenting the society in question as an adjunct of another and only capable of responding to external stimuli, hence incapable of making initiatives from its internal dynamics. Writing on “*AFRICAN HISTORICAL CONSCIOUSNESS AND DEVELOPMENT IN NIGERIA*”,

A.E. Afigbo, argued that:

By and large pre-colonial Nigerian societies were constructed in an atmosphere suffused with archaic historical consciousness in the sense that term is used in this paper. Any attempt to determine which preceded, or gave rise to, the other is bound to enmesh such an audacious scholar in a circle as vicious as that which arises whenever anyone tries to find out which preceded the other-the hen or the egg. Was the organic character of pre-colonial Nigerian societies the result of a determined effort to realise the holistic ideals of archaic historiography or was the holism of archaic historiography an *ex post facto* rationalisation of the organic quality of society. However, to the extent that thought or mentafact precedes action and material form, it

can be argued that archaic historical consciousness and its product, archaic historiography preceded archaic society.²⁰

It can also be argued that, to extent the harmony and present in archaic historiography, archaic society was fell short of the harmony present in archaic historiography, archaic society was a poor later-day attempt to realise the Olympian ideals enshrined in archaic historiography.²¹

Therefore, to the degree that the myths and legends which formed the organizational bases of the different pre-colonial Nigerian societies- Igbo, Yoruba, Edo, Ijo, Hausa, Kanuri, Gwari, Igala and Idoma societies etc- were mentafacts, they were prior in time to these societies and thus were the contributions of immortal historians and philosophers to the making of man in these parts.

A.E Afigbo, further contended that...

The achievement and impact of those men of intellect on development are writ large in the almost seamless nature of these societies-in the organic integration of peoples, institutions, age-groups, age-classes and generational groups, departments of state (economics, history, sociology,

¹⁹ Uya O.E., “The Culture of Slavery: Black Experience through A White Filter”, in *Afro-American Studies*, Vol.1, 1971, p. 203.

²⁰ Afigbo, A.E. *African Historical Consciousness and Development in Nigeria*, in E.J. Alagoa (ed), *Dike Remembered: African*

reflections on History, Dike Memorial Lectures 1985-1995 (Portharcourt: University of Portharcourt, Press Ltd, 1998) p. 129.

²¹ Afigbo, *African Historical Consciousness*, p. 129

politics, law, technology and art, work and leisure, play, dance and literature, soldiering and predecessors, contemporaries and posterity. Such was the cohesion achieved through the impact of the ideas of these wonder-workers that the much abused and misunderstood ethnic societies, inspite of their low level of technology, stood like the impregnable rock of Gibraltar before the onslaughts of draught and flood, famine and imperialism.²²

The greatest contribution of archaic historiography to development thus lay in the degree of stability which these societies enjoyed. By stability we mean not stasis or the absence of change but the capacity to retain enough of the known and familiar even while changing or absorbing new ways.²³ For the most part a major ingredient of social happiness and contentment is the feeling that, life is being lived in an environment (geographical and social) which is known or believed to be known and familiar and therefore basically friendly and soothing. Perhaps it was for this reason that an important strand in archaic social philosophy and historiography was reserving while changing. It was therefore the view of Afigbo that:

...two important explanatory factors may be mentioned. The first was the fact that both

statesmen and their subjects were historians. And they were not just historians, but historians who felt to the marrow the relevance of the past to contemporary life and to that which will succeed this life not only in time but also out of time. There was thus rapport between rulers and the ruled. To some extent, therefore, pre-colonial Nigerian societies were societies in which rulers approximated to the Platonic ideal of philosopher rulers-men who carried in their veins the highest intellectual attainments of their race in all departments of learning-history, philosophy, literature, politics, law, economics and so on. The second factor was that of time. Statesmen were unhurried in the changes they made and the attempt to domesticate those changes. In talking about these societies in the form we know them in the context of the 19th century, we are talking of the results of social experimentation and adjustment that had taken some six thousand years or so to make. It is not surprising that in spite of what slave traders, imperialists and nationalists have thrown at them, these societies continue to exhibit a degree of resilience that the Nigerian nation-state cannot but envy and may well be advised to emulate.²⁴

²² Afigbo, *African Historical Consciousness*, p. 129

²³ Afigbo, *African Historical Consciousness*, p. 129

²⁴ Afigbo, *African Historical Consciousness*, p. 130

In the context of the demythologization of the Nigerian past, the battle was fought to have a double barrel effect to destroy European myths about themselves and to destroy European myths about Nigerian past. Thus, to translate words into action in the West African context, Walter I. Ofonagoro, has noted that some scholars of the John Henrik Clark School (i.e “Glorious Africa”) argued that “when the ancestors of West Africans were sitting on thrones of gold, engaging in sophisticated international trade, and building complex cities and centres of learning, the ancestors of modern Europeans were crawling on their hands and knees in caves,” and that “there was complete security in fourteenth century Mali, while contemporary Europe could hardly have been described as safe from night marauders, robbers, highwaymen, and men of violence.”²⁵

This “insistence on the fact that Africa had a glorious and sophisticated history as shown by states that flourished in different parts of the continent”, or the argument that their history “was well documented in the Arabic records and the oral traditions of the people”, and the viewing of “the various Europeans

actors, despite their varying motives... as agents of European political, social and cultural imperialism”, has been described as defensive history designed to counter the dangerous lies Europeans has systematized and institutionalized about the African past”²⁶ Obiyo 230 It is in this context that K.O. Dike notes the role of European trades in the undermining of African sovereignty.²⁷ Obiyo 230

Benin works during the metal age are better known to the outside world than the art works of any other Nigerian community perhaps because Benin is the foremost Nigerian city to come in contact with the outside world. Undoubtedly, Benin’s contact with the outside world started with the visit to the city in 1472 by Ruy de Sequeria, a Portuguese, so when her art works began to be discovered news about them circulated easily. Over 4000 pieces of Benin works of art have been collected and many of them are in diverse museums in Europe including substantial number in the British museum.²⁸ However, one of the results of the British conquest of Benin in 1897 was the confiscation as well as eventual transfer to Britain of numerous

²⁵ Njemanze O.M., *Continuities and Changes in the Historiography of Nigerian History, 1945-1980*, in Falola Toyin and Paddock Adam (ed) *Emergent Themes and Methods in African Studies: Essays in Honour of Adiele E. Afigbo* (Asmara, ERITREA: Africa World Press, Inc., 2009), p. 230

²⁶ Njemanze O.M., *Continuities and Changes*, p. 230

²⁷ Njemanze O.M., *Continuities and Changes*, p. 230

²⁸ Okafor L.M. *History for Senior Secondary School Books 1 & 2*, Nigeria. (Onitsha: Jet Publishers (Nig) Ltd, 2004), p. 20.

Benin works of art by British soldiers and administrators. Among the Benin art works so far discovered are Ivory mask, brass heads, bras figure of human being, brass figures of leopards and a cock, brass plaques as well as ancestral alters. Besides, a study of Benin works of art during the metal age would show that her metal-work was mainly or basically concerned with bronze and brass casting; although there was more of brass casting than bronze.

The Present

Inside and outside the state, the attainment of political independence by Nigeria had tremendous impact on Nigerian historiography. In his account of the gains of independence in the context of Africa in general, Basil Davidson contended that:

The coming of independence could in those days seem a climactic moment dividing the past from an altogether different future when all things would be possible. For this optimism there was an all-pervasive reason, a psychological fact that was

surely a large historical fact... there came a vivid consciousness of having grasped destiny by the hand so that Africa's history could begin again....The literature, especially the writers, began to speak in voices of their own.²⁹

The attainment of independence came with other political developments, which contributed to changing the fortunes of Nigerian historiography. Nigerian historians, before their very eyes witnessed the Prime Minister joining his colleagues in ex-British territories “from the old world and the new in commonwealth conferences which at least displaced a new equality accepted to all.”³⁰ Similarly, they observed with satisfaction that their Nigerian national was in “a panoply of African spokesmen” welcomed by the United Nations Organization.³¹ It is important to state that the organization, “is the mouthpiece through which a newly independent state may immediately have a voice in world affairs, and Nigeria was one of the “independent African States, which by 1965 formed about one-third of the U.N.O.

²⁹ Davidson Basil, *Africa in Modern History: The Search for A New Society* (London: Penguin Book Ltd, 1978), pp. 284-285.

³⁰ Davidson Basil, *Africa in Modern History: the Search for A New Society* (London: Penguin Book Ltd., 1978), p. 280; Mazrui Ali A. has noted that the indirect control of both former French and former British Africa after independence has become increasingly difficult. The old strategy of de Gaulle to exercise hegemony in black Africa is beginning to crumble. The British Commonwealth has weakened. The big question in 1970 in Africa was less and less the direct political manipulation by Europe-Africa's International Relations:

The Diplomacy of Dependency and Change (London: Heinemann Educational Books Ltd, 1977), p. 107. The importance of Mazrui's submission lies in the fact that the weakening of these relationships tended to neutralize the political influence of the former colonial masters on their ex-colonies and resulted to Davidson's “new equality accepted all”.

³¹ Davidson Basil, *Africa in Modern History...*, p. 288; Makonnen Ras, *Pan-Africanism from within* (Nairobi: Oxford University Press 1973), p. 277.

membership”, and constituted “a major bloc of votes capable of exercising a pervasive effect upon Assembly proceedings”³². Finally, Nigerian historians were happy to note that their country was part of the Pan-African process which crystallized into the Organization of African Unity.³³ Either directly or indirectly, what these political developments meant to Nigerian historiography is that they acted as catalysts, which sped up the process of the development of Nigerian Scholarship.

Conceptual Debates-Politicization, Secularization, and Interdisciplinary

As earlier stated, the new Nigerian historiography adopted the European concept of continental as well as universal history, emphasis on politics partly because of the Hegelian theory of the state and the spirit of nationalism, and the secularization of historical writing. In the post-independence era, these developments were some of the continuities experienced in Nigeria’s historical developments. In the area of external relations, on the universal as well as

the continental planes, the admission of Nigeria into International Organizations like the United Nations Organization, the Commonwealth, and Organization of African Unity tended to expand the scope of Nigerian history. Furthermore, the tendency towards the politicalization and secularization of history were depicted by E.A. Anyanlede and J.F.A. Ajayi’s contentions. While the former dupes the missionaries in Nigeria as the “spiritual wing of secular imperialism,”³⁴ the latter indicates the disruptive impact of missionary activity on Nigerian societies.³⁵ Missionary history was not an important theme due to the fact that Nigerians saw it as a ploy to realize its imperialist objective. Christianity has existed in Europe for many centuries, but there is no indication up to now that the strength and destructive dispositions of the white race have, in the least, diminished. Rather, the marriage between the church and the state in Europe manifested itself in the close alliance between the gun and the cross in the conquest of Africa.³⁶ Among Nigerian scholars the debate was intense so they argued that as regards

³² Spencer, J.H. “Africa at the United Nations: Some Observations” in the study of Africa, Peter J.M. McEwan and Robert B. Sutcliffe (eds), (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd, 1965), pp. 393-394.

³³ Davidson Basil, *Africa in Modern History*..., p 288; and Dei-Anang Michael, “Foreign Policy of the Independent African States” in *African Studies since 1945*..., p.71.

³⁴ Anyanlede, E.A. *The Missionary Impact on Modern Nigeria 1842-1914: A Political and Social Analysis*, (Ibadan: Longmans, 1966);

and E.A. Anyanlede, “The Relations between the Church Missionary Society and the Royal Niger Company, 1886-1920” in *J.H.S.N.*, Vol. IV, No. 3, 1968.

³⁵ Ajayi J.F.A., *Christian Missions in Nigeria: 1841-1891: The Making of A New Elite* (Ibadan: Longmans, 1965).

³⁶ Njemanze, Paul Obiyo Mbanaso, *A Century of African-American Experience in Nigeria* Ph.D Thesis Submitted to the Department of History, October, 1992, p. 144

religion, Christianity was expected to achieve a feat which it failed to accomplish in Britain.³⁷ Therefore, B.P. Putman Weale put forward a curious idea that:

African is one region where the spread of Christianity is to be heartily desired. If the negro, in measure as to be civilized, goes to Islamism, he must become a greater peril, if he is Christianized his destructive strength is stripped from him as was Samson's strength when his locks were cut.³⁸

Emilio Williams has drawn attention to the case of latin world that "the indissoluble union of the altar and the throne "called for mutual support for one another, and that "the church defended the divine sanctity of kings; the crown upheld the ecumenical authority of the Roman Catholic Church".³⁹ Hence, it is not surprising that the colonial government shut its eyes when the Rev. Samuel Ajayi Crowther, was removed as the Bishop of the Niger territories by the Church Missionary Society (C.M.S), despite his impressive Missionary achievements of the said clergy.

Furthermore, in the sphere of interdisciplinary approaches, the frontiers are expanding

tremendously in Nigeria in particular and Africa at large. K.O. Dike and J.F.A. Ajayi have opined in the context of Africa generally that it "has been the most fruitful trend in African historiography in the last decade (since 1958)". Thus, in research and in the training of future historians, the creation of special centres and institutions of African studies within which historians, anthropologists, archaeologists as well as linguists can co-operate for mutual benefits. Added to this was the establishment of "specific culture history projects like the Benin and Yoruba schemes, in which teams of people from different disciplines co-operate under the direction of one person to throw light on the culture history of a particular culture", and the "conveying of a periodic conferences or congresses on African history".⁴⁰ It has been observed that this "steadily advancing alignment between history and the social sciences", it has been noted, tended to transform the former from chronicle into that part of the social sciences" concerned with change in human societies" as well as emancipating "itself from the

³⁷ Njemanze, A Century of African-American, p. 144

³⁸ Putman Weale, B.P., quoted in "The Political Importance of Christianity", Lagos Weekly Record, February 19 and 26, 1901, p. 52.

³⁹ William Emilio, Latin American Culture: An Anthropological Synthesis (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1975), 29.

⁴⁰ See History and Archaeology in Africa. Report of a Conference held in July 1983 at the School of Oriental and African Studies, London, 1955: D.H. Jones (ed), History and Archaeology in Africa: Second Conference held in July, 1957 at the S.O.A.S., R.A. Oliver and J.N. Faae (ed), Third Conference on African History and Archaeology 1961, IAH Vol. III, No. 2, 1962.

documents and from the limitations which the documents imposed”.

The pioneers of Nigerian academic history were believers in the inter-disciplinary approach, an increasing adoption of interdisciplinary approaches that came to the fore in the Nigerian historiography. In Nigeria, the curtain was raised for the academic study of local history by the publication of the books by Kenneth O. Dike, *TRADE AND POLITICS IN THE NIGER DELTA, 1830-1885*.⁴¹ Alagoa and Saburi O. Biobaku, *THE EGBA AND THEIR NEIGHBOURS, 1842-1972*. And to the very first number of the Journal of the *HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF NIGERIA*, two research projects based on ideas of Inter-disciplinary study directed by Dike and Biobaku were announced⁴². Indeed, the announcement for the *BENIN SCHEME* considered it “a new departure”, a new technique of historical research, and described its operation as follows: “the principle underlying it is that scholars working on all possibly connected lines

should actually work together in the field, in continual close contact with each other throughout the period of their research”.⁴³ Also, on inter-disciplinary approaches, Walter I. Ofonagoro has shown the rapport between “history and ethnography, history and anthropology-sociology, history and culture,⁴⁴ while K.O. Dike and J.F.A. Ajayi as stated above, have demonstrated how this approach “has been very fruitful in the collection and evaluation of material for African history”, in “the exploitation of government, missionary, commercial and private archives in Europe” since the end of the Second World War as well as the “taking care of ancient monuments and the establishment of museums of art and crafts.”⁴⁵ This revival of interest in a multidisciplinary approach, which the distinguished fourteenth century Tunisian historian Ibn Khaldun had emphasized, became more pronounced and formed one of the pillars of new Nigerian historical scholarship⁴⁶.

⁴¹Dike K.O, quoted in Alagoa E.J, *The Inter-Disciplinary Approach to African History in Nigeria*, in Nwosu Chukwuemeka Tony (ed), *Issues in the Multi-Disciplinary and Methodological Approach to African History and International Studies*, (Minna, Nigeria: Academic Publishing Center, Federal University of Technology, 2022), p. 109.

⁴² Biobaku S.O., *The Yoruba Historical Research Scheme*, “JHSN, Vol. 1, No. 1. 1956, 59-60j H.F.C. Smith, *The Benin Study*,” Northern History Research Project of the last decade directed by

Professor Smith and Thurstan Shaw; and the Eastern Nigeria Historical Research Scheme aborted by the national crisis: the proposed Lagos Research Project and the current Rivers Research Scheme.

⁴³ Smith, *The Benin Study*,”p. 60. Emphasis on all in the Original.

⁴⁴ Ofonagoro Walter I, “Reappraisals in History: The West African Context” in *Perspectives and Methods*, p.8.

⁴⁵Dike K.O and J.F.A Ajayi, “African Historiography”, p. 399.

⁴⁶ Njemanze, *Emergent Themes and Methods*, p. 231

Both in research and in the training of future historians, this is because of the creation of special centres and institutions of African studies within which historians, anthropologists, linguists, as well as archaeologists can operate. Added to this was the establishment of “specific culture history projects like the Benin and Yoruba schemes, in which teams of people from different disciplines co-operate under the direction of one person to throw light on the culture history of a particular culture”, and the “conveying of periodic conferences, or congresses on African history”.⁴⁷ However, this “steadily advancing alignment between history and the social sciences”, it has been noted, tended to transform the former “from chronicle into that part of the social sciences concerned with change in human societies” as well as emancipating, “itself from the documents and from the limitations which the documents imposed”. This was possible

because, “it threw itself wide open to the findings and methods of other disciplines; geography, sociology, psychology, and embraced all the artifacts of man-language, art, oral traditions, the evidence of the country-side, field systems and every other resources available to the scholars.”⁴⁸ On Nigerian history, infact, most major work saw the light of the day mainly because of the enormous adoption of interdisciplinary approaches. The global academic conviction that “scholarship does not stand on one foot,”⁴⁹ has become the vogue in Nigerian historiographical scholarship such that when historians are accused by their colleagues from other disciplines that they have not shown interest in the approach, they are quick to point out that the allegation is unfounded.⁵⁰

Institutionalization

The first University in Nigeria was founded in 1948 as University College Ibadan, one of many colleges within the University of

⁴⁷ Dike K.O. and J.F.A. Ajayi, “African Historiography” in *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, Vol. 6, (New York: The Macmillan Company and the Free Press, 1968), pp. 298-399.

⁴⁸ Dike K.O., “African History Twenty Five Years, p. 17.

⁴⁹ Noss P.A., “The Web of Language: Footprints of History,” *Faculty of Arts Seminar, University of Calabar*, 18 May, 1983. Louis L. Snyder, *The Meaning of Nationalism* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1972, originally published in 1954), pp. 11-21; Louis Gottschalk, *Understanding History* (New York, 1950), pp. 228-229. F. Max Wirth, “Types of Nationalism in American Journal of Sociology, XLI (1936), pp. 723-737; Eamonn F.O Doherty, “Multidisciplinary Methods in Retrospect” in *Psychiatry, Journal for the Operational Statement of Interpersonal Relations*, II (1948), pp. 335-356; A.E. Ntukidem, “Geography and Historical Methodology with Reference to the Study of the Origin and Migration of Non-Literate People” in the *Calabar Historical*

Journal, Vol., No. 1, June, 1976, pp. 1-3; A.E. Afigbo, “Ibibio Origin and Migrations: A critique of Methodology” in *Nigerian Magazine*, Nos. 107-09; William L. Langer, “The Next Assignment” in *The American Historical Review* LXIII, January 1958), pp. 283-304; H. Stuart Hughes, “The Historian and the Social Scientist” in *The American Historical Review*, Vol. LXVI, No. 1, (October 1960), pp. 21-40.

⁵⁰ Alagoa E.J., “The Present State of Oral Traditional Studies” in *Erim O. Erim & Okon E. Uya (eds) Perspectives and Methods of Studying African History* (Enugu: Fourth Dimension Publishers, 1984), p. 36. See also E.J. Alagoa, “The Interdisciplinary Approach to African History in Nigeria” in *presence Africaine*, No. 94, 1975, pp. 171-183; and “The Relationship Between History and other Disciplines” in *Tarkh*, Vol. 6, No. 1, 1978, pp. 12-20.

London. It became an independent University in 1962 and it is the oldest degree-awarding institution in Nigeria. Some of the earliest graduates of the institution were J.F. Ade Ajayi, E.A. Ayandele, Chieka Ifemesia, J.C., Anene, Obaro Ikime, Ebiegberi J. Alagoa, Walter Ofonagoro, H.F.C. Smith, A. Ryder, J.D. Omer-Cooper, A.E. Afigbo, R.A. Adeleye, J.A. Avanda, B.O. Oloruntimehin and Gabriel O. Olusanya just to mention but a few. Kenneth Onwuka Dike went to University of Aberden Scotland where he earned a Bachelor of Arts degree in History and finally King's College London, where he was awarded a Ph.D in African history in 1950. Infact, he was the first Nigerian to be professionally trained as a historian in the Western tradition. Upon completing his university education, he joined the staff of the then University College London, Ibadan, rising from a University Professor to become the first Nigerian Vice Chancellor of what has since become University of Ibadan. Subaru Oladeni Biobaku is one of the historians trained abroad. Biobaku was appointed an assistant Liaison officer in charge of Nigerian Students in London in 1951, the same year that he obtained his Ph.D

degree.⁵¹ The first of the three major appointments held by Biobaku between 1953 and 1972 was that of the Registrar at University College, Ibadan. He had the distinction of being the first Nigerian ever to hold the post. The second appointment of Biobaku was to the post of Secretary to the cabinet of the Government of the Western Region of Nigeria. The last of the three major appointments held by Biobaku was the Vice Chancellorship of the University of Lagos, which made him the academic and administrative head of the institution. Thus in the sphere of academic freedom, the Vice Chancellor of the University of Lagos did not neglect the right of the university to admit its own students in accordance with regulations of the senate. Undoubtedly, the best example was Biobaku's reply to the views held by both Government and some private individuals that a quota system of admission was essential in the interest of national Unity. However, the Vice Chancellor expressed his agreement with the need on the part of the Federal Institutions to promote unity through service to all the states in the federation. He further contended:

⁵¹ Aderibigbe A.B., "Biobaku The Scholar and his Works", in G.O. Olusanya, *Studies in Yoruba History and Culture*, (Ibadan University Press Ltd, 1983), p.4

In rendering this service however, they must adhere strictly to the standard of academic excellence which they have set for themselves and without which they would lose the international badge of universities. It would be invidious to lower the standards for candidates from the less educationally advantaged parts of the country simply to be able to flaunt an admission list which showed every part nearly equally represented in the universities. Such a policy will defeat itself in the end....⁵²

In this context the Vice Chancellor's insistence to adhere strictly to the standard of academic excellence and his repudiation of the quota system aided in admitting qualified students in the university at the point of entering or admission. This strict adherence to the admission procedure at the University of Lagos helped to shape historical knowledge production in particular and the university as a whole.

Nigerian historiography is partly a result of the proliferation of universities in Nigeria and the accompanying establishment of Nigerian historical studies centres and Islamic study centres. With respect to tertiary institutions, the University of Nigeria,

Nsukka, University of Ife (now Obafemi Awolowo University Ile-Ife); University of Lagos; and Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, were founded in the 1960's to continue the good work started by the University of Ibadan as a premier institution in Nigeria. Also, in the 1970's, the University of Calabar, University of Benin, University of Port Harcourt, University of Ilorin, University of Jos, University of Maiduguri, University of Sokoto, and Bayero University, Kano, were also established to aid Nigerian historical scholarship. In the context of Islamic Studies, Ahmadu Bello University, Bayero University, Kano and University of Sokoto can be identified as famous Islamic study centres.

Islamic Study Centres Shaping Nigerian Historiography

Most of these Islamic study centres in the 1970's emerged as new schools of interpretation, for example, the Islamic school in the north became foremost Arabic centres where Arabist historians propagated Islamic studies using Arabic source materials and knowledge of Hausa. Language to

⁵²Aderibigbe "Biobaku: The Scholar, p. 20.

pioneer studies on Islam. John Raph Willis observed that:

Before 1960 there were no university centres devoted to the study of Islam in Africa; there was only a handful of schools fully engaged in Islamic studies and of these very few trained in the historical discipline... The last decade, has told a rather different story. Several prominent centres of African studies have been established, and while a serious shortage of Arabist historians continues, it is encouraging to note that each of these centres has placed high priority upon the acquisition of scholars in African Islamic Studies.⁵³

Thus, the emergence of these new schools of interpretation like the Islamic school in the north or the Islamic Study Centres had greater value and recourse to the moslem record in the reconstruction of African history. Arab geographers and historians like Al-Masudi, Al Bakri, Ibn Battuta as well as others left rather extensive records on Africa. In this regard, also important are the records of Africans who were Muslims and wrote with the moslem tradition, among whom were Rahman Al-Sadi, author of *Tarikh-al-*

Fettach, Usman dan Fodio, Sultan, Bello, to mention but a few. In fact, John Raph Willis of Princeton University has shown, these records are veritable for the reconstruction of the history of the Sudanic Belt of Africa.⁵⁴

Aside from the foregoing, the establishment of chairs as well as professorships in Black African history in Nigerian Universities has a direct connection with the proliferation of books on Nigerian history. In this respect, K.O. Dike has contended that “Twenty-five years ago, there was not a chair or indeed a lectureship in Black African history in the universities of the World,” but today scores of chairs and professorships have been established...in universities of sub-Saharan Africa” and books on African history proliferate.⁵⁵ Yet in the same genre, T.O. Ranger argued that “that the enormous increase in African publishing” brought in its wake “The Journal of African History as the combined manifesto, chart, programme shop-window for the field...”⁵⁶ with regards to the proliferation of works on Nigeria history, the following books⁵⁷ were published. It is

⁵³ Willis John Raph, “The Historiography of Islam in Africa: The Last Decade, 1960-1970”, *African Studies Review*, Vol. XIV, No. 3, December, 1971, p. 403.

⁵⁴ Erim & Uya, *Perspective and Methods*..., p. 4

⁵⁵ Dike K.O., “African History, p. 14.

⁵⁶ Ranger T.O. “Toward A Usable African Past” in *African Studies Since 1945*..., pp. 17-18.

⁵⁷ Anene J.C.O., *Southern Nigeria in Transition, 1885-1906: Theory and practice in a Colonial Protectorate* (London, 1966); Johnson H.A.S., *The Fulani Empire of Sokoto* (London, 1967); Egharevba J.U., *Short History of Benin* (Ibadan, 1968); Sidney John Hogben and A.H.M. KirkGreene’s *The Emirates of Northern Nigeria: A preliminary Survey of Their Historical Tradition* (London, 1966); as well as Jon B. Losi’s *History of Lagos* (Lagos, 1967). Similarly, others are W. Ibekwe Ofonagoro’s *Trade and Imperialism in*

significant to note that the books stated below in our footnote do not exhaust the number of books published on Nigeria history nor were they cited here because they are not more important than others not mentioned here. The books stated below in our footnote is for the purpose of illustration and for want of time and space, we cannot accommodate all the books so far published in Nigerian history. Furthermore, in the same vein, it is important to state that while these books are indeed informative and instructive with regards to the Nigeria historical process, *THE GROUND WORK OF NIGERIAN HISTORY*⁵⁸ edited by Obaro Ikime in 1982, was a project of the Historical Society of Nigeria which constitute one of the latest published by the society represent a significant milestone in the development of historical knowledge, research and scholarship.

Southern Nigeria 1881-1929 (New York, 1979); David Northrup's Trade without Rulers: Pre-colonial Economic Development of South Eastern Nigeria (London, 1978); K.O. Dike, Trade and Politics in the Niger-Delta 1830-1885: An Introduction to the Economic and Political History of Nigeria (Oxford, 1957); Ade Ajayi J.F. and T.N. Tamuno (eds), The University of Ibadan, 1940-1973: A History of the First Twenty-Five Years, (Ibadan, 1973); A.E. Afigbo, The Warrant Chief System in Eastern Nigeria 1900-1929 (Longmans, 1972); Atanda J.A., The New Oyo Empire (Indirect Rule and Change in Western Nigeria, 1894-1934) Longmans 1973; P. Igbafe, Benin Under the British Administration 1897-1938, Longman, 1979; Ikime O., Niger-Delta Rivalry: Itsekiri-Urhobo Relations and the European Presence, 1884-1936

The Emergence of Nigerian Historians in the Diaspora

At this juncture, I would consider structuring this section with subsections making it clear which historians are emerging when, and where, and how the field was evolving and I would certainly include the emergence of the diaspora of Nigerian historians. First to be mentioned here is Professor Kenneth Onwuka Dike, whom in an article I wrote about him was titled: Professor Kenneth Onwuka Dike 1917-1983: Father of Modern African historiography⁵⁹. As earlier stated, went to the University of Aberden Scotland where he earned a Bachelor of Arts degree and finally Kings College, London, where he was awarded a Ph.D in African history in 1950. He was the first Nigerian to be professionally trained as a historian in the Western tradition. Upon his completing his University education as earlier stated above, he joined the staff of the then University College London, Ibadan, rising from a

Longmans, 1969; J.F.A. Ajayi's Christian Missions in Nigeria, 1841-1891: The Making of a New Elete (Ibadan, 1965); and E.A. Ayandele, The Missionary Impact on Modern Nigeria 1842-1914: A Political and Social Analysis (Ibadan, 1966).

⁵⁸ Ikime Obaro, (ed.) the ground of work of Nigerian History, (Ibadan, 1982)

⁵⁹ Nwosu Chukwuemeka, Professor Kenneth Onwuka Dike 1917-1983: Father of Modern African Historiography" in Journal of Modern European Languages and literature (J.M.E.L) Volume 12, July 2019, published by Department of Modern European Languages, Faculty of Arts, Nnamdi Azikiwe University, Awka, Nigeria.

University Professor, to become first Nigerian Vice-Chancellor, of what has since become the University of Ibadan. He was either instrumental in the training of our early professional historians or a teacher to most of the early Nigerian professors of history.⁶⁰ He has been credited for the transformation of the history curriculum at Ibadan; and by making historical studies more relevant and more African paving the way for what is known today as the “Ibadan School of History”. The prominent historians he trained at Ibadan of which some are professors in their own right include Jacob Ade Ajayi, Isaac Okonjo, Chika C. Ifemesia, E.J. Alagoa, Tekena Tamuno, Obaro Ikime, Adiele Afigbo, Sylvanus Cookey, Adewoye and Dr. Adeleye, among many others. As stated elsewhere, Saburi Oladeni Biobaku has a Ph.D in London in 1951 and in the same year he was appointed an Assistant Liaison Officer in charge of Nigerian students in London. His Ph.D thesis was titled: *The Egba and their Neighbours 1842-1872*, and was thoroughly revised and published (Oxford, 1957). The first Ph.D product of the University of Ibadan was Prof. A.E. Afigbo. He submitted his thesis in November 1964 on “*INDIRECT RULE IN SOUTHEASTERN*

NIGERIA”, which was later published in 1972, with the title, “*THE WARRANT CHIEFS IN SOUTHEASTERN NIGERIA*”, and he thereafter, devoted his energies and intellect to extend the frontiers of Igbo history.

Other prominent and incontrovertible historian of Nigerian extraction is Joseph Inikori, a Professor of history, University of Rochester. He was previously Head of the Department of History, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria. He is the author of *Africans and Industrial Revolution in England: A study in International Trade and Economic Development* (Cambridge, 2002), which won the 2003 American historical Association’s Leo Gershey Award for “the most outstanding work in English on any aspect of the field of 17th- and 18th-century Western European history”, and also the 2003 African Studies Association’s Herskovits Award. Toyin Falola, a renowned historian, is the Frances Higginbotham Nalle Centennial Professor in History at the University of Texas at Austin as well as a University Distinguished Teaching Professor. A fellow of the Historical Society of Nigeria and a fellow of the Nigerian Academy of Letters, Falola is author, and

⁶⁰ Nwosu Chukwuemeka, “Professor Kenneth.

editor of more than sixty books. G.N. Uzoigwe received his D. Phil. Degree from Christ Church, Oxford University, England in the 19th century British history. He is currently Professor of History at Mississippi State University, having served as department head from 1999-2005. Previously he taught at Makerere University in Uganda; the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor; and several Nigerian Universities where he served variously as head of history departments and Dean of Arts and Social Sciences as well as graduate school dean. Uzoigwe is a member of numerous academic and other professional organizations including the Historical Society of Nigeria, and from 1988-1992, he served as the Society's President. On the 19th of October 2005, he was awarded the Society's Golden Jubilee Award for "meritorious and distinguished Service". In December 2003, at a conference in Taipei, Taiwan, he was given "A Special Recognition Award in Appreciation for Contributions" to Scholarship by the Association of Third World Studies. Uzoigwe has authored and edited thirteen books, 31 government reports, and over 100 articles in major journals and

papers in major books and his publications⁶¹ include the ones stated below.

This section focuses more about the training of Nigerian Post Graduate historians in Western Universities abroad. Among those who belong to this category are inter alia: S.N. Nwabara, who did a Ph.D at the Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois, 1965, on "Iboland: A Study of British Penetration and Problem of Administration, 1860-1930"; Kingsley Nwachukwu Ogedemgbe submitted his Ph.D on the "Abo Kingdom of the Lower Niger, 1850-1900", to the University of Wisconsin in 1971. G.I. Nwaka submitted his "Urban History of Eastern Nigeria", to Dalhousie University, Halifax, Nova Scotia, Canada, in 1975; A.I. Nwabughuogu studied "Dynamics of change in Eastern Nigeria" Dalhousie University, Halifax, Nova Scotia, Canada, in 1971.

With the global historiographical trend, and how the field is evolving, these changes and continuities in Nigerian historiography in particular and African historical scholarship in general were in consonance. However defined, what was happening on the Nigerian milieu was nonetheless given credence by

⁶¹ Britain and the Conquest of Africa: The Age of Salisbury (Michigan, 1974); Revolution and Revolt in Bunyoro Kitara (Longman, 1970); Anatomy of An African Kingdom: A History of

Bunyoro Kitara (Doubleday, 1973); Troubled Journey: Nigeria Since the Civil War (University Press of America); and Visions of Nationhood: Prelude to the Nigerian Civil War (Forthcoming)

developments in America as well as Europe. With regards to America, Phillip D. Curtin submits that: “we began with about twenty Africanists in 1950, increased tenfold by 1960 (to about 200), then nine fold over the sixties, to 1,800 by the 1970,⁶² while this establishment of scores of chairs and professorships in African history was going on in America,⁶³ evidence at our disposal indicates that Europe was also caught in the web of great awakening of interest. Thus, European scholars did not only recognize African history as an academic subject,⁶⁴ but also attested that it was indeed a dignified ‘universal’ discipline.⁶⁵

The Crisis of Modern Nigerian Historiography

Nonetheless, Terence Ranger, writing in 1976 pondered over the existence of a “crisis” in African history with respect to pervasive disenchantment with African historiography as artificial as well as distant from real issues. According to a Ranger, this was a historiography of nostalgia as well as romance which could not tackle

contemporary challenges of economic poverty or underdevelopment. He called for a more “usable” historiography that would come to terms with African poverty.⁶⁶ While, there was a boom in Africanist studies in the heartlands of international monopoly capital, in places like America, Europe and Japan just to mention but a few, with the intention to aid imperialist and neo-colonialist penetration. Thus, it was crisis of African institutions (shaped by Economic and political factors, adversely impacted by the neocolonial relations. Bonaventure Swai, another contributor to the discussion, posed the challenge with respect to the dwindling popularity of history and historians in Africa. According to Swai, writing in the year 1989, “Why is it that the popularity of doing history in Africa has been so short lived?”⁶⁷ It is on record that as early as 1961 J.F. Ade Ajayi considered the crisis so serious that it required, in his view, a “radical reform”⁶⁸. For Ajayi the way out of the crisis is a shift of focus to the problem of national integration and economic, social, and cultural

⁶² Curtin Philip D., “African Studies: A Personal Assessment” in *African Studies Review*, Vol. XIV, No. 33, December 1971, p. 358.

⁶³ Dike, K.O. “African History Twenty ...14.

⁶⁴ Geiss Immanuel, “The Study of African History in Germany” in *African Studies Since 1945...*,p 209.

⁶⁵Coquery-Vidrovitch Catherine, *Changes in African Historical Studies in France*”, *African Studies Since 1945*, p. 200.

⁶⁶ Temu A. and Swai B., *Historians and Africanist History: A critique* (London, 1981) esp. Paper 1; T.O. Ranger, “Towards a

Usable Past” in C. Fyfe, ed., *African Studies since 1945* (London, 1975), 17-30

⁶⁷ Swai B., “The State of African History: Social Responsibility of the Coming Generation of African Historians” (Paper presented at the 34th Annual Congress of Historical Society of Nigeria, 1989) 1-2

⁶⁸ Lovejoy, “Ibadan History,” 201-202.

development while for Ranger usable historiography is that which is able to come to terms with African poverty. His preoccupation is indeed to explain the peripheralization of history which seems to be, according to him, the principal aspect of the crisis that had started in the early 1970s. Temu and Swai explain the crisis more or less in terms of methodological poverty, by which is meant the superficiality in analysis, lack of conceptual and theoretical rigor, and the low predictive capacity, and hence minor utilitarian value, of African historiography.⁶⁹

It is against this background and with particular instance of Nigerian historiography that Kapteijns concluded thus “no sign of crisis whatsoever”⁷⁰ She made this assertion against the backdrop of oil boom of the early 1970 which engendered the task of development and allowed for the proliferation of universities, and the shifting perspectives of Nigerian historians, which implied that historiography did not stagnate at any point in time. Rather the earlier focus on the era of the scramble gave way to focus on the distant past, the colonial past and the recent past; the earlier focus on political

history was being rectified by a growing focus on social and economic history; the reactive-response approach was balanced by studies which portray purely internal dynamics; the undue emphasis on the Centralized Kingdoms was balanced by studies of the so-called stateless societies and so on. Summing up this litany of shifting foci, perspectives, and concerns, Kapteijns contended that:

It is this continuous process of adaptation, of internal evolution that makes the occurrence of a crisis which was to shock Nigerian historians out of that current approaches to African history unnecessary and superfluous.⁷¹

Invariably, we will not hesitate in sympathizing with Kapteijns for allowing herself to be “compelled to share the illusion of that epoch”, since her cardinal sin was embracing the same kind of wanton optimism that characterized the early phase of Nigerian historiography.⁷²

The phenomenon of crisis, in the manner observed for Africa generally by Ranger, Temu, as well as Swai, was no doubt experienced in Nigerian historiography. However, the antecedents of the crisis prior

⁶⁹ Temu/Swai, *Historians*, Passim.

⁷⁰ Kapteijns “African Historiography,” 122

⁷¹ Kapteijns “African Historiography,” 122

⁷² Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *The German Ideology* (Moscow, 1976), 63.

to 1973, the terminal point of Kapteijns' enquiry. Nigerian historians have indeed devoted enormous time to it because they are intensely aware that a crisis existed.

Thereafter, this theme that is the broadening of historiography was further developed in his FESTAC paper of 1977. In the evolution of Nigerian historiography, Ajayi in the instant case here, adopted a relativist conception of relevance, according to which relevance was tied to phases. Thus, historians performed a vital social function to wit: that of intellectual decolonization. According to Ajayi, during the first two phases between 1950-1960 as well as 1960-1966, historians and their adherent were highly valued in the society. With respect to the newly-emergent state, nevertheless, historians successfully proved beyond doubt the relevance of history. During the period aforesaid history as well as its practitioners were very popular as well as blazing the trail. Furthermore, during the third phase, roughly since 1966, with its growth and development orientation in the past ceased to be of relevance. Under the period or third phase, the popularity of Historians waned in magnitude as the

euphoria of independence waned, as well as pressure thereafter mounted on practitioners to demonstrate the continuing relevance of the discipline. The emphasis being gradually given to the social science aspects of history (such as social and economic factors, the role of migrations, internal developments in the mode of production, technology, Land Tenure, etc) rather than to the overtly political, represents in his view a conscious attempt by historians to resolve the problem.⁷³

In 1969, E.A. Ayandele, a prominent Nigerian historian, denounced the imbalance in Nigerian historiography, notably its narrowly elitist focus and consequent neglect of the masses.⁷⁴ This is clearly a methodological critique, but the concern with the dwindling popularity of history and its practitioners is evident in the Keynote address he gave at the ten years later at the 24th Congress of the Historical Society of Nigeria at Calabar, where he bemoaned the dwindling output of research publications, of postgraduate students, and the gap between academic historians and the mass of the people.⁷⁵ Similarly, Adiele Afigbo, another

⁷³Ajayi Ade J.F., "In Search of Relevance in the Humanities in Africa," FESTAC Colloquium (1977) See also his "Critique"

⁷⁴Ayandele E. A., "How Truly Nigerian is Our Nigerian History?" "African Notes 5/2 (1969), 19-35.

⁷⁵ Ayandele E.A., "The Task Before Nigerian Historians Today", JHSN 9/4 (1979), 1-13.

renowned historians in Nigeria, has shown apprehension for the “present low priority, placed on history by all and sundry in Nigeria” while Obara Ikime’s inaugural lecture must count as a major contribution to the discussion.⁷⁶ In the 1950’s and 1960’s, Ikime’s dissent of attack is the shallow analysis offered in the monographs by leading historians, of which he is inclusive, and which tended to vitiate our understanding of the historical processes at our disposal. Due to the superficial nature of the analysis offered, these works were lacking in predictive capacity as well as were unable to foresee subsequent developments, or as a matter of fact, developments occurring as the books were being written or the theses being revised for publication. In order to ensure that historical analysis be more complete, he therefore called for a multidimensional approach to the study of history as a discipline. As had tended to be the case, Ikime warned about over-compartmentalization, arguing that those in political history could do more than add a paper on “social and economic

developments”. Historians should weave more social history into the political history they write since, with this orientation, “we could have made quite a major contribution to social history at the very same time as we wrote our political history”.⁷⁷ In the instant case, one can see Ikime making a strong case for schematic social history (or sociological history), as opposed to the dominant empiricist-narrativist constructs.⁷⁸ In other words, Ikime had become disenchanted with “the eclectic and technocratic idiocy that separates historical issues from the social structure under which the historians practice”.⁷⁹

In 1980, this dwindling fortunes of historical studies as well as research was reverberated in Ajayi’s presidential address to the 25th congress of the Historical Society of Nigeria held in Ibadan. Thus, Ajayi bemoaned the retarding interest in historical studies, he spoke of the slackening and dwindling post graduate enrollment, research and learning among others. He argued that:

African historians are making a less significant contribution to the

⁷⁶ Afigbo A. E., “Some Thoughts on the Teaching of History in Nigeria”, *Ikenga* 2/2 (1973), 4. But Afigbo seems to have repudiated this position when he argued years later that history was neither in a state of decline nor of neglect. See also his “History and National Development: The case of Nigeria”, (A paper presented at the 32nd Congress of the Historical Society of Nigeria, Jos, 1987).

⁷⁷ Ikime Obaro, *Through Changing Scenes*, 6-9, 18

⁷⁸ A distinction between schematic and unschematic social history is made by J. Hecht, “Social History”, *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* (18 Vols. New York, 1968-79), 6: 455-462.

⁷⁹ Ikenna Nzimiro, *The Crisis in the Social Sciences: The Nigerian Situation* (Oguta, 1986), 71. Here Nzimiro is referring to an aspect of the poverty in Nigeria historiography generally.

development of African history today than 15 or so years ago. There are fewer research students of African history in all Nigerian universities put together than you will find in London or Paris, Wisconsin, UCLA, or Columbia in New York.⁸⁰

We find various attempts by protagonists to proffer reasons for the crisis in the historical discipline in Nigeria, along with the criticism of the various inadequacies in historical discourse and the dwindling popularity of history and its practitioners. As noted in the preceding section, infact an excursion into this aspect reveals a diversity of views as well as orientation akin to that witnessed in the identification and specification of the nature and manifestation of the crisis. More so, the inability of the government to provide fund for universities, for lecturers salaries, for buying books and articles from abroad, non availability of research grants for postgraduate studies, did play a role or where a factor of the “crisis” in the growth and development of historical studies, historical research and historical writing. Ajayi appears to impute the crisis to the emphasis on political history, to the uttermost neglect of other economic cultural and social forces. However defined, Ajayi regretted the communication gap that

exists between academic historians and the mass of the people.⁸¹ In the first two phases of historiography, while the “drum and trumpet” tradition was adequate to the task of demythologization, it proved grossly inadequate in phase three, when African governments began seriously to confront the difficult tasks of economic development, industrialization as well as national integration. Thus, he also attributes the growing unpopularity of the discipline to the gap between academic historians and the masses, as manifested, for example, in the fact that no professional historian had written a book with a populist appeal.⁸²

What is more, A.E. Afigbo associated the decline in the popularity of history to the kind of history being taught as well as the way it is being taught. After independence in 1960, the shift of focus from politics to social as well as economic issues rendered the history of emperors and kings outmoded. The subject it was further contended has not been of interest to the masses, nor even to the ruling class, Afigbo contended that historians have not been able to make the shift of emphasis as demanded by the contemporary situation. Therefore, the kind of history being taught

⁸⁰ Ade Ajayi J.F., “In Search of Relevance in the Humanities in African: FESTAC Colloquium (1977).

⁸¹ Ajayi, “In Search of Relevance”

⁸² Anyandele “Task”, 1-5, 11-13.

appears thus “to lack obvious social relevance.⁸³ from the foregoing, we can conveniently collapse the reasons for the crisis into two:

- a) the role of government in bringing about the peripherization of the discipline;
- b) developments that are intrinsic to the discipline, such as the elitist character of historiography, the methodological challenges of empiricism and lack of theory, and artificiality of historical anatomization and or analysis.

The questions of historical understanding as well as the future of the discipline were issues at stake for the users of history. Although, critiques of Nigerian historiography from the radical paradigm are rare, we can draw from such works in African historiography generally to highlight some of the additional reasons offered by the left for the crisis.⁸⁴ Although the role of government is widely acknowledged, radicals emphasize the dependent or neocolonial character of African governments and their ready acceptance of the IMF/World Bank ideology of ‘developmentalism’, with its concomitant

de-emphasis on the cultural and humanistic disciplines.⁸⁵ The IMF structural adjustment programme affected Nigerian universities in the sense of low salaries which lead to brain drain in which case some lecturers left Nigeria to overseas for better pay package. Concerning methodology, radicals pointed to the empiricist and ideological character of the dormant nationalist orientation to demonstrate its artificiality and irrelevance.⁸⁶ Historians argued that the branching out into social, economic as well as cultural issues has neither rescued the discipline from its dwindling fortunes nor redeemed its popularity, however, they question the emphasis on ‘production’ history. This is because studies are being undertaken under the prevailing empiricist idiom and remain largely “unsociological” in character.⁸⁷ The methods and concepts that have hitherto governed the production of historical knowledge was now queried and therefore called for a drastic revision, if not an inversion, of the prevailing uncertainty. For the new orientations and perspectives to be relevant to contemporary society, they must be conducted within new paradigmatic and

⁸³ Afigbo, A. E.

⁸⁴ Waterman P., “On Radicalism in African Studies” in P.W.C. Gutkind and P. Waterman, eds, *African Social Studies: A Radical Reader* (London, 1977). 1-17.

⁸⁵ Swai, “States of African History”, 8-12.

⁸⁶ Swai / Temu, *Historians*, Paper 5; Bernstein/Depelchin, “Object of African History”

⁸⁷ This is Peel’s main criticism of the monographs done under the Ibadan History Series. See J.D.Y. Peel, *Ijeshas and Nigerians: The Incorporation of a Yoruba Kingdom, 1890s-1970s* (Cambridge, 1983).

methodological frameworks that will equip historiography with the tools and concepts that can advance the struggle against imperialism in all its ramifications a task which the dominant orientation is unable to perform.⁸⁸

The Future

The changing trend in Nigeria historiography was also reflected in the change of history departmental names from department of history to department of history and International Studies due to the dwindling student enrolment in History programme in most Nigerian Universities, a slow but consistent attrition that was approaching a crisis situation. With respect to this challenge, G.N. Uzoigwe, observed:

Sometime in 1995 Dr. Ndu Life Njoku, the editor of this book and also one of its contributors, suggested to me what he said he had worked out and thought could be a solution to the dwindling student enrolment in History...He proposed that the name of Department of History be changed to Department of History and International Studies...we debated the merits of the proposed change of name as well as the likely

problems this unique and novel combination might pose to students and teachers alike.⁸⁹

A major problem that was discussed was the absence of relevant books on the subject in the library of most of the universities however, since this proposal was a general problem faced by all Departments of history in the University at the time of the proposal and subsequently, the normal University channels were used to get the name change approved. Using Imo State University, Owerri, as example, within a couple of years, student enrolment in history in the university increased dramatically, and by the year 2000, the Department had turned out its first M.A. graduate (the Department started in 1992) in History and International Studies. Not surprisingly, this welcome revival of fortunes of History at the institution quickly attracted the attention of Heads of Department of History in Nigerian Universities.⁹⁰ The did the smart thing by copying the Imo State University initiative and witnessed also a dramatic upswing in student interest in History in their institutions, as a result of the overall success of Nigerians universities to

⁸⁸ Swai B., "National History Yes. But of What Sort? A Survey of Some Objectivist Positions and Materialist Criticisms of African Nationalist History" (Paper presented at the 33rd Congress of the Historical Society of Nigeria, Kano, 1988), 8. For a conception of relevant social research from the point of view of the radical paradigm See Waterman, "On Radicalism".

⁸⁹ Ndu Life Njoku, *Introduction to History and International Studies: An Africanist Perspective* (New Jersey: Goldline Publishers, 2008)pp vii-viii.

⁹⁰ Ndu Life Njoku, *Introduction to History and International Studies...*,p.viii.

rebrand themselves by adding International Studies⁹¹ in order to attract more students. However, University of Ibadan and University of Maiduguri retained their names as Department of History. University of Ibadan School of History was the oldest school of history in Nigeria and produced scores of historians and academics, so they felt they had achieved significant milestone and so did not see the need to change their name. However, the department awards Bachelor of Arts in History and, Diplomatic Studies and Bachelor of Arts degree in History. In the 1980s Nigerian scholarship in general began to decline, and the Ibadan school was much affected. The military rulers looked upon the universities with deep suspicion and they were poorly funded as a result. Many top minds were co-opted with plum jobs in the administration and left academia where as university of Maiduguri awarded Bachelor of Arts in history only. Perhaps to maintain the status quo ante.

Having laid the foregoing foundation, this segment on the future, will be surveying the scene over the last 5-10 years. Some of the major books that have been delivered are basically on interdisciplinary methodology such as Chukwuemeka Nwosu's work titled: "*ISSUES IN MULTI-DISCIPLINARY AND METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH TO AFRICAN HISTORY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES*"⁹² featured prominent scholars, basically historians and a few academics in their own right, who are non-historians contributed their quota in a bid to reflect the interdependency of disciplines and interdisciplinary approach for the benefit of undergraduate and post graduate students in History and International Studies. Due to lack of time and space, a lot of works abound in this field of historical inquiry. Writing on "*HISTORY AND SEMIOTICS: RECONSTRUCTING HISTORY BEYOND THE LIMITS OF THEORY AND PRACTICE*"⁹³ Chukwuemeka Anthony Ebiriukwu, methodologically shows the

⁹¹Department of History and International Relations, Abia State University, Uturu; Department of History and International Studies, Nnamdi Azikiwe University, Awka; Department of History and International Studies, University of Calabar, Calabar; Department of History and International Studies, University of Nigeria, Nsukka; Department of History and International Relations, Ebonyi State University Abakaliki; Department of History and Diplomatic Studies, University of Port Harcourt, Port Harcourt; Department of History and Strategic Studies, University of Lagos, Lagos; Department of History and Diplomatic Studies, Olabisi Onabanjo University, Ago-Iwoye; Department of History and International Studies, University of Benin, Benin; Department of History and

International Studies, University of Ilorin, Ilorin; Department of History and International Studies, Lagos State University, Lagos just to mention but a few

⁹² Chukwuemeka Tony Nwosu (ed), *Issues in the Multidisciplinary and Methodological Approach to African History and International Studies*, (Minna: Academic Publishing Centre (APC), Federal University of Technology, 2022);

⁹³Chukwuemeka Anthony Ebiriukwu, "*history and semiotics: reconstructing history beyond the limits of theory and practice*" in Nwosu Chukwuemeka Tony (ed), *Issues Issues in the Multidisciplinary and Methodological Approach to African History and International Studies*, pp. 65-81.

value of multidisciplinary in historical studies. Using Chinua Achebe's "*THERE WAS A COUNTRY*", and the experience of the Biafran war, it demonstrates how semiotics can add value to historical research and interpretation of events. A study of Biafra war artifacts gave rise to differing interpretations of the war. It shows the advantage of synergy in interdisciplinary approach in the humanities. Cyirl Anaele, in his work, "*THE USE OF QUALITATIVE IN HISTORICAL RESEARCH*"⁹⁴ reinforces the argument about the use of quantitative method in the study of history and international studies. It argues with evidence that the use of quantitative approach is gaining ground among historians due to its leaning towards empiricism and weaning of history from impressionistic accounts. In simplified presentation his work outlines the features and advantages of quantification such as the use of tables, histograms, line charts, graphs, which require interpretation by the historian. The justification for quantification in his work is apt because it adds great value to the study of history. In their work, "*THE APPLICABILITY OF COMPUTER TECHNOLOGY TO THE*

STUDY OF AFRICAN HISTORY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES", Chukwuemeka Tony Nwosu and Anthonious Chukwudi Akukwe, strengthens the argument for the use of Computer Technology but supports the use of interdisciplinary approach. It traces the history of development of computer, functions and applicability of computer to the study of African history. It shows the relevance of computer to historical skills, preservation of oral history in Microsoft word, storage of archival and archaeological data. Johnson O. Ndubuisi, in his work, "*HISTORY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES: THE DIMENSIONS OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES*"⁹⁵ address the fact that history and international studies are siamese twins sharing umbilical cord that cannot be separated because the root of International Relations as the reductionists have tended to brand it, is in itself a product of history. A historical analysis of the origin, evolution and resurgence of international studies is completely presented and the justification for interdisciplinary approach to the study of history and international studies. Okechi Dominic Azuwike, in his work,

⁹⁴ Anaele Cyirl, "*The use of qualitative in historical research*, in Nwosu Chukwuemeka Tony (ed), *Issues Issues in the Multidisciplinary and Methodological Approach to African History and International Studies* pp.163-177.

⁹⁵ Johnson O. Ndubuisi, "*History and International Studies: the Dimensions of International Studies* in Nwosu Chukwuemeka Tony (ed), *Issues Issues in the Multidisciplinary and Methodological Approach to African History and International Studies* pp.245-277.

“*GEOGRAPHY AND HISTORY: A STUDY IN SYSTEMATIC CO-EVOLUTION*,”⁹⁶ has shown that geography and history have actually manifested a systematic co-evolution in which they are shown to be mutually reinforcing; each yielding materials and selling agenda for the development of the other. Hence there is an interdisciplinary appeal in which each can benefit from understanding the methods and curricular of the other for its own enrichment. Neglect of the interrelationship manifests too often in everyday life with particular reference to the developing countries. There is, for instance, a penchant in governments in Nigeria for entire undocumented landscapes to be obliterated; bulldozed away in a bid to effect urban or rural upgrade or renewal. The idea is usually lost on these governments in such circumstances that what is obliterated is the entire cultural history of such victimized spaces. Best practice demands that environments to benefit from such ‘improvements’ are fully documented and documentations, photographs and other materials emanating from these become museum artifacts.

As a result of the introduction of International Studies, new themes were emerging for example Diplomacy, International Law, Refuge Studies, Politics of Development and Underdevelopment, Gender Studies, Peace and Conflict Studies, Border and Security Studies, just to mention but a few. Due to time and space we shall not be able to discuss the whole themes mentioned above. With respect to diplomacy, a major book was published to wit: Nwosu Chukwuemeka, “*INTRODUCTION TO DIPLOMACY AND THE CHAIR IN MULTILATERAL NEGOTIATIONS QUANDARY*”⁹⁷ I wrote the book, as a solicitor and advocate of the Supreme Court of Nigeria; and who is a trained historian and a professor in the Department of History and International Studies, Faculty of Humanities, Imo State University, Owerri, Nigeria, realized that with the adoption of Diplomacy as a major adjunct of the History and International Studies programme it has posed a major challenge to instructor and student alike, hence my decision to write a book on it. Thus, in the absence of a definitive and comprehensive text on which to anchor the study of the subject of diplomacy,

⁹⁶ Okechi Dominic Azuwoke, in his work, “*Geography And History: A Study In Systematic Co-Evolution* in Nwosu Chukwuemeka Tony (ed), *Issues Issues in the Multidisciplinary and Methodological Approach to African History and International Studies* pp.335-349.

⁹⁷ Nwosu Chukwuemeka, “*Introduction To Diplomacy And The Chair In Multilateral Negotiations Quandary*” (Owerri: FUTO Press Production, 2021).

experimentation and improvisation becomes the recourse of all involved in the study.

With respect to the politics of development and underdevelopment a plethora of publications exist⁹⁸. As it concerns development and underdevelopment Giadom Leedee Baribor et al, “*POLITICAL ECONOMY OF NORTH AND SOUTH DEBATE*”⁹⁹, focuses on the North-South divide is a division in the political, economic relations between the rich countries of the North and the poor countries of the South North and South have a tin line in what constitute the political and economy of their relations. The North, which is seen as the industrialized and developed is politically and economically strong and this showed in her commanding order in relationship, whereas the South, which economically and politically backward, this made her to be dependent on the north for survival and for foreign aid to pilot her development status. Writing on “Multinational Corporation (MNC) and the North South Divide, Christy Henry Odile, examined Multinational Corporation as enterprises that have

operations in more than one country. They manage production establishments or deliver services in at least two countries.

Therefore, they can have influence on other countries economic entire environment. She argued that over a period of years that the impact of MNCs on host states is neither as positive nor as negative. They can create more employment opportunities for huge labour force, train them and promote the development of high level skills. In his work “*GLOBALIZATION AS CAPITALISM IN HISTORICAL PROCESS AND THE FATE OF AFRICAN POLITICS*”¹⁰⁰ Amugo Frank Onyema et al, was of the view that the phenomenon of Globalization has taken the centre stage of academic discourse in the past one decade or so, almost to a frenzy point. More so, information technology is said to be shrinking the world into a global village, especially in the areas of finance, capital, commerce and industry. He argued that his paper relates globalization to the history of capitalism taking different forms at the different epochs of human history; with the developing countries of Africa classified

⁹⁸ Baribor Giadom Leedee et al “Political Economy of North and South Debate”, in *Icheke: Journal of the Faculty of Humanities*, Vol. 19, No. 3, September, 2021, pp. 391-394.

⁹⁹ Odile Christy Henry et al “Multinational Corporation (MNC) and the North-South Divide”, in *Icheke: Journal of Faculty of Humanities*, Vol. 19, No. 3, September, 2021, pp.253-266,

¹⁰⁰ Amugo Frank Onyema et al *Globalization as Capitalism in Historical Process and the Fate of African Politics*, *Journal of Academic World (JAW)* Vol. 1, No. 3, November, 2016, pp. 320-328.

among the peripheral countries supplying raw materials to the core countries of USA and Europe who produce finished products.

As regards Refugee studies, some articles emerged though infinitesimal but constituted emerging themes in Nigerian historiography. There were no textbooks but few articles such as: Chukwuemeka Nwosu, “*PALESTINIAN REFUGEES: THE DEBATE CONTINUES ON THE RIGHT OF RETURN*”¹⁰¹, he was of the view that the Israeli-Palestinian conflict has been riddled with many intractable challenges whose solutions have eluded both sides for more than 60 years. However, none has been politically charged as the Palestinian right of return to the land they inhabited and lived prior to the war of 1948. For six decades Palestinian refugees and their descendants have suffered dispossession, exile, conflict and poverty. Many thousands have lived their lives in concrete shanties where opportunities are few and despair can be endemic. The Oslo Accords in 1993-94 and subsequent Israel-Palestinian agreement notwithstanding the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) continued to insist on the implementation of the right of return in all

international forums to keep the plight of the refugees alive. Nwosu Chukwuemeka, “*PALESTINIAN INTERNALLY DISPLACED PERSONS AND REFUGEES INSIDE ISRAEL: A SCHISMATIC HISTORY*”,¹⁰² argued that the Palestinian-Israeli conflict does not date from today or the 1967 war rather it dates back to the 1930s and 1940s when the Zionist Movement stepped up its efforts to bring Jewish to Palestine, thus setting the stage for a future confrontation with the Palestinian Arabs. Thus, this confrontation had its full expression in the 1948 war, as a result of which the state of Israel was created and more than two-thirds of the Palestinians were uprooted from their homelands and became refugees. For lack time and space, we may not be able to discuss all the themes but to mention but a few.

In the context of Peace and Conflict, a number of works have been done by scholars, such as the work by Akachi Odoemene, “*HISTORICIZING THE NIGER DELTA PALAVAR UP TO THE AMNESTY DEAL: DOCUMENTING A CONFLICTED PAST, BUILDING A SUSTAINABLE FUTURE*”¹⁰³, who argued that the Niger Delta’s transition

¹⁰¹Chukwuemeka Nwosu, “*Palestinian Refugees: The Debate Continues On The Right Of Return*” in Icheke: Journal of Faculty of Humanities, Vol. 19, No. 3, September, 2021, pp.75-86

¹⁰²Nwosu Chukwuemeka, “*Palestinian Internally Displaced Persons And Refugees Inside Israel: A Schismatic History*” in

Igwebuike: An African Journal of Arts and Humanities, Vol. 7, No. 1, 2021, pp. 85-94.

¹⁰³ Odoemene Akachi, “*historicizing the niger delta palavar up to the amnesty deal: documenting a conflicted past, building a sustainable future* in Augustine Ikelegbe et al (ed), Governance,

to the present state witnessing of considerable tension and violence over the past twenty years is not unknown. Besides, it is often bitterly contested as some scholars and pundits from both the right and left have criticized historical representations of the regions past. On the one hand, pro-indigenes historical presentations have been viewed as ‘nationalistic’, ‘parochial’, ‘inciting’ and ‘disloyal’. On the other hand, State-sponsored historical representation are seen as repressive and deceptive, both aimed at foisting a collective amnesia on the people about the critical happenings therein. Victor Ukaogo and Tunde Agara, in their work titled *“FROM AMNESTY TO FALSE PEACE: EXAMINING THE PATHWAYS TO THE ‘NEXT ANARCHY’ IN THE NIGER DELTA”*¹⁰⁴ argued that the extreme rise in militancy in the Niger Delta from 2008 to 2009 was manifest global embarrassment to the Abuja regime. Investor confidence melted and disappeared in the face of multiple threats to lives and properties. Big business concerns folded and packed out of

the country with the attendant loss of jobs of the local population. The rise of new forms of conflict, increasing reduced oil production and by extension, the earnings of government and quite interestingly, reduced further the excess reserves available for exclusive sharing by a tiny minority elite that has for long held the country down through various means of unimaginable corruption. Ambrose Eze Ukaonu, in his work, *“THE POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS UNDERPIN OF INSURGENCY AND TERRORISM IN NIGERIA”*¹⁰⁵ argued that it is evidently clear that for the past ten years now, Nigeria has witnessed an increase in religious insecurity: so much violence, wanton destruction of property and sheer waste of human resources caused by insurgency and terrorism. A deep study of this insurgency reveals that it was as a result of Islamic fundamentalists’ quest to adhere strictly to orthodox doctrines of their faith and also make their members champions and faithful guardians of the pristine truth and moral commandments which constitute the essence of their

Sustainable Development and Peace Building in the Niger Delta: Challenges and Pathways (Ibadan: Spectrum Books Ltd, 2017); Ambrose Ukaonu Eze, “The Political and Religious Underpin of Insurgency and Terrorism in Nigeria” in Onwuliri Viola Adaku et al (ed), *Zeal for your House Consumes Me: Testaments and Values of a Pastor* (Owerri: Owerri Grand Commandry and Owerri Grand Ladies’ Auxiliary, Kingdom of St. John International, 2021)

¹⁰⁴ Ukaogo Victor and Agara Tunde, “From Amnesty To False Peace: Examining The Pathways To The ‘Next Anarchy’ In The

Niger Delta, in Augustine Ikelegbe et al (ed), *Governance, Sustainable Development and Peace Building in the Niger Delta: Challenges and Pathways* (Ibadan: Spectrum Books Ltd, 2017)

¹⁰⁵ Ukaonu Ambrose Eze, “*The Political And Religious Underpin Of Insurgency And Terrorism In Nigeria in Onwuliri Viola Adaku et al (ed), Zeal for your House Consumes Me: Testaments and Values of A Pastor* (Owerri: Panoptic Wand Global Services, 2021, pp. 147-159.

particular faith. In other words, religious fundamentalists claim to be true exponents and custodians of their religious traditions, thereby seeing any other view contrary to their norms as irreligious and thus, detrimental to their faith. Chukwuemeka Tony Nwosu, writing on “*HISTORICAL ANATOMIZATION OF FREEDOM OF RELIGION AS A MODUS OPERANDI FOR RESOLVING CONFLICT*”¹⁰⁶, attempts to provide a brief narrative of the fundamental steps through which freedom of religion or belief has debouch in its present form. However, it will be shown that bestowing freedom of religion or belief has long been seen as a panacea for avoiding conflict, conversely, placing restrictions upon its enjoyment has resulted in conflict. Besides, it will also be seen those approaches taken have varied overtime and that there has been, in general terms, a shift away from the practice of attempting to safeguard civil harmony by keeping those of different religious persuasions apart, and towards providing tools for ensuring their peaceful coexistence within a common framework. The challenge of freedom of religion or belief is as old as

history, yet as current as today’s headlines. The underlying challenges can take mild or acute forms, however, they pervade human life and the challenge has not receded with time. Contemporary struggles replicate ancient tragedies, too often on a far more massive scale. Nwosu Chukwuemeka in his work titled “*MILITANT INSURGENCIES AND THE NIGER DELTA CRISES: A CONTINUUM OF VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN*”¹⁰⁷ argued that in the Niger Delta, violence against women has been used to characterize more often the extreme expression of the gender inequality that underscores social relations. The crisis in the Niger Delta, since the 1990s, has escalated into an uncontrollable theatre of -cataclysmic conflict, nurtured and executed by disgruntled elements such as ethnic militias and tribal warlords. In times of insurgencies this continuum of discrimination against women from private to the public sector; from time of peace to a time of war, replicates the significance of the interest of non-governmental organization in the Niger Delta, more often during armed conflict as well as its complementarity in relation to the

¹⁰⁶ Chukwuemeka Tony Nwosu, “Historical Anatomization of Freedom of Religion as a Modus Operandi for Resolving Conflict”, in Onwuliri Viola Adaku et al (ed), *Zeal for Your House Consumes Me: Testaments and Values of a Pastor* (Owerri: Owerri Grand Commandry and Owerri Grand Ladies’ Auxiliary, Knights of St. John International), pp. 127-146.

¹⁰⁷ Nwosu Chukwuemeka “*Militant Insurgencies And The Niger Delta Crises: A Continuum Of Violence Against Women*” in Akachi C. Odoemene et al (ed), *Niger Delta and the Nigerian State Discourses of Politics and Conflicts in Society: Festschrift in Honour of Prof. C.B.N. Ogbogbo*, (Lagos: LANUV, 2021), pp. 273-284.

work of human rights and development organizations. Undoubtedly, socio-political discords in the region are to wit: Kidnapping and Sabotage and confiscation of oil facilities while political assassinations have become a recurring phenomenon in the unfolding tragedy of the region. The violence across the Niger Delta has manifested in different forms. In Warri, for instance, it is seen as a conflict, it is seen as a conflict between Ijaw and Itsekiri ethnic militias, in Rivers State, as a battle between Ijaw groups, simply put, it is basically a fight for control of oil wealth and governmental resources. The violence in Portharcourt has been perpetuated by two rival groups and their affiliates who battled to control territory and lucrative oil bunkering routes.

The major themes have been on Interdisciplinary approach to the study of History and International Studies, Diplomacy, Politics of Development and Underdevelopment, Gender studies, and Peace and Conflict studies. These are the themes I think will remain dominant into the future and they theme that will dominate are: Gender studies, Peace and Conflict

Resolution, Border and Security Studies just to mention but a few.

Concluding Remarks

Historians are expected to be always conscious of the complex nature of their discipline in the sense that it has many facets which must be covered if they aspire to reproduce the past faithfully almost in all its ramifications. It is also needless to stress that however profound our knowledge of any discipline is, no single discipline can provide all necessary information about the various aspects of the past.¹⁰⁸ In the sphere of the production of historical knowledge, an appreciation of the nature as well as the dynamics of class consciousness, identity and solidarity becomes indispensable in understanding the intellectual crisis. Within Nigerian society, radicalism being a manifestation of the growing class struggle, while the emergence of the radical paradigm may be regarded as the climax of the crisis. More often, it is impossible to analyse the crisis in Nigerian historiography without coming to grasp with the aforesaid fact. The fact still remains incontrovertible that the crisis was a direct consequence of the

¹⁰⁸ Adebayo A. Lawal, Interdisciplinary Approach to Historical Research and Writing: Theoretical and Practical Problems J.H.S.N. Special Edition Vol. 1. No. 1, October 2004, 12-19.

contradictions within the Nigerian social milieu. The crisis in modern Nigerian historiography indicate the dialogic dimension of history, between the present and the past, and between the historian and society.

The new Nigerian historiography also brought in its wake, a new generation of Nigerian scholars and a new phase of Nigerian historical literature. This development became more vivid in the post-independence era when scholars like “Ajayi, Akinleye, Omer-Cooper, Afigbo, Ikime, Atanda and Igbafe,” in their bid to give a thorough going review and reconstruction of all facets of Nigerian past, “examined nineteenth century wars, rivalries, personalities, new context of local cultural and ethnographic data, or twentieth century socio-political development.”¹⁰⁹ The importance of this development lies in the enrichment of --our knowledge of the Nigerian past and the termination of the age of the Nigerian historiography, which was not truly Nigerian in character.

This paper has been structured in terms of the past, the present, and the future for clarity of understanding of Nigerian historiography. In

the work, a conscious attempt has been made to analyze in the various sections chronologically the Nigerian historiography. In conclusion, therefore, we have argued in the past, that there are cultural repertoires from the pre-colonial times that survived the advent of the British; that in the present, we have examined Nigerian historiography up to the independence to the eve of now; and finally, the future, by x-raying the Nigerian historiography in the last 5-10 years thereby giving Nigerian historiography a holistic reconstruction. Nigerian historians,¹¹⁰ professional training and ingenuity, indeed put them in a position to promote through our writings and teachings, the forces that may stimulate our people towards pressing forward the emergence of a truly Nigerian nation-state and nation-building. In conclusion, therefore as developed by the professional historians, modern Nigerian historiography has come a long way with unprecedented breakthroughs and challenges.

Biodata

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¹⁰⁹ Ofonagoro, “Reappraisals in History” p. 19.

¹¹⁰ The term “Nigerian Historians” is used throughout to connote Professional Historians who are Nigerians or of Nigerian descent.

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He has interest in contemporary security studies.