THE DEVELOPMENT OF RELIGIOUS EDUCATION IN NIGERIA
1925 - 1979

BARNABA B. LEKWAT

Sponsoring Committee: Professor Gabriel Moran
Professor Berenice M. Fisher
Professor Richard W. Hull

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the School of Education, Health, Nursing, and Arts Professions, New York University.

1984

New York University
A private university in the public service

Office of the Registrar

201 Main Building
Washington Square
New York, N.Y. 10003
Telephone: (212) 598-3573

November 2, 1983

Rev. Barnaba Bariyakaad Lekwat
Advanced Teachers' College
A.B.U., P.M.B. 1041
Zaria, Nigeria

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN:

This is to certify that Barnaba Bariyakaad Lekwat has completed all requirements for the Doctor of Philosophy degree and will be recommended to the University Board of Trustees for conferment of the degree through our School of Education, Health, Nursing, and Arts Professions on February 27, 1984.

Very truly yours,

Millicent A. LeCount
Registrar
Student Records and
Registration

Rev. Lekwat completed all degree requirements and passed the Final Oral Examination November 1st, 1983.

Stella D. Kaisted
Recorder
School of Education,
Health, Nursing, and
Arts Professions

IN MEMORIAM

Mallam Lekwat Abrak

Wakilin Kaje III

1915 - February 27, 1983.

© Barnaba Bariyakaad Lekwat, 1984

All Rights Reserved.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This dissertation is dedicated to my two parents, Kutuk Lekwat and Lekwat Abrak, and my uncle Musa Abrak, who gave me an educational, moral and religious heritage. I appreciate the untiring effort of Professor Gabriel Moran, the Chairman of my Dissertation Committee, and the other members of the Committee, Professor Berenice M. Fisher and Professor Richard W. Hull. Their invaluable guidance and kind criticism contributed to the success of the dissertation. My thanks also go to Professor Norman H. Thompson, who was supportive in many ways.

I am grateful to the Kaduna State Government Scholarship Board for the three-year (1980-1983) scholarship awarded me. I appreciate also the two-year study fellowship granted me by Ahmadu Bello University. The fellowship enabled my family to keep me company in New York City. Helpful in this regard was the advice on university fellowship affairs by Professor Jonathan Ndagi, Professor S. A. Aleyedeino and Dr. S. A. Olugbemi.

Without the invaluable sponsorship of The West Side Presbyterian Church, Ridgewood, New Jersey, it would have been impossible to keep seven of us in New York. Besides the direct contribution to the schooling of Elizabeth, my wife, The West Side Church, among other things, was responsible for my research trip to and from Nigeria. The cost of producing the dissertation is mainly from this church. In this connection, special mention is made of the faithfulness of Emily and The Rev. Stephen D. Geckeler, Barbara and David F. Bolger, Hervey E. Blumers, Jo Ann Belcher, Jeri Lou Maus and other Trustees of the Arthur M. Hughes, Jr. Memorial Fund. The editorial advice of Mollie E. Ledwith and Harriett Modemann, so thankfully acknowledged, is invaluable to the completion of the dissertation.

Appreciation is also expressed for a study grant from E.C.W.A. Production Limited, Jos, through the efforts of Dr. Philip S. Usman and Elias G. Mairabo. Mr. & Mrs. Don Church, long-term friends from Wheaton College, continued to show appreciable interest in us. So, with acknowledgement, was the concern of the Zaria Local Church Council of E.C.W.A. led by Rev. Ayuba Byat.

Without the continued assurance of my health, psychologically, I would not have made it in New York City. The constant assurance of Dr. Sarah Williams of the Health Center of New York University is deeply appreciated. The concern for the welfare of my family by the staff of The Office of the Foreign Student Adviser, especially Salvatore C. Longarino of New York University, is thankfully acknowledged. Florence Kaiser was patient and supportive in typing the first draft of the dissertation.

During the research period in Nigeria, several officers and my friends were supportive in different ways. Appreciated are the services of the staff of the National Archives, Kaduna and Ibadan, and of the National Library, Lagos. I am grateful to the staff of the Union Bank of Nigeria Limited, Zaria, for their services to me. All my friends, named or unnamed, are acknowledged: Rev. Chidawa B. Kaburuk, Zakariya B. Gaiya, Nuhu M. Bature, Peter T. Usman, Yabo Y. Buxon, Pastor Maman Daudu, Lavosier C. Dogo, Representatives Amos B. Idakula, Samuila B. Allah-Na-Magani, and Senator Jacob Madaki. Support came from all my relations, especially my stepmother, Turai Lekwat, my aunt, Safarutu and her husband, Daniel G. Bidam, my sister, Hannatu Aluko and brother, Lutuh L. Abrakson. Through the effort of Lutuh, several documents were xeroxed and posted to me by

the Senior Archivist of the National Archives, Kaduna. Gratitude for the postage goes also to the Kaduna Senior Archivist. Acknowledgement is made of the contribution of Francis Joseph Tambiyi, my cousin, who drew the maps used in the dissertation.

The presence of the members of my patient family in New York was an invaluable contribution to the success of my academic career. The family is grateful to The Calvary Baptist Church and The Convent Avenue Baptist Church on West 145th Street and Convent Avenue, New York. Our children, Timothy, Anastasia and Irene were baptized at Convent and became members. Patience and Nshiyi (born in New York) had their first Sunday School lessons at Convent. Elizabeth, in addition to completing her degree program, contributed practically to the completion of the dissertation in numerable appreciative ways.

MAPS

Map I	Protectorate of Nigeria in 1925	35
Map II	The Peoples of Nigeria.	36
Map III	Christianity in Nigeria 1925.	42
Map IV	The Three Regions of Nigeria, 1946-54	84
Map V	The Federation of Nigeria, 1954-63.	95
Map VI	The Four Regions of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1963-67	103
Map VII	The Twelve States of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1967-75	106
Map VIII	The Nineteen States of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1975-79	107
Map IX	Kaduna State Local Government Areas 1976-79	204

GLOSSARY

A.B.F.M.S.	The American Baptist Foreign Missionary Society
A.B.U.	Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria
A.C.H.R.E.N.	The Association for Christian Higher Religious Education in Nigeria
Auxiliary teachers	Teachers with a primary school diploma or a lesser qualification, who teach at the primary schools
B.K.	Bible knowledge
B.T.S./C.	Bible training school/college
C.A.N.	The Christian Association of Nigeria
C.C.N.	The Christian Council of Nigeria
C.E.C.N.N.	The Council of Evangelical Churches of Northern Nigeria
C.M.N.P.	The Conference of Missions of Northern Provinces
C.R.K.	Christian Religious Knowledge
E.C.W.A.	The Evangelical Churches of West Africa
F.C.S.	The Fellowship of Christian Students
G.N.P.P.	The Great Nigerian Peoples Party
Government	Nigerian national government unless context indicates a provincial, regional, state, or local government
Grade II Certificate	A post primary (secondary level) teaching certificate
H.C.C.N.	Book: The History of the Catholic Church in Nigeria
N.A.B.K.T.N.	The National Association of Bible Knowledge Teachers of Nigeria
N.A.K.	National Archives, Kaduna
N.A.I.	National Archives, Ibadan
N.C.A.	The Northern Christian Association
N.C.N.C.	The National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons

N.C.E.	Nigeria Certificate in Education
N.E.A.C.	Northern Education Advisory Council
N.E.R.C.	Nigerian Educational Research Council
N.F.C.S.	The Nigerian Federation of Catholic Students
N.L.L.	National Library, Lagos
N.P.C.	The Northern Peoples Congress
N.S.C.A.	The Northern States Christian Association
P.C.J.	Provincial (private) Correspondence Jacket
P.G.D.E.	Post Graduate Diploma in Education
Pivotal Course	Two-year or one-year course for auxiliary teachers to qualify for grade II certificate
Political Divisions	Based on context in the dissertation, the following words or expressions referred to Nigerian political divisions: North, South, East, West, Northern Region/ Nigeria, Northern Provinces, Southern Provinces, Eastern Region/Nigeria, Western Region/Nigeria.
Project Time	The National Institute for Training in Moral Education
U.P.E.	Universal primary education
Y.C.S.	The Young Catholic Students

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgements..... iii

Maps..... vi

Glossary..... vii

Preface..... xiii

CHAPTER

1. Introduction and Overview of the Study..... 1

The Problem..... 1
Delimitation..... 2
Definition of Terms..... 2
Need for the Study..... 3
Related Literature..... 14
General Methodology..... 21

2. The Educational Memorandum Which Resulted in the Change of Christian Religious Instruction to a Major School Subject in 1925 32

The Political Conditions Before 1925..... 32
The Cultural Backgrounds Before 1925..... 34
The Religious Backgrounds Before 1925..... 39
The Educational Conditions Before 1925..... 44

The Educational Memorandum Which First Recognized Christian Religious Instruction as a Major School Subject in 1925..... 48

The Agencies and Persons Responsible for the Formation and Execution of the Memorandum..... 48

The Educational Objectives of the 1925 Memorandum..... 56

Points of the Memorandum Which Influenced the Changes of Christian Religious Instruction to a Major School Subject.... 59

Summary..... 69

3. The Extent to Which Government Policies Upgraded Christian Religious Instruction, 1925-1979..... 70

Regulated Education Dominated by Missions, 1925-1947..... 70

The Execution of the 1925 Memorandum..... 70
A Reflection on Mission Reactionary Policy..... 75
Government Reinforced Tendency to Upgrade Classes for Religious Instruction to Schools..... 77
More Nigerian Pupils Taught Christian Religious Instruction..... 85

Transferring Educational Responsibility for Primary Schools to Government, 1948-1968..... 86
More Government Participation in Education: Religious Instruction Protected, 1948-1959..... 86
Transfer of Mission Schools to Local Education Authorities, 1960-1968..... 96
Constitutional Guarantee for Religious Freedom and Freedom to Teach Religious Instruction in Schools..... 97
Proposals to Retain Religious Instruction in Transferred Schools..... 99
The Church Preparation to Accept Transfer Proposals..... 100
Religious Instruction Retained in Transferred Schools.... 101
Religious Instruction Under the Military Regime..... 104
Growth of the Church and Her Self-Defense..... 109
Government Control of Education, 1969-1979..... 119
National Curriculum Conference 1969: Preparation to Take Over Mission Post Primary Schools..... 119
Taking Over Mission Post Primary Schools: Religious Instructions Retained in Schools, 1970-1979..... 122
The Extent of the Influence of the Educational Policies on the Development of Christian Religious Instruction 126
General Deductions from the Policies, 1925-1979..... 126
Constitutionalization of Christian Religious Instruction, 1960-1979..... 127
Summary..... 130

4. Changes Which Were Proposed for Teaching Christian Religious Instruction as a Major School Subject..... 132
The Objectives of Christian Religious Instruction in Nigerian Schools According to Government Policy..... 132
The Promotion of Virtues..... 133
The Promotion of a Social Stabilizing Force..... 138
The Promotion of a Religious Heritage..... 144
The Curriculum of Religious Instruction as a Major School Subject Compared to What it Was in Christian Institutions... 150
Religious Knowledge and Moral Instruction in Mission Schools, 1925-1940..... 150

Religious Knowledge and Moral Instruction in Government and Native Administration Schools, 1925-1956..... 152
Religious Knowledge Curriculum in Mission and Public Schools, 1952-1971..... 155
The Determination to Reintroduce Moral Instruction in Schools, 1972-1979..... 159
Innovations in Method of Teaching Christian Religious Instruction as a Major School Subject..... 160
Methodology: Problems..... 161
Methodology: Innovations..... 167
Cultural Orientation..... 167
Critical/Rational Approach..... 169
Visual Aids and Media Methods..... 171
The Teacher: The Embodiment of the Method..... 172
Pupil Participation..... 174
Summary..... 175

5. Implementation of the Government Policy to Teach Christian Religious Instruction and the Problems Experienced in Teaching the Subject..... 177
Educational Expectation..... 177
Teachers and Their Qualifications..... 177
Teachers and Professional Status Expectation..... 185
Economic Expectations..... 189
Personal Emolument by Alms, Stipend and Farming..... 189
Personal Emolument by Government Salary Scale..... 195
Shortage of Teachers..... 196
Policy Provision..... 196
Lack of Policy Implementation: Kano, Sokoto and Niger States..... 198
Lack of Policy Implementation: Bauchi and Borno States.. 200
Lack of Policy Implementation: Kaduna State..... 203
Church Denominationalism..... 212
The Existence of Denominationalism in the Nigerian Church 212
Law Safeguards Against Denominationalism..... 214
Summary..... 216

6. Concepts of Christian Religious Instruction in Nigeria as Perceived in 1979..... 217
Recent Events Which Influenced the Concepts of Religious Instruction as Perceived in 1979..... 217
Constitutional Concept of Religious Instruction, 1960-1979.. 222
Specific Concepts, 1960-1979..... 222
Expanded Moral Concepts in the 1979 Constitution..... 223
Professional Concepts of Religious Instruction as Perceived by 1979..... 225
Denominational Concepts of Religious Instruction..... 225
Non-Denominational Factual Bible Knowledge..... 228
Non-Denominational Common Syllabi..... 231
Brief History of the Common Syllabi..... 231
Some Common Syllabi..... 233
Problems and Criticisms of the Common Syllabi..... 235
Historical Influence of the Common Syllabi..... 239
Student's Interest in Studying Religious Instruction as a Major School Subject..... 249
Church Interest in Religious Instruction of Their Children..... 250
Parents' Interest in the Religious Instruction of Their Children..... 251
Children's Interest in Studying Religious Instruction.... 252
Summary..... 257
7. Conclusion..... 259
The Research..... 259
Suggestions for Further Research..... 264
Reference and Selected Bibliography..... 270
Appendices:
A. Some Addresses of Nigerian Organizations and Institutions Coordinating Programs in Christian Religious Education..... 297
B. Personal Emolument - Religious Instructors..... 299
C. The Failure to Implement the Teaching of Christian Religious Instruction, GNPP Campaign Promise, 1979..... 301
D. W. A. E. C. Bible Knowledge Syllabus 1976..... 305

PREFACE

The reasons for choosing 1925 through 1979 as the beginning and closing dates for the research are as follows. 1925 was the year the British colonial administration promulgated the first pragmatic education policy that recognized Christian religious instruction as a major subject. However, until the early 1970's, the nature and content of Christian religious instruction was largely Bible knowledge. The decade of the 1970's saw the emergence of religious education. There was an advocacy for reducing the Bible content of Bible knowledge. Yet in 1979, the new national constitution upheld the teaching of religious instruction based upon the Bible.

A glossary is included in the dissertation. The following explanation necessitated the addition of a glossary. The terms in the glossary are acronyms or abbreviations, and such terms appear several times in the research. Since readers may not be familiar with the acronyms, a glossary is provided. Some other terms, for example, "the North," "Southern Province," need explanation as they are used in the dissertation.

I hereby guarantee that no part of the dissertation which I have submitted for publication has been heretofore published and (or) copyrighted in the United States of America, except in the case of passages quoted from other published sources; that I am the sole author and proprietor of said dissertation; that the dissertation contains no matter which, if published, will be libelous or otherwise injurious, or infringe in any way the copyright of any other party; and that I will defend, indemnify and hold harmless New York University against all suits and proceedings which may be brought and against all claims which may be made against New York University by reason of the publication of said dissertation.

September 26, 1983

B B Lekwat

Barnaba Bariyakaad Lekwat.

Sponsoring Committee

Professor Gabriel Moran, Chairman

Professor Berenice M. Fisher

Professor Richard W. Hull

Abstract of

THE DEVELOPMENT OF RELIGIOUS EDUCATION IN NIGERIA, 1925 - 1979

An Abstract of

THE DEVELOPMENT OF RELIGIOUS EDUCATION IN NIGERIA, 1925-1979.

Professor Gabriel Moran,

Chairperson, Dissertation Committee

The dissertation explores the history of the development of Christian religious instruction in Nigerian schools from 1925 to 1979. The aims of the dissertation include the need to discover why the government legalized school religious instruction, to identify problems arising from teaching the subject, and to offer ideas for improvements.

The background surveys of Chapters I and II show that Christian religious instruction was the foundation subject of the Nigerian educational system from 1842 to 1925. During the period, the colonial administration generally left educational development to the missions. The latter promoted evangelis-. tic and moral goals through a Bible-based religious instruction. The government promoted the virtues of individuals for social discipline through moral instruction. Yet it was only the Education Policy of 1925 that first accorded religious instruction and moral instruction equality with other school subjects.

Chapter III analyzes the relationship between church and state. The relationship led the government to take over Christian schools. Educational policies left the curricula development of religious instruction to religious organizations. The education policies of the 1950's and 1960's and the constitutions of 1960, 1963, and 1979 institutionalized school religious

instruction. Despite its legal position, religious instruction remained an optional subject.

Chapter IV examines how the government changed the evangelistic objectives of religious instruction. Government objectives included the promotion of virtues, a social stabilizing force and religious heritage. Critical teaching of morality based on religion was advocated instead of denominational indoctrination. However, according to Chapter V, some state governments did not implement the policy of teaching school religious instruction.

Chapter VI investigates concepts of religious instruction. The concepts, reflecting the concerns of the users, included moral instruction, Bible knowledge, religious knowledge and moral education. Religious education was advocated in the 1970's to substitute for religious knowledge. There was a tendency to reduce the Biblical orientation of religious knowledge.

The dissertation concludes with the suggestions that: 1) moral education and religious knowledge constitute a double-major subject; 2) there is no justifiable reason for Nigerian schools to reduce the Bible content of moral/religious education; 3) a critical and objective approach, meaningful to the pursuit of social justice is crucial; and 4) the federal government should set up a task force to ensure the implementation of the policy of teaching religious instruction in all schools.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY

The Problem

The purpose of this study was to examine and describe salient points of the changes which took place in religious instruction, as exclusively taught in Christian religious institutions, when it was made a major subject in Nigerian schools in 1925.

Sub-Problems

The following sub-problems were investigated:

1. To examine and describe the Memorandum on Education in British Colonial Territories which resulted in the change of religious instruction to a major school subject.

2. To determine and describe the extent that government policy of education upgraded[1] religious instruction in Nigerian schools between 1925 and 1979.

3. To determine and describe changes in teaching religious instruction as a major school subject which may have taken place in Nigeria.

4. To identify the basic concepts of religious instruction in Nigeria in 1979.

---

[1] Reader's Digest Great Encyclopedic Dictionary, 1971, s.v. "upgrade," to raise to a higher grade or degree of worth, relative status; "grade," a degree in quality.

Delimitation

The study was delimited to Christian[1] religious instruction in primary and post-primary schools,[2] from 1925 to 1979.

Definition of Terms

1. Sunday school - Church school held mainly on Sunday morning with emphasis on Church teachings and Bible study.

2. Religious instruction - in Islam: Islamic Qur'anic classes held in several centers in Islamic communities; in Christianity: Bible classes similar to Sunday school but generally held during weekdays within the church building or another specific place. When applied to the school, religious instruction means "intentional educational process" by which some religious commitments are expected.[3]

3. Religious knowledge - a general term recognized early in Nigerian schools and based on the dominance of religious facts in school religious instruction. The following terms are synonymous with religious knowledge: Islamic religious knowledge, Christian religious knowledge, and Bible knowledge. Other aspects of religious knowledge are moral education and ethical education.

---

[1]The delimitation was necessary because in Nigeria Christian religious instruction and Islamic religious instruction are two separate major subjects. Any reference to Islamic religious instruction will be for comparative purposes.

[2]Excluding Advanced Teacher's Colleges and Colleges of Arts and Science (i.e., Junior Colleges) and universities.

[3]James Michael Lee, "The Authentic Source of Religious Instruction," Norma H. Thompson, ed., Religious Education and Theology (Birmingham, Alabama: Religious Education Press, 1982), p. 114.

4. Religious studies - is religious knowledge as a major subject of study in a department at a university faculty of liberal arts. In a few instances at the post-secondary institutions, "religious studies" are specified as Christian religious studies and Islamic religious studies and are separate courses of study.

5. Religious education - in this study is the broad term which reflects any of the above subjects as taught in school, and means education integrated with the principles of religion for the purpose of maturing into a fully useful life in society.

6. G.C.E. - means the General Certificate in Education (G.C.E.), an equivalent of a secondary school or post-secondary diploma by correspondence; the secondary school level is called the Ordinary Level while the post-secondary school is Advanced Level.

7. W.A.S.C. - means West African School Certificate, the secondary school diploma recognized by government.

8. N.C.E. - is the Nigeria Certificate in Education, a post-secondary teacher's diploma.

Need for the Study

Need for Public Awareness of the Role of Government in Upgrading Religious Instruction

It has been determined that the Nigerian reading public, particularly the religious education professional, is not aware of the historical development of religious education. In the two summers of 1975/76 this student took the post-graduate diploma in education under Professor Albert F. Ogunsola, Institute of Education, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria. In August, 1975 Professor Ogunsola suggested that the student should write a research paper

on "Government Policy and Christian Religious Knowledge."[1] It was discovered that government educational regulations have changed the status of Christian religious instruction, a missionary means of evangelism, to Christian religious knowledge, a major school subject. These facts were discovered in government policy papers,[2] most of them unknown to the reading public.

A second suggestion was received on November 10, 1977, when the author discussed the changing status and role of religious education in a paper entitled, "Christian Religious Knowledge and Government Policy."[3] The occasion was a seminar organized by the Bible Students' Association, Advanced Teacher's College, Zaria. Dr. Samuel A. Olugbemi, The Principal of the College, suggested that the writer should summarize and make available, in print, to the college community, the attitude of government toward religious education. This was a result of responses from the audience which had stated that there was no public awareness of the role of government in changing Christian religious instruction, a missionary means of conversion, to a school subject.

A similar request for publicizing in print government policy toward religious education was made by Rev. Chidawa B. Kaburuk, lecturer and head of the Department of Christian Religious Knowledge in the Kaduna State College of Education, Kafanchan. The suggestion was made after this student highlighted the role of government in teaching Christian religious knowledge

---

[1]Barnaba B. Lekwat, "Government Policy and Christian Religious Knowledge," Post-Graduate Diploma in Education paper submitted to Prof. Ogunsola, Institute of Education, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, August, 1975.

[2]Example, Northern Region of Nigeria, Education Law of Northern Region Kaduna: Government Printer, 1962.

[3]Barnaba B. Lekwat, "Christian Religious Knowledge and Government Policy," paper presented at the Bible Students' Association's Week, Advanced Teachers' College, Zaria, November, 1977.

in a paper entitled, "Significance of Christian Religious Knowledge in the Educational System."[1] The occasion was on August 13, 1980 during a seminar organized by The Institute of Education, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria. Participants included members of the National Association of Bible Knowledge Teachers of Nigeria (N.A.B.K.T.N.). The basic reason for the suggestion was an indication of the lack of knowledge of the historical perspective of religious education by participants.

Lack of a Reflection on the Historical Changes in Religious Education in the Preliminary Investigation

The fact that the literature in the preliminary investigation did not reflect the historical changes in religious education further explains the significance of this study. Nigerian educators, for instance, A. B. Fafunwa and C. O. Taiwo, have written on the influence of Christianity on Nigerian modern culture. These writers have furnished students of education and religion with substantive information and data concerning the history of Nigerian education. The authors are in agreement that Christianity was largely responsible for introducing formal modern Western education in Nigeria. This is the view of Professor A. Babs Fafunwa, doctoral graduate of New York University, 1955.[2] The same position is maintained by Professor C. O. Taiwo.[3]

---

[1]Barnaba B. Lekwat, "Significance of Christian Religious Knowledge in the Educational System," paper presented at a seminar, Institute of Education, Zaria, August 13, 1980.

[2]A. Babs Fafunwa, History of Education in Nigeria, (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1974), pp. 71f., pp. 81f.

[3]C. O. Taiwo, The Nigerian Education System: Past, Present, and Future, (Lagos: Thomas Nelson, 1980).

The missionary influence dominated the Nigerian system of education in its formative years. Sonia F. Graham has documented this fact in her book, Government and Mission Education in Northern Nigeria.[1]

Religious instruction was the first subject of the Nigerian education system under missionary dominance. The subject has been identified by different names, as indicated in the definitions above. Nigerian educators mentioned above, and church historians have documented this fact.[2]

Religious education was the core subject of Nigerian education between the 1930's and 1950's, an era of missionary dominance of education. Every student in mission schools was required to offer Bible knowledge in the final examination.[3]

These preliminary investigations have revealed that authors have attempted an explanation of some aspects of Nigerian education under mission domination. But these authors and others[4] have failed to distinguish the specific historical development of religious education in the Nigerian educational system.

There is a virtual ignorance about facts related to the historical development of the status of religious education. Findings of the search

---

[1]Sonia F. Graham, Government and Mission Education in Northern Nigeria, 1900-1919, (Ibadan: Ibadan University Press, 1966).

[2]J. F. Ade Ajayi, Christian Missions in Nigeria, 1841-1891: The Making of a New Elite, (London: Longmans, Green & Co., Ltd., 1965), pp. 126-158; and E. A. Ayandele, The Missionary Impact on Modern Nigeria, 1842-1914: A Political and Social Analysis, (London: Longman Group, Ltd.), pp. 283-304.

[3]A. Babs Fafunwa, History of Education in Nigeria, p. 134.

[4]Example: Obgu Kalu (Ed.), Christianity in West Africa: The Nigerian Story, (Ibadan: Day Star Press, 1978); and Jan Harm Boer, Missionary Messengers of Liberation in a Colonial Context: A Case Study of the Sudan United Mission, (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1979); Albert F. Ogunsola, Legislation and Education in Northern Nigeria, (Ibadan: Oxford University Press, 1974, reprinted 1977); and E.P.T. Crampton, Christianity in Northern Nigeria, (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1975, reprinted 1979).

from Educational Resources Information Center (hereafter ERIC) and Dissertation Abstract International (hereafter DAI) showed that changes in religious instruction have not yet been documented.

In this connection, M. A. Orebanjo's 1974 article was not too relevant to this study since it reflects only on the objectives of religious education in schools.[1] His 1975 discussion has a limited significance, for it merely assumes that religious education has the status of a school subject.[2]

Of lesser importance to this study was Ontonti Nduka's article which generalizes on "Sub-Sahara Africa." Furthermore, its specific emphasis is on "Moral Education in Changing Traditional Societies."[3]

The DAI literature could have been relevant to this study. However, M. W. Retief's 1930 dissertation on religious education in Africa was too broad, not located, and its DAI reference has no specific bearing to the historical development of religious instruction in Nigeria.[4] D. A. Awolola's piece was thought to be useful on religious education curriculum. Therefore it was used for the study, but its emphasis was on curriculum survey.[5]

---

[1]M. A. Orebanjo, "The Relationship Between Religion and Moral Education," West African Journal of Education, October, 1974, No. 18, 3:433-440, ERIC, EJ127991.

[2]M. A. Orebanjo, "Preparation of the Primary School Teacher of Religion and Morals," West African Journal of Education, February, 1975, No. 19, I: 61-69, ERIC, EJ132906.

[3]Ontonti Nduka, "Moral Education in the Changing Traditional Societies of Sub-Sahara Africa," International Review of Education, 1980, 26:153-78, ERIC, EJ229344.

[4]Malcolm William Retief, "A Program of Primary Religious Education in Africa," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1930.

[5]David Adeniran Awolola, "Eight Representative Secondary Schools in the Western State of Nigeria Respond to Religious Education Curriculum Survey," unpublished Ed.D. dissertation, University of Northern Colorado, 1976.

Thus, a written comparative history of religious education in Nigeria was not available. There was a need to explore this field of study.

Ultimately, the need to document the historical development of religious education in Nigeria may be sub-divided into four areas: the need for a reaffirmation of religious education heritage; the need for a documentary reference frame; the need to comprehend the concept of religious education as perceived in 1979; and the need to enhance the national concept of education.

Reaffirmation of Religious Education Heritage

The need to discern, appreciate, and reaffirm a religious education heritage should be accorded priority by religious educators. This will ensure continuity between the past and present. Also, modern changes can reasonably be made through an understanding of the past. According to the investigation made for this research, religious education was always offered alongside general education before 1925. In 1980 Professor C. O. Taiwo explained that in advancing Western education in Nigeria, before 1925, missionaries insisted on "morality through religious instruction" in schools.[1] Professor J.F.A. Ajayi maintains that this was the case in Southern Nigeria between 1841 and 1891.[2] Professor E. A. Ayandele attributed social and moral development in all of Nigeria to missionary educational efforts between 1842 and 1914; but the main objective of all missionary education was evangelization through religious instruction.[3] For the period 1910 to 1914,

---

[1]C. O. Taiwo, The Nigerian Educational System, pp. 57-59.

[2]J. F. Ade Ajayi, Christian Mission in Nigeria, 1841-1891, pp. 133-149.

[3]E. A. Ayandele, The Missionary Impact on Modern Nigeria, 1842-1914, pp. 182-285.

Sonia F. Graham characterizes mission education as centralized in religious instruction.[1]

Since the 1925 memorandum on education included "religious teaching and moral instruction" among school subjects, Nigerian educational policy-makers have upheld religious education as a major school subject.[2] These facts need to be appreciated, upheld and reaffirmed as an educational heritage by religious educators.

Need for a Documentary Reference Frame

Religious educators need a research document which will be a frame of reference for the interpretation of the changes which occurred in teaching religious education. This gives both intellectual satisfaction and a sense of an awareness of educational developments.

A. B. Fafunwa explains that Christian religious instruction in schools was a tool for promoting evangelism.[3] Lord Frederick J.D. Lugard, a one time Governor General of the British Protectorate of Nigeria, expected religious and moral instructions in all schools to cultivate character training.[4] This was to ensure obedient civil servants for the colonial administration.[5]

In an independent Nigeria, the objective of religious education appeared to have been made broader in scope as can be identified from national developments from 1969 to 1979. During the 1969 National Conference on

---

[1]Sonia F. Graham, Government and Mission Education in Nigeria, 1900-1919, pp. 113, 131-132.

[2]Fafunwa, History of Education in Nigeria, p. 124; Jan Harm Boer, Missionary Messengers of Liberation in a Colonial Context, p. 320.

[3]Ibid., pp. 77-81.

[4]Graham, Government and Mission Education in Nigeria, p. 141.

[5]Boer, Missionary Messenger of Liberation, pp. 137, 181.

Curriculum in Lagos, educated Nigerians advocated for religious instruction with an integrated curriculum. Omobola Obiogun and C. O. Taiwo led this advocacy.[1] In the years of missionary dominance of education, Christian religious instruction was mandatory for all students in mission schools, as indicated above;[2] but when educated Nigerians made education a legal matter, according to the education laws of the 1950's and 1960's and the 1979 national Constitution, religious education became an optional school subject.[3] The responses that were received in 1977 and 1980, as mentioned above,[4] indicated that many religious educators are not yet knowledgeable about these developments. A basic cause for this is the absence of a research reference work.

Need to Comprehend the Concept of Religious Education as Perceived in 1979

There is a need to crystallize and publicize the concept of religious instruction as it was perceived in Nigeria in 1979. Religious educators can teach relevantly and effectively only when they have a grasp of the national aspirations of religious education.

When the first modern missionaries built a mission home, church, and school in 1942 at Badagry, the school was actually a church school.[5]

---

[1]The Federal Republic of Nigeria, Nigerian Educational Research Council, A Philosophy of Nigerian Education, Report of the Nigerian National Curriculum Conference, 8-12 September, 1969. ed. Adeniji Adaralegbe and forwarded by S. K. Cookey. (Ibadan: Heineman Educational Books, 1972, reprint 1981), (sited hereafter as A Philosophy), pp. 26-35, 147, 152-176.

[2]Above, Footnote 3, p. 6.

[3]The Federal Republic of Nigeria, The Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, (Lagos: Time Press, 1979, sited here after as The Constitution...1979), Iv:35 (1), (2), (3), cf. Educational laws, below, pp. 126f.

[4]Above, pp. 3f.

[5]Albert F. Ogunsola, Legislation and Education in Northern Nigeria, p. 4.

The central subject was Christian teaching dominated by the Bible. It was religious instruction. C. O. Taiwo and A. B. Fafunwa mentioned that rote memory was the means for ensuring conversion, the main objective of these mission schools. This trend continued through the period of missionary dominance of Nigerian education from 1940 to 1960.[1]

The problems of Christian conversion through religious instruction, Muslim indoctrination through rote memorization of the Qur'an,[2] Christian dominance of education and the need for government control and maintaining standards, all led to continuous negotiation between the government and religious institutions. Issues discussed included the control of Nigerian education, the content of the curriculum, and the goals of education. Successive governments between 1940 and 1960 dealt with these same issues when Christian schools were spreading all over Nigeria.

It has been mentioned above that Nigerian intellectuals who advocated for and dominated the 1969 National Curriculum Conference struggled with the same issues. It was overwhelmingly agreed that government take over the control of education policies. This was the culmination of the struggle to take over Christian schools. The curriculum, of course, was now to be monitored by governmental agencies. Sectarian religious influence on Nigerian education was coming to an end. A synthesis of the proceedings of the 1969 National Curriculum Conference indicates that many educated Nigerians wanted to retain some form of religious education in schools.[3] But the

---

[1] C. O. Taiwo, The Nigerian Educational System, pp. 65-122.

[2] Islamic religious instruction of this nature existed in Nigeria many years before Christian religious instruction was started in 1942, Ibid. pp. 176-177.

[3] A Philosophy, pp. 12, 20-21, 27, 34.

report identified as "A Philosophy for Nigerian Education" shows a humanist approach to education. None of the 65 recommendations were positively specific on teaching religion or religious education in schools. Nor was there a recommendation to the contrary. It is safe to suggest that the report advocated some form of moral and ethical education in schools.[1] However, the papers of the proceedings advocated that the inclusion in the curriculum of religious, moral, or ethical education in any form should be left to the schools.[2] The conference participants knew very well the dominance of religions in Nigerian religious, moral, and ethical education by 1969.[3]

It has also been explained above that the 1979 constitution is more specific: it does deal with religious instruction in specific terms. Nigerians who are interested in religious education in the schools must grapple with the interpretations of these policies.

With the foregoing in mind, it became necessary to systematize and document the development of religious education in Nigeria. This should crystallize the concept of religious instruction as it was perceived in 1979. Governments, religious institutions, school administrators, educational policy makers, curriculum planners, religious educators and students could then be provided with an adequate framework for effective teaching of religious education.

---

[1] Ibid., pp. 212-215, 220-221, 223.

[2] Ibid., p. 165.

[3] Ibid., pp. 34, 51, 110, 113-144, 121, 161, 165.

Need to Enhance the National Concept of Education Through Teaching Religious Education

Religious educators need to enhance the national concept of education through teaching religious education. Since the 1969 National Curriculum Conference advocated some form of religious instruction, such instruction necessarily has a broader objective than the missionaries had earlier intended.[1] As part of school education, it is to function as an agent to provide "better human relations," "national consciousness," "national unity," "sound moral values and attitudes."[2]

According to the 1979 constitution, the state is to promote the National Philosophy of Education. Likewise, the state is to ensure that Nigerians do not suffer "moral and material neglect." "The national ethics shall be discipline and self-reliance."[3] Education through the schools is to inculcate these virtues in the minds of Nigerian children.

Since religious instruction had been recognized by 1979 as a major course of study, it will in no small measure advance these national aspirations. In this way religious education will contribute to the development of the whole person for a realistic human existence in modern industrial civilization. As Justice T. Clark, formerly of The United States Supreme Court said in 1963, it can be said that one's education is almost incomplete without a study of religions.[4] Religious education completes such an education.

---

[1] Boer, pp. 194, 282, 320.

[2] A Philosophy, pp. 212, 223.

[3] The Constitution. . . 1979, II:17, (3), (b), (f); 18, 22.

[4] Thayer S. Warshaw, Religion, Education, and the Supreme Court, (Nashville, Tennessee: Abingdon, 1979), pp. 30, 39.

In order for religious education in Nigeria to make an effective contribution of this magnitude, the documentation of its historical development must be systematized at some point. As shown above, this systematic documentation has not yet been done. The writing of this dissertation is now the appropriate opportunity.

Related Literature

Items in the related literature were examined and summarized under the following categories: historical literature, critical or analytical documents, and government sources. Some crucial sources which were used were the following.

Historical Literature

The historical works of J.F.A. Ajayi,[1] Sonia F. Graham,[2] and E. A. Ayandele[3] cover material preceding the period of this study. Yet their works were found to be crucial to an understanding of the background of the present investigation.

The three authors explain common factors regarding modern Nigeria: the fact that the advent of Christianity in Nigeria started the process of modernization in the 1840's;[4] that mission education spurred the adoption of this new civilization; and that missions dominated the educational program in Nigeria in the periods covered by their studies.[5]

---

[1]Ajayi, Christian Missions in Nigeria, 1981-1891.

[2]Graham, Government and Mission Education in Nigeria.

[3]Ayandele, The Missionary Impact on Modern Nigeria, 1842-1914.

[4]Ajayi, pp. 7-10, 14-23; Graham, pp. xxiv, 1-15; Ayandele, pp. 8, 17, 26, 283-304.

[5]Ajayi, pp. 25-52, 126-154; Graham, pp. 1-16, 98-30; Ayandele, pp. 4-228, particularly pp. 283-328 on "The Missions and Education."

On an individual basis, Ajayi asserts that religious instruction was done in both English and local languages in order to be sure that Nigerians could grasp the Gospel and be converted.[1] Sonia Graham is explicit: she holds that Lord Frederick Lugard and the missions agreed to teach "religious and moral instruction in schools."[2] Ayandele's point is an apt summary of the same fact. He asserts that, to the missions, "The main objective of all education was religious instruction."[3]

Furthermore, Graham and Ayandele investigated data of a common period, from 1900 to 1914. According to Graham and Ayandele, Lord Frederick Lugard and Hanns Vischer were colonial administrators within this period. Lord Lugard and H. Vischer negotiated with the missions to set the process of controlling mission schools.[4]

The real significance of Ajayi, Graham, and Ayandele is that they reflected on the foundational processes which eventually brought changes in religious instruction.

A. B. Fafunwa's book, which has been a major reference in this investigation, is crucial for an understanding of the historical background for this study. His book, History of Nigerian Education, lays emphasis on traditional and Islamic religious education. He asserts that these preceded Western education, with its thrust of religious instruction.[5]

Relevant to this investigation is Fafunwa's intensive attack on the missionary methodology of Christian religious instruction - conversion through evangelism.[6] Fafunwa's book emphasizes the centrality of religious instruction.

---

[1]Ajayi, pp. 126-133.

[2]Graham, pp. 131-132, 134, etc.

[3]Ayandele, p. 285.

[4]Graham, pp. 173-175; Ayandele, pp. 141, 150, 303-304.

[5]Fafunwa, pp. 13-72, 81-127, particularly pp. 81-91.

[6]Ibid., pp. 66-67.

More significantly, he argues that Christian religious instruction was recognized as a major school subject by the 1925 memorandum.[1] He further reflects on subsequent education laws which upheld this provision.[2]

Another book, C. O. Taiwo's The Nigerian Education System, depicts pertinent historical facts concerned with the development of religious education. His work covers the period September 24, 1942, the date modern Christian missionaries first built a mission home, school and church in Badagry. It ends on December 19, 1978, after many mission schools were taken over by some state governments.[3]

Unlike Fafunwa, who claims that parents were displeased with Christian religious instruction,[4] Taiwo maintains that "No parent bothered about the type of religious teaching in the school to which he sent his children."[5]

Taiwo reinforces this fact. He reiterates that missionary education had a strong emphasis on Christian religious instruction, and that this mission education dominated the Nigerian educational system between the 1940's and 1960's.[6] However, he adds that both Islamic religious instruction and African traditional religious instruction also influenced Nigerian education.[7]

Critical Literature

Analytical sources related to this study reflect on the process of changes in religious instruction.

---

[1]Ibid., pp. 124-127.

[2]Ibid., pp. 187-189.

[3]E.P.T. Crampton, Christianity in Northern Nigeria, pp. 114-115.

[4]Fafunwa, pp. 66-69, 71-72.

[5]Taiwo, p. 15.

[6]Ibid., pp. 6-64.

[7]Ibid., pp. 176-186.

Two works in the historical sources, Fafunwa and Taiwo, vitally reflect the processes of religious instruction. The former author argues that government control was necessary because of the problems of missionary and other private schools. Fafunwa asserts that missionary curriculum was denominational, and as such it encouraged sectionalism among Nigerians.[1] Nevertheless, government control did not alter the school status of religious instruction.[2]

According to Fafunwa, in order for missionaries to achieve their school evangelistic goals, the Bible was the most important and, in the early years, the only school text. They utilized untrained teachers and uneducative methods in teaching religious instruction, as well as other school courses. He indicates that government control brought educative innovations.[3]

Taiwo also mentioned similar points: education laws, government control of mission schools, and alterations initiated in religious instruction.[4]

Another book which deals in analytical style is Harm Boer's book, Missionary Messengers of Liberation in a Colonial Context. Boer argues that missions intentionally cooperated with colonial administrators.[5] The objective of such a support for colonialism was to create a condition conducive for the missions to bring economic, educational and social "liberation" to Nigerians who were oppressed by Islam.[6]

---

[1] Fafunwa, pp. 92-165.

[2] Ibid., pp. 128-181, 187.

[3] Ibid., pp. 73, 81, 85, 187-88, 102-03.

[4] Taiwo, pp. 65-74 (laws); pp. 17, 25, 37, 84-97, 100-122 (control); pp. 3, 7, 14, 19 (mission aims); and pp. 55-59 (government aims).

[5] Boer, pp. 3-4, 171.

[6] Ibid., p. 5.

Though Boer does not have any systematic discussion of religious instruction, he upholds the view that the mission's "main point of reference [was] the Bible."[1] Also he reports that Lowry Maxwell, a Sudan United Mission evangelist-educator in the 1950's and 1960's, persuaded other missions to accept the principle of government control. Through this kind of interaction, the government accorded school status to classes of Christian religious instruction.[2] Most significantly, Boer mentions a critical innovation in religious instruction: that in the 1940's the Conference of Missions of Northern Provinces agreed that all government and mission schools should have a nondenominational curriculum of religious instruction.[3]

Professor Albert F. Ogunsola's book, Legislation and Education in Northern Nigeria, raises pertinent facts related to this investigation. His brief analysis summarizes educational ordinances which initiated innovations in religious instruction.

He points out one reason for government intervention in private schools. While government policy provided schools for Northern Nigerian Muslims, the "unhealthy rivalry and badly planned educational expansion among the different missionary organizations in the South" necessitated government control.[4]

More related to this study is Ogunsola's positive view on the impact of government policies on mission education. He reiterates that "the ordinances have promoted and encouraged mission schools."[5] If he were right, the same positive effect would invariably influence religious instruction.

---

[1]Ibid., p. 5.

[2]Ibid., pp. 162, 320.

[3]Ibid., P. 282.

[4]Ogunsola, Legislation and Education in Northern Nigeria, p. 1.

[5]Ibid., p. vi.

In this direction, E.P.T. Crampton, in his historical analysis,[1] appears to agree with Ogunsola's positivism. Crampton explains that he wrote an "account of the story of Christianity in the northern states" of Nigeria.[2] According to the publisher's blurb, the book is relevant to "students of . . . religious studies."[3]

The publishers made this claim because Crampton, like Ogunsola, is positive that governments have always allowed the teaching of Islamic and Christian religious instructions in all schools.[4]

Moreover, Crampton's work is unique to this research. His discussion on the historic and uncompensated take over of some mission schools by certain state governments, is the only available account located so far.

What happened to Christian religious instruction when governments took over Christian schools? Crampton's answer is positively succinct: "Since the take over . . . Christian religious instruction . . . has been taken more seriously."[5]

Official Documents

Samples of official documents which were studied are: The Education Law of Northern Nigeria, 1962;[6] The Education Law of Eastern Nigeria, 1956; and The Education Law of Western Nigeria, 1956,[7] made provision for religious instruction in the school curriculum.[8] To curb

---

[1]Crampton, Christianity in Northern Nigeria.

[2]Ibid., p. x.

[3]Ibid., publisher's blurb on book jacket.

[4]Ibid., pp. 114-115.

[5]Ibid., p. 121.

[6]Northern Region of Nigeria, Ministry of Education, Secret File, NAK, CIN/19 (sited hereafter as NAK, CIN/19).

[7]Ibid., NAK, CIN/19, p. 45; Fafunwa, pp. 187-189.

[8]Ibid., p. 46.

sectionalism it was stipulated that no person shall be refused admission to any school because of his religious beliefs. Although religious instruction was offered in the curriculum, no pupil was to take religious instruction without the approval of his parents or guardians.[1]

The philosophy of education which was advocated in the 1969 National Conference on Curriculum was finally adopted in a Federal Government White Paper entitled, National Policy on Education, 1977.[2] This national policy on education includes specific references to religious instruction. It emphasizes the teaching of morals and ethics through the schools.[3] This was supportive of Lord Lugard's advocacy of religious and secular moral education.[4]

The Constitutions of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1960, 1963, and 1979, made provisions for religious instruction. The constitutions are specific: there is no obligatory, but optional, religious instruction "in any place of education" in Nigeria.[5]

Notwithstanding this provision, a religious denomination has the freedom to offer religious instruction as a course of study in its own school, but such a course cannot be mandated for any student.[6]

---

1 Taiwo, pp. 186-198.

2 A Philosophy, pp. 212-215, etc; Fafunwa, pp. 212-221, 232-238 cf. document itself, Federal Republic of Nigeria, National Policy on Education, (Lagos: Federal Ministry of Information 1977).

3 Ibid.

4 Graham, pp. 131-132, 140-147.

5 The Federal Republic of Nigeria, The Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, (Lagos: Federal Ministry of Information, 1963, sited here after as The Constitution...1963), III:24 (2); and The Constitution...1979, II:35 (2).

6 The Constitution...1963, III:24 (3); and The Constitution...1979, II:35 (3).

General Methodology

General Statement

Sources needed for this dissertation were found in the National Archives, Kaduna; the National Archives, Ibadan; The National Library, Lagos; The Institute of Education Library of Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria; The Department of Christian Religious Knowledge of the Advanced Teachers' College, Zaria; and the personal libraries of Senator Jacob K. Madaki and Representative Samaila B. Allah-Na-Magani, Lagos. Other sources of data were from The Northern Educational Advisory Council, Kaduna; The Christian Association of Nigeria, Kaduna; The National Association of Bible Knowledge Teachers of Nigeria, Kaduna; The Christian Council of Nigeria, Lagos; and The National Education Research Council, Lagos.

Historical Research Procedures: General Criteria[1]

Historical research technique was employed in writing the dissertation. The historical research procedure involved external criticism and internal criticism.

External Criticism[2]

The significance of external criticism in this study was to seek to establish the authentic testimony of witnesses mentioned in documents referred to in The Sources and Treatment of Data. This helped to detect political propaganda, forgery and other literary problems in the primary sources.

---

[1]This entire section will hereafter be referred to as "General Criteria Section."

[2]Information on this and internal criticism is based on Walter Borg and Meridith Damien Gall, Educational Research, An Introduction, 3rd ed. (New York: Longman, 1979), pp. 374-396; and Louis Gottschalk, Understanding History, A Primer of Historical Method (New York: Alfred A. Knof, 1950), pp. 118-171.

Dates of documents, authors and events were established. This was done by identifying the possibility that an author was present in time and place of an event.

The possible author of a primary document was identified by naming his location, habits, attitudes, character and associates. Another means was to evaluate his use of anachronisms, handwriting, style of writing, signature, seal, letterhead, and the conditions under which he wrote. Also his writing must agree with contemporary conventional form.

An effort was made to establish whether a primary document was genuine or a paraphrase. Copies of sources available were investigated to identify intentional errors, omissions, repetitions, or additions.

Variants, especially documents of institutions which concern this study, were investigated to find out whether they were originals, or whether they were recopied by recipients, as well as whether the recipients wrote comments on the originals, or whether the originals were paraphrased.

The semantics of primary sources were studied to determine the historical meaning of the documents. Significance of words and of language, and the nature and operation of organizations or institutions under which the authors wrote were determined. This helped, among other things, to identify purposes of documents.

The research maintained objectivity in establishing both external and internal criticisms.

Internal Criticism[1]

The aim of internal criticism was to establish the credibility of the testimony of primary sources, which were already subjected to external criticism. This helped to establish that the reliability and verisimilitude of data for historical truth is relative.

---

[1]Ibid.

General Principles in Establishing Credibility

Principles in establishing credibility included an evaluation of data within the primary documents mentioned in the sources and treatment of data. It was assumed that only certain, and not the entire data within an author's documents were credible and relative.

Internal evidence was utilized to establish the credibility of an author by identifying, through questions arising from the text, the name, biography, person, mental processes and attitudes, and functions of the author.

Date of documents, authors and events were determined by using internal evidence also. This was done by establishing the terminus non ante quen, "the point not before which" an event probably occurred, and the terminus non post quem, "the point not after which" the event probably occurred.

Internal evidence also helped to establish the personal frame of the author through which his objectivity and subjectivity were identified.

The probability of authors, documents, and events was established by asking questions arising from the primary sources, such as: Was the author biased or prejudiced? Was his race, political inclination, religious views, social status, or economic status identifiable?

Practical Steps

These were:

1. The use of one or more suitable historical theories -- Reconstructionism (pointing to only past events); naive positivism (establishing facts of events); sophisticated positivism (use of scientific facts to test hypotheses), etc.[1]

---

[1]Professor Philip Hossay, Class Notes, New York University, February 18, 1982.

2. Potential causes -- casual inferences -- were identified by answering questions arising from documents.

3. The mastery of appropriate language was cautiously demonstrated, using most often the language of probability.

4. Generalization from historical evidence was made by utilizing a sample as representative only.

Sub-Problem One

The research studied the following problem:

To examine and describe The Memorandum on Education in British Colonial Territories which resulted in making Christian religious instruction a major school subject.

Sources of data included:

Jones, Chairman of the African Education Commission, prepared the report, Education in Africa, which was the basis of the 1925 memorandum. Scanlon's Traditions of African Education attempts to describe The Memorandum. Other interpreters of The Memorandum include J. Wilson, F. C. Okafor, H. Kitchen, A. B. Fafunwa, I. J. Lewis, O. Ikejiani, O. Nduka and N. J. Okongwu.[1]

Answers to the following questions were sought:

1. What were the cultural, political, religious and educational bases of the 1925 Memorandum?

2. Who were the principal agencies and persons involved in the formulation and execution of the Memorandum?

3. What were the educational objectives of the Memorandum?

4. What points of the Memorandum influenced the changes of Christian religious instruction to a major school subject?

---

[1]Full entry in Bibliography and as described below, pp. 26, 27, 52, 55.

Treatment of Data

Practical solutions of Sub-problem One were pursued by treating the data as follows:

1. An investigation was made of government and missionary sources which highlight the cultural, political, religious and educational basis of the 1925 Memorandum. The investigation covered all aspects of external and internal criticisms in order to establish the authenticity and credibility of data according to procedures suggested in the "General Criterion Section."

For each datum of documents, the process of establishing credibility was separately undertaken regardless of the general credibility of the author.

2. From the government and missionary documents, the agencies and persons who were the principal participants in the formulation and execution of the 1925 Memorandum were identified. The principal witnesses were also identified. The general reliability of each witness had relevance only as establishing the probable credibility of the particular statements of the witness.

The process of establishing these items was subjected to techniques of determining authenticity and credibility set in the "General Criteria Section."

3. The objectives of both general education and religious education of the Memorandum were determined and described. This was done by utilizing answers to questions raised in establishing the authenticity and credibility as above.

4. By analyzing the background, content, and objectives of the Memorandum, it was possible to establish the points of the Memorandum which made Christian religious instruction a major school subject.

Recording the Data

Narrative format and an organizational pattern of Sub-problem One were adopted so as to constitute the content of this sub-problem into Chapter II. Each of the answers to the questions asked above formed a sub-division in the chapter.

The record in Chapter II is a critical analysis of the data. The chapter is in the form of the chronological-thematic presentation. This is to ensure presentation of significant concepts of the data.

Sub-Problem Two

The following issue was also examined:

To determine and describe the extent that government policies on education upgraded Christian religious instruction in Nigerian schools between 1925 and 1979.

Sources of Data

Paramount to this sub-problem were A. B. Fafunwa's and C. O. Taiwo's detailed treatments of government policy; other authors were O. Nduka and O. Ikejiani.[1]

Primary sources were sought from the Kaduna National Archives; The National Archives, Ibadan; and the National Library, Lagos. The following education ordinances were vital to determining government policy: Education Law, 1948; Education Law, 1952; and Education Law, 1962.

From government documents at the Kaduna Archives were sought Board of Education Colony and Southern Provinces, Minutes of the Eleventh Meeting, 12-15 February, 1947; Policy on Religious and Moral Instruction in Government and Native Administration Schools, 1951-1952; and File No. 839 Ministry of Education Northern Provinces, Classes for Religious Instruction Changed to Schools, 1942-1943. Other primary sources were used in relevant sections of the dissertation.

---

[1]Fafunwa, History of Education in Nigeria; Taiwo, The Nigerian Educational System; Ontonti Nduka, Western Education and the Nigerian Cultural Background,

Answers to the following questions were sought:

1. What were the government's educational policies which influenced the change of religious instruction to a major school subject between 1925 and 1979? What were the missions' educational policies in the same period?

2. To what extent did government educational policies influence the development of religious instruction as a major school subject?

Treatment of Data

Practical solutions to Sub-problem Two were pursued by treating the data as follows:

1. Government and missionary primary documents were reviewed and examined in order to determine the specific government policies which influenced the change of Christian religious knowledge to a major school subject. Some of the variables that were examined included: specific educational policies; transfer of mission schools to local education authorities; take over of mission schools; and the extent of the influence of policies on Christian religious instruction.

Relevant historical techniques used in Sub-problem One, as explained in the "General Criteria Section," were utilized in Sub-problem Two.

2. Following this review of sources and the procedures of external and internal criticisms as shown above, analysis of data was made. A deduction of relevant facts from the data so analyzed was used to determine the extent that government educational policies changed the status of Christian religious instruction. This was confirmed by further analysis of policy statements to identify government objectives. Results of such policies were investigated from syllabi and content of school religious instruction.

(Ibadan: Oxford University Press, 1965); Okechukwu Ikejiani, ed. Education in Nigeria, with a Foreword by Dr. Nnamadi Azikwe, (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1965).

Recording of Data

Narrative format was utilized to constitute Chapter III based on the critical and narrative principles adopted in Sub-problem One.

Sub-Problem Three

The following issue was investigated:

To determine changes which may have taken place in teaching Christian religious instruction as a major school subject.

Sources of Data

While sources for this sub-problem were the ones for Sub-problem One and Two, professional papers from some associations working on Christian religious instruction were used. Personal and telephone interview data were also used.

Answers were sought to the following questions:

1. What is the objective of religious instruction in Nigerian schools according to government policy?

2. How is the curriculum of religious instruction as a major school subject different from what it was in Christian institutions?

3. What innovations have occurred in the methods of teaching religious instruction as a major school subject?

4. What problems were experienced in implementing the policy to teach Christian religious instruction as a major school subject?

Treatment of Data

Practical solutions to Sub-problem Three were pursued by treating the data as follows:

1. Relevant government, church and professional documents were subjected to historical procedure as in Sub-problem One, and reviewed to

identify changes in the objectives of religious instruction.

2. Using the same archives and professional papers, missionary and government curriculum innovations were compared and contrasted.

3. The same primary sources and analysis of data, as in points one and two above, were utilized to establish changes in the methods of teaching religious instruction.

4. These same sources also furnished details concerning the implementation of government policy and the problems experienced in teaching Christian religious instruction.

Recording of Data

Data were recorded in narrative format, as in Sub-problems One and Two. Questions 1, 2 and 3 constituted Chapter IV. Data for question four of this sub-problem were organized into Chapter V. The comparison of the educational, economic and staff changes of teachers of religious instruction were made and tabulated. The issue of Church denominationalism was investigated.

Sub-Problem Four

The following issue was studied:

To identify the concept of religious instruction according to the Nigerian National Constitution, 1979.

The identity of the concept of religious instruction in 1979 resulted from the answers to questions raised in Sub-problems One through Three; and is the cumulative impact of the changes in Christian religious instruction.

Sources of Data

The following documents were consulted to determine antecedents to the 1979 constitution: Nigerian Constitution, 1960; The Nigerian Education Law,

1962; The Nigerian Constitution, 1963; A Philosophy for Nigerian Education, 1969; A National Policy on Education, 1977; The Great Debate, Nigerian Viewpoints of the Draft Constitution; and The Proceedings of the Constituent Assembly, Official Report. The Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1979 itself was examined to identify the concept of religious instruction.

Other documents were curricula and syllabi in religious instruction; Church education policy documents; school admission records and examination results. Data from dissertations, articles and interviews were also used.

Answers to the following questions were sought:

1. Which national events influenced the development of the concepts of religious instruction according to the 1979 national Constitution?

2. What were the concepts of religious instruction derived from the 1979 national Constitution?

3. Were the curricula and syllabi of religious instruction in 1979 compatible with the ideas of religious instruction expressed in the 1979 constitution?

4. Were the practices of religious instruction professionals in 1979 in agreement with the concepts of religious instruction expressed in the Constitution?

5. Did the number of students taking religious instruction in schools by 1979 demonstrate students' interest in the subject as a school education subject in contrast to missionary evangelistic objective?

Treatment of Data

Practical solutions of Sub-problem Four were pursued by treating the data as follows: all the above sources were subjected to historical techniques used in Sub-problem One. Also as most of the data are legal

documents, sections relevant to this study were interpreted. By using information from the data so treated, the following information was acquired:

1. Events which influenced the origin of the concepts of religious instruction in the 1979 National Constitution were identified and data analyzed.

2. The concepts of religious instruction in the Constitution were identified by interpretation of data.

3. A comparison was made to discover whether the content and objectives of religious instruction curricula and syllabi in 1979 were compatible with the ideas of religious instruction in the Constitution.

4. Analysis of data resulting from points three through four determined the degree to which the practices of religious instruction professionals agreed with the concepts of the 1979 constitution.

5. Admission records and examination results were used to identify the approximate number of students who were interested in studying religious instruction as a major school subject.

Recordings of Findings

Findings of points one through five in this sub-problem were recorded in a narrative form as adopted in Sub-problem One and constitute Chapter VI.

Chapter VII records the findings of the dissertation and proposes recommendations for further research.

CHAPTER 2

THE EDUCATIONAL MEMORANDUM WHICH RESULTED IN THE CHANGE OF CHRISTIAN RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION TO A MAJOR SCHOOL SUBJECT IN 1925

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is twofold: to describe historical conditions which formed the background in which religious education originated in Nigeria; and to discuss the Educational Memorandum which first recognized Christian religious instruction as a major school subject. For the immediate aim of this chapter, only the salient points of the historical conditions before 1925 will be examined under the following subdivisions: political, cultural, religious and educational backgrounds. Only a survey of the salient points of these conditions is necessary for two reasons: first, past researchers have done extensive work in these areas; and, secondly, the development of Christion religious instruction is the concern of the present research.

The Political Conditions Before 1925

In this research, the approach is to reflect the political growth of Nigeria where it is relevant to the development of religious education. Meanwhile, the most important political condition before 1925 was that Nigeria was a British colonial territory.

The British occupation of Lagos in 1861 was due largely to the cooperation of the British administrator, John Beecroft and the missions. At that early date, according to J.F.A. Ajayi, both British consuls and missionaries were interested in westernizing Nigerians by introducing Western commerce and education based on Christian principles. In fact,

the treaty signed in Lagos by Akintoye in 1861 guaranteed the freedom of religion and the teaching of Christian religious instruction in schools.[1] In due course, similar treaties, guaranteeing the freedom of religion, were signed with other Obas in the South and Muslim Emirs in the North.

The Nigerian Year Book (1972), says that a formal protectorate government was realized at the formation of the Niger Coast Protectorate in 1893. In the North, the Royal Niger Company administered British interests on the Niger and Benue valleys.[2] The Fulani and Bornu Empires were subdued only in 1902 and 1903.[3] The birth of Nigeria as it is known today was on January 1, 1914, when Lord Frederick Lugard inaugurated the amalgamation of the Northern and Southern Provinces. Between 1914 and 1922 there was a Nigerian Council, but its governing powers influenced mainly the Southern Provinces. Even the 1923 Legislative Council did not legislate for the Northern Provinces. It was the 1946 constitution that first empowered the central legislation to influence the entire nation.[4] The three Provinces of Colonial Nigeria in 1925 are shown on Map I.[5]

---

[1] Ajayi, p. 77.

[2] Nigerian Year Book (Lagos: Time Press, 1972), p. 31.

[3] D.J.M. Muffett, Concerning Brave Captains, Being History of the British Occupation of Kano and Sokoto and the Last of the Fulani Forces, with a Foreword by the Hon. Alhaji Sir Ahmadu Bello (London: Andre Deutsch, 1964), pp. 88-104, 117-126, 125-137, 163-212; Sir Charles Orr, The Making of Northern Nigeria, with a New Introduction by A.H.M. Kirk-Green (London: Frank Cass & Co. Ltd., 1965), pp. 106-119; see also Sir Alan Burns, History of Nigeria (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1929, 9th imp., 1964), and Michael Crowder, A Short History of Nigeria (New York: Frederick Praeger, 1962).

[4] Nigerian Year Book, 1972, p. 31.

[5] See Map I, p. 35.

In the Nigerian experience, researchers have indicated there was no "wall of separation between church and state."[1] Sonia F. Graham and Albert F. Ogunsola have indicated clearly that political policies influenced the religious conditions of Nigeria on a cooperative basis, and E. A. Ayandele had similar findings.[2] The strong relationship between church and state influenced the historical development of Christian religious instruction.[3]

The Cultural Backgrounds Before 1925

The crucial points to be considered here, which influenced moral and religious instruction concepts prior to 1925, include the cross cultural interaction between the peoples, culture and social setting of Nigeria with Western civilization.

There has always been a heterogeneous population in Nigeria.[4] The Hausa, Fulani, Kanuri, Gwari, Nupe, Tiv, Jukun, Tangalewaja, Angas and other Plateau Peoples, and Nezit[5] People are some tribes located in the North. The Hausa are a majority, and they, with the Fulani, Kanuri and some Nupe, have traditionally been regarded as Muslims. The others were traditional religionists, but now constitute a stronghold of Christianity

---

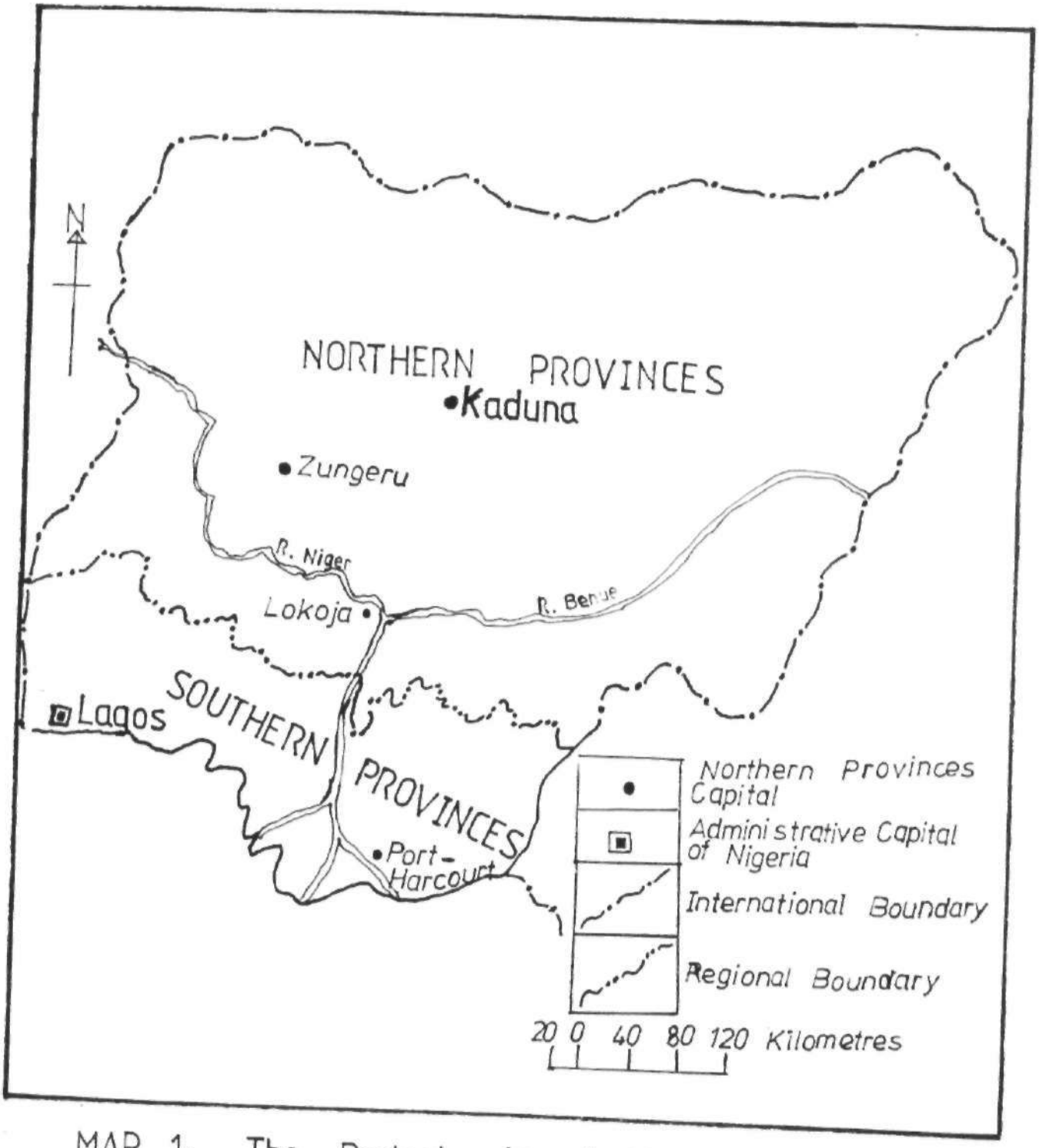
[1]Like the American case described by American writers, for example, Conrad H. Moehlman, The Wall of Separation Between Church and State, A Historical Study of Recent Criticism of the Religious Clause of the First Amendment (Boston: The Beacon Press, 1951).

[2]Graham, pp. 1-15; Ogunsola, pp. 1-16; Ayandele, pp. 8f.

[3]Fully discussed, Below, Chapters III and IV.

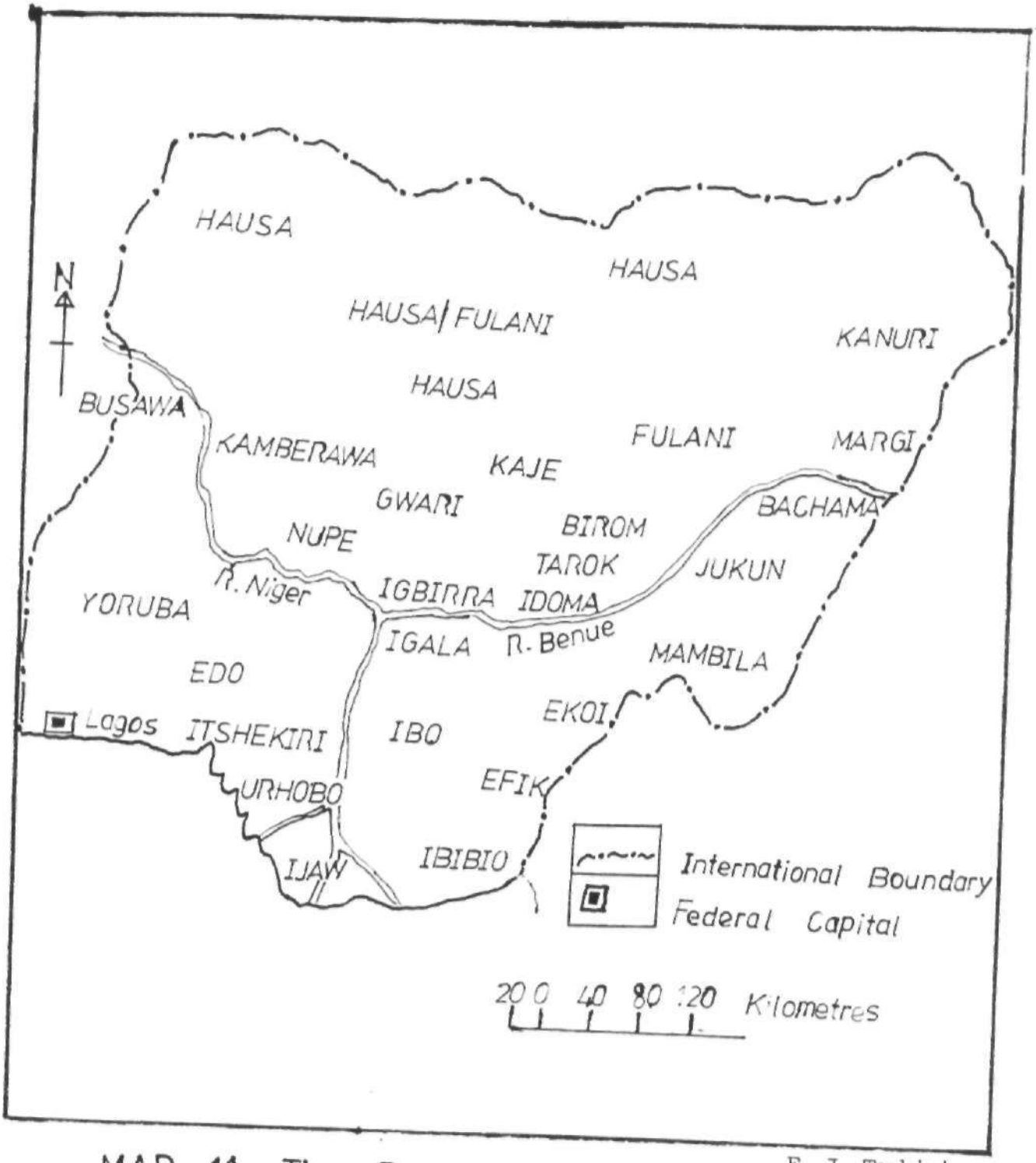
[4]See Map II, p. 36.

[5]Nezit refers in this study to traditional Southern Zaria peoples: Ataka, Ayu, Ninzim, Gwantu, Ikulu, Jaba, Konchum, Moro'a, Yaskwa, Kagoma, Kagoro, Kaje, Kamantan, Kataf and Kaninkon; others include Binawa, Chawai, Gure, Kadara, Kajuru, Kiniku, Kahagu, Kitimi, Kono, Kurama, Kuturmi, Ruruma and Surubu, see Map IX, p.204.



MAP 1: The Protectorate of Nigeria in 1925.

F. J. Tambiyi



MAP 11: The Peoples of Nigeria.

F. J. Tambiyi

in the North. The ethnic origins of most northern peoples have been studied by various writers.[1]

The peoples of southern Nigeria were as diversive as the northerners. In the West, the Yoruba were the majority. East of the Yoruba were the Benis, Urhobos, Itsekiri, Ijaws, Ishans and Kukuruku. In Eastern Nigeria the Igbos were the majority. As with the North, so with the South: various studies have been done of the southerners.[2]

According to the 1921 government census, the northern population was 18,631,442, of which there were over six million Muslims. Southern Nigerians were 8,371,459 and mostly of African traditional religion[3]. It is impossible

---

[1]Example: Lady Lugard (Flora L. Shaw), A Tropical Dependency (London: Nisbit and Company, 1906); Harold D. Gunn, Pagan Peoples of the Central Area of Northern Nigeria (London: International African Institute, 1956); Charles Kingsley Meek, The Northern Tribes of Nigeria, 2 vols., (Glasgow: Oxford University Press, 1925); Charles L. Temple, Notes on the Tribes, Provinces, Emirates and States of the Northern Provinces of Nigeria (London: Frank Cass & Co., Ltd., 1919), (new imp. New York: Barnes and Noble, Inc., 1967); Charles Kingsley Meek, The Northern Tribes of Nigeria, 2 vols. (London: Oxford University Press, 1925),(reprint. New York: Negro University Press, 1969), (hereafter Meek 69 II).

[2]Examples: P. Amaury Talbot, The Peoples of Southern Nigeria, 4 vols. (London: Oxford University Press, 1926); Mary H. Kingsley, West African Studies, with a new Introduction by John E. Flint (New York: Barnes and Noble, Inc., 1899, 3rd ed. 1964); much more work is available on Igbos, Yorubas and others, whose specific studies are not the prime aim of the present work.

[3]P. Amaury Talbot, Peoples of Southern Nigeria, IV: 4; Thomas Jesse Jones etd. Education in Africa (New York: Phelps-Stokes Fund Foundation and Foreign Mission Societies, 1922), pp. 45, 178; Charles Kingsley Meek, The Northern Tribes of Nigeria, 1969, II:173, 180-181, 192, 254, 258-259.

in an unexhausted reference like this one to identify all the over 562 distinct dialectical communities of Nigeria, a good number of which were benefitting from Christian religious instruction in 1925.[1]

The cultural and social setting of Nigeria has also been extensively studied. Nigerian cultural life was perpetuated in two ways: by preservation and dissemination through African education and art. African education in Nigeria emphasized vocational training; community and human relations; mutual aid, a polygamous family life; moral and ethical principles, for example, respect for elders, hospitality and salutation; and character training, which promoted various forms of self discipline. The authorities on African social and cultural life suggested that African traditional religion was a strong foundation solidifying society.[2]

---

[1]John B. Grimley and Gordon E. Robsin, Church Growth in Central and Southern Nigeria (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1966), p. 249; Sir Charles Orr, The Making of Northern Nigeria, p. 57; Sir Alan Burns, History of Nigeria, p. 26; Crowder, History of Nigeria, p. 21. SIM Now, November - December, 1982, p. 11, suggested there are "412 languages and 562 dialects spoken in Nigeria."

[2]The following sources were useful references: Mary H. Kingsley, West African Studies, pp. 153-170; Harold D. Gunn, Pagan Peoples of the Central Area of Northern Nigeria, pp. 11-137; Albert D. Helser, In Sunny Nigeria, Experiences Among a Primitive People in the Interior of North Central Africa, with an Introduction by Otto Winger (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1926), pp. 156-158; Ayandele, pp. 335-337; Edmund Ilogu, Christianity and Igbo Culture, with a foreword by Dr. M.A.C. Warren (New York: Nok Publishers, Ltd., 1974), pp. 72-74; Chidawa B. Kaburuk, "Polygamy in the Old Testament and the Church in Africa," M.S.T. Thesis, Dallas Theological Seminary, May 1976, pp. 1-3; Fafunwa, pp. 24-27, 30-47; Festus Chukwudi Okafor, Africa at the Crossroads, Philosophical Approach to Education, with a foreword by Sir Eric Ashby (New York: Vantage Press, 1974), pp. 17-23; T. J. Bowen, Adventures and Missionary Labours in Several Countries in the Interior of Africa from 1849 to 1856, with a new Introduction by E. A. Ayandele (London: Frank Cass and Co., Ltd., 1957, 2nd ed., 1968), pp. 284, 303-304.

The richness of Nigerian cultural and social life was expressed in African arts; and is now found in cultural artefacts. The latter have been identified in various forms: the Nok Terra Cotta, the Igbo Ukwu Bronze, the Beain Court Art, the Ile-Ife Art, the Owo Terra Cotta, and the Tada Bronze. These depositories of civilization are said to depict religious, ceremonial and social symbols which religious educators may find useful today.[1]

For the purpose of this study, it is important to note that before 1925 Nigerian traditional life had been disrupted. The cultural breakdown resulted from the contact of Islam and Christianity with African traditional religion. There was also the influence of Western education on the Nigerian society after 1842, the date when Western education was introduced into Nigeria by Christian missionaries.[2]

The Religious Backgrounds Before 1925

African traditional religion, which is part of the curriculum of religious instruction has persisted in the Nigerian culture; yet numerous studies, which teach its beliefs in God (The Supreme Being), spirits and

---

[1] The New Encyclopaedia Britanica, 15th ed., s.v. "African Peoples, Art of," by Frank Willet, et al. (hereafter sited as NEB), I:254-257, 261, 265-266, 233-234; Emmanuel Nnakenyi Arinzo, "Nigeria's Culture--History," Catholic Life, June/July, 1982, pp. 6-8; Leo Frobenius, The Voice of Africa, Being an Account of the Travels of the German Inner African Exploration Expedition in the Years 1910-1912, Trans. Rudolf Blind, 2 vols. (New York: Benjamin Blom, Inc., 1913, reis. 1968), II:636, 636, 334, 452f.

[2] Otonti Nduka, Western Education and the Nigerian Cultural Background, pp. 13, 19, 90-97, 102-103; Ayandale, pp. 330f.; Desmond W. Bittinger, An Educational Experiment in Northern Nigeria in Its Cultural Setting (Elgin, Illinois: The Brethren Publishing House, 1941), pp. 12-17, 210f., 311f., shows various cultures and changes; Arthur Mayhew, Education in the Colonial Empire (London: Longmans, Green & Co.), pp. 32-57, 81-86, same as Bittinger; Okechukwu Ikejiani, ed. Education in Nigeria, pp. 39-54.

divinities, magical and medicinal powers, and ancestors, indicate that the religion was disrupted by Christianity and Islam before 1925. However, the real and lasting disruptions in African traditional religion appeared to be the destruction of its social negatives, for example, twin murder, human sacrifice, blood revenge, and to some extent polygamy (among some Christian groups).[1]

Islam, the Arab religion in Nigeria, which was accepted in Northern Nigeria before the eighth century, accommodated African traditional religion. Nigerian Islam, because of its acceptance of some traditional customs, appeared to have attempted to maintain some traditional moral stability in the North. At least the Jihad (Muslim Holy War) of Usuman Dan Fodio, in the early 1800's, was purported to have had moral goals. The Jihad strengthened Islam and there was a strong resistance to Christianity by Islam between 1842 and 1925. However, gradually Muslim leaders came to accept the reality of the existence of Christianity as a Nigerian religion.[2]

---

[1]Some references on traditional religion: E. Bolaji Idowu, African Traditional Religion, A Definition (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 1973), pp. 137-202; Geoffrey Parrinder, African Traditional Religion (London: Sheldon Press, 1954, reprint., 1968), pp. 31-66, 113-133; Geoffrey Parrinder, Religion in Africa (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1969), pp. 39-66; Monica Wilson, Religion and the Transformation of Society, A Study in Social Change in Africa (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), pp. 26-51; John S. Mbiti, Introduction to African Religion (London: Heinemann, 1975, reprint., 1977), pp. 46-53, 65-77, 164-174.

[2]Sources on Nigerian Islam are too numerous to be fully researched for this study; pertinent examples include: J. Spencer Trimingham, A History of Islam in West Africa (London: Oxford University Press, 1962, reprint., 1968), pp. 55, 107-111, 115-200, 122f., 130f., 193-219; Fafunwa, pp. 53f., Ayandele, pp. 117, 134-135; I. M. Lewis, ed. Islam in Tropical Africa (London: International African Institute in Association with Indiana University Press, 1966, 2nd ed., 1980), pp. 15-16, 212-217; M. G. Smith, Government in Zazzau 1800-1950 (London: Oxford University Press, for the International African Institute, 1960, reprint., 1964), pp. 3f.; Sir Alhaji Ahmadu Bello, My Life, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1962), p. 12.

Christianity,[1] the Western religion, was well rooted, though less numerous than Islam, in Nigeria in 1925. The growth of Christianity after 1842 in the major sections of Nigeria, and its political, religious, social, economic and educational influences on the country have been documented by various investigators.[2] The exploration of these points was the major contribution of E. A. Ayandele's book, The Missionary Impact on Modern Nigeria 1842-1914. This book and J.F.A. Ajayi's, Christian Missions in Nigeria 1841-1891, indicated that the foundation of modern civilization in Nigeria started with the arrival of the Christian missionaries at Badagry in 1842.[3]

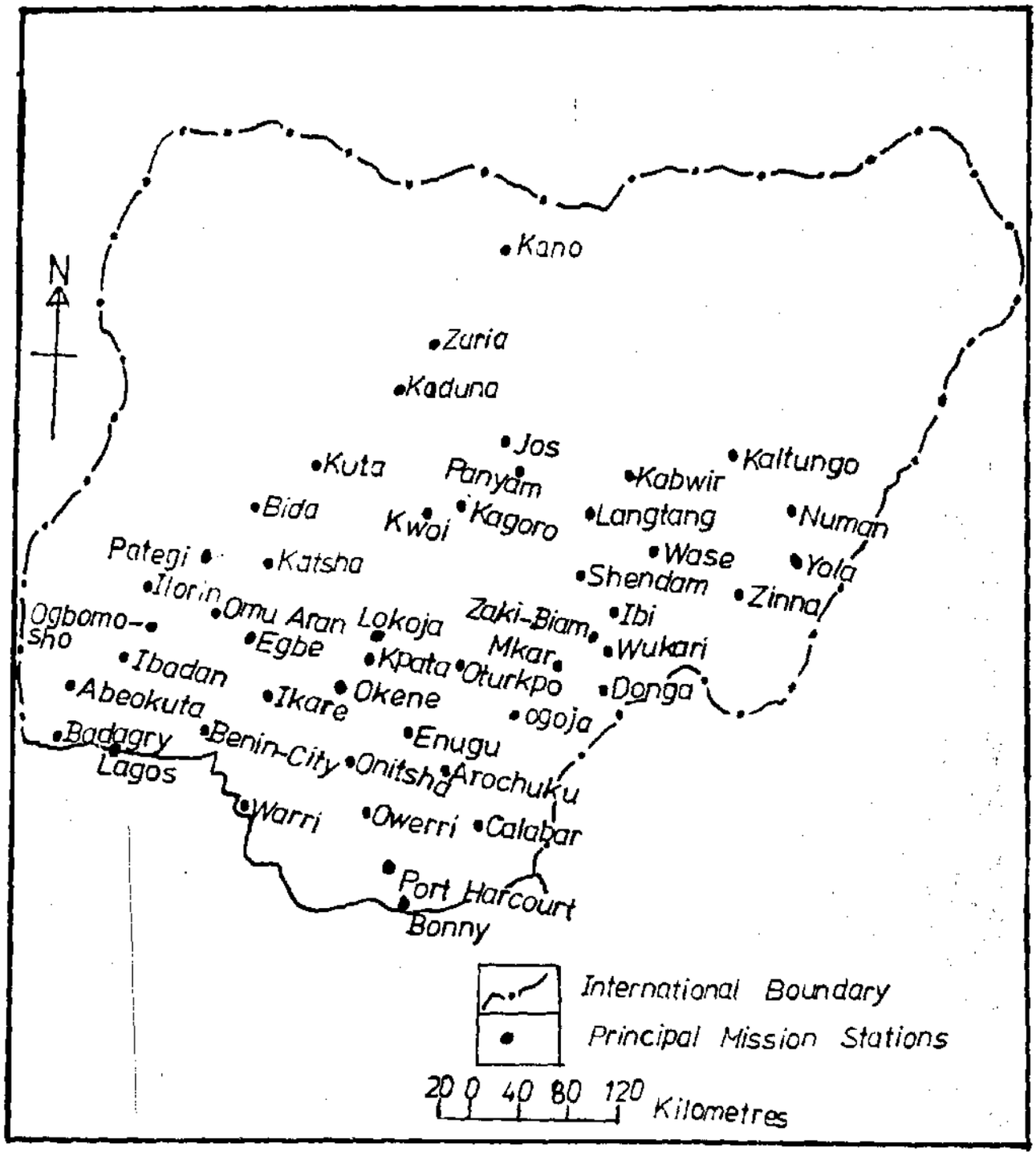
As it was not easy for the missions to get settled and plant the church, because of the cultural, social and political interaction between the colonial administrations, Islam and the new religion, the missions were compelled to move towards church unity. In the North, a Lokoja Conference of all Protestants was started in 1910. An aspect of the Conference persists today

---

[1] See Map III, p. 42.

[2] Examples already cited: J.F.A. Ajayi, E. A. Ayandele, Jan Harm Boer, T. J. Bowen, E.P.T. Crampton, John B. Grimley and Gordon E. Robinson, Albert D. Helser, Edmund Ilogu; Ogbu Kalu and the following works: Rowland V. Bingham, Seven Years and a Jubilee, The Story of the Sudan Interior Mission, with a preface by G. Ritchie (New York: Evangelical Publishers, 1943, 3rd ed., Toronto: Evangelical Publishers, 1943); W. Harold Fuller, Run While the Sun is Hot, [Sudan Interior Mission in Africa], (Chicago: Moody Press, 1968); Oduyoye Modupe, The Planting of Christianity in Yorubaland (Ibadan: Day Star Press, 1969); F. K. Ekechi, Missionary Enterprise and Rivalry in Igboland 1857-1914 (London: Frank Cass, 1972); J.H.A. Hunter, A Flame of Fire, (Aylesburry: Hazell Watson & Viney, 1961); Eileen Lageer, New Life for All, True Account of In-Depth Evangelism in West Africa, with a foreword by Paul S. Rees (Chicago: Moody Press, by Special Agreement with Marshall, Morgan and Scott, 1970); Right Reverend A. O. Makozi and Professor G. J. Afolabi Ojo, eds.; The History of the Catholic Church in Nigeria, with a foreword by Archbishop Francis A. Arinze (Lagos: Mcmillan Nigeria Publishers, 1982), (hereafter cited as HCCN).

[3] Ayandele, pp. 242f., 283f.; Ajayi, pp. 126f.



MAP 111: Christianity in Nigeria 1925.

F. J. Tambiyi

as the Northern Educational Advisory Committee (N.E.A.C.). In the South, the movement led to the formation of the Christian Council of Nigeria.[1] According to Sonia Graham, one area of conflict between the colonial administration and the missions was the latter's emphasis on religion in schools. The schools were becoming evangelistic centers. Evangelism was done partly through Christian religious instruction, based upon the Bible.[2]

According to E.P.T. Crampton, Gordon and Robinson, E. A. Ayandele, John D. Y. Peel, H. W. Turner, P. H. Talbolt, and C. K. Meek, by 1925 the missions had fully established traditional churches, for example, the Anglican, Methodist, Presbyterian, and the Roman Catholic Church, as well as indigenous or Independent African Churches. In southern Nigeria, according to the 1921 census, there were over 774,964 Christians compared to 386,556 Muslims. The rest of the 8 million population was still adhering to African traditional religion. In the North, there were only 19,191 communicant Christians while Islam claimed over 6 million and African religion 3 million adherents. All over the country the missions determined to teach the Bible in all their schools. The government initiated a movement to

---

[1]Crampton, pp. 60, 170-172; Graham, p. 112; Boer, pp. 143-144, 184, 205, 206; Grimeley and Robinson, pp. 77-78, all indicated that the Nigerian movement to church unity was influenced by international church organizations, as in Clyde L. Manschreck, ed. A History of Christianity, Readings in the History of the Church from the Reformation to the Present (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1964), pp. 44-65, 263-311 on World Missionary Conference, Edinburgh, June, 1910.

[2]Graham, pp. 32f., 148f.

recognize Bible knowledge as a school subject because the colonial administration promoted moral instruction based on religion.[1]

The Educational Conditions Before 1925

As noted earlier, part of the Nigerian cultural experience was the enhancement of social norms through an informal African traditional education. Before 1925, there was also a prevailing Qur'anic education (Islamic education). While the Qur'anic schools were more formal than traditional education, they were, methodologically, very much the same as the Christian classes of religious instruction -- learning was by memorization of the Holy Books.[2] In 1913 there were 19,073 Qur'anic schools with a total attendance of 143,312 pupils. In 1919 there were 25,000 Qur'anic schools teaching 250,000 pupils. Like the christianization centers of Christian classes of religious instruction, the Qur'anic schools were centers of islamization.[3]

---

[1]Talbot, IV:103-104; Grimeley and Robinson, pp. 59-63, 317-344; Ayandele, pp. 343-345; Crampton, pp. 147-162; Meek, 69II; H. W. Turner, History of the African Independent Church, The Church of the Lord (Aladura), 2 vols. (London: Oxford University Press, 1967), I:5-6; John D. Y. Peel, Aladura: A Religious Movement Among the Yoruba (London: Oxford University Press, published for the International African Institute , 1968), pp. 55-56, 66f.

[2]Fafunwa, pp. 55-66; Taiwo, pp. 42, 176-178; Meek 69II:254; Mark Bray, Universal Primary Education in Nigeria: A Study of Kano State, with a Foreword by Timo A. F. Afolayan (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1981), pp. 55f.

[3]L. J. Lewis, Society, Schools and Progression in Nigeria, in series, Comparative Studies: Society, Schools and Progress, with a Foreword by Dr. Edmund King, Gen. Ed. (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1965), p. 219, A.A.M. Kirk-Greene, Comp. and intro. Lugard and the Amalgamation of Nigeria, by Sir F. D. Lugard on The Amalgamation of Northern and Southern Nigeria and Administration 1912-1919 (London: Frank Cass, 1968) cited hereafter as Amalgamation Report, p. 149; Lord Frederick J. D. Lugard, Political Memoranda, Revision of Instructions to Political Officers on Subjects Political and Administration 1913-1918 (London: Waterlow and Sons, 1919, 3rd ed., with a new introduction by A.H.M. Kirk-Greene, London: Frank Cass, 1970), cited hereafter as Political Memoranda, p. 123.

By their nature, African traditional education and Islamic education did not bring about a renaissance for the modernization of Nigeria. Authorities[1] on Western education in Nigeria have confirmed this, and only salient points of their findings, which are crucial to religious education, will be identified now and in subsequent chapters. Most of these authorities, and others, agreed that Western education in Nigeria was introduced by Christian missionaries in 1842. Such other authorities include official Nigerian and British documents, and international sources.[2] The sources

---

[1]For example, already cited: Mark Bray, Thomas Jesse Jones, Arthur Mayhew, Festus Chukudi Okafor, Desmond W. Bittinger, Nigerian Educational Research Council, A Philosophy, A. Babs Fafunwa, Sonia F. Graham, Albert F. Ogunsola; and the following: David B. Abernethy, The Political Dilemma of Popular Education, An African Case, with a Foreword by Gabriel A. Almond, (Stanford,CA: Stanford University Press, 1969); Donald G. Burns, African Education, An Introductory Survey of Education in Commonwealth Countries (London: Oxford University Press, 1965); Abdou Moumouni, Education in Africa, translated by Phyllis Nauts Ott, with a Preface by Professor L. J. Lewis (London: Andre Deutsch, 1968); L. J. Lewis, Educational Policy and Practice in British Tropical Areas (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1954); David G. Scanlon, ed. Traditions of African Education, Classics in Education, No. 16 with a Preface by Lawrence A. Cremin, Gen. Ed. (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1964).

[2]Taiwo, p. 6; Ontonti Nduka, Western Education and the Nigerian Cultural Background, p. 21; J. O. Anowi, "The Role and Function of Voluntary Agencies in Nigerian Education," ed. Okechukwu Ikejian, Education in Nigeria, pp. 40-46; Political Memoranda, p. 123; Amalgamation Report, p. 140; Gt. Brit. Col. Office Education Policy in British Tropical Africa, Cmd 2374, H.M.S.O. 1925, cited hereafter as, Education Policy...1925, p. 3; Northern Region of Nigeria; A Short Survey of Education in Northern Nigeria, originally published by the Ministry of Education of Northern Nigeria for the Occasion of Self Government Celebrations 1959, ed. D. H. Williams, with a Foreword by Alhaji The Hon. Isa Kaita, Minister of Education (Kaduna: Government Printer, 1960), pp. 21, 26. Government of Western Nigeria, Banjo Commission, Report of the Commission Appointed to Review the Educational System of Western Nigeria, December 1960 to January 1961 (Ibadan: Government Printer, 1961), p. 2; Nigerian Yearbook, 1970, p. 137; Jones, Education in Africa, pp. 7-8, 84, 90; Muhammad Shamsul Hug, "Education in Colonies and Nearly Emergent Nations," in "Education, History of," NEB, 15th ed., 6:395-398.

also agree that the pioneering educational aim of mission education was prosylytization of the pupils.[1] While missions had evangelistic pioneering goals, the Colonial administration had the educational aim of training subordinate civil servants. It has been suggested that the colonial goal led to Lord Frederick Lugard's emphasis on "the formation of character and habits of discipline...religious education and secular moral instruction."[2]

Research shows that in the educational effort the missions' goal for evangelization pushed them to start Bible classes and literacy classes for teaching Nigerians to read the Bible. In the early stages, the church classes were called classes for religious instruction and later schools. In good time, the missions also pioneered the opening of secondary schools and teacher training colleges. In all the mission schools, Christian religious instruction was taught.

Before 1925 Nigerian education was hardly regulated. Such an unregulated education had its problems, both in the mission and government schools. Some researchers identified a breakdown of the traditional social setting and traditional religion.[3] Lord Frederick Lugard recorded official criticisms of the negative influence of Western education -- that it brought "lack of integrity, self-control, discipline...."[4]

According to the 1921 census, analyzed for the South by P. A. Talbot, and for the North by C. K. Meek, there was 96 percent illiteracy out of the 8 million population of the South; and 97.56 percent illiteracy out of the 9 million people of the North. In the South, there were 1,600 Christian

---

[1]Ajayi, pp. 29-30; Taiwo, pp. 47-48; Anowi, in Ikejiani, ed. Education in Nigeria, p. 47; Nwosu, HCCN, pp. 42-44; Fuller, Run While the Sun is Hot, pp. 54-55; Boer, pp. 115, 193, 279; Bowen, p. 322.

[2]Taiwo, p. 57; Boer, p. 303; Talbot IV:160; Meek 69, II:27, 149, 215.

[3]Nduka, p. 131; Uduaroh Okeke, in Ikejiani, ed. Education in Nigeria, pp. 104-106; Ayandele, pp. 300f.

[4]Political Memoranda, pp. 125-126.

schools with 3,645 teachers teaching 124,014 pupils only. The government reported 51 schools with 212 teachers for 6,782 pupils only. In the North, the missions had 103 schools with 162 teachers for 2,964 pupils, while the government owned 30 schools in which 194 teachers taught 1,454 students. However, these figures do not reflect the thousands of Qur'anic schools.[1]

The analysts of the census and Lord Frederick Lugard admitted that, among other causes, the government lack of concern for Nigerian education constituted a major cause for the poor quality and quantity of education before 1925.[2] This observation was made despite the government education ordinances in 1882, 1887, 1903 (amended 1905), 1908 and 1916. Until 1925 education ordinances were not taken seriously.[3] Therefore, mission schools were unregulated. Most missions did not take the government grant-in-aids offered to voluntary agencies or assisted schools. The reason was that they did not want government interference with their prime subject: Christian religious instruction. The government itself, however, was pushing for the teaching of secular moral instruction based on religious instruction. This, according to C.A. Taiwo, was expressed in the 1916 education ordinance. The Ordinance had a "provision for denominational religious instruction as an examination subject."[4] Yet religious instruction was controlled by the missions who were not interested in government institutionalization of the subject.

---

[1]Talbot, IV:4, 18, 27, 125; Meek, 69, II:173, 180-181, 192, 254, 258-259.

[2]Political Memoranda, p. 129.

[3]Taiwo, pp. 10-54; Fafunwa, pp. 92-108.

[4]Taiwo, p. 64.

The Educational Memorandum Which First Recognized Christian Religious Instruction as a Major School Subject in 1925

The colonial government tendency to coordinate education became more practical in 1925. In the same year, Christian religious instruction was formally given legitimacy and recognized as a major school subject. The process of making Christian religious instruction a major school subject can best be seen by considering the following ideas of the 1925 education memorandum: the agencies and persons involved in the process; the educational objectives of the Memorandum; and the specific points of the Memorandum which influenced the legalization of religious education as a major school subject.

Agencies and Persons Responsible for the Formulation and Execution of the Memorandum

The American Agencies and Leaders

In the first decade of the 20th century, when Christian missions were having problems with governments and nationals in Africa, particularly in Nigeria, American churches showed a concern. This concern eventually influenced the course of Nigerian education for many decades.

It was the American Baptist Foreign Missionary Society (A.B.F.M.S.) which first demonstrated the need to improve educational programs in Africa. Dr. James Henry Franklin, the Foreign Secretary of the A.B.F.M.S., first proposed to his mission "that a commission should be appointed to make a study of education in Africa."[1] His view reflected the concern of different

---

[1]Jones, Education in Africa, p. xii.

missions in the United States which were evangelizing in Africa.[1] After the A.B.F.M.S. accepted the Franklin proposal, it sought the cooperation of other American missions working in Africa.

William I. Chamberlain, Chairman, and Fennel P. Turner, Secretary of the Committee of Reference and Council of the Foreign Missions Conference of North America, were contacted by the A.B.F.M.S. Chamberlain's council accepted the Franklin proposal and was willing to contribute financially towards a study of African education. Eventually, the American mission boards agreed to implement the Franklin proposal.

Dr. Thomas Jesse Jones, the education director of the New York City based Phelps-Stokes Fund Foundation, was asked by the mission boards to be chairman of the African Commission on Education. T. J. Jones was born in Wales, a British subject, and a United States citizen. He was a Columbia University trained sociologist. He had successfully directed the research department of the Hampton Institute, the oldest school for African Americans. In 1917, he also prepared an educational proposal for African Americans for the United States government.[2]

The Phelps-Stokes Fund Foundation was requested by the American Mission Boards to render any useful services. According to Education in Africa, the Phelps-Stokes Fund Foundation was created in 1911 by Mrs. Caroline Phelps-Stokes in her will for, among other uses, educational advancement of Africans in the United States and Africa.[3]

The Phelps-Stokes Fund Foundation accepted the request of the boards. Also, T. J. Jones accepted the chairmanship of the African Commission on Education, partly because of its international scope: the League of Nations

---

[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid., p. xiii.

[3] Ibid., p. xii.

was contemporarily advocating for educational policies that would meet African needs. In addition, the London based International Missionary Council was coordinating missionary efforts for improving African education. Dr. J. H. Oldham, the Secretary of the International Missionary Council sought the cooperation of American and English mission societies and the European colonial powers in Africa.[1]

The other members of the African Commission on Education had considerable interest and experience in missions and Africa. Of particular interest was James Emman Kwegyir Agrey of Ghana. He had had the full benefit of Christian religious instruction in mission schools and had been educated at Columbia University. He was an effective liaison person for the Commission.

The objectives of the Commission were "to study the educational needs of Africa";[2] to establish how the educational work in Africa was done; and to determine if such an education was meeting the religious, social, hygienic and economic needs of Africa.[3] The Commission visited West Africa, August, 1920 - September, 1921; was in Nigeria November 4 - December 16, 1920; and in East Africa 1923 - 1924.[4] The method of research by the Commission was thorough: they contacted and talked with government and mission officials, traditional rulers, teachers, pupils and the masses; and also utilized written government sources.

---

[1]Ibid., pp. xv-xvi.

[2]Ibid., p. xii.

[3]Ibid., p. xvi.

[4]Thomas Jesse Jones, ed. Education in East Africa, with a Foreword by William I. Chamberlain and an Introduction by Dr. Anson Phelps-Stokes (New York: Phelps-Stokes Fund Foundation and Foreign Mission Societies, 1925).

The Report of the Commission, Education in Africa,[1] is too extensive for the purpose of this study; but it has been necessary to refer to it to show that the formulators of the Commission were United States Christian leaders promoting the expansion of Christianity. However, an examination of Education in Africa shows that the chief means advocated for the expansion of Christianity was mission education; its foundation was Christian religious instruction. For example, the Commission advocated that

> Most fundamental of all is the recognition of the power of religion in education and in life. The Native African is intensely religious...has a vivid consciousness of unknown forces controlling his life...a horrible fear that limits his life...
>
> Christian education must challenge this nature of the African so that he may understand that God has a fatherly interest in him and in every phase of his life and seeks to help him to the best of life...The Christian religion can not therefore be limited to the Sunday services or the devotional exercises at the opening of school or even to the teaching of the Bible...thus every school act and every act in life should have a religious significance...Education is therefore not merely the impartation of facts but the impartation of Divinity in human affairs.[2]

Education in Africa called for educational reformation in Africa; the use of Western education based on mission education founded upon the Bible; emphasis on Christian religious instruction for character development and moral training; and cooperation between the missions and governments. The Report was publicized worldwide. In Nigeria, the press announced the arrival

---

[1]Thomas Jesse Jones, ed. Education in Africa, with a Foreword by William I. Chamberlain and an Introduction by Dr. Anson Phelps-Stokes (New York: Phelps-Stokes Fund Foundation and Foreigh Mission Societies, 1922), many writers simply refer to it as The Phelps-Stokes Report.

[2]Ibid., p. 28cf. "Religion and Character Training Clause" of the 1925 Memorandum, Below, pp. 63f.

of Education in Africa through the Rev. Albert D. Helser of the Church of the Brethren Mission. He had arrived in Lagos enroute to open a mission field in Buraland, and he was given copies of Education in Africa, newly from the publishers,[1] to take to the Nigerian government and mission officials.[2].

The British Agencies and Leaders

Past researchers[3] have agreed that Education in Africa had a profound influence on the British government. Following a study of the Report, the Secretary of State for the Colonies was convinced of the urgent need for African educational reform. It was accepted that the assistance of a standing committee was required.

The British churches, however, took the lead in initiating the formulation of an African educational change. The experts[4] have a concensus that this initial move for an African educational revolution came through the newly-established, London based International Missionary Council. The

---

[1]Lewis, Educational Policy, p. 129, gave full citation of Publisher's edition: Education in Africa. Report of the Phelps-Stokes Commission, 1920-1921 (London: Edinburgh House Press, 1922).

[2]Helser, pp. 22-23.

[3]Example: Mayhew, p. 41; Lewis, Educational Policy, pp. 10-11, 129; John Wilson, Education and Changing West African Culture, p. 64; Taiwo, p. 76; Fafunwa, p. 125; Nduka, p. 44; David G. Scanlon, Traditions of African Education, p. 90; P. Uduaroh Okeke, "Background to the Problems of Nigerian Education," Education in Nigeria, p. 5; Nndou J. Okongwu, "History of Education in Nigeria 1842-1942," Ph.D. Thesis, New York University, 1946, pp. 56-57; A. Victor Murray, The School in the Bush (London: Frank Cass and Company, Ltd., 1929, 2nd ed., 1967), p. 260.

[4]Ibid.

latter had participated in the activities of the American based African Commission on Education.

In fact, I. J. Lewis and A. V. Murray specified that Dr. J. H. Oldham, the Secretary of the International Missionary Council initiated the formulation of the policy ultimately adopted by Britain.[1] Oldham submitted a memorandum to the Secretary of State for the Colonies before June, 1923. On June 23, 1923, the Oldham Memorandum was discussed at a conference at the Colonial Office. The Oldham Memorandum, which had passed through the Education Committee of the Conference of Missionary Societies in Great Britain and Ireland

> described the state of education in Africa, stressed the importance of cooperation between the missionary organizations, and called for the establishment of a permanent Educational Advisory Committee at the Colonial Office.[2]

In its official publication, Britain and Education in the Commonwealth, the British government acknowledged the pioneering role of the churches in formulating an African education policy.[3] A. Mayhew added that the Colonial Office was influenced also to act immediately by veteran colonial administrators like Lord Frederick Lugard and Mr. Ormsby Gore, the Under Secretary.[4] I. J. Lewis further said that, based upon these various influences, Great Britain appointed the Advisory Committee on Native Education in British Tropical African Dependencies on November 24, 1923.[5]

---

[1]Lewis, Educational Policy, p. 13; A. Victor Murray, The School in the Bush, p. 261.

[2]Lewis, Educational Policy, p. 13.

[3]Great Britain, British Information Services, Britain and Education in the Commonwealth, 1964, pp. 4-5.

[4]Mayhew, p. 41.

[5]Lewis, Educational Policy, pp. 13-14, 19; Lewis, School, Society and Progress in Nigeria, p. 35.

Various investigators[1] have cited the 1925 Memorandum as the first policy toward regulating education in British West Africa, particularly Nigeria. This is the view of the British government.[2] Experts have differing opinions as to the validity of the Memorandum on African education. John Wilson thought the Memorandum promoted the colonial aim of educating Africans for subordinate civil service careers. D. B. Abernethy suggested that the Memorandum was actually difficult to practice. C. O. Taiwo and A. B. Fafunwa observed that the Memorandum became the basis for Nigerian educational policy for several subsequent decades. Fafunwa lamented that Islamic education was omitted in the proposed scheme which, according to him, was Christian oriented.[3]

The Nigerian Agencies and Leaders

A. F. Ogunsola, C. O. Taiwo, and A. B. Fafunwa indicated that the colonial administrators in Lagos accepted the challenge for educational reformation based on the 1925 Memorandum. Sir Hugh Clifford, the Nigerian governor, responded to the Advisory Committee. He submitted a Nigerian educational Memorandum to the Committee in 1925.[4]

---

[1]Such as: Mayhew, pp. 640-644, 74-75; Lewis, Educational Policy, pp.16-19; Lewis, Society, Schools and Progress in Nigeria, p. 35; Fafunwa, pp. 123-125; Taiwo, pp. 70-72; Scanlon, pp. 92-102; Nduka, pp. 43-44; Wilson, pp.65f; Abernethy, pp. 89-90; Ogunsola, pp. 69-72; Bittinger, pp. 193-194; Okongwu, "History of Education in Nigeria 1842-1942," pp. 56-57; P. U. Okeke, "Background to the Problems of Nigerian Education," Education in Nigeria, p. 5; Reginald Bunting, "Nigeria," Helen Kitchen ed. The Educated African, A Country-by-Country Survey of Educational Development in Africa, compiled by Ruth Sloan Associates with a Preface by Ruth C. Sloan and Introduction by Helen Kitchen (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1962), pp. 367-368.

[2]Britain and Education in the Commonwealth, p. 5.

[3]Wilson, pp. 40f; Abernethy, pp. 89-90; Taiwo, pp. 70-72; Fafunwa, pp.123, 125; as a Nigerian Muslim and educator, Fafunwa's observation is understandable.

[4]Ogunsala, pp. 31-32; Taiwo, pp. 71-72; Fafunwa, pp. 125-126.

The execution of the 1925 advisory memorandum in Nigeria was demonstrated in the formulation of the Educational Ordinance of 1926. Lewis said that, after the Nigerian governor accepted the 1925 advisory memorandum, the missions agreed to cooperate in its execution.[1] The full implementation of the 1925 advisory memorandum in Nigeria is treated in a subsequent section.[2]

The Educational Objectives of the 1925 Memorandum

Education Policy in British Tropical Africa presented fourteen educational principles which show the broad objectives of The Memorandum. For the purpose of this study, it is appropriate to classify the educational objectives of The Memorandum into two categories: general educational objectives and specific religious and moral objectives.

General Educational Objectives

The fourteen broad principles of education of the 1925 memorandum were:

1. The government would encourage but control voluntary, the majority being mission, educational efforts. This was necessary because government, which had neglected the education of its citizens, reserved "to itself the general direction of educational policy and the supervision of all educational institutions by inspection and other means."[3]

2. Cooperation between government and voluntary agencies should be promoted through the establishment of national advisory boards of education and provincial educational committees in which voluntary agencies should have representation.[4]

3. Western education should be adapted to the culture and traditions of the people who receive such education. As an agent of "natural growth and evolution, education should conserve sound and healthy elements" of African social life. Education must bring social advancement to the community, true citizenship ideals, community subsidiary participation in civil service, leadership, and it must bridge

---

[1] Lewis, Educational Policy, p. 17; Lewis, Society, Schools and Progress in Nigeria, p. 36.

[2] Below, pp. 70f.

[3] Educational Policy...1925, p. 3.

[4] Ibid., pp. 3-4.

the cultural gap between the educated and uneducated Africans, raise the character and efficiency of the majority of citizens; and higher education should be provided for Africans who demonstrated ability "to profit by such education."[1]

4. Religion and character training should be given a central place in the educational system.[2]

5. Educational service should be ensured: government must be prepared to provide more economic expenditure for education to improve conditions of learning; and government expects a correspondent utilization of education by citizens; these provisions would depend upon the quality of the control of education policy; therefore, the education department must be so conditioned to attract the best staff.[3]

6. A system of grants-in-aid should be established to assist voluntary agency "schools which conform to the prescribed regulations and attain the necessary standard...The conditions under which grants-in-aid are given should not be dependent on examination results."[4]

7. The study of vernaculars, teaching in vernaculars and using vernacular textbooks should be encouraged; and government and mission societies should cooperate in preparing vernacular textbooks and teachers of teaching of subjects should be adapted to African social conditions.[5]

8. Training of African teachers should be a central concern of government. Women must be a part of this training scheme. Principles of the policy must be taught in teacher training institutions which should train teachers from the localities of the school. Teacher training institutions, vocational courses, teachers conferences and in-service training should be part of the new educational system.[6]

---

[1] Ibid., p. 4.

[2] Ibid., fully treated, "The Specific Religious and Moral Objectives," Below, pp. 63f.

[3] Ibid., p. 5.

[4] Ibid., pp. 6-7.

[5] Ibid., p. 6.

[6] Ibid., pp. 6-7.

9. Visiting teachers should be trained and posted to rural areas to assist village teachers by demonstrating effective teaching tasks and methods. This will inspire teachers with new concepts.[1]

10. Inspection and supervision must be practiced for this is indispensable for the vitality and efficiency of the proposed educational system. Government inspectors will assist teachers to understand educational aims by rendering friendly advice. While missions are to inspect and supervise their schools, government inspection should supercede that of the missions.[2]

11. Technical industrial training -- mechanical training, artisanship, dimensional planning and village crafts can best be given in government workshops.[3]

12. Vocational training, either the technical industrial training, especially in medicine, agriculture, forestry, veterinary medicine, survey and telegraphy should be done from government departments.

    By emphasizing technical industrial and vocational training, government hoped to inculcate in pupils that manual labor was as honorable as clerical career.[4]

13. Education of girls and women, while necessary and urgent, should be seen as delicate and difficult because of the varied African customs; when encouraged, female education is primarily to prepare women for domestic life.[5]

14. Organization of the school systems (government and mission systems recognized) must include the following classifications: elementary education starting with the infant class for boys and girls; secondary or intermediate education; technical and vocational schools; teacher training institutions; and institutions that would teach the professions of medicine, agriculture and "may hereafter reach university rank;" and adult education to bridge the generation gap between the educated youths and uneducated adults.[6]

---

[1] Ibid., pp. 6-7.

[2] Ibid., p. 7.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Ibid., p. 8.

[6] Ibid.

The above principles show that the new education policy was to ensure the continued training of subordinate Nigerian civil servants. Although the system of training was to be systemized, it was to be rooted in the culture, especially religion.

The specific religious and moral objectives of the Memorandum, discussed below, show the religious orientation of the new policy.

Points of the Memorandum Which Influenced the Changes of Christian Religious Instruction to a Major School Subject

Three points with sub-ideas are suggested here as having culminated to constitute the authority that gave legitimacy to Christian religious instruction in schools: the background of the 1925 memorandum; the content of the memorandum, and the specific religious and moral objectives.

Background of the Memorandum

The Christian atmosphere under which the 1925 memorandum came to be formulated made the document necessarily pay attention to moral education based on religious instruction. The full influence of Education in Africa has been noted. A casual reading of the Education in Africa and Education Policy in British Tropical Africa, 1925, would reveal similarities.[1] The role of the International Missionary Council in the formulation of the two reports is well known. The membership of the Advisory Committee included officials interested in both religious and secular moral instruction. In Nigeria, the missions had contributed behind the scene by promoting Christian religious instruction in schools. However, the missions were

---

[1] Fafunwa, p. 125, reacting to the omission of Islamic education said the 1925 memorandum "was a complete adoption of" Education in Africa with its Christian orientation.

not advocates of government legalization of Christian religious instruction.

However, both the colonial government and mission attitudes towards religious education prior to 1925 gave rise to the need for giving legitimacy to the subject. While it was the general view of Britons in Nigeria to advocate the teaching of the Bible as a foundation for Pax Britanica in Nigeria, the colonial government remained neutral to school religious instruction. In 1925, Sir Frederick J. D. Lugard stated the fact when he said, "In Africa the school boy came to the conclusion that government looked on religion with contempt."[1] The government neutrality influenced pupils to regard religious instruction as inferior to other school subjects. The pupils did not take the subject seriously because it was not an examination subject.[2] To some experts the exemption of the subject from the examinable subjects amounted to bias against the subject. This led to the disregard of religious instruction by not only the pupils, but the Nigerian educated class,[3] and Governor Clifford called the attention of the country to the fact that religious instruction needed to be respected and integrated for pupil education at an early stage.[4] In fact, the slowness of the colonial government for reformation was lamented by the northern House of Assembly on the absence of or informal teaching of religious instruction in government schools. This was as late as 1951.[5] One cause for government

---

[1]Lewis, Educational Policy, p. 66, quoting Lugard, Education in Tropical Africa, reprinted from The Edinburgh Review, July, 1925.

[2]Bittinger, p. 198, referring to Lugard, The Dual Mandate, 1926, pp. 436,445.

[3]Lewis, Educational Policy, p. 66.

[4]Ibid., p. 67, referring to Address by the Governor, February, 1924, (Lagos: Government Printer, 1924).

[5]Northern Region of Nigeria, Ministry of Education, Religious and Moral Instruction in Government and Native Administration Schools in Northern Provinces, 6th April, 1951-1952, National Archieves Kaduna (hereafter NAK), Provincial Correspondence Jacket (hereafter PCJ) 4900, p. 1, fully treated, Below, pp. 152-155.

neutrality was government insistence on having Christianity along side Pax Britanica against African traditional religion. But the colonial government, while despising the moral and ethical norms of African traditional religion, was indifferent to the missions and their Christian religious instruction.[1]

Therefore, between 1842 and 1925, the missions had the final say, on a denominational basis, on Christian religious instruction. Their attitude was that they could not be unfaithful to the Bible and their home churches in their mission to christianize Nigerians. They evangelized freely through school religious instruction. The Muslim Qur'anic schools were originally established for islamization of the pupils. Therefore, in the few government schools where Islamic religious instruction was taught, the method was also full evangelization.[2]

It has been suggested that some parents criticized the overemphasis of Christian religious instruction in mission schools.[3] However, a majority of parents did not bother about what kind or what amount of that instruction was given to their children.[4] I. J. Lewis wrote that the real problem with the mission religious instruction was the "fundamentalist interpretation of Scriptures"[5] by Evangelicals whose fundamentalism separated religious instruction from life experiences on earth. He further indicated that

---

[1]Mayhew, pp. 100-101; Bittiner, p. 198 referring to Lugard's two volumes: Education in Tropical Africa, p. 4; and The Dual Mandate, pp. 436, 445, where Lugard condemned African traditional religion.

[2]Nduka, pp. 35, 131; Anowi, "The Role and Function of Voluntary Agencies in Nigerian Education," Education in Nigeria, p. 46; Taiwo, p. 37, in discussing education 1906-1918, says Qur'anic schools had only Islamic religion as curriculum in Western Nigeria; p. 42, the same in the North.

[3]Ayandele, p. 292, Igbo complaints; Ajayi, p. 133, Bonny Chiefs' complaint; Taiwo, p. 11, traders' complaints, p. 15, most parents pleased.

[4]Ayandele, p. 292, educated Africans saw secular education as dangerous; Taiwo, p. 15, only some Muslim parents complained; Fafunwa, pp. 66-69, 71-72, Muslim parents not wholly pleased.

[5]Lewis, Educational Policy, p. 67.

separatist bias was reflected in denominationalism: this made the composition of syllabi difficult. In addition, many religious instruction teachers were of poor calibre and semi-literate. It was such teachers who, more than any one else, mishandled religious instruction and rendered it irrelevant to life and unattractive to pupils.[1]

The problem of poorly trained teachers led to the issue of poor methodology. This was demonstrated in lecturing, sermonizing, memorization, too much emphasis on examination and lack of integrating religious instruction into the total school curriculum. Consequently, there was less emphasis on character development.[2]

Added to these problems, Nduka challenged that Christian religious instruction was most unsuitable for helping pupils develop morality. He saw no relationship between religion, especially Christianity, and the weakened African moral cultural basis, that is the disrupted traditional values.[3]

According to I. J. Lewis, the formulators of the 1925 Memorandum considered the background problems raised in the foregoing paragraphs.

The Content of the Memorandum

Generally, the content of the Memorandum pointed to the need for some religious sanction in the new society that was being created by Western education. The colonial government was careful to provide some protection to the missions in the grant-in-aid clause. The clause stipulated that a school which accepted the grant-in-aid was fully recognized. Such a school

---

[1]Ibid, p. 68cf., Nduka, pp. 104-105.

[2]Mayhew, p. 44; Bittinger, p. 191; Nduka, p. 37; Okeke, "Background to the Problems of Nigerian Education," Education in Nigeria, pp. 88, 99, 101.

[3]Nduka, pp. 108-112.

"should be regarded as filling a place in the scheme of education as important as the schools conducted by government itself."[1]

While the subjects of recognized schools must conform to "the prescribed regulations and attain the necessary standards. The conditions under which grants-in-aid are given should not be dependent on examination results."[2] This meant that Christian religious instruction in an assisted school would not have government interference. The subject would be recognized as legitimate by government, but there was a flexibility for mission control of the subject.

The clause dealing with "The Study of Vernaculars, Teaching and Textbooks" was also promotional to the teaching of Christian religious instruction. The missions had all along adopted the vernaculars for teaching the subject and religion as a whole: government reinforced this practice.

A problem in the provisions was the requirement to train teachers. Missions would be at a disadvantage. While they had a majority of teachers, most were uncertificated. There was also the problem of a shortage of finances for training.

The Specific Religious and Moral Objectives

Whatsoever was the reaction of the missions, the colonial government was fully prepared for recognizing the legitimacy of Christian religious instruction. The "Religious and Character Training" Clause said, inter alia:

> The central difficulty in the problem lies in finding ways to improve what is sound in indigenous tradition. Education should strengthen the feeling of responsibility

---

[1] Education Policy...1925, p. 5.

[2] Ibid, p. 6.

> to the tribal community, and, at the same time, should strengthen will power; should make the conscience sensitive both to moral and intellectual truth; and should impart some power of discriminating between good and evil, between reality and superstition. Since contact with civilization -- and even education itself -- must necessarily tend to weaken tribal authority and the sanctions of existing beliefs, and in view of the all-prevailing belief in the supernatural which affects the whole life of the African, it is essential that what is good in the old beliefs and sanctions should be strengthened and what is defective should be replaced. The greatest importance must therefore be attached to religious teaching and moral instruction. Both in schools and in training colleges they should be accorded an equal standing with secular subjects. Such teaching must be related to the conditions of life and to the daily experience of the pupils. It should find expression in habits of self-discipline and loyalty to the community. With such safeguards, contact with civilization need not be injurious, or the introduction of new religious ideas have a disruptive influence antagonistic to constituted secular authority. History shows that devotion to some spiritual ideal is the deepest source of inspiration in the discharge of public duty. Such influences should permeate the whole life of the school. One such influence is the discipline of work. Field games and social recreations and intercourse are influences at least as important as classroom instruction. The formation of habits of industry, of truthfulness, of manliness, of readiness for social service and of disciplined cooperation, is the foundation of character. With wise adaptation to local conditions such agencies as the Boy Scout and Girl Guide movements can be effectively utilized provided that good Scout Masters are available. The most effective means of training character in these ways is the residential school in which the personal example and influence of the teachers and of the older pupils--entrusted with responsibility and disciplinary powers as monitors -- can create a social life and tradition in which standards of judgment are formed and right attitudes acquired almost unconsciously through imbibing the spirit and atmosphere of the school.[1]

In addition to the religious school atmosphere so much legalized, two sentences specifically recognized Christian religious instruction as a major school subject:

---

[1]Ibid., pp. 4-5, cf. the ideas of Education in Africa, Above, p. 51.

> The greatest importance must therefore be attached to religious teaching and moral instruction. Both in schools and training colleges they should be accorded an equal standing with secular subjects.[1]

The colonial government adopted a compromise with the missions: "religious teaching," which then was mainly Christian religious instruction, was the mission subject. As the missions had a majority of the schools,[2] government pledged to uphold their foundational subject on the same par with secular subjects. Islamic religious instruction, of course, was on the same category with Christian religious instruction. Moral instruction, on the other hand, was promoted by government advocates of secular moral instruction. Therefore, government also endorsed full recognition of secular moral instruction on the same level with other school subjects. The colonial government, indeed, was legitimizing two separate subjects. It may be said, therefore, that government legalized religious instruction and secular moral instruction; and, as will be indicated, the two subjects were taught as separate subjects until the 1930's.[3]

More points which influenced the change of Christian religious instruction to a major school subject may be identified through an attempt to determine the rationale for the entire "Religious and Character Training" Clause.[4] This must be done by trying to ascertain the implications of certain expressions in The Clause. A justifiable approach is an analysis of The Clause. Such an examination reveals three main ideas from The Clause which point to the rationale for making Christian religious instruction and moral instruction major school subjects. The three main

---

[1] Ibid., p. 4.

[2] See figures above, p. 46-47.

[3] Below, p. 152.

[4] Hereafter referred to as The Clause.

ideas are the Clause, the aim of legitimizing Christian religious instruction, and the practical means of achieving expected results.

The Clause implies that the immediate cause for government upgrading of the status of "religious teaching and moral instruction" was the realization for the need to control cultural disruption occurring in Nigeria since 1842. Thus, The Clause reflected on safeguards against cultural disruption caused by contact between Western and African cultures. In pursuit of cultural preservation, The Memorandum discussed "Adaptation to Native Life." This was followed immediately by the opening sentences of The Clause which stated that

> The central difficulty in the problem lies in finding ways to improve what is sound in indigeneous tradition...Since contact with [Western] civilization -- and even [Western] education itself -- must necessarily tend to weaken tribal authority and the sanctions of existing beliefs...[1]

The Clause further implies that there were "injurious" and "disruptive" influences by "contact with [Western] civilization" and "the introduction of new [Christian] religious ideas."[2] In fact, The Clause called for strengthening disintegrating traditional authority; the restoration of the good of weakened "sanctions of existing beliefs"; and the need to replace what was defective in African culture.[3]

In view of the need for safeguards, government stipulated definite aims of "religious teaching and moral instruction:" The colonial government calculated that teaching these subjects would influence pupils to be more loyal to the traditional community. Therefore, in order to ensure the

---

[1] Education Policy...1925, p. 4.

[2] Ibid., p. 5cf., Above pp. 46f, the scathing language used against the influence of Westernization in Southern Nigeria.

[3] Cf. Social atrocities already identified, Above, p. 40.

improvement of sound indigenous tradition, "Education should strengthen the feeling of responsibility to the tribal community."[1]

Another proposed aim was that the two subjects legalized in school should be a means of inculcating ethical and moral principles in the young learners. Such ethical and moral principles were to help pupils to be of a good character, disciplined civil servants (subordinate to Europeans in those colonial years) and loyal citizens. Therefore, pupils would be taught to develop the

> ...habits of self-discipline and loyalty to the community... History shows that devotion to some spiritual ideal is the deepest source of inspiration in the discharge of public duty...[Therefore, in secular moral instruction classes, teachers should reinforce the teaching of]...the discipline of work...The formation of habits of industry, of truthfulness, of manliness, of readiness for social service and of disciplined cooperation, [for this] is the foundation of character.[2]

The Clause also reveals government proposed practical means of teaching the newly legalized subjects. It was determined that "religious teaching and moral instruction" should incite the pursuit of truth: the best method to seek truth was the adaption of critical reasoning. Therefore,

> Education...should strengthen will power; should make the conscience sensitive both to moral and intellectual truth; and should impart some power of discriminating between good and evil, between reality and superstition.[3]

Another practical measure for teaching the two upgraded subjects should be the adaptation of the subjects to the learning situation of the pupils' cultural life. "Such teaching must be related to the conditions of life and the daily experience of the pupils."[4] The teaching should also

---

[1] Education Policy...1925, p. 4.

[2] Ibid., p. 5.

[3] Ibid., p. 4.

[4] Ibid.

reflect the ethical and moral habits of society: "It should find expression in habits of self-discipline and loyalty to the community."[1] On the spiritual ideals derived from the two subjects, "such influences should permeate the whole life of the school."[2]

The colonial government, furthermore, reiterated that ethical principles and moral habits should be achieved by recognizing and accepting the dignity of work, games and sports. Other proposed teaching techniques included "the formation of habits of industry, of truthfulness, manliness, of readiness for social service and of disciplines cooperation."[3]

A revolutionary practical means of teaching "religious teaching and moral instruction" was the adaption of Western means: for example, the involvement of pupils in extracurricular activities like the Boy Scout and Girl Guide movements.[4] The most effective Western means was the use of the the center of Westernization, the residential school. Here the most ideal technique of teaching would occur: the personal example and influences of teachers and monitors, by their ideal moral and ethical standards, would affect pupils for moral good.

The Clause pointed out that the government rationale for its proposal for the high status accorded the two subjects was attainable. The colonial government was optimistic and concluded:

> ...in view of the all prevailing belief in the supernatural which affects the whole life of the African...The greatest importance must therefore be attached to religious teaching and moral instruction. Both in schools and in training

---

[1] Ibid., p. 5.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Later, the missions, distrustful of the secularity of these movements, introduced the Boys Brigade and Girls Brigade movements.

> colleges they should be accorded an equal standing with secular subjects... [This is crucial for] devotion to some spiritual ideal is the deepest source of inspiration.[1]

SUMMARY

In this chapter the historical conditions which formed the background of the development of Christian religious instruction before 1925 are identified. Politically, the chapter indicates that despite some religious and cultural conflicts, the colonial government and the missions had a sufficiently close working relationship. Peace treaties signed between Britain and traditional rulers included clauses for religious freedom. A provision for teaching Christian religious instruction was included in the Lagos Treaty of 1861.

The chapter shows that culturally and religiously, the heterogenous populations of Nigeria have accepted the diversities of one another. Islam is shown to be the religion of a majority of the people in 1925. The chapter shows that contacts among Islam, Christianity and African traditional religion resulted in some cultural break down.

Cultural disruption is identified to have been most profound between 1842 and 1925. This period is identified as the period of unregulated Western education. Such an education was introduced and promoted mainly by the missions. The chapter indicates how the missions evangelized freely through teaching Christian religious instruction.

The chapter describes the 1925 British Education Memorandum, which was the first memorandum to take the regulation of African education seriously. It also upgraded religious and moral instruction to the status of major school subjects. Two objectives of legitimitizing the two subjects were: to ensure the teaching of ethics and to control cultural disruption.

CHAPTER 3

THE EXTENT TO WHICH GOVERNMENT POLICIES UPGRADED CHRISTIAN RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION 1925-1979

Regulated Education Dominated by Missions 1925 - 1947

In this chapter, "policy"[1] refers to departmental, regional or national regulations by the government. In Nigeria from 1925 to 1979 such regulations might have been in the form of varied governmental policies including Parliamentary sessional papers, bills, laws, ordinances or national constitutions. Government policies superceded Mission policies. In this light the aim of the chapter is two fold; to review the literature which specified policies that affected changes in Christian religious instruction; and to identify the extent of that change.

The Execution of the 1925 Memorandum

From 1925 to 1947, the colonial government[2] gave itself the power to control all aspects of school education: This action was based upon the Memorandum entitled, Educational Policy in British Tropical Africa, (1925). In response to this policy, Sir Hugh Clifford, the Nigerian

---

[1] The New Britannica-Webster Dictionary and Reference Guide, 1981, s.v. "policy"; and Rogets' International Thesaurus, 4th ed. 1979, s.v. "policy," "political policy."

[2] The use of the word "government": Until the 1946 Constitution, Provincial policies were directed from Lagos. According to the Kaduna Archives the Director of Education Lagos, was chairman of the educational board meetings referred to especially, pp. 73 - 80. Therefore, "government" would refer to national government even where a matter concerned a province.

governor, executed the British-based policy in Nigeria. While the government moved toward regulating education, Clifford, in a 1925 memorandum "proposed that elementary education should be handled in the southern province by Christian missions."[1] The Nigerian proposal led to the formulation of the Education (Colony and Southern Provinces) Ordinance, No. 15 of 1926; and the Education (Northern Provinces) Ordinance, No. 14 of 1926. The regulations of the 1926 ordinance were promulgated in May 1926.[2]

In executing the 1926 memorandum so that religious and moral instruction be on the same par with the secular subjects, the 1926 ordinance accorded the two subjects their 1926 positions. Section 18 of the Northern Ordinance stipulated that the governor had power to regulate "the religious or moral instruction to be given at government or assisted schools."[3] There was, however a discrepancy created between the government and the missions in the North. In defining "school," the Southern Ordinance had an exception clause: it stated that a "school...does not include any such institution or assembly where the instruction is solely of a religious character"[4]; but the Northern Ordinance had no exception clause. It stated that a

> 'School' means an institution in which not less than ten pupils receive regular instruction and

---

[1] Taiwo, pp. 71f; cf. Ogunsola, p. 31.

[2] Colony and Southern Provinces of Nigeria, Nigeria Gazette, January to December, 1926 (Lagos: Government Printer, 1926); Colony and Southern Provinces of Nigeria, Education Ordinance (1926) (Lagos: Government Printer, 1926); National Archives Ibadan (sited hereafter as NAI) 16496.

[3] Ibid., p. 538f.

[4] Ibid.

> includes any assembly of not less than ten pupils for the purpose of receiving religious instruction.[1]

Andrew P. Stirret, the field secretary of the Sudan Interior Mission and some administrators had earlier protested the exclusion of the exception clause in the Northern Ordinance Bill: the point of contention was that a school, in the ordinance definition, included church oriented religion classes.[2] Similar control of mission schools in the South were protested. A Church Missionary Society school principal wrote that there should be no "more sudden general control by government."[3] The Wesleyan Mission expressed a similar view in its own report.[4]

Whatever the view of the missions, the government control of schools could not be delayed: the government pushed for training of certificated teachers. As an example, in the North, after a teachers' college had been opened in 1921 at Katsina for Muslim pupils, another one was started in 1929 at Toro for non-Muslim pupils.[5] The government was said to have encouraged the teaching of religious instruction in the two teacher training colleges; and the existence of the two colleges for

---

[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Colony and Protectorate of Nigeria, Nigeria Annual Report, 1925 Lagos: Government Printer, (1925), National Archives Ibadan (sited here after as NAI) p. 496.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Colony and Profectorate of Nigeria, Nigeria Annual Report 1925, pp. 525-26; A Short Survey of Education in Northern Nigeria pp. 21, 26.

the two religions demonstrated that the government policy wished to reduce the suspicion of Muslim emirs. Islamic religious instruction was encouraged in government schools. Also, it was government policy that parents choose the kind of religious instruction their children studied in Christian schools. Therefore "...in every school...opportunity is given for religious instruction."[1] A syllabus of this period shows "Religion and Arabic on the school schedule of northern middle schools.[2]

Beginning with the 1926 ordinance, government control of education was taken more seriously, The Education Ordinance (Northern Provinces) of 1931 empowered the government to close a school whose teachers were regarded as disloyal, and schools taught by a teacher with a bad character. The schools syllabi were to be developed by the Director of Education for Assisted Schools "provided that such syllabuses shall not refer to the religious instruction to be given."[3]

In 1932, the first topic on the agenda of the first meeting of the Northern Board of Education was religious instruction. The unresolved issues of the 1926 ordinance were raised. For example, the meanings attached to "school" and classes for religious instruction needed to be resolved. The meeting, which had three mission representatives, unanimously resolved that a school was a class where "regular instruction is given...in a regular school session," and

---

[1] Nigeria Annual Report, 1926, p. 527.

[2] Northern Provinces, Education Office, Provisional Syllabus for Middle Schools (Primary Standards V and VI and Secondary Classes I-IV, Under Old Code of Northern Provinces, Lagos: CMS Bookshop, 1932, p. 1. National Library, Lagos (NLL) (sited here after as Middle School Syllabus NPS 1932).

[3] Northern Provinces, Board of Education, NAK, PCJ 205, "The Education (Northern Provinces) Ordinance, 1931," Article 18.

> A class for religious instruction is a class established for the purpose of giving regular religious instruction at a fixed meeting place. This term does not include Church services, Sunday classes for instruction given by itinerant pastors or teachers [of religion].[1]

It was futher adopted that in addition to governing the opening of schools, the government would control the opening of classes for religious instruction. Also since the government would regulate all types of institutions for public learning, the meeting empowered the government to attach grades to schools for evaluation purposes:[2]

1) Adequacy and efficiency - 20%.

2) Tone, discipline, organization and moral instruction - 30%.

3) Results of periodical examinations and general progress - 35%.

4) Building conditions, equipment, etc. - 15%.

By February 1933, the government was tending to legalize schools and classes for religious instruction under the mission; the tendency appeared to receive mission agreement. H. B. James, Acting Secretary of the Northern Provinces, wrote his residents reiterating that based on the 1931 ordinance, "Classes for Religious Instruction" were "schools"; he observed that after the 1932 meeting, these institutions were approved by the residents as schools; but the latter lacked legal authority for such action; however, "steps are being taken to legalize...these schools and classes for religious instruction approved by residents..."[3]

---

[1] Northern Provinces, Board of Education, NAK PCJ 205, pp. 17f., "First Meeting of the Board of Education, Northern Provinces, Held at the Court House, Kaduna, at 9:30 a.m., March 11, 1932."

[2] Ibid., pp. 19-21.

[3] Board of Education, NAK PCJ 205, p. 40, H.B. James to the Residents, Northern Provinces No. 135 40/119, Kaduna, 2nd Feb., 1933.

A Reflection on Mission Reactionary Policy

The missions, who never yielded to defeat, persisted in proliferating schools all over Nigeria. Bishop Joseph Shanahan was establishing schools for Roman Catholic pupils in Eastern Nigeria. He opened St. Charles' College to train teachers for the primary schools. U. H. Nwosu observed that the establishment of St. Charles' College

> was not unconnected with the high standards demanded of schools by the government since 1925, when stricter quality control of schools was introduced.[1]

In central Nigeria, the Roman Catholic Church built "many christian religious instruction (CRI) classes and primary schools...all over the parishes..."[2] In order to meet government standards a Vernacular Training College was established in 1931 at Shandam to train teachers to qualify for a government certification.[3] While the Protestants were also building colleges to meet government requirements, they too, like the Roman Catholic Mission, faced the problem of identifying what constituted a school for to the Roman Catholic Mission also,

> The schools were a means of evangelization, not only because catechism was taught as part of the curriculum, but also because the village school building...served as the Church for liturgical worship on Sundays.[4]

---

[1] Nwosu, "The Growth of the Catholic Church in Onitsha..." HCCN, p. 43.

[2] Onofu, "Milestones in the Growth of the Catholic Church in Northern Nigeria," HCCN, p. 64.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Imokhai, "The Evolution of the Catholic Church in Nigeria," HCCN, p. 12.

Government interference with these kinds of mission schools received initial protestations nationwide.[1] H. Boer reiterated that when the government proposed to upgrade classes for religious instructions to primary schools, the missions at first disagreed.[2] In 1929, southern Protestant missions formed the United Missionary Council to have a common forum for educational ideas.[3] In 1926 and 1929, the C.M.N.P.[4] met at Miango and pledged to continue to train Nigerians to enhance church growth; normally, at that time, this would be through the classes for religious instruction.[5] In 1935, Dr. J.H. Oldham of the International Missionary Council contacted the C.M.N.P. "in the ecumenical battle against restrictions of missionary activities in northern Nigeria."[6] While the C.M.N.P. appreciated the consolidating encouragement of the International Missionary Council, it refused it affiliation because the latter was regarded as liberal.[7] H. Boer suggested that the institutional conflict between the government and the missions

> was amicably solved by legal recognition of an institutional category called 'Classes for Religious Instruction' more polularly referred to as 'CRI,' till today.[8]

---

[1] Above, p.72 : SIM in the North reacting against the non exception clause of the 1926 Ordinance; and CMS and Wesleyan against control in the South.

[2] Boer, p. 320.

[3] Grimeley and Robinson, pp. 348-49.

[4] Conference of Missions of Northern Provinces.

[5] Grimeley and Robinson, pp. 77-78.

[6] Boer, p. 238.

[7] Ibid.

[8] Ibid., p. 320 - "today" refers to 1979, publication date.

In April 1933, the mission policy was communicated to the government in the North, the home of the conflict. At the second meeting of the Northern Board of Education, H.B. Farrant, the Secretary of C.M.N.P. explained that at a Toro meeting the missions accepted the delegated power of the residents to open schools. Farrant reported that

> the mission rationale was that the distinction drawn between schools and classes for religious instruction was already apparent to them and they were accustomed to regard a class as a purely church affair, while a school was an educational matter. Such differentiation by government was therefore agreeable to them.[1]

Government Reinforced Tendency to Upgrade Classes for Religious Instruction to Schools

The institutionalization of mission schools remained a major topic in government educational annual board meetings from 1934 to 1943. Since 1933, it was emphasized that classes for religious instruction involved instruction in writing and reading, therefore, they could be utilized as schools. An issue, however, was that southern Christians operated classes of "indeterminate origin and spontaneous growth."[2] It was therefore, stipulated by the government that, in the North, if a local villager taught such a class he did not require a prior approval, on the other hand, the teaching of an alien teacher might have political repercussions, Official approval, therefore, was required.

---

[1] Board of Education Norther Provinces, NAK PCJ 205, pp. 53-54, "The Second Meeting of the Board of Education, Northern Provinces, held at the Court House, Kaduna at 10:30 A.M. on April 10th, 1933."

[2] Ibid.

When in the 1933 meeting, H.G. Farrant on behalf of C.M.N.P., wished to know why Muslim mosques and Qur'anic schools were opened without any official permit, the government replied that Islam was "so loose and unorganized activity."[1] Also, it was argued , Qur'anic schools were not conducted in English. Therefore, if a class of religious instruction was conducted in Hausa, it was regarded as a class, but when the medium of instruction was English, the class became a school. In such a circumstance the missions must secure a permit.

The government utilized these kinds of arguments to open, close and legalize mission schools and classes for religious instruction between 1934 and 1943. This fact is borne out by the data of several correspondence files,[2] such as Opening of Mission Schools and Classes for Religious Instruction,[3] and Classes for Religious Instruction Changed to Schools.[4]

During this period the government demanded, first monthly and later quarterly, school returns from all proprietors of schools and classes for religious instruction. The requirement was officialized under a 1932 code. The inspection reports of the provincial superintendents of education were so demanding, meticulous and time consuming that G.A. Bieneman, the

---

[1] Ibid.

[2] There are numerous files at the National Archives Kaduna showing that in the 1930s-1950s majority of schools in central Nigeria were started as "CRI" but upgraded to schools.

[3] Northern Provinces, Education Office, Opening and Closing of Mission Schools, NAK, DDN 839, "Opening of Mission Schools and Classes for Religious Instruction." (sited hereafter as NAK, DDN 839).

[4] Northern Provinces, Education Department, Classes for Religious Instruction changed to Schools. October 10, 1942 - October 30, 1943, NAK, 839. (sited hereafter as NAK 839).

northern assistant director of education thought the matter was out of hand; therfore he communicated firmly to the provincial superintendents of education

> that applications for permission to open mission schools or classes for religious instruction will no longer be submitted to my office, the matter being dealt with you and the resident.[1]

What was at stake was the distinction the missions pointed out on April 10th, 1933: the government did not appear to distinguish to the mission's satisfaction the difference between mission schools for secular education, mission classes for religious instruction which taught the three R's, and classes for religious instruction which taught doctrinal church-related education. On the other hand, the government was concerned with genuine proprietorship of all instititions which claimed to offer school education.[2]

In some instances, the missions did not have sufficient number of pupils to qualify for holding a school education class according to government standards. The education officer in Jos said of the schools of the Sudan United Mission in Pankshin Division: the missionary in charge requested "that the status of the schools be degraded to that of classes for religious instruction."[3]

Often the recognition of a mission school might be determined by the attitude of the community where the schoold was located. A letter purported to have been written by Mohammed J. Okekhila to the Kaduna authorities requested to open a school more suitable to his people.

---

[1] NAK DDN 839.

[2] NAK DDN 839, pp. 15-16, 19, cf, NAK, PCJ 205, p. 94, "Minutes of the Board of Education, Northern Provinces, held at Kaduna College on 7th and 8th Dec., 1938."

[3] NAK, DDN 839, Memorandum from the Education Officer Plateau Province, Jos, to the Asst Director of Education Northern Provinces, Kaduna No. 76/Vol. 21/201, 29th March, 1940.

He was said to have argued that "three quarters of the town folks are Moslems (Mohammedans). This bases mainly on other mission schools which are not very suitable for Moslem children."[1] This argument referred to the people of Iya, Ijuma District, Kabba Province.

The government saw the need to regulate education as not negotiable. This idea was stressed in the second educational memorandum of the Colonial office, Memorandum on the Education of African Communities, (1935).[2] Membership of the committee which formulated the memorandum included Lord Frederick Lugard, Dr. J.H. Oldham, and A.I. Mayhew with Hanns Vischer as joint secretaries. The Advisory Memorandum of 1935 advocated for African education with the "interrelation of all the factors in community life..." According to the National Archives Ibadan, when Sir Donald Cameron, the Nigerian governor received the Advisory Memorandum of 1935, he made appreciable comments, but he feared that mission denominationalism would make implementation difficult.[3] He noted that the solution to denominationalism was appropriately suggested in the Advisory Memorandum of 1935. The document proposed the adoption of a "central body" to control mission schools; specifically local education authorities were suggested to replace "...rival missions... barrier to...community life;" but cooperation with government was emphasized.[4]

---

[1]NAK, DDN 839, p. 34, Muhammed J. Okekhila, c/o Moslem Ajumein School, Ikare, via Owo, 23rd June, 1940 to the Asst. Director of Education, Kaduna.

[2]Gt. Brit. Col. Office, Advisory Committee in the Colonies, Memorandum on the Education of African Communities, H.M.S.O. Col. No. 103, 1935 (sited hereafter as Advisory Memorandum No. 103, 1935), NAI 11279, Vol. III.

[3]NAI,11279, pp. 351, 354.

[4]Advisory Memorandum, No. 103, 1935, pp. 11-12, 18, 19.

In 1941, such a cooperation was reiterated in Mass Education in African Society.[1] Sir Donald Cameron, who had been succeeded as governor by Sir Bernard Bourdillon (governor 1935-43), was a member of the advisory committee which formulated Mass Education in African Society (1941). While the missions were encouraged to continue playing the educational major role, the government was to persist in its policy control of adult and mass literacy education.[2]

The control of the major role of the mission schools was actively illustrated in the North from 1942 to 1943 when numerous mission institutions were upgraded or downgraded to suit government prescribed educational standards. Such a treatment of mission institutions was practiced vigorously in these two years in Central Nigeria. Government granted permission to open 146 classes for religious instruction; twelve classes for religious instruction were changed to schools; nine schools were degraded to the level of Christian religious instructions; twenty four schools were closed; five classes for religious instruction were closed; and 152 mission schools were permitted open.[3]

The archival information is not clear as to the origin of all the schools treated between October 10, 1942 and October 30th, 1943, but it seems that all the schools were originally classes of religious instruction.

---

[1] Gt. Brit. Col Office, Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies, Mass Education in African Society, H.M.S.O. Col. 186, 1941, (sited hereafter Mass Education No. 186, 1941).

[2] Ibid., pp. 8-10, 19, 26, 28.

[3] The Entire Official Correspondence in File, Classes for Religious Instruction Changed to Schools October 10, 1942-October 30th, 1943, NAK 839 was for this purpose.

A notable observation from the returns was that except St. Theresa School of the Roman Catholic Mission at Funtua in Katsina, all the returns from Katsina, Kano, Sokoto and Borno Provinces were always "NIL."

In 1945, the government regulation was reinforced by two British sponsored educational commissions: The Commission on Higher Education in West Africa[1] and the Commission on Higher Education in the Colonies.[2] Then nationalism was strong in West Africa, especially in Nigeria. The West African Commission (popularly known as the Elliot Commission) had The Right Hon. Walter Elliot as its chairman. Representing the nationalist view was the Rev. I. O. Ransome Kuti, who was the first Nigerian to serve on a British education commission.

Although the Elliot Commission had as its term of reference higher education, it delved into all educational levels. The other commission, known as the Asquith Commission after its chairman, The Hon. Mr. Justice Asquith dwelled entirely on the need for higher education. The two commissions recognized the leading role of missions in African education, but both concluded that it was time for the governments of the colonies to take total control of school education.

Meanwhile, Nnamdi Azikiwe, Obafemi Awolowo and other nationalists were leading Nigerians to criticize the first Nigerian Constitution (1946)

---

[1]Gt. Brit. Col. Office, Report of the Commission on Higher Education in West Africa, H.M.S.O. Cmd. 6655, 1945.

[2]Gt. Brit. Col. Office, Report of the Commission on Higher Education in the Colonies, H.M.S.O. Cmd. 6647, 1945.

which purported to unite the country.[1] The Richards Constitution (1946), named after Sir Arthur Frederick Richards who was held responsible for the constitution, did not mention religion.

The Richards Constitution (1946) formally created the Northern, Western and Eastern Regions, each with a regional House of Assembly.[2] Although the nationalists criticized that the regional houses of assembly were only given advisory functions,[3] the regions were already contributing to educational development according to the provisions of the 1946 Constitution. A federal education bill was submitted to the regional houses of assembly for debate and response to the federal legislature. The Western House of Assembly, in its Sessional Paper, expressed the need for continued church and state relations with the government controlling school education. The paper stated that no child would be compelled to attend any form of religious worship or instruction if the parents objected..."Moreover, every school should be opened to children without distinction of religion."[4]

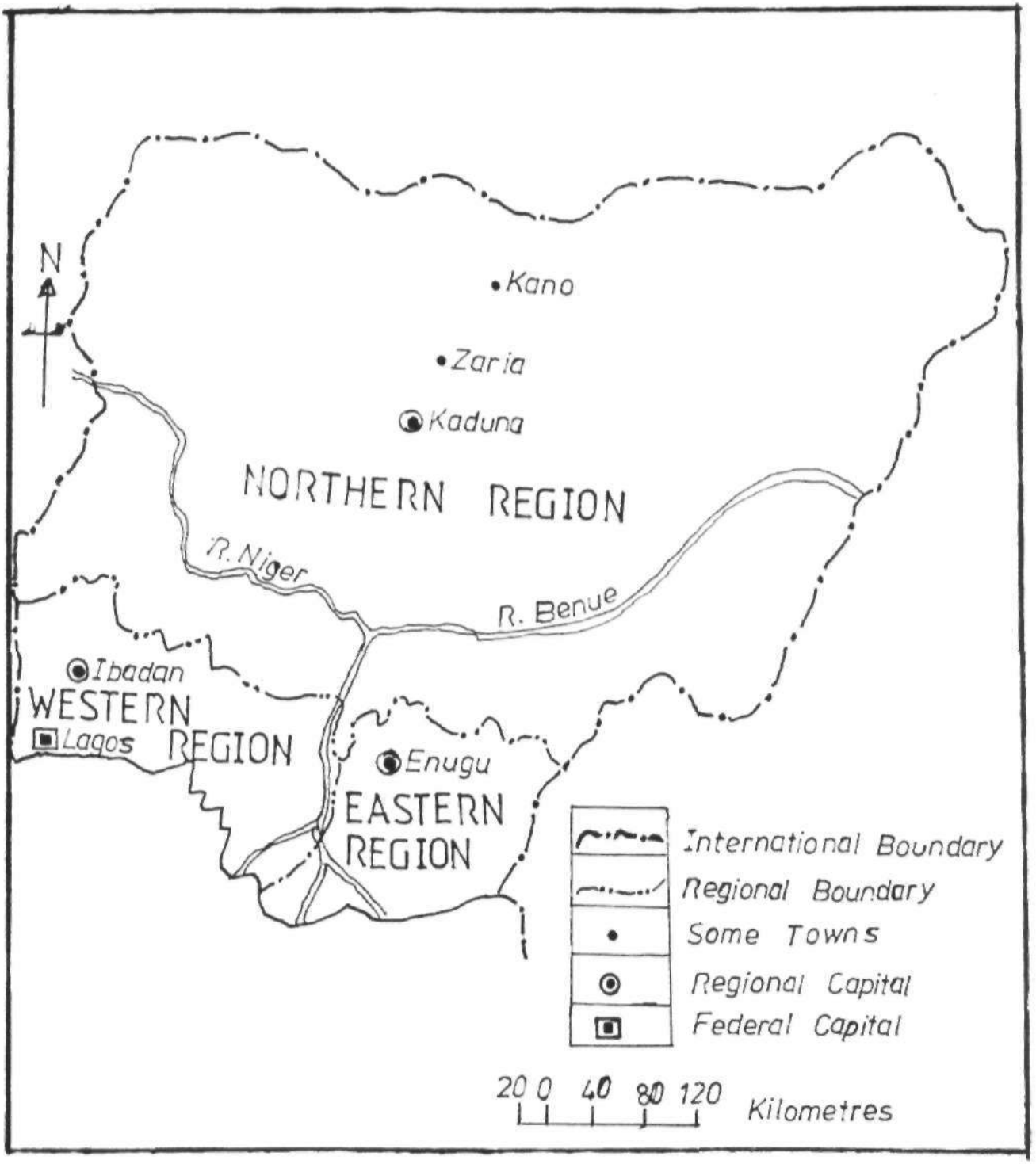
---

[1]Colony and Protectorate of Nigeria, Annual Volume of the Laws of Nigeria Containing All Legislation Enacted During the Year 1946 (Lagos: Government Printer, 1948), "Nigeria (Legislative Council) Order in Council, 1946," pp. f157-f188 [of the laws] ; Colony and Protectorate of Nigeria, Annual Volume of the Laws of Nigeria Containing All Legislation Enacted During the Year 1946, (Lagos: Government Printer, 1946), "Public Notice No. 148 of 1946 Proclamation (Under section 56 (2) of Nigerian (Legislative Council) Order in Council, 1946," pp. f104-f127 [of the Laws] .

[2]See Map IV, below, p. 84.

[3]Ezera Kalu, Constitutional Development in Nigeria, An analytical Study of Nigeria's Consittutional-Making Development and the Historical and Political Factors that affected Constitutional Change, with a Preface by the Author, (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1960, 2nd ed., 1964), p. 70. T. Olawale Elias, The Nigerian Legal System, with a Foreword by John Verity, (London: Routhedge and Kegan Paul Ltd., 1954, 2nd ed., 1963), p. 168.

[4]Western Provinces, House of Assembly, Educational Policy in the Western Provinces, A Summary of Sessional Paper No. 20/1947, Entitled, Memorandum on Educational Policy in Nigeria, Ibadan: Issued by the Deputy Director of Education, NAI, PR/D2, sited here after as Educational Policy WPS No. 20, 1947, pp. 7-8, 15.



MAP IV. THE THREE REGIONS OF NIGERIA, 1946-1954

F. J. Tambiyi

More Nigerian Pupils Taught Christian Religious Instruction

During the period of initial regulation of education, the missions persisted in providing education to a majority of pupils who went to school. At the end of 1926, in southern Nigeria, the government had 48 schools; the assisted schools numbered 192, and there were 3,578 unassisted schools. In the North, the government had 69 schools and the missions 133 schools.[1] Other statistics were (national):

	1933	1942
Government Schools	8,000	7,000
Native Administration Schools	1,000	8,000
Assisted Schools	51,000	82,000
Non-Assisted Schools	88,000	179,000[2]

In 1945, it was estimated that in the North there were 1,900,000 children of school age; an average number of pupils in schools was 31,500 (1.66%). In the South, children of school age were estimated to be 1,600,000 and those in school averaged 282,708 (17.77%).[3] In the same year, there were only 30 secondary schools in Nigeria: there was one in the North, while the South had 29.

Almost all schools in Benin Province were paid for by parents under mission auspices. In 1944, there were 40,000 pupils in schools in Benin Province. The missions operated 75% of Benin schools. The more missions operated schools the more Christian religious instruction was taught to Nigerian pupils.[4]

---

[1]Colony and Protectorate of Nigeria, Nigeria Annual Report of the Year 1926 (Lagos: Government Printer, 1926), NAI, ARS/MS3, (sited here after as Nigeria Annual Report, 1926), pp. 1-3.

[2]Gt. Brit., Col. Office, Higher Education in West Africa, Cmd. 6655, 1945, p. 20.

[3]Ibid.

[4]Western Provinces, Benin Province, Scheme for Educational Development in Benin Province, (Benin City: Oluwa Press, 1946), NAI, PR/D20.

Transferring Educational Responsibility of Primary Schools to Government, 1948-1968

More Government Participation in Education: Religious Instruction Protected, 1948-1959

This subsection will review the literature concerning the government's persistent policy of transferring educational responsibility from the missions to the government. The review shows that, from 1948 to 1959, the government regulations

1) provided for a pupil religious protection clause and parental religious consent clause in schools,

2) protected religious instruction in schools.

1. Pupil Religious Protection Clause and Parental Religious Consent Caluse

More government participation in school education was demonstrated in the Education Ordinance of 1948. When the bill was presented for discussion in the Northern House of Assembly, the most prominent issue raised by the assembly was a religious matter. Mallam (later Sir Alhaji) Tafawa Balewa (who later became the first prime minister of Nigeria, 1960-1966) observed that there were flaws requiring redress: Schools of Arabic studies were excluded from the bill. Agreeing with Tafawa Balewa, Mallam Yahaya Ilorin, a prominent parliamentarian, advocated for an increase in the representation of the Northern Provinces in the Central Education Board. He further argued that it was necessary to give Arabic teachers the same recognition as other teachers "as northerners would not have been what they were without the Moslem religion."[1]

---

[1] Northern Region of Nigeria, the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Education and Social Welfare Book File, NAK, 13540, Vol. II, "Education Ordinance and Regulations, 1948," Daily Times, July 19, 1948, pp. 1, 9.

The missions too reacted to the provision for salary conditions: they expressed that they did not have the funds to meet the new regulations. The Rev. Bristow of the Dutch Reformed Church Mission was unwilling to attend a meeting on the said regulation: his presence would make no difference.[1]

The 1948 ordinance, signed by Sir James MacPherson, the Nigerian governor, was the first educational ordinance to affect the entire country. The first point in the preliminaries was the definition of school religious instruction which stated that a

> "Class for Religious Instruction" means a class or assembly of not less than ten persons receiving instruction in religious subjects or in one or more such subjects as may be proscribed under the ordinance.[2]

Despite the leading role of the missions, the Central Board of Education had only two mission representations out of a total of fifteen members. The Roman Catholic Mission and the Church Council of Nigeria represented the missions. The Church Council of Nigeria was formed from the Southern United Missionary Council formed in 1929. It was in the Eastern and Western Education Boards that Christians had an appropriate representation: the Roman Catholic Mission had four and the Church Council of Nigeria had five members - out of a total of ten board members. The Muslims had one member. In the Northern Regional Board, the missions had two Roman Catholic Mission representatives and three C.M.N.P. members from a total of ten board members. In every region, the missions had to have a female representation.

---

[1] Northern Region of Nigeria, Education Office, Northern Provinces Education Ordinance, 1948 and Regulations, Draft, NAK, DDN753A, p. 49.

[2] The Federation of Nigeria, Education Ordinance, 1948 (No. 39 of 1948), (Lagos: Government Printer, 1948), p. 2, NAK 13540, Vol. II.

Section 20 of the 1948 ordinance placed a restriction on missions. It stated that no new school other than a government school should be established unless with, among other conditions, "The consent in writing of the appropriate regional deputy director." Consent to open a new school might be withheld if the regional deputy director was convinced a school was not "in the interest of the pupils...of the community."[1] Grants-in-aid might be refused to a school if it had no "social usefulness."[2] A school qualification for receiving grants was

> that no pupil has been refused admission to the school on religious grounds...that no pupil shall receive any religious instruction objected to by the parents or guardians of such pupil or be present when such instruction is given.[3]

This Pupil Religious Protection Clause and Parental Religious Consent Clause were safeguards against denominationalism.

In addition to the above regulations, the government empowered itself to inspect all schools and proposed to establish local education authorities and local education committees.

As a result of the Richards Constitution of 1946, and the Education Ordinance of 1948, in 1950 and 1951, 3 regions took action to implement the policy advocated by the national ordinance. The action of the North is borne out by the National Archives in Kaduna, which reveal a mass of official circulars dealing with education policies at that time. Several circulars emphasized that education was a government-controlled affair. The missions had to abide by all regulations, particularly, regulations affecting

---

[1]The Federation of Nigeria, Education Ordinance, 1948, Section 24, p. 12.

[2]Ibid., p. 18, Schedule A:4, Grants-in-Aid Regulations.

[3]Ibid.

religious instruction. Mission entry into the Muslim provinces was to be strictly controlled.[1] Yet in the Ten Year Educational Plan, particularly from 1946 to 1950, missions were solicited to contribute to educational development.[2] The North was in need of education to enhance its self-identity in the spirit of contemporary nationalism. This fact was borne out in 1949 when the Northern People's Party (N.P.C.) was founded. The idea of the N.P.C. was originally conceived by Dr. A.E.B. Dikko, a beneficiary of religious instruction in Church Missionary Schools. The motto of the party, "One North, one people, irrespective of religion, rank or tribe," required educational enlightenment.[3]

In the Eastern Region, Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe was the leader. He was brought up in the mission educational system in Igboland with its concentration in Christian religious instruction. After his education in the United States, he and Herbert Macaulay, a Yoruba, and known as the first Nigeria nationalist, organized the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroon (N.C.N.C.) in 1944.[4] It was the N.C.N.C. that was pushing for eastern autonomy in this period. Education was utilized to enhance the achievement of self rule. In 1949, the East had 30,012 junior primary

---

[1]Northern Region of Nigeria, Ministry of Education, Missions, March 8, 1949 to September 1, 1952, NAK, PCJ, C50, "Missionary Policy," Secret Circular 31/1949, No. 35771/154, March 8, 1949, from the Secretary Northern Provinces, Kaduna, to the Residents Northern Provinces, Missions March 8, 1949 - September 1, 1952; "Missionary Policy," No. 35771/154, March 17, 1949; "Classes for Religious Instruction," No. 18804/841, April 9, 1949.

[2]Northern Provinces, Education Department, Educational Policy in Nigeria, Northern Provinces, NAK, DDN 35, Vol. II.

[3]Eme O. Awa, Federal Government in Nigeria, (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1964), pp. 28-29, 99-100.

[4]Ibid., p. 98.

schools and senior primary schools under the auspices of the missions.[1] After lamenting that 70% of educational cost for the voluntary agency schools was already borne by regional estimates, the eastern government expressed fear that it was not possible to increase the number of voluntary agency schools. The government, however, said there was "an urgent need for the introduction of an education rate."[2] It was stressed that such a proposal could succeed only under law and control of education. Therefore, it was necessary to establish local education authorities and local education committees.[3] The missions got the message of things to come.

2. Protected Religious Instruction in Schools

In the 1950's, the government moved fast to centralize education; but a protection for religious instruction appeared to be assured. All the political demands for autonomy in the 1950's[4] had political, educational and social repercussions on Nigeria. Through the demands of the nationalists, the Richards Constitution of 1946 was revised and a new constitution enacted

---

[1]Eastern Provinces, House of Assembly, Memorandum on the Imposition of an Education Rate in the Eastern Provinces Laid on the Table at the Session of the Eastern House of Assembly, August, 1956, (Enugu: Government Printer, 1950), (sited here after as Memorandum, EPS, 1950), pp. 3-4.

[2]Ibid., p. 5.

[3]Ibid., p. 9.

[4]Eme O. Awa, Federal Government in Nigeria, pp. 90, 100-101, says this period saw the formulation of political parties in addition to the N.P.C., and N.C.N.C. The first party was founded in 1922 by Herbert Macauley, educated by missions. His Nigerian National Democratic Party had Azikiwe's blessing up to 1944. The Nigerian Youth Movement, chartered under the leadership of H. O. Davies, a Yoruba in 1938 was promoted by Azikiwe until 1944. In 1951, Chief Obafemi Awolowo, Christian Yoruba, trained in Britain, founded the Action Group Party to lead the West. Mallam Aminu Kano led the Northern Element's Progressive Union (1947). He was a Muslim. Christians from the Central Peoples of Nigeria founded the United Middle Belt Congress, led by Moses Rwang and David Lot beginning 1953.

in 1952. This law increased regional autonomy. It spurred the promulgation of the Educational Ordinance of 1952. Although the 1952 ordinance gave the control of education to the state, religious instruction was protected for the interest of the missions: they were still leading in education. As such, despite the powerful central board of education, the Missions had eight members to represent religious groups; total board members were sixteen. In the regional boards, the C.M.N.P., the Roman Catholic Mission and the Christian Council of Nigeria were appropriately represented.[1]

The strong mission representation showed the government's recognition of the central role of the missions and the need to seek their cooperation, a fact emphasized in the 1952 ordinance. At the end of 1951, the following educational statistics were tabulated by the government; 1951 enrollment:

Teachers in Primary Schools	38,181
Teachers in Secondary Schools	1,392
Pupils in Primary Schools	1,002,533
Pupils in Secondary Schools	24,225
Pupils in Teacher Training Centers	7,200
Pupils in Technical and Vocational Centers	1,395
Total Pupils in Schools	1,035,353

Government Participation in Grants-in-Aids:

	Total Budget	School Grants
1948-1949	£1,961,761	£1,305,058
1950-1951	2,412,239	1,780,032
1951-1952	2,925,145	1,986,980[2]

[1]Federation of Nigeria, Nigeria Gazette, November 6, 1952, (Lagos: Federal Ministry of Information, 1952), No. 57, Vol. 39, p. 1239, Government Notice No. 1468.

[2]Taiwo, pp. 107-110.

In a particular listing of examination results for teacher training centers for 1952, under an old syllabus, the missions had 39 schools, the government and native authorities had five.[1] A full listing of schools at that time could show a similar ratio. Hence in the 1952 ordinance, the government gave itself the power to open its own schools. The conditions for opening schools by other agencies remained the same as in the 1948 ordinance. Religious instruction was fully protected in the 1952 ordinance.

Another area in which religious instruction was protected was the launching of universal free primary education (U.P.E.) in this period. Chief Obafemi Awolowo's Action Group (A.G.) party in the West took the initiative to start the program in 1952. Announcing its willingness to start involving fully in education, the western government concluded that it "would be clearly irresponsible to leave education to expand...without any proper guidance."[2] After lamenting that 765,000 school age children were not in school, the government promised free education for 150,000 children per year. Cooperation of missions was advocated; and religious instruction was protected.[3]

In 1953, the Eastern Region, led by Azikiwe's N.C.N.C. launched the U.P.E. The Igbo ambition was to cover both primary and secondary schools.[4]

---

[1]The Federation of Nigeria, Official Gazette, September, 3, 1953, (Lagos: Federal Ministry of Information, 1953), No. 52, Vol. 40, pp. 881-903, Government Notice, No. 1216.

[2]Western Region, House of Assembly, Proposal for An Education Policy for the Western Region, Nigeria, Laid on the Tables of the Western Regional Legislatures, (Ibadan: Government Printer, July, 1952), NAI, PR/D6, (sited here after as Education Policy, WR, 1952). p. 1.

[3]Ibid., pp. 17, 30-31.

[4]Eastern Region of Nigeria, House of Assembly, Policy for Education, Sessional Paper No. 6 of 1953, (Enugu: Government Printer, 1953), (sited here after as Policy for Education ER No. 6, 1953), p. 1.

The Eastern Region realized that it had 4,000 schools and 500,000 pupils, accounting for more than one half the national statistics. There were 42 secondary schools with four for girls and only two were operated by the eastern government. There were 25 teacher training elementary centers; all were organized by the missions. There were, also mission organized, 14 teacher higher elementary training colleges. They had a possible output of 453 teachers per year compared to the 1,300 teachers of the teacher training elementary centers.[1] The eastern government paid glowing tribute to the missions for their invaluable extensive educational services. But the eastern government pledged to seek mission cooperation under proposed local education authorities and local education committees. Although provision was made for some "religious education," the Roman Catholic Church opposed the U.P.E. plan on the basis that it was not religious enough.[2]

A 1953 British document, African Education,[3] also contributed to inciting Nigerian governments to control schools. In 1951, the Colonial Office, under the auspices of the Nuffield Foundation, undertook another study of African education. Dr. G. B. Jeffrey, director of the London University Institute of Education led the West African study group. The aim of the study was to discover contemporary "true causes of evils which are plain to all, and to help those intimately concerned with African education."[4] After

---

[1]Ibid., pp. 3-4, 8-9, 11.

[2]Taiwo, p. 118: The issue was that the East was emphasizing "religious education" more than "Bible knowledge."

[3]William Ernest Frank, et al., eds. African Education, A Study of Educational Policy and Practice in Brisish Tropical Africa, Produced on Behalf of the Nuffield Foundation and the Colonial Office, with a Foreword by The Rt. Hon. Oliver Lyttelfon, and Preface by Sir Philip Morris, (Oxford: University Press, 1953), (sited here after as African Education, Nuffield Foundation, 1953).

[4]Ibid., pp. 5-6.

reviewing the work of African education for the previous fifty years, a missionary era, African Education composers observed that

> the need for standards extends beyond the field of morals as ordinarily understood into every aspect of African life, yet it is essentially a moral need.[1]

The editors of the document appreciated the leading educational role of the missions, drew attention to the dangers of denominationalism and concluded that, in addition to teacher training, curriculum changes, central control by the government was the solution of the "plain evils."[2]

As nationalists and colonialists shaped the political and economic feature of Nigeria in the 1950's, the nationalists demanded more legislative power for the regions. They argued that the Lagos authority, controlled by the colonialists, had all the legislative powers. Therefore, the nationalists influenced the enactment of the 1954 federal constitution. The new law made the country a federation of the Northern, Eastern, Western, and Southern Camerron Regions.[3] Lagos was proclaimed the federal capital territory. Revolutionary innovations followed the 1954 constitution. Each region was autonomous. In 1957, the Eastern and Western Regions gained self-government, while the North obtained it in 1959.[4]

The 1954 federal constitution created the exclusive list, the concurrent list, and the residual list. The regions could legislate for the latter two lists, especially if there was no conflict with the federal government on

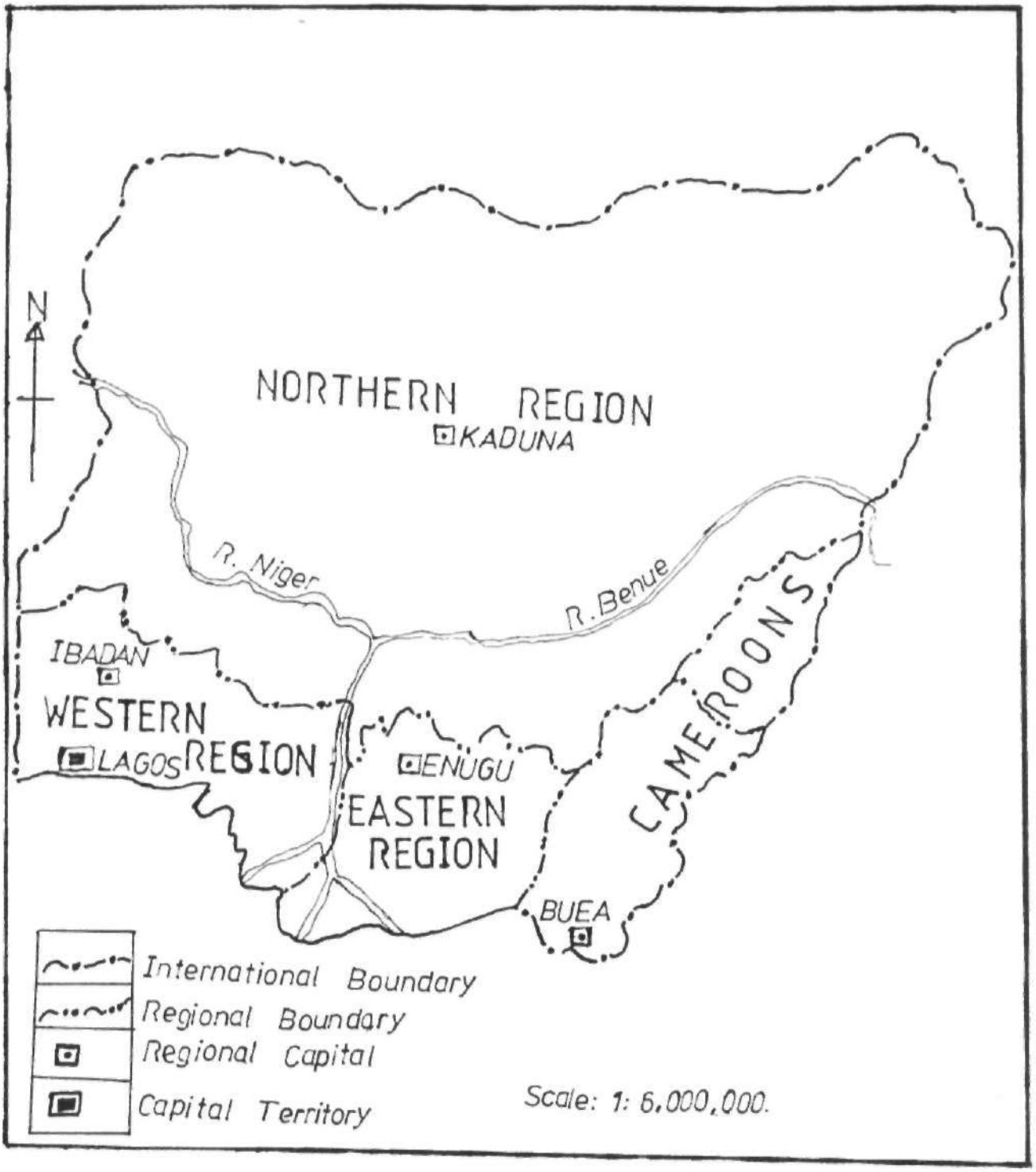
---

[1] Ibid., p. 10.

[2] Ibid., pp. 52-57.

[3] See Map V, below, p. 95.

[4] Nigeria Year Book, 1969, pp. 33f.



MAP v. THE FEDERATION OF NIGERIA, 1954-1963

F. J. Tambiyi

the concurrent list. Education, except higher education, was on the residual list. The result of all these was that the competitive regions enacted their own education laws: the Western Region Education Law (No. 6 of 1955); the Eastern Region Education Law, 1956 (No. 8 of 1956); and the Northern Region Education Law, (No. 17 of 1956). The federal government considered all the regional conditions and promulgated the Education (Lagos) Act, 1957 (No. 26 of 1957). The latter was to provide free primary education.[1]

All the educational laws of the 1950's, after reiterating the necessity for government ownership of schools, upheld the teaching of religious instruction in schools. Specific provisions were provided for the free teaching of denominational religious instruction and for school religious worship; both were based on the religious tenets of school proprietors. Like the Education Ordinance of 1948, the provisions of the 1950's did not make school religious activities obligatory.[2]

Transfer of Mission Schools to Local Education Authorities, 1960-1968

The 1960's were revolutionary[3] years for Nigeria. For a grasp of Christian religious instruction in this period, the following points will be considered:

1) Constitutional guarantee for religious freedom and freedom to teach religion in school.

2) Proposals to retain religious instruction in transferred schools.

3) The church preparation to accept transfer proposals.

---

[1]Taiwo, p. 121.

[2]Educational Laws and Constitutional Provisions, fully explained below, pp. 127f.

[3]Revolution in Nigeria, Below, p. 143.

4) Religious instruction retained in transferred schools.

5) Religious instruction under the military regime.

6) Growth of the church and her self-defense.

1. Constitutional Guarantee for Religious Freedom and Freedom to Teach Religion in School

The day of the victory of Nigerian nationalism came. It was October 1, 1960.

Sir Alan Burns, who witnessed the change of power from colinialism to independence wrote

> Nigeria duly became independent...on October 1, 1960. At 10:30 p.m. on September 30 in the presence of Her Royal Highness the Princess of Alexander of Kent, who had been appointed by the Queen to represent Her Majesty at the independence celebration...Just before midnight the Anglican Bishop of Lagos, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Lagos, and the Chief Imam offered prayers of dedication, and at midnight the Union Flag was lowered and the Flag of the Federation of Nigeria was hoisted... Princess Alexander...presented the Constitutional Instrument to the Prime Minister, Alhaji Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa.[1]

In this historic independence speech, Alhaji Sir Abubaker Tafawa Balewa, the prime minister and a northern Muslim of the Northern Peoples' Congress, appreciated several agencies for their contributions to laying the foundation for Nigerian modern civilization. Missions were second on his list. He said, "And there have been countless missionaries who have labored unceasingly in the cause of education and to whom we owe many of our medical services."[2]

The integration of religion and state at such a historical national occasion was a reflection of the authority of The Nigerian (Constitution) Order

---

[1] Burns, p. 260.

[2] "Speech by Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, Prime Minister of Nigeria," Burns, pp. 338-340.

in Council 1960. This was the first Nigerian Constitution to guarantee the freedom of religion in society and of teaching religion in schools.[1] Eme O. Awa suggested that the historical background of Nigerian religion, as indicated in this study, influenced leaders of main political parties to convince the governor general in 1959 to insert the Human Rights Bill in the 1960 Constitution.[2] Awa further indicated that Britain too was aware of the need for the human rights bill: the colonial office had appointed a commission and accepted its findings, Report of the Commission Appointed to Enquire into the Fears of Minorities and the Means of Allaying Them; one of "the fears" was religious intolerance in some parts of the country.[3]

In 1960, an independent Nigeria was facing great challenges including educational development which was still largely organized under mission auspices. The following national figures show part of the educational challenge in 1960.

Primary school pupils	2,912,618
Secondary school pupils	135,434
Technical and vocational pupils	5,037
Teacher training pupils	27,908
Total	3,080,997[4]

With the religious education in all the above schools, the number of pupils who would not be studying religious instruction would be negligible.

According to the 1952 national census, Nigeria's population was 29 million. This consisted of 13 million Muslims, 6 million Christians and

---

[1]The Federation of Nigeria, Annual Volume of the Laws of the Federation of Nigeria, (Lagos: Government Printer, 1960), "The Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria," Chapt. III, Section 23, p. B244 [of the laws].

[2]Awa, p. 116.

[3]Ibid., p. 117.

[4]Figures adopted from Taiwo, p. 228.

10 million adherents of African traditional religion, or religiously uncommitted citizens.[1]

2. Proposals to Retain Religious Instruction in Transferred Schools

In preparation for independence, the federal government having foreseen the challenges of the future, set up the Ashby Education Commission in April, 1959. The commission's goal was to plan Nigerian higher education for the period 1960 to 1980. The commission, however, extended its goal to plan for all education in Nigeria. The report of the commission, submitted in September, 1960, emphasized, among other points, the need for developing Nigeria to be "a voice to be listened to in the Christian and the Muslim worlds."[2] Religious instruction in schools was to be preserved, and more specifically "reports on Islamic education and Islamic studies" were submitted; and it was recommended that the government take over the control of all education.[3]

After the independence fever, the regions also set up their own separate education commissions. The aim of the regional commissions was similar: to suggest how to enhance the goals of the Ashby Commission. In 1962, the Eastern Region, governed by the N.C.N.C. party, determined to control schools and train teachers to maintain quality in its universal primary education.[4]

---

[1]Dr. George W. Peters, "The Challenge to the Church," West African Congress on Evangelism, Detailed Report of Congress Proceedings as They Took Place at the University of Ibadan, Nigeria, from July 5-15, 1968, ed. Wilfred A. Bellamy, Published by the Joint Sponsors of the Congress: Nigeria Evangelical Fellowship and New Life for All, (Lagos: Associated Press of Nigeria Ltd., 1968), p. 153, based on data from Nigeria Year Book.

[2]Taiwo, p. 124.

[3]Ibid., pp. 123-130.

[4]Ibid., p. 131; Eastern Nigeria Government, Eastern Nigeria Development Plan 1962-1968, Official Document, No. 8 of 1962 (Enugu: Government Printer, 1962), p. 4.

Earlier in 1961, the Western Region, ruled by the Action Group (A.G.) party, had suggested to control all schools in its state. The Protestant missions were said to have indicated they were going to cooperate with the state.[1]

The policies of the Eastern Region and the Western Region had no proposal to interrupt school religious instruction.

As early as 1959, the N.P.C. government of Sir Alhaji Ahmadu Bello in the North had acknowledged the major role of missions in providing education with regional government grants in aid, up to 50% capital expenditure.[2] Early in 1962, the N.P.C. northern government appointed Mr. H. Oldman, Chief Education Officer, City of York, England, to study the Northern education and propose reforms. The Oldham Commission recommended and the Northern government accepted, among other matters, "the establishment of local education authorities and local education committees...with the voluntary agencies retaining the right to inspect religious teaching."[3]

3. The Church Preparation to Accept Transfer Proposals

The church, which was still largely a mission-led institution, got prepared for the Nigerian revolutions. In the North, the Protestant Conference of Missions of Northern Provinces (C.M.N.P.) was reconstituted in 1960 into the Northern Education Advisory Council (N.E.A.C.). Its constitution promised cooperation with all levels of government in education. The advisor to Protestant missions in Lagos was a member of N.E.A.C.[4]

---

[1]Western Nigeria, The Banjo Commission, 1961, pp. 1-8, 10-11, 24-25, 57.

[2]A Short Survey of Education in Northern Nigeria, 1959, p. 47.

[3]Taiwo, p. 132; cf. Ogunsola, p. 51.

[4]Northern Educational Advisory Council, Constitution of the Northern Education Advisory Council of Protestant Christian Churches and Missions, Adopted in Annual Meeting, April 6, 1961, Amended in Annual Meeting, April 18, 1963, Kaduna: N.E.A.C. Secretariat, 1963 , pp. 1, 3.

Both The Rt. Rev. Dr. Ivan Ikenberry, N.E.A.C. Secretary and the Roman Catholic Education Secretary for the North were located in Kaduna. The latter was related to the National Roman Catholic Secretariat, Lagos: here, there was, since 1956, an incorporated Roman Catholic National Conference with an education department with functions much similar to N.E.A.C.[1] Southern Christians were prepared to cooperate with all levels of governments in educational affairs through The Christian Council of Nigeria: in May, 1962, at a Kaduna meeting, a constitution was adopted.[2] Mr. C. O. Williams, the General Secretary of the Christian Council of Nigeria reiterated that religious instruction has been a concern of the organization.[3] Sir Francis Akanu Ibiam, the first governor of Eastern Nigeria (1960-1966), was a Chairman of the World Council of Churches, and of the World Council of Christian Education, and of the Christian Council of Nigeria.[4]

4. Religious Instruction Retained in Transferred Schools

In response to the educational commission reports of 1960 to 1962, the Muslim controlled northern government revised its 1956 education law and promulgated the Education Law of 1962 (Northern Region).[5] Furthermore, after the federal constitution of 1963,[6] which upheld all the Fundamental

---

[1]A. O. Makozi, "Contemporary Trends in the Growth of the Catholic Church in Nigeria," HCCN, p. 88.

[2]The Christian Council of Nigeria, The Constitution of the Christian Council of Nigeria (Lagos: Christian Council of Nigeria, National Secretariat, 1962), p. 1.

[3]Interview with Mr. C. O. Williams at the National Secretariat of the Christian Council of Nigeria, Lagos, August 27, 1982.

[4]Nigeria Year Book, 1975, p. 301.

288697

[5]Northern Region of Nigeria, Ministry of Education: Revision of The Education Law, 1962 (Northern Region), NAK, CIN/19.

[6]Federal Republic of Nigeria, The Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1963, (Lagos: Federal Ministry of Information, 1963), (sited here after as The Constitution...1963).

RECEIVED

human rights of the 1960 constitution, the Northern Region enacted a new education law in 1964.[1] The federal government had produced two policy papers affecting education: Educational Development 1961-1970, Sessional Paper No. 3 of 1961 and National Development Plan 1962-1968.[2] The federal government was responding to the need to do something about the educational imbalance between the North and the South. The North, by its 1964 education law transferred all mission schools to the newly-created local education authorities; but like the 1962 northern education law, religious instruction was to remain according to the sectarian tradition of the former school proprietors.[3]

Through N.E.A.C. and the Roman Catholic Education Committee, Kaduna, the northern Christians submitted to the northern changes without an argument.[4]

Meanwhile, the South had an additional region, the Midwest, excised out of the West. This was done by the authority of the 1963 constitution to satisfy the autonomous yearnings of the Beni and Delta citizens.[5] Thus, Nigeria became a federal republic of four regions.[6]

---

[1]Northern Region of Nigeria, Ministry of Education, Education Law of Northern Nigeria, 1964, (Kaduna: Government Printer, 1964), (sited here after as Education Law of Northern Nigeria, 1964).

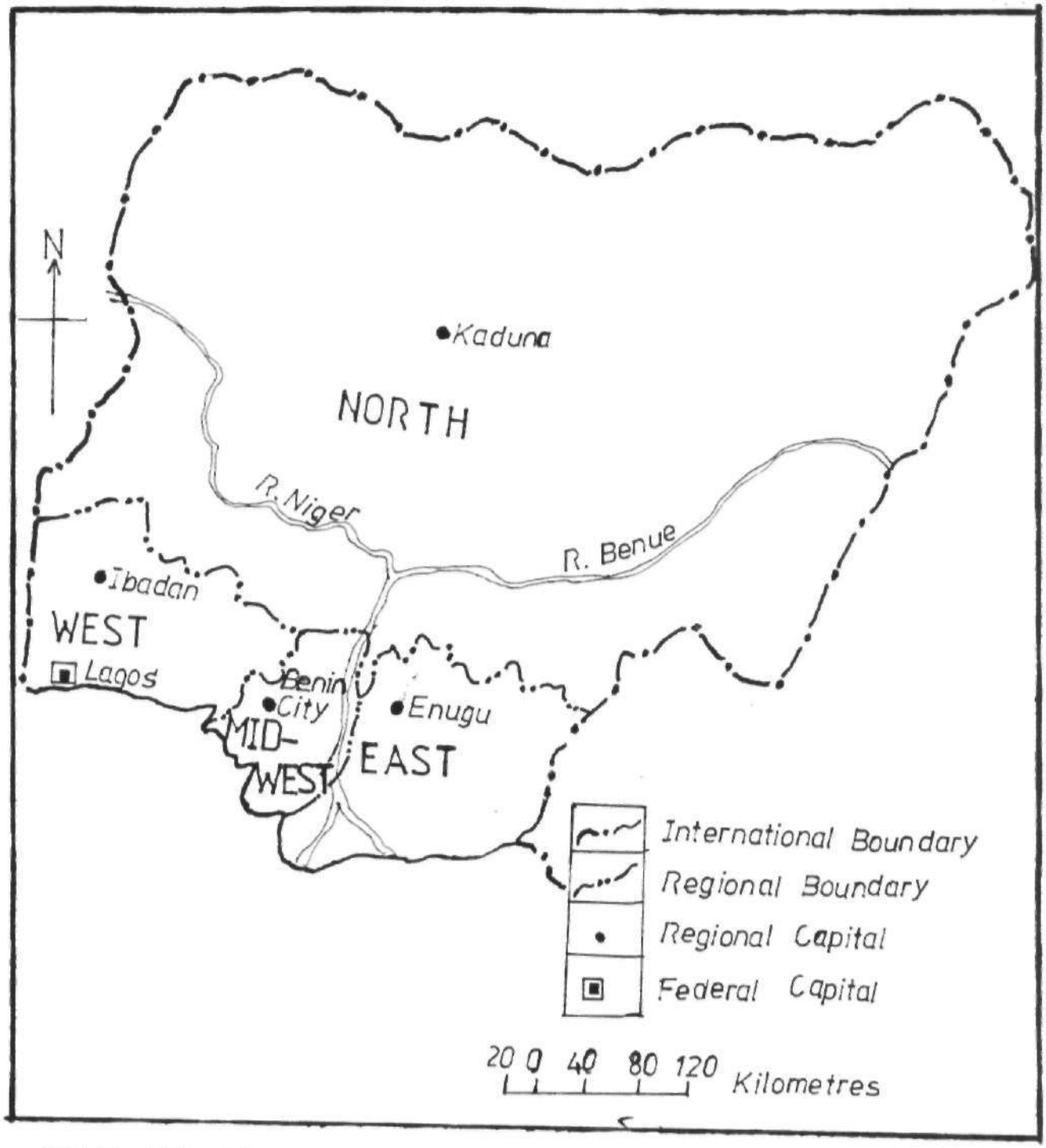
[2]Taiwo, p. 130.

[3]Education Law of Northern Nigeria, 1964, pp. 3-4, 11-13.

[4]NAK, CIN/19, p. 230 contains letters of submission from the two church education secretaries.

[5]Taiwo, p. 34; Nigeria Year Book, 1972, p. 137; Awa, pp. 62, 65, 72.

[6]Map VI, below, p. 103.



MAP V1: The four Regions of The Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1963—1967.

F. J. Tambiyi

The three southern regions, with much more quantitative and experienced educationists, provided gradual steps concerning voluntary agency (mainly Christian) schools. Although, in Policy for Education, 1963, the government of Sir Francis Ibiam and Dr. M. I. Ikpara, the eastern premier, adopted to control schools, it was agreed a syllabus review should precede any transfer.[1] In 1964, the East did suggest a syllabus of religious knowledge under a system to be controlled by the state.[2]

In 1963, The Ajayi Commission of the West recommended the regulation of all school fees: the voluntary agencies, with the Church Missionary Society alone having 77 schools and colleges out of a total of 118 in the region, were charging religious fees for chapel and mosques maintenance.[3] In 1968, the Western state government also moved towards the control of education, but recommended latitude for religious instruction.[4]

5. Religious Instruction Under the Military Regime

On January 15, 1966, there was a bloody coup d'etat. Nationwide, Christian and Muslim political and military leaders were killed. Major-General Johnson Thomas U. W. Ironsi, an Igbo, became head of state. On

---

[1]Taiwo, pp. 133f., Fafunwa, p. 172f.

[2]Eastern Nigeria Government, The Ikoku Committee, Report of the Conference on the Review of the Educational System in Eastern Nigeria, Official Document, No. 25 of 1964, (Enugu: Government Printer, 1964), p. 8.

[3]Western Nigeria, The Ajayi Commission, Report of Commission of Inquiry into the Rise in Fees Charged by Public Secondary Grammar Schools and Teacher Training Colleges in Western Nigeria, Official Document, No. 11 of 1963, (Ibadan: Government Printer, 1963), (sited here after as the Ajayi Commission, 1963), pp. v, 11, 28, 47, 50-99, 66-69.

[4]Western State of Nigeria, The Taiwo Commission, Report of the Commission on the Review of the Primary Education System in the Western State of Nigeria, March 15, 1968, (Ibadan: Government Printer, 1968), (sited here after as The Taiwo Commission, 1968).

July 29, 1966, there was another bloody coup. Lt. Col. Yakuku Gowon, an Angas from Central Nigeria, a Christian son of an evangelist, was made head of state. On May 27, 1967, General Gowon created twelve states.[1] On May 30, 1967, Lt. Col. C. O. Ojukwa declared Eastern Nigeria "Independent Republic of Biafra." The Eastern secession led to an unwanted civil war for 30 months, ending on January 12, 1970. On July 29, 1975, in a bloodless coup, General Murtala R. Muhammed, a Kano Muslim, became head of state. Gen. Muhammed created nineteen states.[2] In the fourth bloody coup, staged on February 13, 1976, by Lt. Col. B. S. Dimka, Gen. Mohammed was killed. His Chief of Staff, Lt. Gen. Olusegun Obasanjo, a Yoruba Christian, became head of state: He said he continued the policies of his predecessor, and he declared Dimka's coup "abortive." It was the Muhammed-Obasanjo military regime which peacefully, and voluntarily, handed over the national government on October 1, 1979, to a democratically elected civil government. Alhaji Shehu Shagari, a Sokoto Fulani Muslim, was elected president. For thirteen years, the civil constitution was suspended. The country was ruled by military decrees and edicts under the Constitution (Supression and Modification) Decree No. 1. of 1966. Some of the decrees authorized retaliatory military executions by firing squad at the Kirikiri Prisons, Lagos.[3]

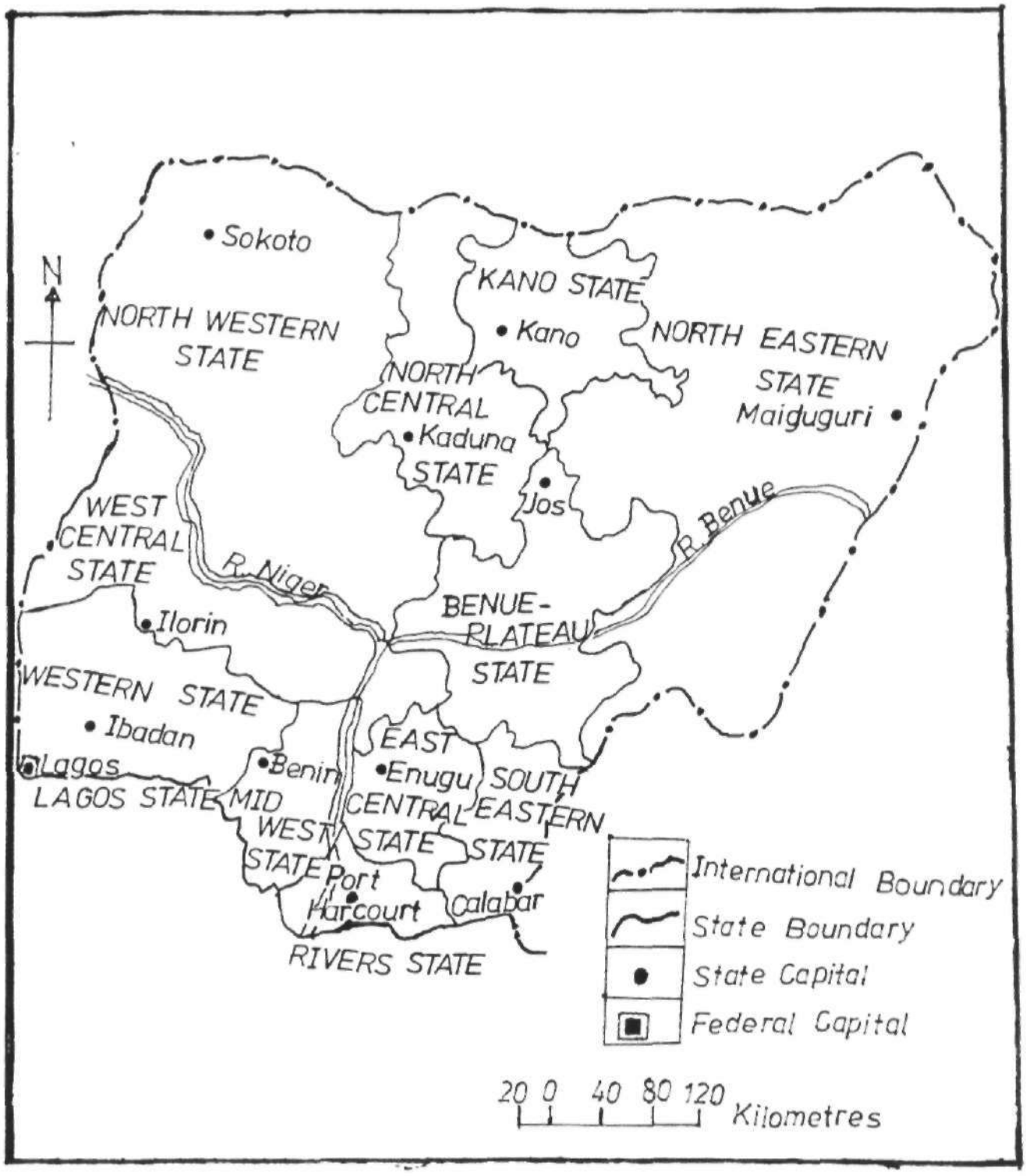
Professor Ishaya S. Audu and James O. Ojiako have suggested that some reasons for the 1966 governmental change included political and moral

---

[1] Map VII, below, p. 106.

[2] Map VIII, below, p. 107.

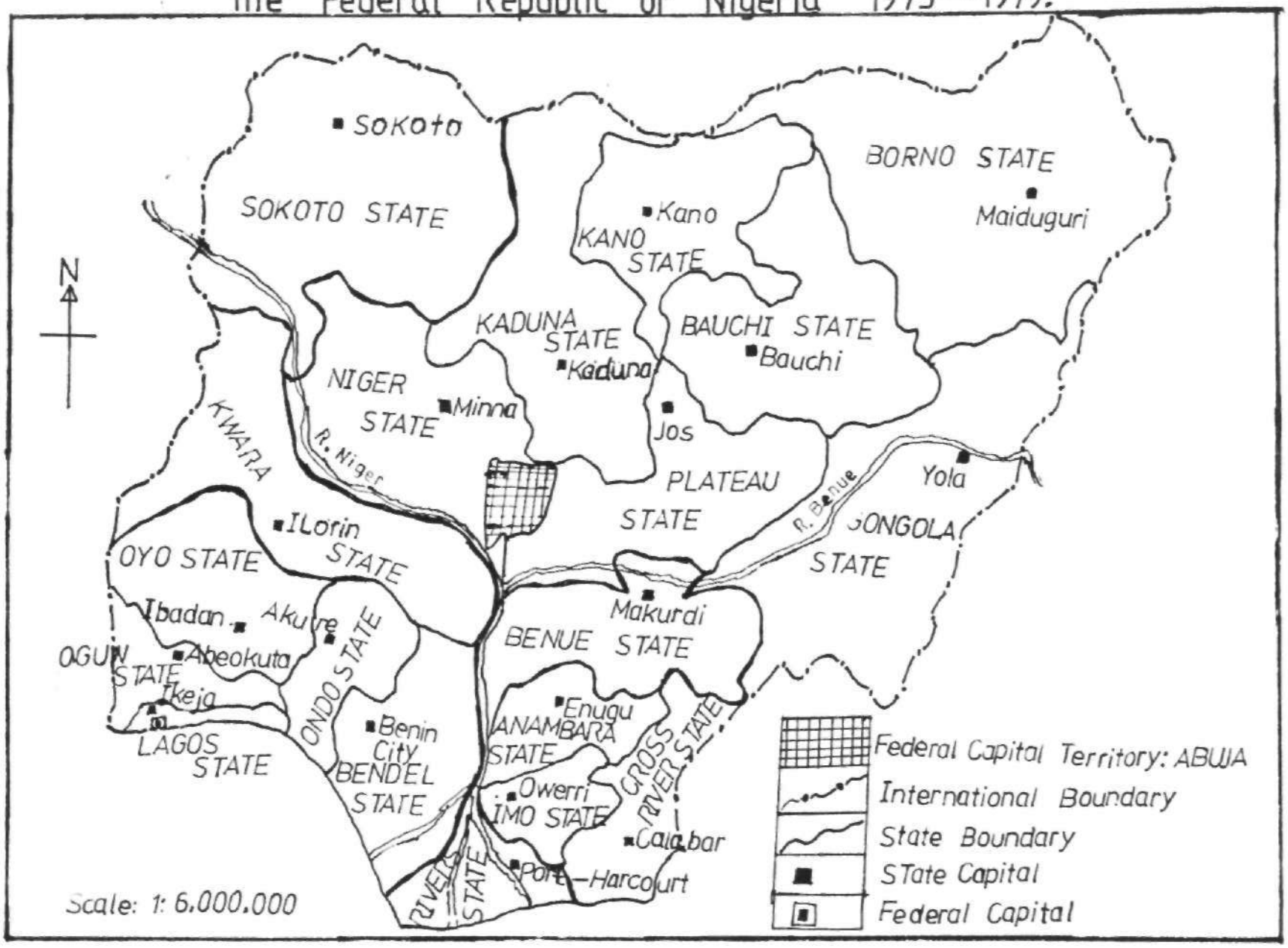
[3] James O. Ojiako, Thirteen Years of Military Rule, (Lagos: Daily Times of Nigeria Limited, 1980), pp. 3f., 13, 33, 47-48, 78, 130, 139-141, 197, 211; Nigeria Year Book, 1975, pp. 251, 299.



MAP V11: The Twelve States of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1967—1975.

F. J. Tambiyi

MAP V111: The Nineteen States of the Federal Republic of Nigeria 1975—1979.



F. J. Tambiyi

causes. The Tafawa-Azikwe regime could not keep law, order and stability. Unhidden corruption by public officers and inefficiency went unchecked. The Action Group (A.G.) party felt unwanted in the coalition rule of the N.P.C.-N.C.N.C. Foreign capitalists used powerful politicians to the disadvantage of the masses.[1] Major C. K. Nzeogwu, an Igbo Christian, who led the assassination of Alhaji Sir Ahmadu Bello, the northern premier, gave the plotters' reason for the coup when he said, "We seized power to stamp out tribalism, nepotism and regionalism."[2]

Besides the uncontrolled politico-socio unrest in Western Nigeria and Tivland, there was the persisting religious fears across the North. Religious tension was being aggravated by the politico-islamization campaigns of Alhaji Ahmadu Bello, the northern premier. While he revolutionized the North and fought to make northerners dominate the northern economic blessings, Sir Ahmadu Bello marred his regime by his excessive religious zeal. E.P.T. Crampton made reference to forced islamization.[3] Crampton further illustrates the point when he recorded that the premier went on his religious campaign in Nezit area a month prior to his assassination. Sir Ahmadu toured Ninzam, Jaba, Kagoro, Kafanchan and Kataf. These are evangelical Christian centers.[4] Zonkwa citizens, Kajes, near Kagoro, prepared for the islamization tour: instead of greeting the premier with N.P.C. flags, the Zumutan Mata (Christian Women Fellowship)

---

[1]Dr. Ishaya S. Audu, "Obedience Better Than Sacrifice," West African Congress on Evangelism, p. 210; James O. Ojiako, Thirteen Years of Military Rule, pp. 1-3.

[2]Ojiako, Thirteen Years of Military Rule, p. 2.

[3]Crampton, p. 89, 107 (students islamized under pressure).

[4]Ibid., p. 90; Nezit, see Map IX, below, p. 204.

saluted him with a line of waving Bibles. On that occasion, two leaders of the Kaje people, Mallam Letwat Abrak, Wakilin Kaje III, and Mallam Sule Farman, a native authority judge, were abused and humiliated before the premier. The two community leaders had refused to be islamized under political pressure.[1] However, the father of General Joe Garba, a prominent participant in the military rule, was politically pressured and islamized.[2] These are illustrations of the religious fears referred to by E.P.T. Crampton as forced islamization by the premier.[3]

6. Growth of the Church and Her Self Defense

In the spirit of indigenization and defense of Christianity, the Nigerian church gradually and progressively took several steps to enhance its stability, unity and survival. Every progressive step did influence the development of religious education in Nigeria. Some of the vital developmental steps of the church included indigenization of churches founded by missions, organization of Christians youth movements, and the establishment of church educational agencies.

Indigenous churches in Nigeria have been classified by missiologists into two groups: the independent African churches and the indigenous churches. The independent churches have broken away from the missions since the end of the nineteenth century.[4] Christian leaders who remained

---

[1]According to Lekwat Abrak to his children, Tsoriyang, experience he narrated often until his death in 1983.

[2]Gen. Joe Garba, "My Father's Conversion to Islam: Revolution in Nigeria - Another View, July, 1966 Coup (Day 5)," New Nigeria, Friday, July 30, 1982, p. 5.

[3]Crampton, pp. 89 and 107.

[4]Noted, above, pp. 43f.

with the missions were groomed for church independence. Different missions granted independence status to the churches they founded at different times. At the time of national independence, most churches were independent under special arrangements with their founding missions. A northern illustration of this fact shows that the 1910 Lokoja Conference became C.M.N.P. This, in turn, became the Northern Mission Council. Up to the 1950's, only missionaries were full members of these organizations. In 1960, the Northern Mission Council became The N.E.A.C. and The Council of Evangelical Churches of Northern Nigeria (C.E.C.N.N.). The latter constituted the indigenous organization. C.E.N.N. was to be evangelistic, while N.E.A.C. remained an educational agency. Most churches founded by the Sudan Interior Mission and Sudan United Mission were involved in these organizations.[1]

The churches founded by the Sudan Interior Mission organized under the name Evangelical Churches of West Africa (E.C.W.A.); and adopted a constitution on May 18, 1954. In the same year, the churches under the Sudan United Mission founded The Fellowship of the Churches of Christ in the Sudan (T.F.K.A.S.).[2] These changes among all churches occurred throughout the country. The Roman Catholic Church began to indigenize her leadership and, in the 1960's, there were numerous Nigerian Roman Catholic priests and, later in the 1970's, bishops and archbishops.[3]

Alongside the indigenization of churches, was the foundation of training leadership. After the government changed many classes for religious instruction to traditional schools in the 1940's and 1950's, the missions

---

[1]Grimeley and Robinson, pp. 78-79; Crampton, p. 171.

[2]Grimeley and Robinson, pp. 83-87.

[3]The History of the Catholic Church in Nigeria, pp. 45f., 67-68, 88-89.

throughout the country embarked on building Bible institutions -- vernacular Bible schools, Bible colleges and seminaries -- which the government did not control. Through these Bible institutions, indigenous missionary organizations were founded. The Evangelical Missionary Society of E.C.W.A., an example, was founded in the 1940's. The society emphasized evangelism among Hausa people.[1]

To enhance national evangelism at the height of the political islamization of the northern premier, the churches united, nationwide, to launch Sabon Rai Don Kowa (New Life For All) - between 1964 and 1968.[2] The importance of Sabon Rai Don Kowa to the Nigerian church was not only the Christian revival of the 1960's, but more so, the spirit of grassroot Christian teaching resulting in unprecedented church growth.[3] Such growth was enhanced by radio evangelism and teaching. In 1954, Wheaton College students, under the auspices of the Sudan Interior Mission, helped to establish External Love Winning West Africa (E.L.W.A.) Radio Station in Monrovia, Liberia. Messages in various Nigerian languages, are transmitted here to all of Nigeria.[4]

Through these efforts, the church grew tremendously, as shown below.

---

[1] Africa Pulse, June, 1980, No. 2, 13:1-2.

[2] Eillen Lageer, New Life For All, True Account of In-depth Evangelism in West Africa, with a Foreword by Dr. Paul S. Rees, Eillen Lageer, 1969, Published by Special Arrangement with Marshall, Morgan, & Scott, Ltd., London, (Chicago: Moody Press, 1970), pp. 9-10.

[3] Ibid., p. 123.

[4] Fuller, pp. 9-10; Eillen Lageer, New Life For All, p. 97, says Radio Voice of the Gospel, Ethiopia (now discontinued by the military regime) was useful also in the 1960's. Radio O-Y-O from the South is useful, too. National Media are officially allowed to be used in the "Christian Half Hour" on Sundays, or weekdays.

Nigerian Population By Religion: 1963 Census[1]

Region	Christians	Moslems	Others
North	2,881,437 (9.7%)	21,386,456 (71.7%)	5,540,773 (18.6%)
West	4,995,691 (48.7%)	4,458,531 (43.4%)	811,625 (7.9%)
East	9,573,622 (77.2%)	29,964 (0.3%)	2,790,876 (22.5%)
Lagos	363,384 (54.6%)	294,694 (44.3%)	7,168 (1.1%)
Midwest	1,393,009 (54.9%)	106,857 (4.2%)	1,035,073 (40.9%)

A missiologist's analysis of church growth in Nigeria from 1952 to 1968 shows the following figures:[2]

Year	National Population	Muslims	Christians	Others
1952	29 millions	13 millions	6 millions	10 millions
1963	35 millions	15 millions	9 millions	11 millions
1968	55 millions	25 millions	20 millions	10 millions

Dr. George W. Peters of Dallas Theological Seminary, U.S.A., who made this analysis added that by 1963 there had been a 50% Christian increase in ten years. This, he said, was by conversion unlike the "biological increase" of Islam in the same period.[3] A careful analysis also revealed that nation-wide, Muslims constituted 50% of the population; Christians 20%; others 30%; in the North 75% were Islamic.[4]

---

[1] Nigeria Year Book, 1968, p. 267; Nigeria Year Book, 1970, p. 140.

[2] Dr. George W. Peters, "The Challenge of the Church," West African Congress on Evangelism, p. 153.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Rev. Byang H. Kato, "Evangelism and the Future in West Africa," West African Congress on Evangelism, p. 97.

The West African Congress on Evangelism, held at the University of Ibadan on July 5-15, 1968, was meant to spur Nigerian Christians to win the uncommitted 30%.

The organization of the Christian youth movement had a lot to do with Christian students studying Christian religious knowledge in schools. The teachers of Christian religious knowledge, in the early years the missionaries, were behind the students in pursuit of religious extracurricular organizations. Some of the student organizations include Young Men's Christian Association, Young Women's Christian Association, The Boys' Brigage, The Girls' Brigade, Student Christian Movement and Scripture Union. These operate mostly in southern Nigeria and are associate members of the Christian Council of Nigeria. The Student Christian Movement started in 1940.[1] In the North, the Fellowship of Christian Students (F.C.S.) is the predominant student youth organization in all the schools and universities. The F.C.S. was founded in the 1950's and in 1954 held its first Christian leadership course in Zaria. Mr. John Dean, Mr. Reuben Ariko, and Mr. Emmanuel Oladipo have been the general secretaries of the organization. Professor Ishaya S. Audu is the chairman.[2] Every F.C.S. member is expected to belong to a local church. Emmanuel Oladipo wrote that one aim of the F.C.S., and this is true of all the other organizations, is to "keep on teaching them [students] practical Christianity in a way that

---

[1]The Christian Council of Nigeria, The Constitution of the Christian Council of Nigeria, p. 5.

[2]The Fellowship of Christian Students, Fellowship of Christian Students: What is the F.C.S."? A Printed Pamphlet by the F.C.S., (Jos: n.d.) , pp. 1, 3, 4.

keeps in step with their physical growth and academic development."[1] Adding that the F.C.S. is "Christ-centered, Bible-based, and truly interdenominational," E. Olapido also said, "We are making a positive contribution to the growth of the church in our land."[2] Normally, all F.C.S. members study Christian religious knowledge.

The Nigerian Federation of Catholic Students (N.F.C.S.) and the Young Catholic Students (Y.C.S.) have been formed more recently: they serve the religious extracurricular activities of Roman Catholic students in schools and universities. Both the N.F.C.S. and Y.C.S. contribute much similarly as the Protestant organizations. Like the Protestant associations, these Roman Catholic associations have adopted learning methods worth emulating by teachers of Christian religious knowledge: the group discussion after a lecture has been most effective.[3]

The establishment of church educational agencies has also enhanced church growth and facilitated the study of Christian religious knowledge in all Nigerian regions and states. In addition to the Church Council of Nigeria and N.E.A.C., [4] the Christian Association of Nigeria (C.A.N.) and the National Association of Bible Knowledge Teachers of Nigeria (N.A.B.K.T.N.) have contributed to church growth and facilitation of religious education in schools.

---

[1]Emmanuel Oladipo, General Secretary F.C.S., "Address of the F.C.S. General Secretary to the Christian Association of Nigeria, (C.A.N.) Kaduna State Branch on Saturday," December 4, 1980, p. 1.

[2]Ibid., p. 3.

[3]Barnaba B. Lekwat, "Practical Christianity: The Church and the State," a Lecture for Discussion Delivered at the N.F.C.S. Annual Week, Advanced Teachers' College, Zaria, May 1, 1979; cf. Crampton, p. 123.

[4]Above, p. 110.

The genesis of C.A.N. goes back to the 1960's, the years of religious fears arising from the political and religious campaigns induced by Alhaji Sir Ahmadu Bello. C.A.N. was not founded in 1977 because of the Sharia issue of the 1970's;[1] nor was C.A.N. founded by interdenominational church leaders at the National Catholic Secretariat at Lagos in August, 1976.[2] C.A.N. "founders" were not the ones who met at this Lagos meeting; and C.A.N. did not start from Lagos and expand to other states.[3] For the National Standing Committee of C.A.N. to write that "This association was inaugurated in 1976" is a misrepresentation of historical facts.[4]

The Christian Association of Nigeria was the result of the development of the Northern Christian Association (N.C.A.) and the Northern States Christian Association (N.S.C.A.). Mallam Tanko Jolly Yusufu, a Jukun dedicated civil servant and a top Christian member of the N.P.C., founded the Northern Christian Association in 1964.[5] At that time, T. J. Yusufu was the provincial commissioner of Benue Province. He later was an ambassador during the military regime and is now the presidential liaison officer of Kaduna state. Yusufu initiated the foundation of the N.C.A. "to watch over the interests of Christians in the North irrespective of their tribe, party or denomination."[6] Rev. Habila Aleyideino, chairman of the C.A.N.

---

[1]Crampton, pp. 92-94.

[2]Makozi, HCCN, p. 97.

[3]Christian Association of Nigeria, Order of Service of Inauguration Held on Sunday, February 24, 1980, at 4:00 p.m. at the Tafawa Square, Lagos, (Program), p. 3.

[4]Christian Association of Nigeria, "Memorandum Submitted by the National Standing Committee of The Christian Association of Nigeria to His Excellency, Alhaji Shehu Shagari, President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria on Some Pressing National Issues," Lagos, National Secretariat of The Christian Association of Nigeria, November 20, 1979, p. 1.

[5]Crampton, p. 90, based on interviews with T. J. Yusufu; Onotu, HCCN, p. 66.

[6]Crampton, p. 90.

Kaduna State Branch up to 1980, traced the origin of C.A.N. to the 1960's.[1]

N.C.A. was reconstituted to become the N.S.C.A. after the military coups of the 1960's. The military regime initially banned all public meetings of such associations.[2] At the appropriate time, Rev. Habila Aleyideino reconstituted N.C.A. to formulate N.S.C.A. In 1975, Mallam Musa Bawa, Secretary of N.S.C.A., submitted a memorandum to the Constitution Drafting Committee.[3] On October 13, 1976, there was a C.A.N. Northern States branch meeting in Kaduna.[4] All the church heads in Kaduna were recorded present in the minutes. The meeting discussed "Taron Kwanan baya," previous meeting .[5] The meeting elected "Pastor Barnabbas [sic] Lekwat" as its general secretary.[6] He worked in this capacity until 1980 when he resigned.

The Lagos secretariat of the National Christian Association did not originate C.A.N. in 1976. Rev. Habila Aleyideino reiterated several times, especially in 1977, that the church leaders were searching for an organization that would accommodate all churches: the Christian Council of Nigeria was not the choice for the Roman Catholic Church, E.C.W.A. and others are not members. However, it was noted that the "Kaduna state Christians had

---

[1]Christian Association of Nigeria, Address by Rev. Habila Aleyideino, The Chairman of the Christian Association of Nigeria (Kaduna State Branch), Kaduna, July 9, 1977, p. 2.

[2]Ibid.

[3]Crampton, pp. 92-94.

[4]Christian Association of Nigeria, Minutes of the Meeting of the Christian Association of Nigeria, Northern States Branch, Held at the Social Center, Kaduna, on Wednesday, October 13, 1976, at 10:30 a.m.

[5]Ibid., p. 1.

[6]Ibid., Item No. 2, p. 5.

already made progress since we have already, at least, changed the name of the Northern States Christian Association to become the Christian Association of Nigeria."[1] In fact, C.A.N., Borno State Branch, is said to have been formed in January, 1976.[2] It was after the foregoing developments that the Lagos secretariat adopted the name, C.A.N. Inauguration was in 1980.[3] Other states have established branches.

In fact, the constitution of the Northern States Christian Association[4] chronologically preceded that of the National Christian Association.[5] The two constitutions show the same aims and functions: to promote God's glory, to enhance church unity; "to be a watchdog of the spiritual and moral welfare of the nation"; and, among other aims, "to propagate the Gospel."[6] Participation in ensuring the provisions of facilities for school religious instruction has been a major contribution of C.A.N. to the church in Nigeria.[7]

Another organization that cooperates with C.A.N., N.E.A.C. and the Roman Catholic education secretaries, is the National Association of Bible

---

[1]Christian Association of Nigeria, Address by Rev. Habila Aleyideino, July 9, 1977, p. 2.

[2]Secretary Christian Association of Nigeria, Borno State Branch, Report to Christian Association of Nigeria, Kaduna State Branch, at the E.K.A.N. Church on January 30, 1981, Report Written January 29, 1981, p. 1.

[3]Christian Association of Nigeria, Order of Service of Inauguration, Lagos, February 24, 1980.

[4]Christian Association of Nigeria, Draft Constitution, Christian Association of Nigeria, Kaduna, 1976.

[5]Christian Association of Nigeria, Constitution for Christian Association of Nigeria, (Lagos: Secretariat Christian Association of Nigeria, 1977).

[6]Draft Constitution, Christian Association of Nigeria, Kaduna: Section 3, (1), (21), (3), p. 1. Constitution for Christian Association of Nigeria, Lagos, Section 2, 3 (a), (c), (d), p. 1.

[7]Below, p. 203.

Knowledge Teachers of Nigeria (N.A.B.K.T.N.). The existence of the association was known in the northern states in the 1960's. Rev. Ken S. Sharpe, a teacher of Christian religious knowledge at the Sudan Interior Mission, Titcobe College, Egbe, initiated the formation of N.A.B.K.T.N. In 1972, a constitution was adopted.[1] In 1973, the federal military government registered N.A.B.K.T.N. as "a learned society."[2] Article II of the constitution has eight objectives. Two of them are as follows:

1) To promote and maintain a high standard in Bible teaching and its methods in post-primary institutions.

2) To encourage the study of the Bible in post-primary institutions.[3]

There is also "the National Institute for Training-in-Moral-Education (TIME), where students of all faiths including Muslims are trained as teachers of religion in primary and post-primary institutions."[4] TIME, founded in 1971, is located at the Roman Catholic National Secretariat; it is a joint venture between the Roman Catholic National Episcopal Conference and the Christian Council of Nigeria.

Furthermore, other institutions which are coordinating programs for Christian religious knowledge include the Ibadan-based Institute of Church and Society, under the auspices of the Christian Council of Nigeria and the

---

[1]The National Association of Bible Knowledge Teachers of Nigeria, Constitution of the National Association of Bible Knowledge Teachers of Nigeria, adopted May 5, 1972, at Ibadan.

[2]The Federal Republic of Nigeria, Ministry of Education, Mrs. A. O. Williams for Permanent Secretary, Professional Division, Federal Ministry of Education to the Secretary National Association of Bible Knowledge Teachers of Nigeria, Government Secondary School, Kagoro, Ref. ADF. 160/S. 109 (v) 34, February 27, 1973.

[3]The National Association of Bible Knowledge Teachers of Nigeria, Constitution of the National Association of Bible Knowledge Teachers of Nigeria, 1972, p. 1.

[4]A. O. Makozi, "Contemporary Trends in the Growth of the Catholic Church in Nigeria," HCCN, p. 97.

Nigerian Educational Research Council; and the Roman Catholic Pastoral Institute, Ibadan.[1]

Government Control of Education, 1969-79

National Curriculum Conference, 1969: Preparation to Take Over Mission Post Primary Schools

In light of the constant desire for educational reformation, the political regime of Balewa had established the Nigerian Educational Research Council to enhance the achievement of such desires. Accordingly, the Nigerian Educational Research Council proposed to hold a national curriculum conference in 1966; but the plan was postponed because of the political disturbances of that year. The conference was later held in Lagos, September 8-12, 1969.

A perusal of the proceedings of the conference, A Philosophy for Nigerian Education, 1969, shows that the Nigerian Education Research Council did extensive background work prior to the conference. The consultation of the international community was sought and used. There was the support of the British Council, The Ford Foundation, USAID, the Canadian government and UNESCO.[2] The seriousness of the conference was more marked domestically: a cross section of the Nigerian citizens was represented; for example, farmers, private businessmen, professional organizations, the politicians, administrators and educators were involved. Of the many Nigerian participants, Adeniji Adanalegbe said, "For the first time, it has been possible

---

[1] See Appendix A for Full Addresses of Nigerian Organizations coordinating programs for Christian religious knowledge.

[2] A Philosophy...1969, pp. ix-x, xiv.

for Nigerians to deliberate, by themselves, on the aims and goals of education for their children."[1] A few participants, who presented papers, were Mrs. Omobola O. Obiogun, Malama Hassu Kaita, Professor Iya Abubakar, Professor A. Babs Fafunwa, Professor C. O. Taiwo, Professor Ishaya S. Audu, and W. O. Briggs, Federal Commissioner for Education.

The magnitude of the conference was seen also in the scope of topics discussed: the purpose of education at all levels of learning; teachers' education; education of women; education for living; scientific and technological education. The democratic approach of the Nigerian Educational Research Council was demonstrated in the method of requesting contributory papers from different sectors of the society; in fact, a representative church paper is made available to the public.[2] Individual papers were read; discussion groups dealt with specific topics assigned to them; and "A Summary of Issues and Recommendations" was adopted. The latter consisted of nine division areas of 65 recommendations, which covered the scope of the topics discussed.[3]

A cautious summary of the aim of Nigerian education, based upon the conference papers[4] and the "Summary of Issues and Recommendations," reveals that the philosophy of Nigerian education, 1969, was education for living a full citizenship life in Nigeria.[5]

---

[1]Ibid., p. xiv.

[2]Ibid., pp. 229f., The Catholic Secretariat of Nigeria, "Observations on Nigerian Education: Curriculum Development."

[3]Ibid., pp. 211f.

[4]Ibid., pp. 1-210.

[5]Ibid., pp. 220f.

On the control of education, the Roman Catholic Church Memorandum expressed a more cautious view of the role of the government in education. This church saw the government as one of the outside influences on education;[1] therefore, the Roman Catholic Church wrote, "Education needs an effective voice in government to call attention to the oblique and possibly mutual interrelationships of education with other public policies."[2]

However, Effion Sampson, reflected on the general position of the conference. He wrote:

> The dual system of administering education in this country by both the voluntary agencies and the government has now outlived its usefulness. The government should consider the steps that would lead to the gradual nationalization of education. By this is meant the gradual taking-over of the proprietorship and management of all voluntary agency schools in the country.[3]

Accordingly, the control of public education was consigned to the government although the continued assistance of private agencies was implied:[4]

> The control of Nigerian education should be shared between local authorities, state governments and the federal government to help attain the nation's philosophy and goals for education within the shortest possible time...Within a state controlled system of education, it should be possible for private educational agencies to serve community needs...[5]

Bearing in mind that numerous schools were still under the auspices of the missions, participants recommended that, "In the event of state control of

---

[1]Ibid., p. 234.

[2]Ibid., p. 229.

[3]Ibid., p. 236, in 1969 Vice Principal, Duke Town Secondary School, Calabar.

[4]Ibid., p. 239.

[5]Ibid., pp. 221f., Recommendation 51.

education, all schools should become community schools:[1] but participants advocated that religious instruction be retained in schools.[2]

Taking Over of Mission Post Primary Schools: Religious Instruction Retained in Schools, 1970-1979

After the end of the civil war on January 12, 1970, the major task of the federal military government was national reconstruction and rehabilitation. The civil war wreaked a lot of havoc; for example, homes, roads and schools were destroyed in the East-Central state. Therefore, in its report, Second National Development Plan, 1970-1974, the government announced five main national objectives. The latter were similar to the national philosophy proposed in the National Curriculum Conference, 1969:

1) a united, strong and self-reliant nation.
2) a great and dynamic economy.
3) a just and egalatarian society.
4) a land of bright and full opportunities for all citizens.
5) a free and democratic society.[3]

Professor C. O. Taiwo indicated the great advancement in education, nationwide, between 1970 and 1979. In 1980, Taiwo wrote:

> Quantitatively, the achievements were reflected in increased enrollments. Primary school enrollment was from 3,515,827 in 1970 to 4,746,808 in 1973, secondary from 310,054 to 448,904, secondary technical and vocational from 13,645 to 22,588, teacher training from 32,314 to 46,951 and university from 14,502 to 23,173. During the period, the federal government established 20 new secondary schools in the states and three new schools of arts and science

---

[1] Ibid., p. 222, Recommendation 55.

[2] Ibid., pp. 20-21, 24, 27, 34, 51, 56, 113-114 and 234-235.

[3] Taiwo, p. 165; Ogunsola, p. 86; same objectives repeated in National Policy on Education, 1977, p. 4.

> at Mubi (North-Eastern), Ogoja (South-Eastern) and Sokoto (North-Western). It took over the University of Nigeria, Nsukka, on April 1, 1973, at the request of the East-Central and the South-Eastern states. The state governments established nine trade centers.[1]

By the beginning of 1970, some states began to enunciate educational laws to annul or replace past regional laws. The East-Central state was the first to enact a law to take over mission schools. The East-Central state's Public Education Edict 1970 (Edict No. 5 of 1970) decreed that, henceforth, all schools within the state were state schools.[2] The Mid-Western state's Education Edict 1972 (Edict No. 5 of 1973),[3] the North-Central state's education edict, April, 1974,[4] and the North-Eastern education edict, September, 1973,[5] declared mission schools in their respective domains as government property. Some states in the federation have promulgated similar take over edicts. In no state was religious instruction struck out of the school curriculum.[6]

The federal military government of the Gowon administration enunciated its education policy in the Daily Times, August 21, 1972. It asserted:

> The Supreme Military Council has decided that the federal government should henceforth assume full responsibility for higher education throughout the country, with the proviso that the status quo in respect of existing universities should be maintained...It also decided that education other than

---

[1] Taiwo, p. 166.

[2] Ibid., HCCN, p. 43.

[3] Taiwo, p. 167.

[4] Crampton, p. 121; HCCN, p. 65; Barnaba B. Lekwat, "The Planting of Western Education in the Kaje Community, Kaduna State, 1933-1972," P.G.D.E. Thesis, Institute of Education, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, 1976, p. 62.

[5] A telephone interview with Mallam Umoru A. Gadzama, a Principal Inspector of Education in the North-Eastern State, Columbia University, New York, January 21, 1983.

[6] Crampton, p. 121.

> higher education, should become the concurrent responsibility of both the federal and state governments, and be transferred to the concurrent legislative list.[1]

By this enunciation and the 1977 National Policy on Education,[2] the federal government took over the financing of all teacher training colleges: they might be state-owned or federally-owned, but no more mission-owned.[3] This action enhanced the training of teachers for the Universal Primary Education (U.P.E.) program. The latter was launched by Lt. General Olusegun Obasanjo, the head of state, September 6, 1976. The Obasanjo regime did not exclude religious instruction from the school curriculum; and it was this military regime which voluntarily handed over the reins of government to a civilian regime in 1979.[4]

Different interpretations have been given to the take over of Christian schools and medical facilities: reasons include administrative convenience, uniform development, equal educational opportunities,[5] excessive nationalism (southern states), and the culmination of religious suppression of Christianity in northern states predominated by Muslim administrators. Ogunsola suggested the method of take over has been described as totalitaristic, militaristic, undemocratic and also as infringing on Christian private rights.[6] The advantages of the take over, as publicly seen between 1970

---

[1] Taiwo, p. 167.

[2] Federal Republic of Nigeria, National Policy on Education, (Lagos: Federal Ministry of Information, 1977).

[3] National Policy on Education, 1977, pp. 25, 31f.

[4] Ibid., p. 26 has "Religious and Moral Education" in the Curriculum of Teachers' College; Taiwo, p. 172.

[5] HCNN, p. 95; Ogunsola, p. 86; Crampton, p. 121; Turaki, "Colonial Legacy," p. 394.

[6] Ogunsola, pp. 83-86.

and 1979, are minimal. The disadvantages have overweighed the advantages: particularly inadequate finances, very poorly maintained school property, poor management; fallen educational standards and fallen morality.[1] Injustice has been meted to talented Christian children by denying them a good education of their choice and, in some states, denial of any post primary education.[2]

In 1977, the Kaduna state took over Christian chapels originally built for Christian worship only with foreign church funds. The state intended to use the chapels for common assembly. When the Christian Association of Nigeria inquired and demanded a reversal of decision,[3] the government refused to take any positive action.[4]

On June 7, 1977, national Christian leaders from the North approached Gen. Obasanjo to express the concern of Christians and to seek a reversal of the take-over policy, or compensation. The head of state said he sympathized with the Christians; but he expressed the fact that some states thought they had gone too far in their decisions to enact reversal policy; he further indicated that the government "had considered this question carefully...and had gone beyond the reviewing stage..."[5]

---

[1] HCCN, pp. 43, 65, 95; Lekwat, "Western Education in Kaje," p. 50.

[2] Turaki, p. 394.

[3] Christian Association of Nigeria, Barnaba B. Lekwat, General Secretary, Christian Association of Nigeria, Kaduna State Branch, to the Military Governor, Kaduna State, Government House, Kaduna, April 21, 1977, p. 1.

[4] Kaduna State, Government House, Lawal Dano, Principal Private Secretary, to His Excellency, Military Governor, Kaduna State, to the Secretary Christian Association of Nigeria, Kaduna, No. GH/12/883, April 26, 1977.

[5] Christian Association of Nigeria, A Brief Report on the Meeting of Representatives of Christian Leaders and Committees from Parts of the Northern States with His Excellency, the Head of State, Lt. Gen. Olusegun Obasanjo at Dodon Barracks, Lagos, on June 7, 1977, (sited here after as C.A.N., A Brief Report, Dodon Barracks Meeting, 1977), pp. 2-3.

On June 13, 1977, Gen. Obasanjo showed Nigeria what he meant by the careful consideration of the government: he signed the Schools Take-Over (Validation) Decree, 1977, Decree No. 48, June 13, 1977. Part of the decree read:

> At any time before the commencement of this Decree the Military Governor of a state has made an edict providing for the transfer to the state...any school or institution, the edict shall...be deemed to have been validly made and shall have full effect in accordance with its tenor...[1]

Furthermore, Gen. Obasanjo signed that the validity of the take over could not be inquired in any Nigerian court; and that religious freedom was not violated by the take over. Therefore, any inquiry on the take over was void. On the matter of the compensation, the decree asserted,

> Nothing in this decree shall be construed as affecting the right of the proprietor or other owner of any school, or institution to compensation in accordance with the provisions of the edict pursuant to which the school or institution was or is taken over.[2]

However, no state has awarded any compensation for school take over.

The Extent of the Influence of the Educational Policies on the Development of Christian Religious Instruction

General Deductions from the Policies of 1925 to 1979.

The upgrading of the status of Christian religious instruction in 1925 was never reversed by any federal or state education policy in the period

---

[1]Federal Republic of Nigeria, Annual Volume of the Laws of the Federal Republic of Nigeria Containing Decrees and Subsidiary Legislation Made in the Year, 1977, (Lagos: Federal Ministry of Information, 1977), "Supplement to Official Gazette Extraordinary, No. 27, Vol. 64, June 13, 1977, Part A, pp. A225-226 [of the Laws].

[2]Ibid., p. A226.

under study. The subjects -- religious instruction and moral instruction -- remained on equal standing with secular school subjects.[1]

The incorporation of classes for religious instruction within schools was another policy which influenced the development of religious instruction. The classes that were so changed originally taught the three R's, even though religious instruction was the major subject. When the classes were upgraded to schools, the subjects including Christian religious instruction became equal school subjects.

The last deduction is that the government actually controlled Christian religious instruction by its policies. An example of this was Section 18 of the Education Ordinance, Northern Provinces of 1926.[2] In the 1970's, government sponsored programs on curriculum development on religious instruction were popular.[3]

Constitutionalization of Christian Religious Instruction 1960-1979

The inclusion of two rights, the fundamental rights including the freedom of conscience and of religion, and the right to teach religion in school, was not in the original 1954 constitution. They were added later. As Eme O. Awa pointed out, the fundamental rights were included in the amended 1954 constitution as Schedule Six.[4] This addition resulted from the demands of political leaders in 1959. The Sixth Schedule became part of the 1954

---

[1]All the educational laws of the 1950's and 1960's had Religious Instruction Clauses similar to the Education Ordinance of 1948, and the Religious Instruction Clauses of the 1960, 1963, and 1979 constitutions discussed below.

[2]Quoted, par. 2, above, p. 71.

[3]Below, p.234, shows a federal government sponsored syllabus including Christian religious instruction.

[4]Above, pp. 97f.

constitution on March 31, 1960.[1] Therefore, in preparation for independence on October 1, 1960, the constitution of 1960 normally incorporated the fundamental rights. The same policy was maintained in the 1963 republican constitution; and the 1979 constitution retained a similar position. The 1960, 1963, and 1979 constitutions have the same provision for religion in society and school; the 1979 constitution showed a marked difference in its provision for a secular state when it stated

> The government of the federation or of a state shall not adopt any religion as state religion.[2]

The inclusion of this secular state clause might have been influenced by past experiences: some states had tended to deliberately demonstrate religious favoritism of one over others.[3] However, Nigeria still maintains the policy of full support for religious pilgrim welfare to the Holy Lands -- Saudi Arabia, Israel, and Rome. Also, there is the strong support for religion in school.

These kinds of official support for private or public religion is based upon the Freedom Clause:

---

[1]Federation of Nigeria, Annual Volumes of the Laws of Nigeria, 1959, Containing the Ordinances and Subsidiary Legislation of the Federation (Lagos: Federal Government Printer, 1959), "Provision to be inserted as Sixth Schedule to Nigerian (Constitution) Order in Council, 1954," 46: 71, Subsection 244, p. B537 [of the Laws]; cf. Federation of Nigeria, The Nigerian (Constitution) Order in Council, 1954, (Lagos: Government Printer, 1960), "Supplement to Official Gazette, No. 20, Vol. 47, April 14, 1960, Part D.L.N. 52 of 1960, The Constitution Orders Statutory Instruments (Reprinted with all amendments, March 31, 1960), 1954, No. 1146," pp. D147f. [of the 1954 constitution].

[2]The Constitution...1979, I:10.

[3]Awa, p. 117, states that Islam was favored over Christianity in the North (1964), cf. C.A.N., a Brief Report, Dodon Barracks Meeting, 1977, p. 2 cf.

> Every person shall be entitled to freedom of thought, conscience and religion, including freedom to change his religion or belief and freedom (either alone or in community with others, and in public or in private, to manifest and propagate his religion or belief in worship, teaching, practice and observance.[1]

Specifically, the teaching of religion in society is a human right for any Nigerian.

Nigerian religious pluralism is protected in the constitution. The expression of the Education Ordinance of 1948 was adopted:[2] the constitution guarantees the teaching of religion in schools but,

> No person attending any place of education shall be required to receive religious instruction or take part in or attend any religious ceremony or observance if such instruction, ceremony or observance related to a religion other than his own, or a religion not approved by his parents or guardian.[3]

In 1980, Hari Chand, a law lecturer at the University of Jos, suggested an interpretation of this provision as follows:

> So far as religious instruction in educational institutions is concerned, the constitution gives full freedom to parents to educate their children as they please. If they don't take the religious education given in a school, the school cannot compel the child to go through the religious education and the student may not attend to religious instructions. But this should not be understood as a prohibition against religious instruction.[4]

Hari Chand is saying that the constitution, in providing for religious education, also provided the Pupil Religious Protection Clause and the Parental

---

[1] The Constitution...1979, IV:35(1), cf., the Federal Republic of Nigeria, Annual Volume of Laws, 1960, p. B244, "The Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1960," (sited here after as The Constitution...1960), III:23:(1); The Constitution...1963, III:24(1).

[2] Above, p. 88.

[3] The Constitution...1979, IV:35 (2), cf. The Constitution...1960, III:23 (2); The Constitution...1963, III:24 (2).

[4] Hari Chand, Fundamental Rights in Nigeria, with a Foreword by The Honorable Mr. Justice A. Obi Okoye (Jos, Nigeria: Unico Press, 1980), p. 31.

Religious Consent Clause.[1]

That the constitution guarantees the right for religious instruction in school is stated in the Religious Denomination Right Clause. It says:

> No religious community or denomination shall be prevented from providing religious instruction for pupils of that community or denomination in any place of education maintained wholly by the community or denomination.[2]

Therefore, in Nigeria, a Christian denomination or community or a Muslim sect or community has the right to provide its children religious instruction in a school owned by the denomination, sect, or community; but no child in such a school could be demanded to take religious instruction.

As Hari Chand puts it, "This freedom is not absolute,"[3] All the fundamental rights can be lawfully limited for nothing in the fundamental rights

> Shall validate any law that is reasonably justifiable in a democratic society...in the interest of defense, public safety, public order, public morality or public health; or...for the purpose of protecting the rights and freedom of other persons.[4]

Necessary safeguards are, therefore, provided for religion in society and the teaching of religious instruction in Nigerian schools.

Summary

The chapter examines and describes the extent to which the government policies upgraded Chrsitian religious instruction. Major educational policies between 1925 and 1979 are examined. It is discovered that specific

---

[1] As Provided in Education Laws, 1948-1964, above, pp. 86-88, 96, etc.

[2] The Constitution...1979, IV:35 (3); cf. The Constitution...1960. III:23 (3); The Constitution...1963, III: 24 (3).

[3] Hari Chand, Fundamental Rights in Nigeria, p. 31.

[4] The Constitution...1979, IV:41 (1) cf., The Constitution...1960, III:21 (2), 23 (4); The Constitution...1963, III:24 (4), (a), (b).

developmental periods of Nigerian education had emerged. Between 1925 and 1947, regulated education was dominated by the missions. They freely taught religious instruction to all pupils. Between 1948 and 1968, educational policies emphasized the need to transfer educational responsibility to the government or to the native administration. The missions agreed and primary schools were transferred to local education authorities. The missions were allowed to organize the teaching of religious instruction in the transferred schools. Between 1969 and 1979, government policies empowered the states to take over mission post primary schools. The extent to which educational policies influenced Christian religious instruction is explored. The data studied reveals that government upgraded the status of religious instruction to a major school subject. The government controlled the subject under the auspices of religious organizations. The teaching of the subject, as an optional course, in all schools was legalized.

CHAPTER 4

CHANGES WHICH WERE PROPOSED FOR TEACHING CHRISTIAN RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION AS A MAJOR SCHOOL SUBJECT

As the aim of this chapter is to identify innovations in teaching Christian religious instruction from 1925 to 1979, the discussion will dwell on changes in objectives, curriculum and method. It was the government's view that Christian religious instruction should conform to educational standards. The literature most relevant to this chapter is much the same as for the previous chapter.

The Objectives of Christian Religious Instruction in Nigerian Schools According to Government Policy

Before 1925, government was saying to the missions that a school education was that which had social usefulness to the community. When, in 1925, the colonial government upgraded Christian religious instruction and moral instruction to the status of a major school subject, their social usefulness was envisaged. A perusal of the literature of the period under study shows that religious instruction and moral instruction were regarded as socially useful if they advanced three broad objectives: the promotion of virtues,[1] the stabilization of weakened traditions, and the upholding of religious heritage. These three broad objectives of religious instruction were well portrayed in the three periods of the educational development of the country: regulated education (1925-1947); transferring educational

---

[1]Virtue -- Most archieval sources for the research used the word "virtue" to mean personal ethics, self-disipline, self-control, respect for authority, good citizenship, good conduct, manners conforming to social standards, honesty, kindness, cf. Below, pp. 133-138f. Rogets' International Thesaurus, 4th ed., 1979. s.v. "virtue," "courage," "ethics," "honesty," and "moral goodness."

responsibility to government (1948-1968); and government control of education (1969-1979).

The Promotion of Virtues

The government assumed that the missions could teach the virtues founded upon the Christian religion: this was emphasized in the Educational Policy (1925),[1] and was repeated in all educational policies between 1925 and 1947. The northern leaders reported that, in this period when the government gave opportunity for religious instruction in all schools, the aim was to ensure that northern pupils respect authority, have self-control, sense of honor, and "a capability for responsibility."[2] For female education, "particular attention will be given to character and vocational training."[3] For the nation, the Advisory Memorandum (1935) attached great importance to that education which was socially useful if it enhanced the virtues. The Memorandum stressed that the degree of the success of "moral and character training" depended on its relationship to "all the factors of community life" and the social moral forces. Specific call was made on "religious communities, Christian and Mohammedan" to contribute to social change through "the moral advancement of the individual and community."[4] In 1947, the Western Region emphasized the virtues in its educational policy. It said that education would be useful to community if school children were "used to firm control and self-discipline, not those who have been allowed to

---

[1] Above, pp. 63f.

[2] Nigerian Annual Report, 1925, pp. 524-528, "A Short Account of the History of the Work of the Education Department in the Northern Provinces 1910-1925."

[3] Ibid., p. 484.

[4] Advisory Memorandum, No. 103, 1935, pp. 2, 8-9.

grow up without respect for authority."[1] In the "religious education" section, the Western policy reiterated:

> A school by itself cannot supply all that is needed but it can try to train children in simple ideas of citizenship and good conduct. It is recommended therefore that the Curriculum Sub-committee should deal with this important topic in conjunction with the leading voluntary agencies Christian and Mohammedan. The Committee has already agreed to recommend appropriate syllabuses of religious instruction and is having syllabuses prepared dealing with "manners" in the various tribal groups.[2]

Religious education, therefore, was to help promote the social mores and virtues for

> Character is formed far less by the deliberate process of formal education than by the unconscious give and take in the relations of the child with the person who surrounds him from the days of infancy onwards, and values of the society of which he is a member.[3]

A survey of the literature on transfer schools from 1948 to 1969, reveals government intention to promote virtues through teaching religious instruction in schools. The government intention was actually relevant to the period of nationalism, independence, religious, educational and political revolutions.

The theme of the earlier era, social usefulness of religious instruction, was emphasized in the Education Ordinance of 1948.[4] In the 1950's, the Northern Region established the Staff Inspectorate Section for Religious Instruction under its Inspectorate Division of the Ministry of Education. The necessity for the Inspectorate Section for Religious Instruction was to coordinate the proper teaching of Islamic religious instruction and Christian

---

[1] Education Policy in the Western Provinces, No. 20, 1947, p. 7.

[2] Ibid., p. 15, "Chapter 16, Religious Education."

[3] "Section 8, Moral and Character Training," Advisory Memorandum, No. 103, 1935.

[4] Nigeria Education Ordinance, No. 39, 1948, pp. 7, 12, 18.

religious instruction;[1] and the ultimate aim was to promote, among other goals, the virtues. This aim was contained in the suggestions of A. R. Bailey, the civil secretary of the North, to a special committee set on the matter of religious and moral instruction in the North. The aims of school religious instruction were, inter alia:

1) To build character,
2) To implant religious principles,
3) To produce intelligent and unselfish citizens,
4) To assist students in training colleges and other institutions to maintain a sense of vocation.[2]

The northern government in 1953, expressed its concern over the social usefulness of mission education with its continued concentration on religious instruction. But it was observed,

> ...(This criticism),I think, applies less to the Roman Catholic Mission than other missions, presumably because the authoritarian Creed of Rome tends to inculcate a better sense of discipline in its products.[3]

The social need for discipline, good character and the other virtues of life must have contributed to the inclusion of the religious instruction clauses in the educational laws and policies of the 1950's and 1960's. In the Western Region, the Banjo Commission recommended, "We do not desire to reduce the religious element in education."[4] A reason for the Western determination to retain religious instruction in school was to enhance the virtues. Thus the Commission continued to say,

> We regard religion as the basic factor of life and that we believe it is very difficult for people to develop a spirit of disinterested service to others without a

---

[1] Below, pp. 140f.

[2] NAK, PCJ 9000, p. 9, A. R. Bailey, acting civil secretary, Northern Region to the Committee Set by the Resident Zaria Province to Investigate the Whole Problem of Religious and Moral Instruction in all Training Institutions.

[3] NAK, PCJ, C50, Senior District Officer Zaria to the Resident Zaria, 3rd September, 1953, "Missions."

[4] Western Nigeria, Banjo Commission 1961, p. 101.

It was further asserted

> Religious and moral instruction: the content shall be on character formation, virtuous living, love of truth and honesty, devotion to duty and all those other attributes that help promote self-reliance, discipline, wholesome living, and contribute to the making of a good Nigerian citizen.[1]

In the period of government control of education between 1969 and 1979, the virtue doctrine was reinforced. The revolution of that era called for national unity, patriotism and moral consciousness. A study of the papers presented in 1969 at the National Curriculum Conference in Lagos reveals that several presenters advocated the education that would inculcate in pupils the qualities of virtue as proposed since 1925.[2] The section in "A Summary of Issues and Recommendations" did not use the terms "religious instruction" and "moral instruction," but it abundantly used the virtue doctrine expressions, for example, character training. This might reflect a tendency towards moral education.[3] The development of the individual and the nation was advocated.[4]

The government white paper on the national policy of education in 1977 advocated the following values to be taught in all schools:

1) Respect for the worth and dignity of the individual.
2) Faith in man's ability to make rational decisions.
3) Moral and spiritual values in inter-personal and human relations.
4) Shared responsibility for the common good of society.

---

[1] Ibid., p. 13

[2] Example, A Philosophy, 1969, pp. 35, 36, 37.

[3] A term used by a few participants, example, Mallam M. N. Shuaibu Naibi, ibid., p. 4. cf. Recommendation Sections, ibid., pp. 212f.

[4] Ibid, p. 221, Recommendation 49.

5) Respect for the dignity of labor.
6) Promotion of the emotional, physical and psychological health of all children.[1]

As government wished to ensure the successful attainment of these values, several measures were designed to guarantee the desired success. One of the measures was that "opportunity will continue to be made available for religious instruction."[2] To this end, at the primary school level, one of the immediate aims of education would be "character and moral training and the development of sound attitudes."[3] In Section 4, "Secondary Education," Item 26, suggests methods of teaching moral and religious instruction and goes on to say that one reason for such instruction was

> Great vigilance will be exercised in light of the rising incidence of drug abuse in schools. Laws against these abuses will be more vigorously enforced. Also, there will be more propagation and education of the people on the dangers of drug abuse.[4]

The Nigerian Constitution of 1979 is a national moral code: in addition to the specific religious instruction clause, there is a national moral code which binds all public servants in their official duties.[5]

The Promotion of a Social Stabilizing Force

The second broad objective of teaching religious and moral instruction in schools, according to government policy, was to uphold a stabilizing force in the weakened culture. This was clearly specified in the Education Policy,

---

[1] National Policy on Education, 1977, p. 4.

[2] Ibid., p. 5.

[3] Ibid., p. 7.

[4] Ibid., p. 13.

[5] The Constitution...1979, Fifth Schedule, pp. 120f.; See below, pp. 223f.

(1925).[1] Throughout the period of this study, the Nigerian education policies repeated that teaching religious instruction in school would contribute to ensuring a balance in the contact between Nigerian and Western values in society.

The Advisory Memorandum (1935), reminded Christian and Muslim educators that a broader religious education was necessary for

> Not only may it [religious institution] supply the motive and inspiration for unselfish community services, but when the broader view of the purposes of education is taken, the intimate relation between church and school...is seen to have a large educational significance. It provides the connexion between the school and the wider life of the... family, and seeks to serve the whole neighborhood.[2]

In Northern Nigeria, as also in the South, there was a concern for controlling the influence of Western education on the learners. The Northern government argued that education should not alienate the learner from his home.[3] One of the controlling measures, according to the Northern administration, was religious instruction in schools. Thus

> In every school...opportunity is given for religious instruction. And whatever the kind of school, the chief endeavor of government is to avoid any tendency to denationalize the pupil or disorientate his mind: to restrain him from despising his parents and others who have not had his own advantages...to produce a citizen who, in addition to book-knowledge, has acquired self-control, a sense of honor and a capacity of understanding and accepting responsibility.[4]

In 1947, the Western Region expressed its concern when it stated, "...the influence of traditional ways and community thought has become

---

[1] Above, p. 66.

[2] Advisory Memorandum, No. 103, 1935, p. 9 cf. p. 2.

[3] Nigerian Annual Report, 1925, p. 525., "A Short Account of the History and Work of the Education Department in the Northern Provinces, 1910-1925."

[4] Ibid., p. 527.

weaker and weaker."[1] A stabilizing force suggested by the West was that pupils "need more and more to be given definite instruction in a wider religion."[2] The duty of the school to educate pupils in a way that would not lead to "unregulated individualism,"[3] disintegration of communal life, and disloyalty in a new society, was further discussed under "religious education." The conclusion, for a suggestion for a stabilizing force, was that

> New motives have to be supplied to replace those that operated in conditions which have passed away or are passing...These are the moral tasks which devolve on the school.[4]

Between 1948 and 1968, there were proposals nation-wide to ensure the teaching of religious instruction and moral instruction in schools for the purpose of achieving a stable society. In the North, according to an official report, the emirs were still unsure of the value of westernization.[5] Therefore in the 1950's, the northern administration set up the Moral Standard Committee to help achieve its moral objectives. As a disciplinary committee, the Moral Standard Committee was charged with the duty of reducing insubordination among students.[6] Also, in the 1950's, the Northern Ministry of Education established the Staff Inspectorate section of religious instruction. Other States' Ministries of Education in the country later

---

[1]"Chapter 16; Religious Education," Educational Policy in WPS, No. 20/1947, p. 15.

[2]Ibid.

[3]Advisory Memorandum, No. 130, 1935, p. 8.

[4]Ibid., p. 9.

[5]A Short Survey of Education in Northern Nigeria, 1959, p. 7.

[6]Northern Region of Nigeria, Ministry of Education, Ministry of Education, Education Gen., S.D.O.'s File [1952-1958], Zaria Prof., NAK, C54.

founded their own religious instruction inspectorates.[1] The existence of the religious instruction inspectorate was a practical approach to ensuring the teaching of religious instruction in all schools to help reduce misconduct in modern society.[2] Furthermore, in the 1970's, the post of Supervisor of Religious Instruction was created at the local government Education Departments to coordinate the teaching activities of teachers of religious instruction. On October 19, 1977, the chairman of the Education Committee, Zaria local government, informed the committee:

> According to a Ministry of Education circular, we are required to appoint a Supervisor of Christian Religious Knowledge from one of the teachers of the subject. The Supervisor will coordinate the teaching of the Christian religion in primary schools. The teacher to be appointed should have the qualification of a grade II teacher's certificate. He must have studied bible knowledge in the Teacher's College.[3]

On January 30, 1978, the Education Committee accepted a proposal for "personal emoluments" for the Supervisor of Christian Religious Knowledge who had already been appointed.[4] Other local governments also appointed Supervisors of Christian Religious Knowledge.[5]

---

[1]Miss Elizabeth Viringborg, current N.E.A.C. Education Secretary said Staff Inspectorate Section of Religious Instruction have been established in, and she works with the Inspectors from Borno, Gongola, Niger, Plateau and Benue States. Anambra, Imo, Rivers and Cross Rivers states also have Inspectors of Religious Instruction: interview with Miss Viringborg, Kaduna, September 4, 1982.

[2]Northern Region, "Religious and Moral Instruction in Government and Native Administration Schools in the Northern Provinces," 6th April, 1951-1952, NAK, PCJ 4900, pp. 1-3.

[3]Zaria Local Government, Education Department, Minutes of the Meeting of the Education Committee, Local Government, Education Department, Zaria, EDU/551A/139, 19th October, 1977, Item 10, p. 2(4) (original in Hausa).

[4]Zaria Local Government, Sub-financial Committee of the Education Department, Minutes of the Sub-financial Committee held on January 30, 1978, p. 2, Item VBC (iii), "Religious Knowledge Personal Emoluments."

[5]Supervisors of Christian Religious Knowledge sent Statistics of Pupils from Ikara Local Government c. August, 1977; Bulus Tauna, Kaduna Local Government sent Statistics for the School Year, 1978-1979.

In Western Nigeria, it was felt that, in the 1950's, Christian religious instruction was not challenging learners positively enough in accordance with modernization. The problem was alleged to be poor teaching; therefore, a call was made upon the teachers of religious knowledge to utilize the subject as a means of achieving balanced values in modernization. The western policy document of 1952 advised that

> Invariably when an intelligent African youth gets acclaimed [sic] to the scientific atmosphere of modern times, not only are his beliefs in the ancient superstitution of his forefathers shattered, but his recently acquired faith in the later religions that have been brought to the West Coast of Africa is easily uprooted. He becomes a thinking machine, and the irreducible care of humanity in him finds religious fervor and moral force in nationalism, patriotism and social service. Some experts have been trained in some schools and in the University College, and it is being increasingly certain that the form of religious knowledge that is not frought with disastrous consequences alike to the individuals and the nation is one in which due regard is paid to the latest development in human thought all over the world. Any educational policy proposed at the moment must pay due regard to this state of affairs...It will be a national calamity if the great heritage of indigenous socialism is to be swept off by the invasion of agnosticism, atheism or nihilism.[1]

In 1962, the Ikoku Report in Eastern Nigeria, reiterated the Northern and Western Regions' conviction that in modernization, Christian religious knowledge and moral instruction were an essential part of education. The aim of education, according to The Ikoku Report, was to usher in "a new system which will be modern by blending science and technology with culture and spiritual environment and which alone can ensure for us as a nation a uniform and harmonious economic, social and cultural progress."[2]

Dr. Michael I. Okpara, the eastern premier, speaking within the context of modernization, reflected on the role of religious and moral education

---

[1] Proposal for an Education Policy, WR 1952, p. 9.

[2] Report of the Conference on the Review of the Education System in Eastern Nigeria, No. 25, 1964, p. 42.

in school. He criticized past educational achievement for its "lack of modern purpose...the moral content, its weak spiritual content; the increasing absence of parental responsibility."[1] He further remarked on the reason for past poor education:

> Its poor moral content stems from the disorganizing effect of twentieth century materialism on teachers, who must, in the last analysis, be leaders of the nation...There is not only the collapse of moral values but the total collapse of spiritual values. The lofty but difficult message of the Nazarene, which a few are able to heed, has almost been lost in tense denominational competition, and Christianity has failed so far to fulfill the vacuum created by the destruction of the old pagan gods.[2]

The Ikoku Report differentiated between Christian religious knowledge and moral instruction;[3] but the Report agreed with the premier on the need for better education founded on sound moral teaching. It recommended the teaching of Christian religious knowledge and moral instruction in secondary schools and teacher training colleges.[4]

During the years of Nigerian revolution[5] from 1966 to 1979, at the national level, there were further challenges for the urgent need for religious instruction as a social stabilizer. At the National Curriculum Conference in 1969, where national unity, morality, patriotism and individualism were emphasized, the echo was on moral education based upon religion. Mallam M. N. Shuaibu Naibi argued that moral education was needed

---

[1] Ibid., p. 38.

[2] Ibid., p. 39.

[3] Ibid., p. 8: religious knowledge consisted of religious beliefs; moral instruction was teaching of virtues.

[4] Ibid., pp. 8, 18, 20, 25.

[5] Nigerian revolution--The time of the military regime is identified by Nigerian rulers as a period of revolution in politics, education, economy and other social sectors. The civil war was an aspect of the political change, c.f. New Nigerian, July 30, 1982, p. 5, reviewing a book on the revolution: Major General Joe Garba, Revolution in Nigeria, Another View, (London: African Journal Limited, 1982) cf. Above, p. 109.

in schools to teach primary school pupils to escape the "vacuum of moral-less values" in regard to their concept of the extended family. Moral education would help them escape juvenile delinquency.[1] At the same conference, C. O. Taiwo asserted that "spiritual and moral values" should be taught to secondary school students. He reasoned that

> There is a feeling of uneasiness in certain quarters of the negative contribution of school education to spiritual and moral values. There appears to be a conflict between the time-honored practices of the home and the new ideas and values acquired in the school. It should be the aim of secondary education to resolve the conflict by a sound knowledge of the home environment and practices. The country needs more men and women of honesty and integrity; it needs to put a high premium on spiritual and moral values.[2]

The national realization of new life values led to the advocacy for teaching moral education according to the National Curriculum Conference of 1969[3] and the Government White Paper on Education in 1977;[4] but moral education was to be founded on religious instruction.[5]

The Promotion of a Religious Heritage

Obviously, the Nigerian society, like any other African society, has always been theistic and religious. Government has been instrumental in the preservation of the religious heritage of the country. A few policy objectives may illustrate the point.

---

[1] Mallam M. N. Shuaibu Naibi, "The Purpose of Primary Education, A Philosophy, 1969, p. 4.

[2] C. O. Taiwo, "The Purpose of Secondary Education," Ibid., p. 33.

[3] Ibid., pp. 212f.

[4] National Policy on Education, 1977, pp. 7, 12, 26.

[5] The Constitution...1979, V: 35(1), (2).

Northern Muslim leaders (government policy makers) have always been idealistic in the determination to uphold their religious heritage. Officially, in 1903, Lord Frederick Lugard assured the new Sultan of Sokoto that Islamic heritage of the country would be preserved. There has been no reversal of the policy to uphold religion in official matters. Government policies also promoted the Christian religion.[1]

In the Northern Provinces, during the 1930's and 1940's when the colonial government was changing classes for religious instruction to schools, the Northern Board of Education indicated that such classes should be a means of establishing community confidence.[2] The Board of Education asserted that in its pursuit for peaceful coexistence in society there was no "desire in any way to restrict the natural spread of Christian teaching."[3] This measure was one of the means of promoting the Christian religion in society and school.

A similar government view was echoed in Southern Nigeria. In 1942, the Director of Education, Mr. E. G. Morris, argued in favor of continued teaching of religious knowledge, which actually was Bible knowledge in schools. It is reported that

> The Director thought it was the opinion of the majority that a purely secular education is not desirable at this state in the development of the country, and might, in fact, be disastrous. This was no new thing. For centuries, practically all the education in Europe was in the hands of religious bodies.[4]

---

[1]This is very hard for some Nigerian Christians to accept: but in 1925-1979 there was no tendency to make a policy to treat religions differently; implementation of policies by grass root officers disfavored Christianity.

[2]Board of Education, Northern Provinces, NAK, PCJ 205, pp. 95f. Item 24.

[3]Ibid.

[4]Board of Education, Northern Provinces, NAK, PCJ 205, pp. 149-150, "Board of Education, Colony and Southern Provinces, Minutes of the 11th Meeting of the Board of Education, held in the Council Chamber, Lagos, Feb. 2-5, 1942," Item 4.

In fact, when the missions were intensifying evangelization in schools, government in the South entrusted schools to them. In 1925, government wrote, "Our general view is that primary education should be left in the hands of the missions, with exception of a few models."[1]

In Northern Nigeria, the good educational work of Hanns Vischer was not originally fully accepted by the emirs: it was founded upon secular education which the emirs were not used to; on the other hand, the missions were promoting Christianity in areas politically ruled by the emirs. Government later realized part of the cause of the northern apathy toward westernization: secular education for Muslim children, or Christian education for the same children. Then government encouraged the teaching of both Arabic (language) and Islamic religious instruction in northern schools.[2]

Throughout the period under study, the rulers of the Western Region always insisted on having religion in school: like other parts of the country, religion in school always included the morning devotional Bible reading and prayer, the extra curricula religious activities through the Fellowship of Christian Students, Scripture Union and the Federation of Young Catholic Student.

In 1947, the Western Region's education policy document advocated that parents should send their children to school where they would be taught religion. The children would be given a religious foundation. However, the religion envisaged then was to be a "wider religion" instead

---

[1] Nigeria Annual Report, 1925, p. 484.

[2] Nigeria Annual Report, 1925, pp. 525f.; A Short Survey of Education in Northern Nigeria, 1959, pp. 2, 3, 7-24.

of the village religion.[1] It was the western government which declared in 1952 that

> It will be a national calamity if the great heritage of indigenous socialism is to be swept off by the invasions of agnosticism, atheism or nihilism.[2]

In 1961, the Banjo Commission recommended and the western government accepted that in this "machine age...We do not desire to reduce the religious element in education."[3] It was further said, "We are very anxious therefore that the schools shall not lose their religious background."[4]

The Ajayi Commission of Western Nigeria, 1963, has a specific relevance at this point. The Ajayi Commission was set up to investigate the basis for charging fees for promoting religion in mission and Muslim schools in the region. The fees were charged by school proprietors for maintaining chapels and mosques, and for translating the holy books. The Ajayi Commission recommended voluntary contributions for religious affairs in schools; but the Commission also acknowledged the need to promote religious heritage in schools:

> We recognize the place of religion in education, but we consider that any religious body which is anxious to provide a place of worship in an institution should be prepared to finance it...[5]

The western proposal was unlike the northern practice where school mosques were built by regional government.[6] In the 1970's, the Kaduna

---

[1] Education Policy, WPS, No. 20/1947, p. 15.

[2] Education Policy, WR, 1952, p. 9.

[3] Western Nigeria, The Banjo Commission, 1961, pp. 10f.

[4] Ibid., p. 251.

[5] The Ajayi Commission, 1963, p. 28.

[6] Crampton, p. 115 (Government paid for worship services for Muslim pupils), pp. 92-93 (tends to doubt that public funds were used for building school mosques).

state government donated land on the school premises of the Universal Primary Education Teachers College, Zaria, for building a chapel. The Christian Association of Nigeria has since then completed building a chapel. In a televised conference, the chairman of the Christian Association thanked the state government for this state-church cooperation.[1] Christian students in other schools applied for permission to build chapels.[2]

The policies of Eastern Nigeria promoted religious heritage through the schools. It was the Eastern Region which asserted that, despite its intention to transfer mission schools to regional government ownership, education would not be "purely secular...it is our intention that the religious and moral aspects of education shall not be neglected."[3] Of course, the Roman Catholic Mission insisted on this religious position. In the Ikoku Report of 1964, Sir Francis Akanu Ibiam, the regional governor and chairman of the World Council of Christian Education of the World Council of Churches, and Dr. Michael I. Okpara, the regional premier, gave their full support for religion in school.[4]

The Nigerian education laws of the 1950's and 1960's guaranteed religious worship for each school child under the auspices of any school in the country. The proprietor of a school was to ensure that safe and adequate

---

[1]Christian Association of Nigeria, Kaduna State Branch, Rev. Habila Aleyideino, Chairman Christian Association of Nigeria, Speech at the Second All Christian Conference, at Murtala Square, Kaduna, May 5, 1979.

[2]Christian students applied for church financial assistance to build chapels in Women Teachers' College, Kabamo; Government Girls' Secondary School, Soba; Women Teachers' College, Zaria, Women Teachers' College, Zonkwa; Government Secondary School, Kafanchan; and Government College, Kaduna; all between 1978 and 1979.

[3]Policy for Education, ER, No. 6, 1953, p. 6, "Section 1: Religion in Schools."

[4]Report of the Conference on the Review of Education System, EN, No. 25, 1964, pp. 38-39.

religious worship facilities were provided for each school child. Such provisions were to be in accordance with the religious tenets of the parents or guardians of the child. The participation of a child in any religious worship activities was voluntary based upon the wishes of the parents of the pupil.[1] During the school hours scheduled for worship, a parent may require the proprietor to allow his child to worship outside the school. The proprietor must ensure satisfactory supervision of the religious activities of the child from his school to and from the place of worship outside the school during the scheduled time. Neither pupil nor parents were to be under any disability on religious ground. Therefore, no school religious worship was mandatory for any school pupils;[2] and yet the proprietor was free to provide religious worship of his denominational choice.[3]

These provisions were upheld in the national constitutions of 1960, 1963 and 1979.[4]

---

[1]The Federation of Nigeria, The Laws of the Federation of Nigeria, revised (Lagos: Federal Ministry of Information, 1958), "Education (Lagos), Federal Territory of Lagos, Act 26 of 1957," Chapter 56, Part VI: 54, II:1143 [of the Laws], Sited here after as Education (Lagos) Act No. 26 of 1957 cf. The Education Law (Northern Region), 1962, Article 30, (2) NAK, CIN/19, p. 45; The Education Law of Northern Nigeria, 1964, Article 29 (2).

[2]Education (Lagos) Act, No. 26 of 1957, VI: 56, 58, (2), 59, 60; cf. The Education Law (Northern Region) 1962, 30: (3), (4), (5); The Education Law of Northern Nigeria, 1964, 30: (1)-(4).

[3]Education (Lagos) Act, No. 26 of 1957, VI: 56, 58, (1). In the 1950's and 1960's, before missions ceased to organize schools, worship was for one denomination; under government auspices, Islamic, Roman Catholic and Protestant, (only 3), services were available.

[4]Fully quoted, Above, pp. 129-130.

The Curriculum of Religious Instruction as a Major School Subject Compared to What it Was in Christian Institutions

The aim of this section is to determine if the enunciation of non-evangelistic objectives of Christian religious instruction influenced changes in the curriculum development of the subject in school. In order to achieve this objective, the following points will be considered: religious knowledge and moral instruction in mission schools; religious knowledge and moral instruction in non-mission schools; religious knowledge in mission and public schools; and the determination to reintroduce moral instructions in schools

Religious Knowledge and Moral Instruction in Mission Schools 1925-1940

Even though government promoted the practice of teaching religious instruction in schools, government entrusted the development of the curriculum to the religious agencies. In 1925, the Northern Acting Director of Education reported that "Koranic instruction is entirely under the control of the emir."[1] In 1926, the Northern Education Ordinance stated that the colonial government had power to regulate "The religious and moral instruction to be given at government and assisted schools."[2] In 1931, the revised ordinance took a different position. It directed that

> Syllabuses to be followed by schools of each grade shall be drawn up by the director with the advice of the Board; provided that such syllabuses shall not refer to the religious instruction to be given.[3]

---

[1] Nigeria Annual Report, 1925, pp. 517f. [of the Report], "Report by the Acting Director of Education, Northern Provinces, Abridged in Chief Secretary's Office."

[2] Education Ordinance (Northern Provinces) 1926, Section 18.

[3] The Education (Northern Provinces) Ordinance 1931, Article 18, p. 7, NAK, PCJ 205.

The literature of the period constantly indicated that government directed that religious instruction be included in the school curriculum; but government left the development of the curriculum of religious instruction to the missions. The missions' curriculum was actually Bible knowledge. Its content consisted of Bible subjects: Introduction to the Bible including Bible geography and history; Old Testament stories; New Testament stories; and some catechism or doctrine. This was what government referred to religious instruction in the period under study.[1]

Since the Lugarian era, government insisted on having secular moral instruction in the curriculum taught by missions. The belief of the colonial administration was that religion was foundational to moral development.[2]

But there is an indication that the missions were not convinced that secular moral instruction was their immediate concern: their major concern was church planting. In 1938, at the fifth meeting of the Northern Board of Education, the colonial government stated that it did not expect the missions to dwell only on church related content in the teaching of school religious instruction; the government was aware of the mission ability to influence grass root citizens. Therefore, government advised missions

> to win the confidence of adults and through those adults, in their homes, to influence others, including children who would later be brought to a school for more formal teaching. Out of the intimate family groups thus formed there grow a type of Bible or Catechism Class which, at first quite primitive, might later expand and develop into a regular class with a large attendance.[3]

---

[1]Graham, pp. 24, 51 (listed Scripture Old and New Testaments, Religious Knowledge (Catechism, Life of Christ, textual studies, example, St. John, Mark, and I John); Taiwo, pp. 7, 11-14: Bible, singing,doctrines from religious tracts, Bible history, Scripture, church catechism.

[2]Ibid., pp. 57-59.

[3]NAK, PCJ 205, pp. 94f.

The "more formal teaching" in "a regular class" means teaching with a broader scope than only the Bible or catechism. This, according to C. O. Taiwo, was the desire of government for secular moral instruction which was recognized as a major school subject in 1925. In 1980, Taiwo depicted the fate of secular moral instruction when he wrote,

> Secular moral education was not acceptable to the missions, the principal educational agencies in Southern Nigeria, nor to Vischer, the Director of Education in Northern Nigeria, with his policy of secular education in government schools supplemented by religious education in the Koranic schools. Religious missions were united in their protestation that religion and morality were an indivisible whole. They preferred to teach morality through religious instruction. In spite of the objection by the missions and the opposition of the Colonial Office, both religious instruction and moral instruction as separate subjects subsisted in the schools until the early 1930's when moral instruction ceased to be a subject of the curriculum.[1]

Religious Knowledge and Moral Instruction in Government and Native Administration Schools 1925-1956

The literature of the 1920's throughout the 1950's indicates that neither religious instruction nor moral instruction were taught, in a formal manner, in non-mission schools. In the North, according to C. O. Taiwo, Hanns Vischer's policy was not to employ a Muslim Qur'anic teacher to teach Islamic religious knowledge in the non-mission schools. Vischer preferred to allow the pupils to receive Islamic religious instruction from the Mallams in the mosques or the Qur'anic schools.[2] While reviewing the Education Ordinance of 1931, at the eleventh meeting of the Southern Board of Education on February 2-5, 1942, the board indicated clearly that religious knowledge and religious instruction had not been introduced in non-mission schools in the

---

[1]Taiwo, pp. 58-59.

[2]Graham, p. 82.

South. The board recommended that a committee be set up to examine changes in the school curriculum; and "that religious knowledge should be introduced as an alternative to history";[1] but religious knowledge was already taught in all mission schools.

In the same meeting "religious instruction in government and native administration in schools" was discussed and

> The board decided to recommend to government that a period for religious instruction should be included in the normal time table of all government and native administration schools.[2]

It is possible that one reason why missions dropped teaching secular moral education in the 1930's was the fact that government itself, while recognizing the necessity for the course, did not formally organize it in its own schools. This was borne out also by the Northern House of Assembly in 1948. In a debate on the Education Bill of 1948, the Northern House of Assembly lamented that secular religious instruction, Islamic religious instruction and Arabic studies were not yet taught in non-mission schools. Mallam Tafawa Balewa (later Sir Alhaji Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, the first prime minister) and Mallam Yahaya Ilorin, a prominent Parliamentarian, advocated the inclusion of the subjects in non-mission school curriculum "as Northerners would not have been what they were without the Muslim religion."[3]

Despite the new awareness of the southern and northern regions from 1942 to 1948, for the inclusion of religious instruction in the curriculum, the Education Ordinance of 1948 was not specific on such a provision. It merely approved the teaching of the subject.

---

[1] NAK, PCJ 205, p. 159.

[2] Ibid.

[3] NAK, 13540, Vol. II, "Education Bill criticized in Northern House of Assembly," Daily Times, July 19, 1948, pp. 1, 9.

It was the Education Ordinance of 1952 that was more specific, especially to the satisfaction of the missions. The ordinance detailed school subjects. It included "religious knowledge," the mission subject, in the syllabus for junior primary schools (infant section), junior primary school, senior primary schools, and secondary schools. Most school subjects were to be taught at each level of learning. The curriculum of the senior primary school listed the subjects in the following order: oral and written composition, reading and grammar in an approved African language; oral and written composition; recitation; grammar; dictation and reading in English; handwriting; arithmetic; religious knowledge; rural science; domestic subjects and needlework; history and citizenship; geography; drawing and color work; handicrafts suitable to the age and sex of the pupils and the locality; physical train-in and organized games; and music.[1]

In the Education Ordinance of 1952, the conspicuous omission in the curriculum was "secular moral instruction."

The inclusion of music was supportive of religious knowledge in mission schools since it was Christian music and Christian songs.[2]

In practice, it appears that Islamic religious knowledge and Christian religious knowledge were not taught in non-mission schools even after the 1952 ordinance provision. A series of official correspondence from the National Archives Kaduna supports this observation.[3] It was reflected that Koranic instruction was not taught in government and native administration schools despite the long-standing provision for it. When the senior district officer of Zaria requested that pupils be sent to a Koranic and Arabic course

---

[1]Federation of Nigeria, Education Ordinance No. 17 of 1952 (Lagos: Government Printer, 1952, NAK 13540, Vol. II, sited here after as Education Ordinance No. 17 of 1952), pp. 50-51, Appendices B, C, D, E, H.

[2]As detailed in N.E.A.C. Sponsored Syllabuses, Below, p. 228.

[3]Senior District Officer's File, NAK, Zaria Prof., PCJ, C54.

in a Zaria school, Alhaji Ja'afaru, the emir and his council replied, "There are three candidates for the course."[1] The Muslim parents were still apprehensive of Western education and content with religious instruction as traditionally taught in the thousands of Qur'anic schools.

But the Northern House of Assembly expressed displeasure at the situation of religious instruction in non-mission schools. In 1951, the secretary of the Northern Provinces wrote to the residents of the Northern Provinces,

> Moral education in government and native administration schools and training institutions...the low standard of such education, and the lack of such instruction, were the theme of adverse comment at the last meeting of the House of Assembly.[2]

The Assembly's displeasure led to the establishment of the Staff Inspectorate Section of Religious Instruction in the Inspectorate Division of the Northern Region Ministry of Education.[3]

Religious Knowledge Curriculum in Mission and Public Schools 1952-1971

An examination of the archives points out four major characteristics of the curriculum of religious knowledge between 1925 and 1979: unexaminable, denominational, optional, and a common school subject.

Even though government recognized religious instruction and moral instruction as major school subjects in 1925, and the subjects were taught as such until the 1930's, they were not examinable school subjects.[4] Even in the North where government directed that the state would regulate

---

[1] Ibid.,"Ja'Afaru, the emir of Zaria to the S.D.O. Zaria, No. 5/1952/14 of October 26, 1953."

[2] Religious and Moral Instruction in Government and Native Administration Schools, NAK, PCJ 4900.

[3] Above, pp. 134f.

[4] Non-examinable subjects were not required for government examinations towards earning a certificate.

religious instruction as early as 1926, there is no evidence that this proposal was practiced. In fact, government exempted the director of education from developing the curriculum of religious instruction in 1931.

In the Southern Board Meeting in 1942, religious knowledge was noted as crucial to education but was not included in the examinable school subjects.[1]

Even though the Education Ordinance of 1952 accorded religious knowledge a prominent position in the curriculum, the course continued to be non-examinable. A non-examinable subject was one which a government education inspector did not have to inspect the curriculum and teaching method of the subject. Nor was the inspector really concerned with the teaching qualifications of the teacher for that subject.

The non-examinable position of religious knowledge might have some influence on students. Of course, before schools were transferred to local education authorities, students had no option but to study religious knowledge under the missions. During the transfer years, religious knowledge was an optional subject. This meant that government did not require religious knowledge as an examination subject for earning a government certificate. This situation was particularly applicable to the grade II teachers' certificate candidates. However, examination records show that thousands of students studied religious knowledge.[2]

In the transfer procedure in 1953, the Eastern Region, determined to retain "the religious and moral aspects of education,"[3] directed that,

---

[1]Board of Education, Northern Provinces, NAK, PCJ 205, p. 159.

[2]Below, p. 256.

[3]Policy for Education, ER, No. 6 of 1953, p. 6.

"In secondary schools, religious knowledge will not be a subject of entrance examination."[1] In 1964, the Eastern Region repeated that religious knowledge was optional.[2] Alhaji Makaman Bida, the minister of the northern Ministry of Education reiterated that the law stipulated that religious knowledge was optional in his region. He said this in respect to secondary candidates who took examinations under the Cambridge University Local Examination Syndicate from 1954 to 1957.[3] In Western Nigeria, religious knowledge was taught and religious studies were offered in the senior secondary schools for the Higher School Certificate (Junior College Diploma), but all were optional: that was why only special periods were allocated for the subject in the West and elsewhere in the country.[4] Participants who discussed religious knowledge in 1969 at the National Curriculum Conference suggested that the subject should be retained in school as an optional subject.[5] There is no available evidence that this practice was reversed before 1979.[6]

Besides the non-examinable and optional characters of Nigerian religious instruction, it was denominational from 1842 to 1972. A non-sectarian syllabus first occurred in 1973 and was hardly acceptable to many professionals and churches.

---

[1] Ibid.

[2] Report of the Conference on the Review of the Education System in Eastern Nigeria, No. 25, 1964, pp. 18-19, 25.

[3] Northern Region of Nigeria, Ministry of Education, School Syllabus and Curriculum, 1954-1957, NAK 73194, p. 10.

[4] Western Nigeria, the Banjo Commission, 1961, p. 110; Report of the Committee on the Review of the Primary Education System in the Western State of Nigeria, 1968, p. 13.

[5] A Philosophy...1969, pp. 121, 165.

[6] 1974-1980, thousands of certificates from all over the country were examined for interview for admissions into the Advanced Teachers' College, Zaria, by Barnaba B. Lekwat, and in each case, religious knowledge was optional.

The denominationalism of the curriculum meant that each mission, and later church denomination, developed its own curriculum to enhance the doctrinal position it stood for. It does not mean that the sectarian curriculum did not teach religious education for social usefulness. In fact, without government intervention, the churches, especially N.E.A.C. affiliates, introduced the study of Islam and some aspects of Nigerian social life.[1]

The literature of the period of this study testifies to the denominationalism of the curriculum.

In 1938, the northern government hoped that

> Out of the intimate family groups thus formed there grow a type of Bible or catechism class which, at first quite primitive, might later expand and develop into a regular class with a large attendance.[2]

"Bible and catechism" reflected the Protestant emphasis on the Bible in the curriculum; catechism indicated the Roman Catholic Church concern. When the Nigerian Education Ordinance of 1952 listed religious knowledge only, government was aware that the subject meant three sectarian courses in the country. The most profound evidence of three courses under the same name, acceptable to government, was the government examination results. The 1952 official results of Teachers' College Certificate Examination shows that religious knowledge was both optional and denominational. The results indicated after each candidate who voluntarily took the examination in the subject his denominational background, for example,

> Religious Knowledge (Catholic)
> Religious Knowledge (Protestant)
> Religious Knowledge (Islamic).[3]

---

[1] See Below, pp. 227f.

[2] Board of Education, Northern Provinces, NAK, PCJ 205, pp. 94f.

[3] Federation of Nigeria, Official Gazette, September 3, 1953, No. 52, Vol. 40, pp. 881-903.

The General Certificate of Examination (G.C.E.) which was started in 1951-1952 and legitimitized by government[1] for awarding certificates equivalent to the Secondary West African School Certificate (W.A.S.C.) and later the grade II teachers' certificate was offering to candidates denominational religious knowledge. In the 1950's and 1960's, religious knowledge (Catholic) and religious knowledge (Protestant) were offered to thousands[2] of candidates for examination. The Douay Bible Version was the one acceptable to Roman Catholic Church teachers for their students and the King James Version to Protestants. Religious knowledge (Islam) was later introduced. More recently, African traditional religion has been included to further add to the complexity of the subject.[3]

The Determination to Reintroduce[4] Moral Instruction in Schools 1972-1979

After schools were transferred to local education authorities in the 1950's and 1960's, denominational Bible knowledge[5] persisted: the missions'

---

1 Federation of Nigeria, The Laws of the Federation of Nigeria and Lagos, enforced on June 1, 1958, revised ed. (Lagos: Federal Government Printer, 1958), "West African Examination Council" (Nigerian Status) (Federation) Vol. 6, Chapter 217, pp. 3834-3836 [of the laws].

2 Claudius Olayinka Akinwusi, "An Approach to Religious Studies in Nigerian Secondary Schools," Ed.D. Thesis, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1973, p. 3 says 17,534 wrote religious knowledge examination in 1969; and 21,249 candidates in 1970.

3 David A. Awolola, "Eight Representative Secondary Schools in the Western State of Nigeria Respond to Religious Education Curriculum Survey," Ed.D. Thesis, College of Education, University of Northern Colorado, Greeley, 1976, pp. 51f.

4 At this point, it was the policy; professional aspect discussed, below, pp. 241-245.

5 Another name of religious instruction freely used in Nigeria: West African School Certificate and General Certificate of Education Awarded by the West African Examinations Council and the University of Cambridge Local Examinations Syndicate, 1965, awarded to Barnaba B. Lekwat and thousands of candidates with "Bible Knowledge."

former proprietors continued to control Bible knowledge in every aspect. The mission control occurred for a brief period after school take over in the 1970's. However, proposals for a common Bible knowledge curriculum emerged shortly after the school take over. This was influenced by Vatican II and the results of the National Curriculum Conference of 1969 and the 1977 government white paper on education: these called for a broader educational outlook in all aspects of education. There was a tendency to reintroduce moral instruction.[1]

For example, although several participants at the 1969 conference discussed religious knowledge, the conference recommendations advocated for the teaching of the virtue doctrines of secular moral instruction as proposed in the 1920's and 1930's. The recommendations advocated the teaching of values and attitudes, better human relations, national unity, respect for the worth and dignity of the individual, and moral values. These concepts pointed to a desire to teach moral instruction.[2]

Also, the National Policy on Education of 1977 listed "curricular activities." These included science, social norms, moral and religious instruction.[3]

Innovations in Method of Teaching Christian Religious Instruction as a Major School Subject

The purpose of this section is to identify new teaching methods of Christian religious instruction according to government proposals. The archives used in the previous sections of this chapter are utilized here also.

---

[1]As practiced in the 1920's and 1930's, Above, p. 152.

[2]A Philosophy...1969, pp. 212-224.

[3]National Policy on Education, 1977, p. 12.

The present section covers the following methods identifiable from the literature of the period of study: the traditional (problem) methods; the innovative methods - cultural orientation; critical/rational approach; media/visual aids technique; the teacher; and pupil participation.

The use of the expression method of teaching here refers to the technique or strategy of disseminating knowledge to the learner; it implies the art of communication of truth; as an art or a skill of transmitting information for living, the method or technique includes the environment of learning. In this connection, the teacher and his media constitute part of the technique of facilitating learning of truth.[1]

Methodology: Problems

Two broad traditional learning techniques appear to have been disapproved by government inspectors of education: memorization and indoctrination; and it would appear that these problems permeated the entire Nigerian educational experience. On memorization, B. Babs Fafunwa observed,

> The early mission schools were similar in content and method to the Qur'anic schools...Rote-learning predominated, and the teacher taught practically everything from one textbook.[2]

Fafunwa quoted a Church Missionary Society teacher, Anna Hinderer's memorization method, according to her diary of 1867, to illustrate his point.[3] According to a government report "learning by heart"[4] was predominant

---

[1] Barnaba B. Lekwat, "Strategies, Methods and Techniques of Teaching Christian Religious Knowledge," in "Principles of Teaching Christian Religious Knowledge in Nigerian Schools." Unpublished manuscript, 1976, p. 34, based on James Barth, Media Method, (Zaria: Institute of Education, Ahmadu Bello University, 1974); Findley B. Edge, Helping the Teacher, (Nashville, TN: Broadman Press, 1959); Findley B. Edge, Teaching for Results, s.p.&p., 1956.

[2] Fafunwa, pp. 60, 83.

[3] Ibid., p. 87.

[4] Colony and Profectorate of Nigeria, The Nigerian Handbook, 1927, 8th ed. (Lagos: Government Printer, 1927), NAI, ARS/MS 3, (sited hereafter as The Nigerian Handbook, 1927), p. 187.

in schools in the 1920's. A result of rote-memorization was the undue attention paid to book knowledge: there was a concentration on the facts of books, which was why the education of those years was identified as bookish. A bookish education, learned through memorization, was incidently promoted by government regulation. The 1916 and 1926 education ordinances (revised 1931) had a provision for grades as follows: tone, discipline, organization and moral instruction (30%); result of periodic examination and general progress (35%); and the conditions of the school (15%).[1] The problems of bookish education was that it was not addressing itself to the issues of life. At the National Curriculum Conference in 1969, C. O. Taiwo wrote that in 1902 Henry Carr, the first Nigerian to become an inspector of education, said of the problem,

> There is a very proper feeling abroad against mere book-learning as a complete course of school education. This is said to be an inadequate preparation for the work of life.[2]

With specific reference to the teaching of religious knowledge, the Western regional government remarked in 1952:

> In a few institutions, religious knowledge is taught in a manner that trains the mind as well as improves the soul, but by and large, the teaching of religious knowledge in Nigerian secondary schools is of such a description as only postpones the evil day.[3]

It was because of memorization that the western government thought education in the 1940's and 1950's was failing to meet the challenges of modernization.[4]

---

[1] Boards of Education, Northern Provinces, NAK, PCJ 205, p. 21, Item No. 3.

[2] C. O. Taiwo, "The Purpose of Secondary Education," A Philosophy, 1969, p. 175.

[3] Education Policy, WR, 1952, p. 9.

[4] Ibid.

Learning by memorization persisted into the 1960's. This method of learning was pointed out at the National Curriculum Conference in 1969. Mrs. O. O. Obiogun, under secretary, Department of Internal Affairs and Information, Benin, listed religious instruction among the subjects she recommended for teaching. However, she observed that

> At present, the three R's and religious instruction form part of the school curricula, and the knowledge is imparted with little reflection, with the results that the pupils acquire knowledge with little understanding. They memorize, but do not digest, they repeat, but do not reflect.[1]

In 1977, government pointed out that the success of the universal primary education depended upon several practical measures, one of which was the reduction of memorization in schools. Therefore, for every school subject

> Government will ensure that the teaching methods employed in the primary school de-emphasize the memorization and regurgitation of facts.[2]

In the same year, government detailed the techniques of communicating religious and moral instruction in school. Section 26 of the National Policy on Education, (1977) stated that

> Moral and religious instruction will be taught in schools through
> a) The study of biographies of great people, Nigerian as well as non-Nigerian.
> b) Studies and practices of religion. The mere memorizing of creeds and facts from the holy books is not enough.[3]

The religious and moral education curriculum for teacher education was to be approached in a similar atmosphere of reducing memorization.[4]

---

[1] O. O. Obiogum, "Education for Living," A Philosophy...1969, p. 154 cf. 165, 161.

[2] National Policy on Education, 1977, p. 8.

[3] Ibid., p. 12.

[4] Ibid., p. 26.

The other traditional teaching technique which was discouraged by government was indoctrination, the teaching of the fundamentals, beliefs or doctrines of a particular group.[1]

In the context of the 1925-1979 era, experience showed that indoctrination was a result of conversion goals.[2] Indoctrination was effectively achieved by memorization, reading teaching content (Bible by teachers of religious knowledge[3] and secular textbooks by other teachers), and lecturing to students. In such instances, students were not given a chance to participate; nor was objectivity[4] attained.

A classical illustration of a deliberate indoctrination was documented in the correspondence between the Nezit missions and the Zaria provincial native administration authorities. The denominational differences of the Sudan Interior Mission, Baptist Mission, and the Roman Catholic Mission were shown by P.J.O. Taylor, the provincial education officer, Zaria. He wrote the senior district officer on a Zaman Dabo school in Zangon Kataf

---

[1]The New Britannica-Webster Dictionary and Reference Guide, 1981, s.v., "indoctrinate" and "indoctrination"; cf. Above, p. 61.

[2]See problem of denominationalism, Below, pp. 212f.

[3]Rev. Ayuba Byat, E.C.W.A. Church, Zaria, said that the problem students faced while he studied Christian religious knowledge at Basawa Teachers College, 1976 and 1977, was the constant Bible reading by the teacher. While on inspection tour of students of Advanced Teachers' College, Zaria, Barnaba B. Lekwat noted a teacher of Christian religious knowledge reading the Bible unceasingly, with his head glued to the Bible on the table at Government Teachers' College, Keffi in 1978.

[4]Objectivity -- the use of the word was not found in the Nigerian sources examined. Therefore, it is not fully developed in the dissertation. However, since some documents pointed to the need for objective teaching, the word is used in this study to mean impartial and unbias communication of truth in the classroom: that is a deliberate attempt not to indoctrinate; cf. "no prejudging of truth." Paul H. Hirst, "Public and Private Values and Religious Education Content", "Questions of Objectivity," Theodore R. Sizer, ed., Religion and Public Education (Boston: Houton Miffin Company, 1967), p. 338.

District. The only missionary named in this incident was J. Grant, the Roman Catholic Mission education supervisor of Kakuri, Kaduna, 1953. While at Zonkwa, P.J.O. Taylor wrote of the method of the Roman Catholic Mission in Nezit:

> In a discussion with Fr. Moorhead (Mabushi), he explained that it was a matter of policy laid down at Kaduna by the Bishop that whenever possible R. C. boys should attend a R. C. school so that they can be soaked with religion (while they have no chance to escape!) While they are yet young![1]

Incidentially, the Protestants seemed to have taken note of this Kaduna decision. The Reverend Dr. Byang H. Kato, a son of Nezit, described the Kaduna decision of 1968. He wrote that the Roman Catholic Mission had a popular saying.

> Give me a child, and when he is seven years old you come and take him back. He is sure that by the time he is seven he has been indoctrinated into the R. C. doctrine and practice that it will be extremely difficult to get him away from it.[2]

Of course, the Protestant missions had their own intent strategies in which children could be "soaked with religion." A. B. Fafunwa brought this out in the case of the Church Missionary Society.[3]

Some regional governments cautioned the missions to moderate the practice of indoctrination. In 1953, the Igbo administration in Enugu warned that it might utilize "legislation to ensure that religious atmosphere of all assisted schools is free and comfortable to all."[4] While calling on

---

[1]Missions, NAK, PCJ, C50, From P.J.O. Taylor, Provincial Education Officer, Zaria Province to S.D.O. Zaria Province, Zonkwa, 11/8/53.

[2]Kato, "Evangelism and the Future in West Africa," West African Congress on Evangelism, p. 101.

[3]Fafunwa, p. 87.

[4]Policy for Education, ER, No. 6, 1-53, p. 6.

missions to cooperate, the Yoruba administration in Ibadan encouraged the voluntary agencies to seize the "opportunity of playing an even more important part in giving future citizens of Western Nigeria a religious outlook which, though basic, is broad and tolerant."[1]

Since indoctrination is void of objectivity,[2] it was seen in 1969 at the National Curriculum Conference as a deterrent to emerging democratic society. A.A.A. Fagbalu, chief inspector of education, Ibadan, spoke of the need for objectivity in the new society, a theme summarized in the recommendations of the conference.[3] Fagbalu wrote:

> Indoctrination is one thing that educationists under normal circumstances collectively abhor. The abhorrence stems from belief in or flirtations with democracy and democratic principles. ...In building a nation, Nigeria needs unorthodox, revolutionary and dynamic people in her educational thought and practice.[4]

C. O. Taiwo contributed to the debate on the need for reducing indoctrination in school when he wrote, "Religion is a popular aspect of the Nigerian life which the school curriculum cannot ignore...the curriculum, however, can liberalize religion and train the students to think for themselves."[5]

Since government advised missions to de-emphasize "the memorization and regurgitation of facts"[6] and encouraged "the spirit of enquiry and

---

[1]Western Region, Banjo Commission, 1961, pp. 10-11.

[2]Because of prejudging of the truth by indoctrination, cf. Paul H. Hirst, Above, p. 164.

[3]A Philosophy...1969, Recommendations 2, (d), 8, 18, 49.

[4]Ibid., p. 27.

[5]C. O. Taiwo, "The Purpose of Secondary Education," Ibid., p. 34.

[6]National Policy on Education, 1977, p. 8, sited Above, p. 163.

creativity"[1] in 1977, it would be acceptable to conclude that by the end of the period of this study government remained adamant that indoctrination should be replaced with objectivity in teaching religious instruction.

Methodology: Innovations

Cultural Orientation

Between 1925 and 1947, the most obvious challenge to the missions was that their education be relevant to life on earth. Thus the theme cultural orientation (adaptation) was prevalent in the education literature of this early time.[2] Religious instruction, having been accepted as having social usefulness, was no exception to the need for cultural orientation in its teaching. Cultural orientation was necessary to reduce the influence of Western education which was said to cause denationalization.[3]

Contrary to what some researchers have written on evangelism,[4] mission education was not limited to evangelism. Government acknowledged the closeness of the missionaries to the grass root citizens -- through agriculture, education, medical services and welfare services -- and so advised the missions to be culturally relevant in religious instruction.[5] While commenting on the Advisory Memorandum of 1935, C. R. Murray, director of education, Lagos, encouraged the missions to "concentrate on the reality of every day life."[6] In 1936, the Bible and catechism classes were noted

---

[1] Ibid., p. 6.

[2] So much explained, Above, pp. 66-67.

[3] Nigeria Annual Report, 1925, p. 516, "Report by the Acting Director of Education, Northern Provinces, Abridged in Chief Secretary's Office."

[4] Examples, Above, pp. 15, 43, 46f., 61f.

[5] Advisory Memorandum, No. 105, 1935, Section 9, p. 9.

[6] NAI, No. 11279, Vol. III, p. 351.

by E. L. Mort, the acting director of the Northern Provinces as useful if only the missionaries would adopt an intimate social and cultural relationship with the learners.[1]

The modernization experiences of the 1950's called for new challenges in religious instruction. A change in culture was accepted. The need for cultural orientation in teaching religious instruction to challenge learners in the emerging age was expressed in the policies of the times.[2] In the 1960's the call was on religious instruction to be oriented towards helping the learners to comprehend the new "social phenomena" of the revolutions of those years.[3]

What all the advice on cultural orientation meant was that the interpretation of the Bible, the major text book in Christian religious instruction, should be relevant to daily life. This was what Mrs. O. O. Obiogun meant to say in 1969 when she challenged that religious instruction should offer knowledge for understanding. She warned that learners of the subject should not "adopt without adaptation."[4] The recommendations of the 1969 curriculum conference explained that education by cultural orientation meant education for living in Nigerian society. Such an education must help learners identify with the values of society -- betweeen the school, the home and the community. The atmosphere of teaching religious instruction was to be conducive for achieving the value-oriented education.[5]

---

[1] Board of Education, Northern Provinces, NAK, PCJ 205, pp. 94f., Item No. 24.

[2] Educational Policy, WR, 1952, p. 9 (that learning must fit the scientific age).

[3] Report of the Committee on the Review of the Primary Education System in the Western State of Nigeria, 1968, pp. 3, 6.

[4] A Philosophy, p. 154.

[5] Ibid., pp. 214, 215, 221, Recommendations 11, 19, and 47.

The government white paper entitled, National Policy on Education summarized the ultimate goal of communicating religious instruction to learners: to relate education "to over-all community needs."[1] The Anambara state government official reflection on Christian education in Igboland, written by Reverand Fr. Dr. Stan Anih, reiterated that the process of communicating the message of religious instruction should not "dehumanize the individual person."[2] A desirable approach could be attained by avoiding an overemphasis on theological values. Such careful presentation of Christian teaching was required; and was best done by "formulated and constructed...indigenous materials."[3]

Critical/Rational Approach

Furthermore, the minds of the learners must be free to reason when truth was taught. The 1925 memorandum was precise on the necessity for critical learning.[4] It appears that the more enlightenment people received, the more the challenge for rational thinking. Dogmatic presentation of truth to pupils was not acceptable to government. Passive acceptance of knowledge by learners was discouraged. In 1961, the Banjo Commission of the Western Region indicated that there was no plan to reduce the religious instruction taught in schools; but the commission advised the voluntary agencies to end "sectarian cleavages" and

---

[1] National Policy on Education, 1977, p. 5.

[2] Anambara State Government, Enugu Zone State Education Commission, Hundred Years of Christian Education in Igboland, A Reflection, by Reverand Fr. Dr. Stan Anih, Commissioner (Enugu: Government Printer, n.d.) p. 8.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Explained, Above, p. 67.

> By proper cooperation among the voluntary agencies, and by nationalization among them of their work in the various communities, things could be put on a proper footing.[1]

In the same region in 1968, another educational committee recommended that the school should help the learner to develop "rational attitudes to nature, his fellow man and to social phenomena."[2]

Between 1969 and 1977, there was a national call for learners to be critical in decision making. In 1969, at the National Curriculum Conference in Lagos, C. O. Taiwo contended that the curriculum "can liberalize religion and train the students to think for themselves."[3] A.M.A. Fagbalu suggested that the country needed "revolutionary and dynamic people in her educational thought and practice."[4] W. O. Briggs, the federal commissioner for education observed, "'Time makes ancient good uncouth.' Cherished beliefs and time-honored customs are becoming out-moded."[5] C. O. Taiwo argued that the learners of modern Nigeria were "people who think for themselves and are prepared to inquire and ask questions."[6]

The federal government considered the arguments of its citizens and in 1977 proposed that in all schools the methods of learning should include self-learning, the spirit of inquiry and creativity. Scientific and reflective thinking were added.[7]

---

[1] Western Region, Banjo Commission, 1961, pp. 10-11.

[2] Report of the Committee on the Review of the Primary Education System in the Western State of Nigeria, 1968, pp. 3, 6.

[3] A Philosophy, 1969, p. 34.

[4] Ibid., p. 27.

[5] Ibid., p. xix.

[6] Ibid., p. 34.

[7] National Policy on Education, 1977, p. 5.

The individual person within a nation was paramount. In his communication of knowledge, the teacher of religious instruction was to uphold this teaching.

Visual Aids and Media Method

Traditional visual aids have been used in Nigeria, though always insufficiently and probably ineffectively by most educators. In 1968, the Western state government suggested that practical teaching methods of modern science should be used in schools: the radio, television, tape recorders, grammophones and other media techniques, like the overhead projector, ought to be used.[1]

The federal government has repeatedly, since 1977, encouraged teachers to use the media method. This, it is said, is part of scientific, creative, and self-learning.[2] Audio-visual aid centres in Kaduna and other towns were set up to help teachers familiarize themselves with modern teaching techniques. In-service courses and refresher courses were encouraged for all school teachers. The government encouraged the writing of school textbooks suitable to the culture and modernization.[3]

On a specific note, in the white paper of 1977, government promised to improve the training of teachers for the teaching of moral and religious education. The statement read:

> For improving the teaching of moral and religious education, government will ensure through the various state ministries of education, the production of a suitable curriculum and the training of teachers for the subject.[4]

---

[1] Report of the Review of the Primary Education System in the Western State of Nigeria, 1968, pp. 3-12.

[2] National Policy on Education, 1977, p. 517.

[3] Ibid., pp. 9, 29, 30.

[4] Ibid., p. 8 cf. Teachers' Shortage, cf., Below, pp. 196f.

The Teacher: The Embodiment of the Method

One reason for government continued interest in teacher training is the old belief that the teacher is the embodiment of the method. Therefore, ultimately in Nigeria, religious instruction will be effectively taught on the basis that the teacher embodies the communication process. The 1925 memorandum emphasized the crucial role of the teacher.[1]

The teacher as a constituent of the technique, or its embodiment, was not a government innovation. The missionaries were known for their persistence and dedication to their entire mission, part of which was teaching Christian religious instruction.[2] In 1980, C. O. Taiwo reported, "In the missions...were men and women of quality and devotion whose contribution was the foundation of the general enlightenment which ushered in Independence peacefully."[3] Since government saw the model dedication of the missionary teacher, most policy documents made reference to the need for continued dedication in teaching Christian religious instruction.[4] In 1947, the western government remarked,

> A very great responsibility therefore falls on the teacher to supply motives to replace those that have been lost owing to economic upheaval and religious and social changes in the country.[5]

Both the Advisory Memorandum of 1935 and the Western Policy Statement of 1947 saw the teacher as the embodiment of the medium of the process of teaching.

---

[1] Personal example of the teacher, Above, p. 68.

[2] Graham, p. 122.

[3] Taiwo, p. 74.

[4] Advisory Memorandum 1935, p. 35, suggested that teachers live on the level of learners and be of practical examples and advisers.

[5] Education Policy, WPS, No. 20/1947, p. 7, C 1.

In 1976, one of the most relevant presentations of the role of the teacher was by Alhaji Yahaya Hamza, chief inspector of education, Kaduna state and later the permanent secretary in the state Ministry of Education. There was a meeting to review the position of teachers of Christian religious knowledge in Kaduna in 1976. Participants at the meeting included Mrs. Janma, chief education officer, primary; Reverend Fr. S. Healy, the Roman Catholic Mission education secretary; Reverend I. Eikenberry, N.E.A.C. education secretary; Reverend C. Kaburuk, then a teacher of Christian religious knowledge at the Government College, Kaduna; and Reverend R. J. Page, staff inspector, Christian religious knowledge. According to the minutes of the meeting, Alhaji Yahaya Hamza "pointed out the great need for committed religious teachers." Both Alhaji Yahaya Hamza and other participants agreed that teaching Christian religious knowledge

> needed trustworthy teachers, who practice their religion and who set examples to their pupils, to teach religion.[1]

The meeting added that teachers who were not examples to learners "may prove irresponsible and would not be respected either by their pupils or the community."[2] If a grade II teacher taught Christian religious knowledge, the meeting upheld, he should do so, "providing that there were no moral problems."[3] It was suggested that auxiliary teachers who were being trained to be special teachers of the subject needed clearance by the local churches in order to be appointed to teach.[4] The views expressed in

---

[1]Kaduna State Government, Ministry of Education, Kaduna, Minutes of a Meeting Held in the Ministry of Education, November 3, 1976, CNC/p. 40/552, (sited hereafter as Kaduna State, ME, Minutes of Meeting, Nov. 3, 1976), pp. 1-2.

[2]Ibid., p. 2.

[3]Ibid., p. 3.

[4]Ibid.

this meeting were generally the views of Alhaji Yahaya Hamza, a devoted Muslim leader.[1]

Pupil Participation

While the teacher is the embodiment of the method of communicating the message of religious instruction, the learner is the goal of the method. The pupil was seen as the climax of learning. Beginning in the 1960's, it seems from the archives, there was more attention paid to the pupils. Psychological concepts began to emerge in government and professional papers to the effect that the learner ought to be involved in the teacher-learning process. Therefore, there was an emphasis on media technique. Media was advocated to get the pupil to participate in the classwork.[2]

The constant use of the words individual, self and democratic in 1969 at the National Curriculum Conference indicated the awareness of educators of the importance of the learner as a person and not merely a receiving object. Both the 1969 conference and the Government White Paper of 1977 advocated pupil participation, creativity, self-learning, self-inquiry, scientific and reflective thinking.[3] In order that these techniques might be practiced, government emphasized that after the reduction of the regurgitation of facts, government will

> encourage practical, exploratory and experimental methods, and in particular that the development of manual skill is stressed and encouraged, by re-orienting the present system of teacher education towards these objectives.[4]

---

[1]Barnaba B. Lekwat had a discussion in February, 1979, with Alhaji Y. Hamza who holds these views and a high esteem for teachers of religious instruction.

[2]Report of the Committee on the Review of the Primary Education System in the Western State of Nigeria, 1968, pp. 3, 6.

[3]National Policy on Education, 1977, p. 5.

[4]Ibid., p. 8, cf. Above, pp. 163, 166f.

For the teaching of moral and religious instruction, the following techniques were added:

1) The discipline of games, and other activities involving team work,
2) Encouraging students to participate in those activities which will foster personal discipline and character training,
3) and role-playing.[1]

Government encouraged students' personal participation in citizenship education "through practical exercises, qualities like public-spiritedness, voluntary service, sense of responsibility, loyalty, sense of fair play, etc."[2] Extra-curricular activities[3] were encouraged as part of the process of enabling the learner to express himself.

Summary

In this chapter some innovations in teaching Christian religious instruction initiated by government policies have been explored. It was proposed that the church-oriented objectives be changed to three main objectives. First, government emphasized the promotion of the virtues for personal discipline in the public sector. Secondly, there was an emphasis on the promotion of a social stabilizing force. Thirdly, government wished to promote a theistic society. In order to achieve government objectives, curricula changes were proposed. Since government assumed that religion was foundational to moral development, moral instruction was introduced alongside religious instruction in mission schools. However, the missions dropped moral instruction from the curriculum in the 1930's. The chapter

---

[1]Ibid., Item 26, (c), (d), (e), p. 12.

[2]Ibid.

[3]Like the various Christian youth movements, Above, pp. 113f.

shows that the curriculum of religious instruction was taken seriously in non-mission schools only after the 1950's. Until the 1970's, in all schools, the curriculum emphasized optional, unexaminable, and denominational religious knowledge. Under a new and common curricula, there was a determination to reintroduce moral instruction in the 1970's. The discussion on innovations in methods indicates that memorization and indoctrination were discouraged by government. There was an advocacy of cultural orientation, a critical/rational approach, the use of visual aids, media methods, the teacher as an ideal model and pupil participation. Based on data from government documents, the chapter deduces that an objective approach was an ultimate expectation in the classroom teaching-learning experience.

CHAPTER 5

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE GOVERNMENT POLICY TO TEACH CHRISTIAN RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION AND THE PROBLEMS EXPERIENCED IN TEACHING THE SUBJECT

This chapter examines educational expectation, professional status expectations, economic expectation, teacher shortage, and church denominationalism as some of the problems experienced in the attempt to implement the government policy to teach Chrsitian religious instruction in schools.

Educational Expectation

Teachers and Their Qualifications

There were three categories of teachers of Christian religious instruction: the missionary teacher, the auxiliary teacher, and the professional teacher. The missionary teacher of Christian religious instruction possessed the necessary religious and theological qualifications to teach in Nigeria: most missionaries had obtained a seminary or Bible school diploma after a secular degree. But in discussing the Education Ordinance of 1948, E.P.T. Crampton stated that, "Very few of the missionaries were trained educationalists at that time."[1]

Crampton also made the observation that in the 1950's, "the mission primary schools were producing better results than those of the native

---

[1]Crampton, p. 106.

administration."[1] It was also true that in the 1960's the mission students in post primary schools competed on equal footing with government students. One reason for the achievement of the missions was that starting in the 1950's, most missionaries who taught were highly qualified in the various fields taught in the schools. They usually completed their undergraduate degree programs before proceeding to seminaries in preparation for teaching in Nigeria. These were the teachers who taught Christian religious instruction, or Bible knowledge, as they preferred to call it, in the post primary schools up to the take over in the 1970's. It appeared that it was a missionary policy for most missionaries to teach Bible knowledge at least one time regardless of the subject specialization of the missionary.[2]

According to Pastor Simon Y. Waziri, Vice President of the N.A.B.K.T.N. (1976-1977), the auxiliary teachers of Christian religious instruction were the catechists, evangelists, pastors, or volunteer lay persons.[3] The educational qualification of the auxiliaries, between the 1920's and the early 1950's, consisted of Bible knowledge (mainly denominational pastoral religious knowledge), farming, hygiene, the three R's, and some handicrafts. These were the major subjects of the classes for religious instruction which were retained as Bible schools (vernacular schools) and later Bible colleges.[4] The grade II, III, or IV teachers trained in mission teacher training colleges had very much of the religious curriculum of the Bible institutions.

---

[1]Ibid., p. 109.

[2]Barnaba B. Lekwat, who studied Bible knowledge in school, observed that in his schools -- Primary Schools at Unguwar Rimi and Samaru Kataf, and Kagoro Secondary School -- almost every missionary taught Bible knowledge at a point (1954-1965).

[3]Telephone interview with Pastor S. Y. Waziri, University of Wisconsin, Menomonie, February 11, 1983.

[4]Bible institutions were independent of government control.

Of the quality of the mission pupils, a northern official government report in 1953 recorded that, "The mission product almost invariably has little education to fit him for a job."[1] In 1954, L. J. Lewis suggested that this kind of statement misrepresented the graduates of mission schools.[2] Crampton has already indicated that at the beginning of the 1950's the mission graduates were better than those of the native administration graduates.[3] Of course, Crampton was not referring to the Bible school and Bible college students whose education was not evaluated by the government. Whatever the case, all the groups of graduates, which constituted the auxiliary teaching class, were far less qualified than the missionary teachers.

The problem of the educational qualification of auxiliary teachers arose after the mass exodus of the missionaries following the sudden take over of the schools in the 1970's. There was no pre-planned program to train teachers to substitute for the missionaries who decided to leave. The grade II auxiliaries were qualified to teach Bible knowledge in primary schools: but it was not the norm to find many Nigerian Bible teachers in the schools. If they were involved in Bible teaching, they did so in the late 1960's and early 1970's.[4] Bible teaching was generally the work of the missionaries. When the missionaries left, a vacuum was created. Most grade II teachers were not prepared to accept the social status, the religious and moral obligation of teaching religious instruction.

---

[1]Missions, NAK, PCJ, C50, Senior District Officer, Zaria, to the Resident, September 3, 1953.

[2]Lewis, Educational Policy, pp. 12-13.

[3]Crampton, p. 109.

[4]Generally, in early years, Nigerian pastors taught Bible knowledge in seminaries, Bible colleges, and Bible schools.

On April 9, 1975, some problems of the auxiliary teachers were discussed by the national meeting of E.C.W.A. Bible Knowledge Teachers at Miango. Rev. Ken Sharpe, the President of N.A.B.K.T.N. was chairman of the Miango meeting. According to the minutes,

> It was also noted that in some areas grade II teachers are no longer teaching Bible knowledge. B.T.S. [Bible training schools] men have replaced them, who are Hausa-speaking only; and unable to follow a syllabus in English.[1]

Ten days later, the Miango view was expressed by the Rev. Fr. J. Canty, the Staff Inspector of Christian religions knowledge, Kaduna (then North Central) state Ministry of Education. Fr. Canty was the representative of the permanent secretary of his ministry at the meeting of the state branch of N.A.B.K.T.N. in Kaduna. The chairman of the meeting was Mallam Yohanna Gamba, who formerly held the titles of education secretary of the E.C.W.A. Jos, principal of Kagoro Teacher's College, and chairman of the State Branch Association. He was later appointed chief education officer (Inspectorate Division) of the Ministry of Education.[2] The Rev. Henry J. Bell, the Roman Catholic Education Secretary of Kaduna and Sister M. Flanner, the Secretary of the State Branch Association were among the twenty participants of the state meeting. As the staff inspector, after asserting that dedicated and skilled teachers of Christian religious instruction were needed, Fr. Canty

> deplored the present situation where many pastors, who lack even minimum professional training, are responsible for teaching of CRK in primary schools in certain areas. These pastors confuse preaching with teaching and in most cases have no medium of communication, no teaching technique and insufficient knowledge of the doctrines to be taught. He

---

[1]Evangelical Churches of West Africa, Minutes of SIM/ECWA Bible Knowledge Teacher's Conference, Miango Rest House, April 9, 1975), p. 1.

[2]Recently (January, 1983) appointed the Nigerian consul general, Nigerian Consulate, San Francisco, U.S.A.

> suggested that if training institutions are to be set up, principles and practice of education must be included on the curriculum and the needs of such institutions oriented toward classroom requirements and teaching practice.[1]

In the same meeting, the Miango view was repeated by Sister Noreen Hurley, the supervisor of Christian religious knowledge, Zaria.[2] Sister N. Hurley reiterated the Miango view in the next annual meeting of the state N.A.B.K.T.N. Of the persisting problem, she reported:

> In Jema'a, since 1974, the local pastors have been doing it [the teaching], and this poses a problem because many of them cannot read the books provided, as they are in English, nor are they trained to teach, nor regular attendance at their classes [since they have to attend to pastoral duties on weekdays.][3]

The church and state realized the need for educationally qualified teachers of Christian religious instruction. In the early 1970's, some churches recommended Nigerian-qualified teachers from the church seminaries, or Bible colleges, to take up teaching positions in government schools. Some of the church teachers volunteered on their own to become Bible knowledge teachers.[4] The new movement of young pastors into the schools gave rise to the professional teachers of Christian religious instruction. These were Nigerians with a broad secular, Biblical and theological higher education. These professionals, however, were few in number.

---

[1]National Association of Bible Knowledge Teachers of Nigeria (N.A.B.K.T.N.), Minutes of the 7th Meeting of the North Central Branch of the National Association of Bible Knowledge Teachers of Nigeria, Held at the Social Centre Hall, Independence Way, Kaduna, on Wednesday, April 19, 1975, p. 2.

[2]Ibid., p. 4.

[3]N.A.B.K.T.A., Minutes of the 8th Meeting of the North Central Branch of the National Association of Bible Knowledge Teachers of Nigeria, Held at the Social Centre Hall, Independence Way, Kaduna, on Saturday, October 25, 1975, p. 3.

[4]Professor Bolaji E. Idowa and a few others teaching religious studies in the universities had a different context than the events of the 1960's and 1970's.

In 1974, the government started a study program in the Christian and Islamic religious knowledge (two separate) departments at the Advanced Teachers' College, Institute of Education, Ahmadu Bello University, Kano and Zaria. Other Advanced Teachers' Colleges and colleges of education have done the same. The aim of the courses in these higher colleges was to train graduates for the Nigeria Certificate in Education (N.C.E.) to teach religious knowledge in the post primary schools.[1] An N.C.E. graduate would be qualified in religious knowledge, education and one other secular subject of specialization.

In 1975, Professor A. F. Ogunsola started the Islamic/Christian religious knowledge methodology course as an integral part of the Post Graduate Diploma in Education (P.G.D.E.) at the Institute of Education, Zaria. This methodology course was to assist the professional teachers to obtain additional skill in teaching religious knowledge.[2] Other universities have degree programs in religious studies.[3]

The churches became pragmatic in order to help the situation of the primary school needs. Some churches integrated their pastoral subjects with secular subjects in the curricula of their church Bible institutions. This matter was discussed by the E.C.W.A. National Bible Teachers' Conference late in 1974. For the educational advantage of the

---

[1]Professor Ishaya Audu and Professor Albert F. Ogunsola were largely responsible for starting the Departments of Religious Knowledge at Kano and Zaria where they appointed Fr. Thomas Cullanine and Barnaba B. Lekwat to start the Christian courses in 1974; c.f. Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, Advertisement, Daily Times, March 19, 1974, p. 22.

[2]Ahmadu Bello University, Institute of Education, Zaria, Post Graduate Diploma in Education Sandwich Course, 1978 Summer Session, Prospectus, pp. 128-131.

[3]"Directory to subjects of study," [in Nigerian universities], Nigerian Year Book, 1971, pp. 157-158, cf. ft. nt. 1, Below, p. 257.

students of the Church Seminary at Igbaja, the meeting proposed that

> Igbaja should emphasize English [language] as well so they [graduates] can teach English and B. K. as many states will not have a person just as a B. K. teacher, but as a teacher who can then teach the B. K. classes in the time table as well as other subjects. (Mr. Frame suggested history or geography instead of English. There is such a shortage of English teachers and so many hours of English taught per week, an English teacher would be given very few hours of B. K.)...Miss Blakeney brought up the possibility of a crash program at Igbaja that could be started this school year to teach teaching principles and methods to qualify degreed men to teach B. K. at post primary level.[1]

In the 1970's, the E.C.W.A. Bible College, Kagoro, introduced English language, English literature, bookkeeping, arithmetic, and principles of education in its curriculum. The curriculum became 51 percent church courses and 49 percent secular subjects. In 1976, Alhaji Yahaya Hamza, then Chief Inspector of Education, Kaduna, accepted these curricula innovations as appropriate for training professional teachers of Christian religious instruction equivalent to grade II. Similar curricular programs at the Baptist School, Kawo Kaduna, and the Roman Catholic Training School, Rahamah, were acceptable to the Ministry of Education. These changes must have been initiated by Rev. R. J. Page who was Staff Inspector, Christian religious knowledge.[2]

Progress in the direction of obtaining educationally-qualified teachers for the primary schools was not fully achieved by the efforts of the churches. The proposal to build a Christian Bible Teacher's College was discussed by the Kaduna State Ministry of Education in 1976,[3] and the Kaduna State Branch

---

[1]Evangelical Churches of West Africa, Minutes of the SIM/ECWA Bible Teachers' Conference, held in Jos, December 12-14, 1974, p. 1.

[2]Kaduna State, ME, Minutes of Meeting, November 3, 1976, CNC/p. 40/552, pp. 3-4.

[3]Ibid.

of the Christian Association of Nigeria (C.A.N.) in 1977.[1] Also, the Bauchi State Branch of C.A.N. discussed a similar plan before 1980.[2] Political and financial problems hindered the commencement of the much needed Christian Bible Teachers' College. In Kaduna state, the short term solution was to start a two-year pivotal course in selected teachers' colleges. The aim of the pivotal course was to give students from Bible institutions a broader secular education and qualify them as grade II teachers of religious instruction for primary schools. The general feeling in Kaduna state was "that grade II's with C.R.K. on their certificates are the best teachers of C.R.K."[3]

Since the early 1970's, the Kaduna state government has been awarding scholarships to deserving candidates[4] to study religious knowledge (Islamic and Christian) in seminaries and universities within the country and abroad. Many other states in the federation have also been awarding the scholarships. The Federal Ministry of Education has always offered scholarships for all fields of education.

Attempts have been made by some churches to affiliate their seminaries with neighboring universities in order to gain government recognition of

---

[1]Christian Association of Nigeria, Minutes (in Hausa) of the Emergency Meeting of the Kaduna State Branch of the Christian Association of Nigeria Held at the Social Centre, Kaduna, March 26, 1977, p. 2, Item 4. Rev. Chief S. A. Ungbo, Report (in Hausa) of the Committee for Bible Teacher's Training College, March 31, 1977.

[2]Christian Association of Nigeria, Bauchi State Branch of the Christian Association of Nigeria to His Excellency Alhaji Tatari Ali, the Governor Bauchi State, September 5, 1980.

[3]Kaduna state, ME, Minutes of Meeting, November 3, 1976, CNC pp. 40/552, p. 2.

[4]Kaduna state government awarded the scholarship to Barnaba B. Lekwat to study religious education in New York University since 1980.

seminary graduates interested in teaching at the post primary level.[1] The advisability of this movement is not yet clear. Most Bachelor of Theology graduates of the Roman Catholic Church have certificates awarded by Rome which are recognized by the government.

Teachers and Professional Status Expectation

While there has been the attempt to upgrade the educational qualification of professional teachers, attempts have also been made to categorize teachers for two reasons: personal emoluments and professional status expectation. The literature shows that the ultimate concern was to improve the educational qualification and teaching skill of the teachers.

The sporadic classification of teachers, and establishment of a professional status for them, has been an ongoing exercise since the last decade. In a nation where labor unionism, especially the Nigerian Union of Teachers, is free within the limits of the law, the movement towards professional goals was important. In fact, the Federal Ministry of Education recognized the professionalism of teachers and registered N.A.B.K.T.N. as "a learned society" in 1973.[2] In 1975, Mallam Yohanna Gamba, Chairman Kaduna State Branch of N.A.B.K.T.N., informed the annual state meeting,

---

[1]Conversation with the Rev. Larry D. Fehl, Director Designate, Sudan Interior Mission, U. S. International Office, Cedar Grove, showed that the Northern Theological Seminary of the Sudan United Mission, Bukuru, has been affiliated to the University of Jos; the ECWA Seminary, Jos, is on the pipeline; so Ighaja and United Missionary Society Seminary, Ilorin, proposals with the University of Ilorin. Conversation at Cedar Grove, New Jersey, February 6, 1983.

[2]Federal Republic of Nigeria, Ministry of Education, Professional Division, Mrs. A. O. Williams, to the Secretary, N.A.B.K.T.N., February 27, 1983.

> The Federal Ministry of Education making a voucher for ₦ 1000.00 as grant to the association last year is an indication of the recognition that this association has as a learned society, dedicated [itself] towards the upbringing of the youths.[1]

Kaduna state adopted a tentative classification of professional teachers of Christian religious instruction. According to Pastor Simon Y. Waziri and the Rev. Iliya B. Ahuwan, the Christian Religious Knowledge Master Teacher, Government College, Kaduna, and the 1982-1983 chairman of the State Branch of N.A.B.K.T.N., the cooperation of the Kaduna state government with the teachers has led to the following classification of certificates:

Religious Education Certificate	Equivalent of Secular Education Certificate
Bible School Certificate	Less than Grade II Certificate
Bible College Certificate	Less than Grade II Certificate
Bible College Certificate with Grade II Pivotal Certificate	Grade II Certificate
Diploma in Theology	Less than Nigeria Certificate in Education
Nigeria Certificate in Education with Bible Knowledge	Nigeria Certificate in Education
Bachelor of Theology	Nigeria Certificate in Education
Bachelor of Arts, Theology Religious Studies	Bachelor of Arts[2]

The Bible College Certificate course and the grade II course was usually a five-year course after primary school. Generally, the Nigerian Seminary Diploma Course was a three to four year course. The Nigeria Certificate in Education was a three-year course after the post primary school. The Nigerian Bachelor of Theology was generally a four-year course after the post primary school. The Bachelor of Arts was a three-year course after

---

[1] N.A.B.K.T.N., Minutes of the 8th Meeting, October 25, 1975, Appendix A, Chairman's Opening Address.

[2] Interview with the Rev. Iliya B. Ahuwan, Kaduna, August 14, 1982, and telephone interview with Pastor Simon Y. Waziri, University of Wisconsin, Menomonie, February 11, 1983.

the one to two year higher secondary certificate course.[1] The entry qualification into the Nigeria Certificate in Education, Bachelor of Theology and Bachelor of Arts and other issues, contributed to the disparity in classification of teachers.

It is understood that Borno, Oyo, and other states nationwide, were working on similar classification in the last decade. Plateau state equated the Bachelor of Theology with the Bachelor of Arts.[2]

It is unknown what plans the N.A.B.K.T.N. and the states have toward the new university program of the four-year course after the secondary level.

The professional expectation of teachers was promoted also by the Ibadan-based Institute of Church and Society through the efforts of the Rev. E. A. Adeolu Adegbola, the Director of the Institute up to 1977, and his successor, the current Director, Miss D. N. Obi. Under the leadership of Rev. E.A.A. Adegbola, with the support of Sr. M. McCarron, a one-time national secretary of N.A.B.K.T.N. and others, the Association for Christian Higher Religious Education in Nigeria (A.C.H.R.E.N.) was launched in 1975.[3] Article II of the proposed constitution, actually adopted in 1976,[4] stated the objectives of A.C.H.R.E.N. These included the involvement of

---

[1]One-year course for some schools of basic studies; two-year course for most colleges of arts and science, both equivalent to the U. S. two-year junior college after secondary school.

[2]See salary scales, Below, p. 196.

[3]Institute of Church and Society,"A.C.H.R.E.N. Inaugural Meeting," Education, Samonder Newsletter, No. 7, December, 1975, p. 5. The Association is not heard of as much as N.A.B.K.T.N., but its original aims may still be useful.

[4]At the First Annual Meeting of the Association, at the Faculty of Education, University of Ibadan, on March 26, 1976, Barnaba B. Lekwat was elected as the first Treasurer.

"persons and institutions professionally interested in...Christian religious education."[1] The strategy was to influence Christian religious education at higher institutions and "to strengthen third-level Christian religious education,"[2] referring to post primary institutions.

At the national seminar in which the concept of A.C.H.R.E.N. was first discussed, January 23-24, 1975, experienced religious educators[3] discussed the "production of teachers in religious and moral education." The seminar report highlighted the concepts of professional concern when it stated that

> The churches, it was considered, should be concerned that good teachers be available to teach religious and moral education at the following levels... graduate, N.C.E., associateship, grade II...They should also be concerned to upgrade the proficiency and qualification of those teaching religious and moral education already, and to provide training for those qualified in other subjects who wanted to teach religious and moral education as well. It was essential for the churches to shepherd and give pastoral care to teachers in their voluntary commitment to Christ so as to help them live a Christian life and be a Christian example where they are posted.[4]

---

[1] Institute of Church and Society, Proposed Constitution and By-Laws of the Association for Christian Higher Religious Education in Nigeria, Ibadan, 1976, p. 1.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Along with Rev. E.A.A. Adegbola were, for example, Rev. J. Bawa Isa, United Missionary Theological College, Ilorin; Rev. Dr. D. J. Dorr, Project TIME, Lagos; Rev. E. E. Metuh, Catholic Secretariat, Lagos; Rev. Dr. P. H. Miller, Principal Nigerian Baptist Theological Seminary, Ogbomosho; Rev. E. E. Obilo, Alvan Ikoku College of Education, Owerri.

[4] Institute of Church and Society, Report of a Seminar of Institutions Training Teachers of Religious Education, Ibadan, Janaury 23-24, 1975 (sited hereafter as Seminar Report, January 23-24, 1975), p. 2.

The seminar report further said,

> Members felt that they needed to meet more frequently as persons training teachers of religious and moral education to share their concern and exchange information in curriculum and accreditation so that teachers of the right quality and grading could be available for the new opportunities now opening in the specialist teaching of religious and moral instruction.[1]

One result of the 1975 seminar was the initiation leading to the formulation of A.C.H.R.E.N. Another result was the proposal for a national professional categorization of the teachers of religious education:

1) Post Graduate Specialists - with research degree, university lecturers, higher institutions.
2) Graduate Specialists - qualification in Bachelor of Education, Bachelor of Arts, Bachelor of Science, Post Graduate Diploma in Education; secondary teacher, teacher training, advanced teacher training college teacher.
3) Graduate Specialist - Bachelor of Arts, Bachelor of Science, no Bachelor of Education, secondary teacher.
4) Nigeria Certificate in Education Teacher - secondary school, primary school, teacher training teacher.
5) Grade I teacher - same as 4.
6) Associateship in Education - same as 4.
7) Grade II (including pivotal teacher - primary level only.
8) Grade III - same as 7.
9) Grade C (4 categories) - same as 7.[2]

Economic Expectations

Personal Emolument by Alms, Stipend and Farming

Until recently, the question of personal emolument for the teachers of religious instruction equal to civil servants did not arise in the Nigerian experience. For some reasons -- from no known source[3] -- the

---

[1] Ibid., p. 3.

[2] Ibid., p. 2.

[3] But probably from some Biblical interpretation.

popular saying regarding the remuneration of citizens involved in religious activities was that their reward was in heaven!

According to A. B. Fafunwa, the moral guardians of the Muslim society, in the early years, had no fixed salary: the Qur'anic Mallams depended upon the alms.[1] It was only in the 1920's that some emirs who took interest in the control and teaching of Islamic religious instruction and Arabic decided that the Mallams should be paid from the native authority funds.[2] The government retained the practice of paying the teachers of Islamic religious instruction in the schools, and where pastors taught Christian religious instruction, but were not given any remuneration based on missionary tradition, Nigerian teachers became puzzled. According to E.P.T. Crampton, the puzzle usually brought some misunderstanding in the northern states.[3]

The missionary tradition was that the individual missionaries were not living luxurious lives. In 1979, E.P.T. Crampton explained that individual missionaries lived on an agreed stipend between the missionary and his or her mission organization. Crampton added that the individual missionaries did not take any extra allowances even when the government gave full salary payment in the form of grants. The missionaries agreed to use the extra payment from the government grant for the advancement of educational services not covered by the government grant.[4] The Rev. Donald P. Harling, Principal of Sudan Interior Mission, Kagoro Secondary School for most of the period from 1959 to 1968, verified the accuracy of Crampton's findings.

---

[1] Fafunwa, p. 63.

[2] Nigeria Annual Report, 1925, p. 502.

[3] Crampton, p. 120.

[4] Ibid., p. 111.

D. P. Harling added that in the 1960's, Sudan Interior Mission teachers in Kagoro Secondary School, and elsewhere in the country, awarded scholarships to students from their personal salaries accumulated in a common fund. D. P. Harling further stated that the Nigerian Bible college students were sponsored partly from the same funds.[1] Student sponsorship, therefore, might be part of the educational services not covered by government grant. Crampton made an interesting observation regarding missionary's attitude towards their personal emolument. He wrote, "Many of the missionaries had a great sense of vocation and being a missionary meant considerable financial sacrifice."[2]

The personal emolument of auxiliary teachers, who actually were assistant missionaries, was a different story. According to the archives in the early years, these pastors, evangelists and teachers had no fixed remuneration. There were no alms too. Indeed, the missions were constantly under financial shortage. In 1925, the Acting Principal of the Church Missionary Society, Awka, wrote what might be true of all the missions at that time. He said,

> So long as the local churches cannot raise sufficient funds to pay even the minimum salary, required by the code for certified teachers, so long will a number of those schools remain severely handicapped. Further emphasis upon their deficiencies, pointed out by the most sympathetic of inspectors, can accomplish little while funds are not available.[3]

---

[1]Telephone interview with the Rev. Donald P. Harling, Sudan Interior Mission, Cedar Grove, New Jersey, February 17, 1983.

[2]Crampton, p. 111.

[3]Nigerian Annual Report, 1925, p. 496.

In 1955, Sir Bryan Sharwood Smith, the governor of Northern Nigeria, said that the government and the missions were financially taxed to the full in their educational efforts.[1] The constant theme of missionary finances was that the "self-supporting African churches find the cost of the maintenance of their schools a great and increasing burden upon their financial resources."[2]

In the middle of the mission's financial difficulty, were the Nigerian teachers employed by the missions. Until the 1950's, these teachers, and the pastors and evangelists, were known to be farmers, carpenters, tailors, and mechanics in addition to their school or church careers. One basic reason for this was their need to supplement whatever meagre personal emolument they derived from the church. In 1936, Mr. H. G. Farrant depicted the situation of the auxiliary teachers of the Sudan United Mission - a situation common to all the missions. He told a government meeting that their graduates would return

> to their homes, and would in most cases, take charge of "classes of religious instruction," lead church life in the village and support themselves by farming.[3]

Between 1948 and 1964, when the government required better conditions of service for school teachers, the missions kept trying, but the financial shortage persisted. In the 1950's, the salary disparity was getting out of hand. The 1952 education code required better conditions of service. Professor A. F. Ogunsola wrote, "The salary scale hit the voluntary agency

---

[1]Sir Bryan Sharwood Smith, Governor of Northern Region of Nigeria, Statement of Government Activities in the Northern Region, to the Budget Meeting of the Northern Regional Legislature (Kaduna: Government Printer, 1955), p. 13.

[2]Nigerian Annual Report, 1925, p. 522.

[3]Board of Education, Northern Provinces, NAK, PCJ 205, p. 77.

unassisted schools very hard."[1] He argued that Nigerians of equal qualification and experience living in the same town had different pays and "This gave rise to dissatisfaction."[2]

According to Professor A. F. Ogunsola, in the 1960's, there were three tiers of school teachers. The local education authority teachers were at the primary school level. The government teachers were at the post primary school level; and were well fixed civil servants. The mission teachers were at the post primary school level too. Ogunsola said that the mission teachers had the least condition of service; and he added,

> This tripartite school management situation had led to an unjustified classification of teachers which has discriminated against certain teachers who have identical qualifications but different salaries and professional names.[3]

A government salary scale based upon the Education Code of 1964 illustrates the point.

---

[1] Ogunsola, p. 43.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid., p. 66.

Salary Scales for Teachers of Local Education Authorities and Voluntary Agencies (Morgan Award)

	Category	Scale
1)	Graduates	£720 - £1,530 p.a.
2)	Nigeria Certificate in Education, grade I grade II + Inter Arts/Science Certificate.	£351 - £855 p.a.
3)	Grade III, II, failed II + Inter Arts/ Science Certificate; West African School Certificate; specially selected uncertified teachers; specially selected higher Muslim studies Arabic teachers.	£159 - £469 p.a.
4)	Grade III, uncertified, grade IV, secondary IV pass, untrained teachers with 1st School Leaving Certificate; higher Muslim studies Arabic teachers.	£90 - £180 p.a.
5)	Probationary teachers, 1st School Leaving Certificate, secondary IV pass.	£78 - £105 p.a.
6)	Vocational teacher with primary IV or 1st School Leaving Certificate.	£90 - £219[1]
7)	Responsibility allowance, head masters, etc.	

[1] Education Law of Northern Nigeria, 1964, pp. 32-34.

The conspicuous omission on this salary scale was for Bible knowledge teachers. At that time, they were the missionaries who were teaching the subject as part of their commitment to their mission. Any Nigerians who might have been committed enough to teach Bible knowledge, up to the school take over, did so as part of their schedule.

Personal Emoluments by Government Salary Scale

Beginning with the transfer of primary schools in the 1960's, and the sudden take over of post primary schools in the 1970's, questions began to be asked about the salaries for auxiliary teachers and the professional teachers of Bible knowledge. The few missionaries who remained under the local education authorities or the government could not cope with the demand to teach Bible knowledge as the subject was studied by all students in the post primary schools taken over. The grade II teachers at the primary schools, who studied Bible knowledge under the missions, were not prepared to teach Bible knowledge. Therefore, the question of personal emolument for professional teachers of Christian religious instruction became a reality in the authorities concerned. In its budget estimate for 1977 and 1978, the Education Department of the Zaria local government made provisions for both Islamic/Arabic religious instruction and Christian religious instruction.[1]

In the last decade, the Ministry of Education, Kaduna state, approved the following salary scale to fit the various classified teachers[2] of Christian religious instruction:

---

[1]See Appendix B, "Personal Emolument Religious Instruction, Below, p. 299.

[2]See Classification, Above, p. 186.

Qualification	Salary Grade
1) Auxiliary pivotal not grade II	GL 03
2) Bible college grade II pivotal fail	04
3) Bible college grade II pivotal pass	05
4) Diploma in Theology	06(?)[1]
5) Nigeria Certificate in Education Christian religious knowledge	07
6) Bachelor of Theology	07
7) Bachelor of Arts	08
8) Master of Arts religious studies	09[2]

Shortage of Teachers

Policy Provision

The legal criterion for having a teacher of religious instruction posted at a school was the presence of ten pupils whose parents had consented to their receiving a course of study in the subject. The provision of the Education Ordinance of 1948 for ten pupils constituting a class for religious instruction was subsequently upheld in the education laws of the 1950's and 1960's.[3]

Despite the staff shortage of the missions in their primary schools before the southern transfer of schools in the 1950's and the northern

---

[1] Interviewees were not certain on the Diploma in Theology.

[2] Interview with the Rev. Iliay B. Ahuwan, Kaduna, August 14, 1982, and the telephone interview with Pastor Simon Y. Waziri, University of Wisconsin, Menomonie, February 11, 1983. Both interviewees are employees of Kaduna state for whom they teach Christian religious knowledge.

[3] Education Ordinance, No. 39 of 1948, p. 2, cf The Laws of the Federation of Nigeria, 1958, "Education (Lagos) Act. No. 26 of 1957," II:1119 [of the Laws] ; The Education Law of Northern Nigeria, 1962, pp. 1-2; The Education Law of Northern Nigeria, 1964, p. 2.

transfer in the 1960's, the missions persisted in teaching Bible knowledge in all classes. There was no known mission post primary school that did not persist in teaching Bible knowledge prior to the take over of the 1970's.

The education laws which transferred the mission schools to the local education authorities provided that, "A reasonable period of religious instruction shall be given in every institution."[1] Speakers at the National Curriculum Conference in 1969 acknowledged the law provision for religious instruction in school;[2] but The Ven. Archdeacon S. A. Banjo mentioned a common problem of the transferred school schedule when he read to the Conference that

> The non-examined subjects receive scant attention, if any...The most important of these is religious education. It is on the time-table, but sometimes the time for it is spent either in idleness, in teaching it perversely, or in the teaching of more "profitable subjects" as far as examinations are concerned.[3]

The problems highlighted by the statement of S. A. Banjo in 1969 were more pronounced in the 1970's, and the most obvious cause for the situation was the shortage of teachers of religious education. The prevalence of this national problem of a subject legitimatized by law will be illustrated from the experiences of some northern states in the 1970's. Some documents of the Christian Association of Nigeria (C.A.N.), literature of correspondence with government officials and of C.A.N. conference decisions, show that the

---

[1] The Education Law of Northern Nigeria, 1964, Article 28. The Education Law of Northern Nigeria, 1962, Article 29.

[2] A Philosophy...1969, pp. 110, 165.

[3] Ibid., p. 20.

lack of implementation of policy was the major cause of staff shortage.

Lack of Policy Implementation: Kano, Sokoto and Niger States[1]

In Kano state, there were hundreds of Christian children in both primary and post primary schools. According to Mrs. Maria S. Ugna, a Niger state student teacher of Christian religious knowledge in 1977, each of Kaduna and Kano states might have had 8,000[2] Christian pupils receiving Christian religious knowledge in primary schools.[3] In 1978, the minutes of the Board of Studies of Christian Religious Knowledge, Institute of Education, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria (A.B.U.)[4] reported that in Kano state "Various schools in the state do not have Christian religious knowledge on the curriculum, despite having Christian students."[5] Kano City, an industrial center, a commercial nerve center of West Africa and the state in which several federal government projects were sited, would normally be the home of thousands of Christians.[6]

---

[1]See Map VII, Above, p. 106.

[2]Probably she meant this number for Kaduna township, which was inaccurate. See Kaduna state figures, Below, p. 211.

[3]Mrs. Maria S. Ugna, "Religion in Danger of Abolition," New Nigeria, May 10, 1977, p. 4.

[4]The Institute of Education, A.B.U., Zaria, was established to coordinate educational activities of Northern Nigeria. Board of Studies of Christian Religious Knowledge was one of the subject boards of studies coordinating education programs. See Maps VII and VIII, Above, pp. 106-107.

[5]Ahmadu Bello University, Institute of Education, Zaria, Christian Religious Knowledge Board of Studies, IE/BOS/15, 1977-1982 (sited hereafter as IE/CRK/BOS/15), December 4-5, 1978, p. 2.

[6]E.C.W.A. church alone has three churches along Air Port Road. Each church holds about 600 people every Sunday morning. The Baptist, Anglican, Roman Catholic, and the Independent African churches are found all over Sabon Gari, Kano.

In Sokoto state, Mallam Audu Kano, Mallam Ishaku Kano, Mallam Ishaya Komo and many other Sokoto state Christians were sponsored by the state to study Christian religious knowledge and Islamic religious knowledge in the Advanced Teachers' Colleges. Like any other state, many federal institutions and projects, including a federal university, were located in Sokoto state. Christians and Muslims all over the country moved into the state for employment. The minutes of the Board of Studies from Zaria have reports of teachers of Christian religious knowledge from Sokoto state. In 1979, it was reported that, "There is still need for more C.R.K. teachers in the state."[1]

A general national problem of the subject having teachers of Christian religious knowledge teach other subjects was reported in May, 1977, in Niger state. Mrs. Maria S. Ugna wrote that she and other student teachers of the subject were pressurized for two months not to teach Christian religious knowledge in Kontagora Division primary schools. She added that teachers of the subject prior to 1977 were posted in schools where they would not be able to teach Christian religious knowledge. These developments probed her to write, "Religion in Danger of Abolition."[2]

In August, 1977, these allegations were confirmed by Bishop C. Abba, President, and Rev. D. A. Adeniran, Secretary Christian Association of Nigeria, Niger State Branch. In the inaugural address of the State association, according to the New Nigerian, the leaders of the Association

---

[1] IE/CRK/BOS/15, December 3-4, 1979, p. 1.

[2] New Nigerian, May 10, 1977, p. 4.

> expressed concern over the failure by some state governments to encourage the teaching of religion in some schools...It, therefore, appealed to the Niger state government to employ Christian teachers and pay them as much as their Muslim counterparts.[1]

In 1978, the Christian Religious Knowledge Board of Studies, Institute of Education, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, recorded 1,400 grade II examination papers with only seven Niger state Christian religious knowledge teachers moderating.[2]

Lack of Policy Implementation: Bauchi and Borno States[3]

In Bauchi state similar implementation problems were reported. In 1980, two members of the Christian Association of Nigeria, Bauchi state, Chairman Pastor Hassan and Secretary Rev. Jingina Samu, wrote Alhaji Tatari Ali, the governor of the state on outstanding issues of previous years. The leaders of C.A.N. noted the enhancement of Islam by the state: the building of an Islamic College of Legal Studies, Missau; Arabic Teacher's College, Gombe; and an Arabic Women Teacher's College. The leaders wrote that requests for similar Christian projects had not received the state government's positive action: the failure to build a long-time sought Bible Teacher's College, the failure to appoint Christian religious knowledge inspectors and supervisors.[4]

According to Mallam Umoru Alesa Gadzama,[5] in Borno state, the teaching

---

[1]Bishop C. Abba and Rev. D. A. Adeniran, "Christian Association of Nigeria, Niger State Branch, Inaugural Address," New Nigeria, August 10, 1977, p. 11.

[2]IE/BOS/15, December 4-5, 1978, p. 1.

[3]See Map VIII, Above, p. 107.

[4]Christian Association of Nigeria, Bauchi State Branch to His Excellency Alhaji Tatari Ali, governor of Bauchi state, September 5, 1980.

[5]Principal Inspector of Education, Borno State, Graduate Student, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1982-1983.

of Christian religious instruction was a political campaign issue in the 1979 presidential race. U. A. Gadzama highlighted the Borno case in an interview which, for the purpose of this dissertation, has been entitled, "The Failure to Implement the Teaching of Christian Religious Instruction, G.N.P.P. Campaign Promise 1979."[1] U. A. Gadzama explained that the Manifesto of the Great Nigeria People's Party (G.N.P.P.) promised religious freedom. He added that Alhaji Waziri Ibrahim, the founder, chairman, and the presidential candidate of the G.N.P.P. utilized the party manifesto to attract thousands of Christians. They voted his party into power in Borno state. U. A. Gadzama said that Christians were disappointed when plans to teach Christian religious instruction were suddenly reversed by the Borno state government.[2]

U. A. Gadzama's information was substantiated by officially signed Borno state government documents. Ibrahim Musa, the permanent secretary, directed all local government secretaries to employ and pay teachers of Christian religious instruction: their Islamic instruction counterparts were already being well treated by government. The directive of the Ministry was implemented by Mallam Mari Y. Malgwi, Staff Inspector of Christian Religious Instruction. He was authorized to recruit teachers and schedule personal emolument for the teachers of Christian religious instruction.[3]

Ibrahim Musa, the permanent secretary signed a circular Ref. No. CDN.B. 62/II/130 of 10th June, 1980, in which he reversed the implementation directive.

---

[1]See Interview with Mallam Umoru A. Gadzama, Columbia Teachers College, New York, February 10, 1983: Appendix C "The Failure to Implement the Teaching of Christian Religious Instruction, G.N.P.P. Campaign Promise, 1979," Below, p. 301.

[2]Permanent Secretary Ministry of Education in a circular Ref. No. CDN/B. 62 Vol. II/119 of March 21, 1980.

[3]Christian Association of Nigeria Borno State Branch, Report in Kaduna, EKAN Church on 30th January, 1981, written on 28th January, 1981, pp. 2-3.

He wrote that he was "withdrawing the circular" of March 21, 1980.[1] U. A. Gadzama explained that the permanent secretary and his commissioner were pressurized to write the Christian Religious Instruction Implementation Reversal Circular.[2] Gadzama pointed out that the G.N.P.P. Executive reminded the permanent secretary that this matter was in the ministry before his appointment. It was also argued that, although the demand of Christian parents was a known fact, the permanent secretary should withdraw the order in Ref. No. CDN/B.62/ Vol. II/119 of March 21, 1980.[3]

The state executive was referring to Circulars Ref. No. ClG 99/Vol. I/101 and 102 of 1976 which instructed local governments to provide facilities for teaching Christian religious instruction. The Executive was also referring to the fact that the 1976 directives had not been implemented. C.A.N. negotiations of 1977 had borne no positive results.[4] The Executive was also reminding the permanent secretary that the National Secretary of C.A.N., Lagos, petitioned the state government in a letter dated June 13, 1979. The Lagos petition had been referred to the Nigerian Head of State. The G.N.P.P. Executive government was also drawing his attention to the fact that on March 3, 1978, C.A.N. informed the state government that there were 35,000 Christian children needing teachers to teach them Christian religious instruction.

According to U. A. Gadzama, Alhaji Waziri Ibrahim, the G.N.P.P. Chairman, after receiving a Christian petition, responded that the problem

---

[1]Borno State, Ministry of Education, Ibrahim Musa, Permanent Secretary, To All Education Secretarys [sic] in Borno State, Ref. No. CDN. B. 62/II/120, June 10, 1980.

[2]See Appendix C, Below , p. 303.

[3]Ibid.

[4]C.A.N. Borno State Branch, Kaduna Report, January 28, 1981, p. 1.

was not a party policy issue but state executive implementation affairs.[1]

Lack of Policy Implementation: Kaduna State [2]

In Kaduna state, lack of policy implementation was also contributing to the shortage of teachers of Christian religious instruction. Between 1976 and 1979, there was a united effort by C.A.N. Kaduna State Branch to ensure the teaching of Christian religious knowledge in schools. Every meeting of the association recorded a concern for the requests of parents who were interested in their children receiving a course in Christian religious knowledge in school. Each quarterly meeting was attended by an average of 100 church leaders and lay persons. The church leaders persistently attended the meetings and communicated with government.[3]

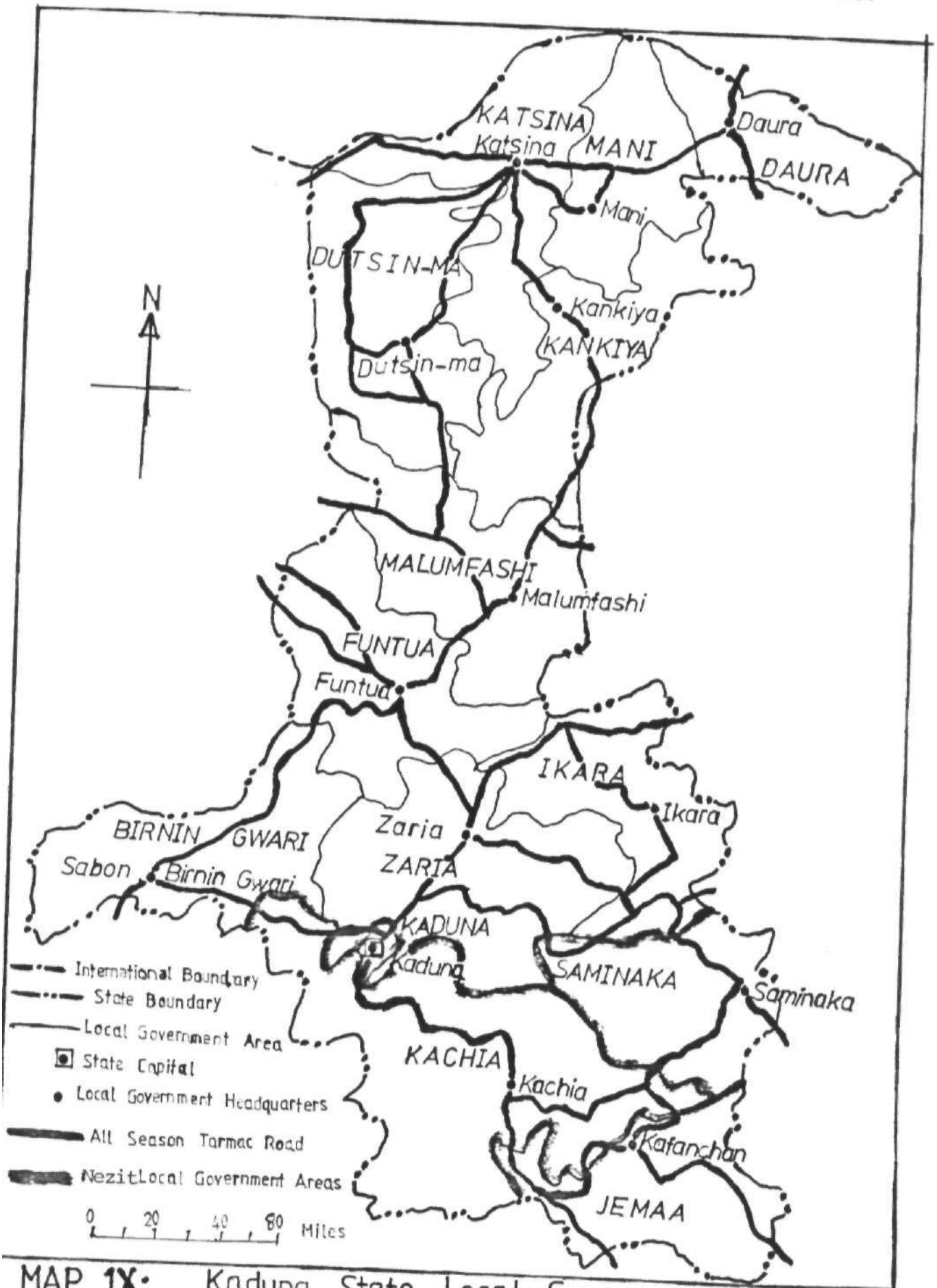
Mallam Gwamna Awan, His Highness the Chief of Kagoro, a devoted Christian leader, continuously advised the association to be peaceful in contact with the government. According to him, Christians were the light and salt of the world and they could not fail to keep peace in demanding their rights. In 1977, the chief of Kagoro "appealed to all Christians

---

[1] See Appendix C, Below, p. 304.

[2] See Map IX, Below, p. 204.

[3] Church leaders included: The Rev. Habila Aleyideino of H.E.K.A.N. and the State Chairman and the National Vice President of the Association, His Grace Dr. Peter Y. Jatau, the Roman Catholic archbishop of Kaduna Diocese, The Rt. Rev. Lt. Col. Titus E. Ogbonyomi, bishop of the Anglican Diocese of Northern Nigeria, Kaduna, The Rt. Rev. Girmaigari, E.C.W.A. first president and member Kaduna State Scholarship Board, the Rev. Bagaiya Nwaya, a Trustee of E.C.W.A., Rev. Mari Habu, Vice President of E.C.W.A., Rev. Bangoji Bido and Rev. Yusuhu Jatau of the Baptist church, Sr. Apostle S. B. Fasanya of the Cherubim and Seraphim Movement, Rev. Ishaku Danau, Assemblies of God church, Brother John C. B. Davis, Kaduna Christian Assemblies, and the leaders of the Presbyterian, Methodist, United Native African church and other churches.



MAP 1X: Kaduna State Local Government Areas 1976-1979.

F. J. Tambiyi

in this country to measure up to expectations in morals and should not divorce moral education and moral living."[1] He also appealed to the government to "encourage the teaching of C.R.K. and Christian activities in all our institutions of learning at all levels."[2]

This stately appeal of the chief of Kagoro was influenced by results of the C.A.N. meetings. In one such meeting on October 13, 1976, the dominant discussion was the teaching of Christian religious knowledge in schools. That year was the pick of the transition period when the grade II teachers were withdrawing their interest in teaching the subject. It was noted that in Jem'a local government area, a Christian area, there were 250 auxiliary teachers paid the minimum national scale of ₦ 60 per teacher per month. In the Kachia local government, another Christian division, only 90 trained but uncertified auxiliaries were reported. In the Saminaka local government area, a predominantly Christian area, there were only 40 auxiliaries. In the Kaduna local government area, where Christians were a majority,[3] 315 names of auxiliaries were submitted to the Ministry of Education. The governor was contacted, but there was no positive response yet.[4]

In the Zaria local government, with only 20 teachers, the Christians were informed that the responsibility of recruiting the teachers was that of the C.A.N. The provision for personal emolument was that of the Ministry

---

[1]Edward T. Biamegh, ed. "Moral Training and the State," ZAT COLL Bible Students Association Bible Week, November, 1977, Advanced Teacher's College, Zaria, p. 2; the chief publicly advised Christians similarly in the Kaduna Annual Conferences 1978-1980.

[2]Ibid.

[3]Turaki, "A Colonial Legacy," p. 458, quoting 1963 census report.

[4]Christian Association of Nigeria, Minutes of the Meeting of the Kaduna State Branch of the Christian Association of Nigeria, Held at the Social Training Centre, October 13, 1976, pp. 1-3.

of Education. In local governments like Funtua, Katsina and Daura, it was learned that the local officials were saying that there were no Christians in their domains.[1]

In 1977, it was noted that there were 60 teaching openings in Tudun Wada , Kaduna Township Schools, but not one teacher was employed. In Funtua, teachers were interviewed but not yet appointed to teach.[2]

It was also in 1977 that C.A.N., Kaduna state branch, pursued the possibility of establishing its own Bible Teachers' College. E.C.W.A. granted permission to the association to utilize the E.C.W.A.'s unused buildings of the Christian Training Institute, Kwoi. In the end, C.A.N. dropped the proposal. Some leaders argued that, since the state was already training pivotal grade II Bible knowledge teachers at Basawa Teachers College and Kagoro Teacher's College, the C.A.N. Bible Teachers' College idea should be delayed. It never took off and by 1979 the government's solution was not sufficient.[3]

Between 1977 and 1979, the Ikara local government area, formerly co-operative, suddenly reversed its cooperative policy. In a signed Circular Ref. No. Educ./RS/Vol 1/10, Ikara of July 27, 1977, the chief education officer wrote 38 Christian religious instructors:

---

[1] Ibid., pp. 3-4.

[2] Christian Association of Nigeria, Minutes of the Meeting of the State Branch of the Christian Association of Nigeria, Held at the Social Centre, Kaduna, February 19, 1977, pp. 1-3.

[3] Rev. S. A. Ungbo to the General Secretary, E.C.W.A. Jos, March 31, 1977; Rev. S. A. Ungbo. Report of the Bible Teachers' College Committee, 1977; Christian Association of Nigeria, Minutes of...1977, p. 8. Minutes of the Meeting of the Kaduna State Branch of the Christian Association of Nigeria, Held at the Social Training Centre, Kaduna, November 5, 1977, p. 8.

> I am directed to inform you that your service as a Christian religious instructor in Ikara local government area is not needed with immediate effect.[1]

While Rev. Habila Aleyideino, the chairman, C.A.N. Kaduna State, did not delay reporting the expulsion order to the Ministry of Education and the governor, the informed Christian population was enraged. At the C.A.N. meeting of August 6, 1977, 109 Christian leaders and lay people attended. Archbishop Dr. Peter Y. Jatau and Rev. Habila Aleyideino insisted that all Christians in the state must persist in keeping peace no matter the degree of intimidation.[2]

Resultant from the intervention of the governor and the State Ministry of Education, the Ikara authorities, instead of reinstating the 38 dismissed teachers, publicly invited candidates for interview: 200 applications astounded the authorities. But the Ikara situation was still an outstanding issue in 1979. In January, 1979, Alhaji Isa Abdu Soba, the sole administrator of Ikara, admitted that in seven schools 164 Christian pupils were not receiving teaching in Christian religious instruction. His reasons were economic and insufficient number of Christian pupils in the individual schools. However, he agreed that the minimum number of Christian pupils in one school was 17. The maximum in another school was 52. Alhaji I. A. Soba wrote that eight other different schools might be the ones to qualify for posting teachers of Christian religious instruction.[3]

---

[1] Ikara local government, Education Department, Chief Education Officer, To Christian religious instructors, Ikara local government area, Ref. No. Educ./RS/Vol. 1/10, Ikara, July 27, 1977, in C.A.N. Minutes, August 6, 1977, p. 5.

[2] Ibid., p. 7.

[3] Ikara local government, Sole Administrator's Office, Isa Abdu Soba, To the Christian leaders Ikara, Ref. No. ILG/GEN./223/Vol. 1/14, January 9, 1979.

By April, 1979, only eight out of the 200 interviewed had been employed.[1] In June, the C.A.N. noted that the result of all efforts to improve the Ikara situation was minimal.[2]

In 1977, Christian leaders petitioned the head of state of the Birnin Gwari local government area. A Report of the Dodon Barracks[3] Discussion showed the extent of failure to implement the policy of teaching Christian religious instruction in schools. The Report said, "The case of the chief of Birnin Gwari, who has banned the teaching of Christian religious knowledge in schools in his area of jurisdiction was next taken."[4] U. Shehu Yahaya, Chief Education Officer of the Birnin Gwari local government area, indicated that the persisting defiance of law in his area was outstanding since 1976.[5] The Christian leaders in Birnin Gwari, desperate in claiming their rights, wrote in 1977 to the chief education officer. They explained the situation of the Christian children in school:

> At the moment these children remain idle whenever their Moslem [sic] mates are being given Islamic religious knowledge.[6]

---

[1]Rev. K. M. Sobo, Dutsen Wai to C.A.N. Kaduna, April 20, 1979.

[2]Christian Association of Nigeria, Kaduna State Branch, To the Sole Administrator, Ikara local government area, Ikara, June 20, 1979; cf. Statistics, Below, 211.

[3]Seat of Head of State cf. White House in U.S.A.

[4]C.A.N., A Brief Report, Dodon Barracks Meeting, June 7, 1977, p. 2.

[5]Birnin Gwari local government, Education Department, U. Shehu Yahaya, Chief Education Officer, To the Secretary Christian Association of Nigeria, Birnin Gwari, No. Educ./LG/CRK/Vol 1/4, November 15, 1980.

[6]Christian Association of Nigeria, Birnin Gwari Branch, To the Chief Education Officer, local education authority, Birnin Gwari, May 23, 1977.

In another letter, the Birnin Gwari Christians insisted that it was their legal right to have their 143 pupils in six schools taught Christian religious instruction.[1] U. Shehu Yahaya replied that since 1976 their requests were only "allegations."[2]

Daura local government area Christian leaders became desperate. They had been requesting permission since 1977 to teach the Christian children Christian religious instruction in Daura schools.[3] In 1980, they finally wrote the C.A.N. Kaduna State Branch, "We have now exhausted all avenues of getting the C.R.K. taught in Daura primary schools."[4]

The effect of most causes[5] for the shortage of teachers of religious instruction would have been reduced had the implementation of policy been practiced. The Dodon Barracks Discussion of 1977 agreed that policy implementation was a major problem of the cause of staff shortage.[6] The oft given argument that Christians did not exist in some parts of the northern states could never be justified. Federal projects were located in all towns. New local governments were being created and manpower need induced the movement of Christians to all parts of Northern Nigeria.

---

[1]Christian Association of Nigeria, Birnin Gwari Branch, To the Chief Education Officer, Local Education Authority, Birnin Gwari, October 20, 1980.

[2]U. Shehu Yahaya, C.E.O. B/Gwari, Educ./LG/CRK/ Vol. 1/41, November 15, 1980.

[3]Nigerian Christian Association Daura Branch, To the Chief Education Officer, local education authority, Daura, January 25, 1978, pp. 1-2.

[4]Christian Association of Nigeria, Rev. Sankey Shabanyan, Chairman, and Rev. Eliwa, Secretary, Daura Branch, To the General Secretary Christian Association of Nigeria, Kaduna, October 2, 1980.

[5]For both Christian and Islamic religious knowledge, some causes of staff shortage have already been pointed out as: disinterest of grade II teachers with religious knowledge on their certificates; assigning of grade II and N.C.E. teachers with religious knowledge on their certificates and interested in teaching the subject to schools or classes they would not be able to teach the subject; offering the minimum personal emolument to grade II teachers interested and qualified to teach the subject.

[6]C.A.N., A Brief Report, Dodon Barracks Meeting, June 7, 1977, p. 2.

This tug-of-war situation meant that working statistics were not easy to obtain. The statistics shown below were obtained by cooperative Christian religious knowledge supervisors or Christian teachers sympathetic with their pupils. The figures are not complete for any area in Kaduna state. They, however, illustrate that both Islamic religious instruction and Christian religious instruction were under staffed in Kaduna state between 1976 and 1979. The representative character of the statistics may have illustrated a national case: the policy since 1948 was that ten pupils be allocated a teacher; but the policy was not implemented generously.

Random Statistics of Teacher Pupil Ratio of Religious Instruction in the Northern States as Illustrate in Kaduna and Borno States, 1976-80

Year	Location	Muslims			Christians		
		Pupils	Teachers		Pupils	Teachers	
			Allocated	Posted		Allocated	Posted
1976-79	Kaduna State:						
1975-76	Jema'a Local Govt.						250
	Kachia Local Govt.						90
	Saminaka Local Govt.						40
	Zaria Local Govt.						20
1976-77	Birnin Gwari Local Govt.				158	No permission	
	Jema'a Local Govt. Gidan Waya Area				1,342		12
	Kachia Local Govt. Jaba Division				7,613		12
	Kagarko District				5,254		11
	Kaje Community	816		17	12,802		16
	Kajuru District	238			6,088		
	Kamantan Community	89		2	1,212		1
	Zangon Kataf-Gora Area	673			6,096		
	Samaru Kataf-Jankasa Area	167		7	2,931		4
	Saminaka Local Govt.				14,949	169	54
1977-78	Ikara Local Govt.				2,997	64	9
	Zaria Local Govt.				12,968	58	50
1978-79	Birnin Gwari Local Govt.				142	No permission	
	Ikara Local Govt.				3,269	64	8
	Kaduna Local Govt.	21,010		323	31,121		87
	Zaria Local Govt.				10,689	115	20
1976-79	Daura Local Govt.					No permission	
1976-79	Total Kaduna State	22,993		349	119,631	470	684
1980	Borno State				35,000	No permission	
1976-80	Total Borno and Kaduna States	22,993		349	154,631	470	684[1]

[1]Sources: Christian Religious Knowledge Supervisors, Ikara, Zaria, Kaduna, Jema'a, Kachia through Christian Association, and Official Correspondence Between Christian Association Borno State and Ministry of Education Borno State.

The teacher pupil ratic for Gidan Waya, Jaba Division, Kagarko, Kaje, Kamantan, Samaru Kataf-Jankasa Area, Saminaka, Ikara, Zaria and Kaduna, for which statistics for Christian teachers and pupils were available was 284 teachers to 107,147 pupils, roughly 1:377. In the same places for Muslims, it was 349 teachers to 22,082 pupils or 1:63. The errors of these data were obvious: the incompleteness of data from any one area; possible miscalculations of available figures in transition from supervisors to the C.A.N. representatives; and limitation in scope of the Muslim figures. The statistics, however, indicated the degree of the shortage of teachers of religious instruction.

The data helped to reveal that the decision that the Christians should recruit teachers was not effective; or if it was effective, Christian leaders were not vigorously implementing the decision. In the concentrated Christian local governments of Jema'a, Kachia and Saminaka, the ratio of teacher pupil was lower than the state ratio. For example, Samaru-Kataf-Jankasa Area, 1:732; Kaje, 1:800; Mabushi Kataf (a former Roman Catholic school), 1:917: Unguwar Rimi Kaje (a former Sudan Interior Mission school) 1:1,108; and Kamantan 1:1,212.

Church Denominationalism

The Existence of Denominationalism in the Nigerian Church

Roget's International Thesaurus defines denominationalism as partisanship, partiality, factionalism, sectaranism, exclusiveness, ethnocentricity, and clanship.[1] E. A. Ayandele wrote that church sectarianism was introduced into Nigerian church history as early as 1887 in Abeokuta, between the Society

[1] Roget's International Thesaurus, 4th ed., 1979, s.v., "denomination," "denominational."

of African Mission of the Roman Catholic Mission and the Protestants.[1] F. K. Ekechi's book, Missionary Enterprise and Rivalry in Igboland, 1857-1914, has already shown the origins of Church denominationalism in Eastern Nigeria. In the 1930's, Northern Nigeria's government officials were critical of missionary denominationalism. The Board of Education of the Northern Provinces said that some school managers brought "their religious denomination into bad odour with the rest of the community."[2] In Nezit land, according to an assistant district officer in Zaria, "intermission wrangles" caused misunderstanding between the missions in that part of the North in the 1950's.[3] In Nezit land, Protestant pupils attended only Protestant schools and the same with the Roman Catholic. That was one reason students of that area in the 1950's and 1960's would rather have gone to the Baptist College Minna (in Niger Province) than to have attended Sudan Interior Mission Teachers College, Kagoro, or the Roman Catholic Mission, St. Mary's Immaculate Teacher's College, Kafanchan. The same situation occurred at the primary school level. There were often inter-religious misunderstandings between Christians and Muslims; but

> It was the desire and intention of government gradually to educate emirs to an understanding and recognition of the principles of religious toleration.[4]

Thus, there was religious pluralism in Nigeria. In every educational policy document from 1925 to 1979, the government cautioned against the continued practice of religious factionalism in schools.[5]

---

[1] Ayandele, pp. 39-69, 155-156.

[2] Board of Education, Northern Provinces, NAK, PCJ 205, p. 95.

[3] Missions, NAK, PCJ, C50.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Example: Western Nigeria, the Banjo Commission, 1961, pp. 11, 19; Policy for Education, EN, No. 6 of 1953, p. 6; Report of the Conference on the Review of the Education System in Eastern Nigeria, No. 25 of 1964, p. 38, The premier criticized denominationalism as a hindrance to moral development.

Law Safeguards Against Denominationalism

The crucial point of the government's attitude towards religious partisanship was the proposed solutions provided in the educational laws and the national constitutions. The law provisions for the solution of denominationalism are the major concern of teachers of religious education in schools. The necessity for the concern is that, as noted already,[1] school indoctrination was rooted in religious fundamentalist exclusiveness.

Government safeguards against school religious sectionalism were as follows. The Pupil Religious Protection Clause as contained in the Education Ordinance of 1948 was upheld in all subsequent education laws and the national constitutions. The government took a similar stand on the Parental Religious Consent Clause.[2] Any school proprietor had the right to include religious instruction and religious worship of a denominational choice of the proprietor; but such provisions on school curriculum could not be mandatory of any student in any school.[3] The government also regulated school national holidays. The government may stipulate that, in addition to the national celebration and observance days, certain religious observance days of Islam and Christianity be observed. It would be the responsibility of a school proprietor to ensure the observance of those

---

[1] Above, pp. 61f., 164-167.

[2] Education Ordinance, 1948, A 5 (iii), (v) cf. Education Ordinance, No. 17 of 1952, A 5 (iii), (v); Education (Lagos) Act No. 26 of 1957, III: (2) (a), VI: 53, 54; The Education Law (Northern Region), 1962, 30: (1)-(3), Grant-in-Aid Regulations, 2: (c)-(f). Education Law of Northern Nigeria, 1964, Section 29, 30, (2) (c), Grant-in-Aid Regulations, 5; The Constitution...1960, 23:2, The Constitution...1979, IV:35 (2).

[3] Education Law of Northern Nigeria, 1964, Section 28; The Constitution ...1960, 23: (3); The Constitution...1963, III: 24 (3); The Constitution... 1979, IV: 35 (3).

holidays regulated by government.[1]

The government also provided that, for the respect of the rights of each child in the school, no secular school program should hinder the study of religious instruction as provided in the school.[2] Also, a proprietor of a school should provide for the pupil religious instruction and religious worship outside the school during school time if the parents of the child wished it. In fact, if the parents did not want the child to participate in any school religious activity, including instruction, the proprietor of the school was required to respect their wish; thus the excused right of the pupil was guaranteed.[3]

The culmination of the law provisions in respect to school religious worship and religious instruction was that none of these was obligatory of the pupil: religious instruction in Nigeria schools was provided for those who wished to study it; it was not mandatory.[4]

In light of the public character of Nigerian religious education, a partisan approach to the subject could not have been envisaged by the government. The need for averting indoctrination, and mere regurgitation of facts in pursuance of practical, exploratory and participatory teaching - learning experiences were encouraged by the government.[5]

---

[1] Education (Lagos) Act. No. 26 of 1957, VI:55 (2); The Education Law (Northern Region) 1962, 30:4; Education Law of Northern Nigeria, 1964, Section 30 (2).

[2] Education (Lagos) Act No. 26 of 1957, VI:56 (2).

[3] Ibid., VI:59.

[4] The Constitution...1960, 23:2; The Constitution...1963, II:24 (2); The Constitution...1979, IV:35 (2).

[5] National Policy on Education, 1977, p. 8 cf. 13.

Summary

In this chapter, that policy implementation giving rise to practical problems has been examined. The matter of teachers' qualification was discussed. Professional documents reveal that, at the primary school level, a minimum of grade II Teacher's Certificate is essential for teaching Bible knowledge. The Nigeria Certificate in Education and Bachelor of Theology graduates are most suitable for the post primary institutions. The qualification of Nigerian teachers became a problem after the departure of missionary teachers since the take over of schools in the 1970's. Related to qualification is the professional concern of Nigerian teachers. In the 1970's, the professional teachers began to exchange ideas on how to enhance the teaching of Bible knowledge. Personal emolument was an area of concern by the professionals. Some state governments cooperated with the professionals to improve the conditions of service of the teachers. A case study of some northern states reveals that there was a serious teacher shortage: the latter was aggravated by not implementing the existing policy. The problem of denominationalism is identified as persisting in the Nigerian church since its inception in the nineteenth century. Government laws were set to control denominationalism. The most crucial legal provision is that religious instruction is not mandatory. The teacher's greatest safeguard is to avoid a partisan approach to the subject.

CHAPTER 6

CONCEPTS[1] OF CHRISTIAN RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION IN NIGERIA AS PERCEIVED IN 1979

It is the purpose of this chapter to show that specific concepts of Christian religious instruction had emerged in Nigeria by 1979. In pursuance of this aim, four points would be discussed: recent events which influenced the concepts of religious instruction by 1979; constitutional concepts; professional concepts, and students' concepts.

Recent Events Which Influenced the Concepts of Religious Instruction as Perceived in 1979

It is essential to review some events from 1960 to 1979 for the purpose of this section: the year, 1960, was when the human rights clause was first included in the Nigerian constitution. In 1979, the end of the military revolution came. The military rule contributed much to the reawakening of national consciousness towards a morality based on religion.

The plotters of the first coup in 1966 argued that reasons for the coup included violation of the constitutional rights of the ruled by the rulers since 1960. The violation was demonstrated in lack of social and

---

[1]Concept in this chapter means: the notion, idea, opinion, way of thinking or conception, according to Roget's International Thesaurus, 4th ed., 1977, s.v. "concept," and "belief."

moral discipline and varied forms of corruption.[1] Thus the provision of human rights in the 1960 constitution became a standard of measurement of the morality of public officers.

General Yakubu Gowon, the second national military administrator (1966-1975), included in his administrative goals the eradication of corruption in the public sector. He enacted an anti-corruption decree, but one of the criticisms of his administration was failure to implement the anti-corruption decree seriously.[2]

The military successors of General Yakubu Gowon were reported to be crusaders for morality. James O. Ojiako said that General Murtala Muhammed called for "Clean Government" in 1975.[3] General Olusegun Obasanjo, the head of state (1976-1979) demonstrated the seriousness of the military crusade for morality in several ways. In 1977, he delivered the historic Jaji[4] Address on the causes and suggested cures for national corruption and immorality.[5] The Study Guide, Christian Religious Knowledge of the Institute of Education, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, listed some of the means of enhancing discipline by the Obasanjo military administration:

> National Disciplinary Bodies - The Nigerian military regime will go down in history as a government of decrees and commissions, etc. The Armed-Robbery and

---

[1] Ojiako, pp. 1f.

[2] Ibid., pp. 87-88.

[3] Ibid., p. 84; 89f.

[4] Jaji, Major Military Training College near Kaduna.

[5] Ahmadu Bello University, Institute of Education, N.C.E. Correspondence Course Study Guide, Christian Religious Knowledge, Vol. 3, by Barnaba B. Lekwat and Christopher J. C. Tarrant, (Zaria: Institute of Education, 1978), p. 11.

> Firing Squad Tribunals, the Corrupt Practices and Investigation Bureau, the Public Complaint Commission, Disciplined Action Committee, National Committee in Education and Citizenship, Rent Tribunals, Public Commissions of Inquiry, drafting of Armed Forces personnels into schools, etc., reveal to anyone the state of Nigeria's national moral bankruptcy...[1]

Thus, the military administration held the view that morality could be institutionalized.

Muslims and Christians supported most of the military's measures for ensuring morality in society.[2] For example, in March, 1979, Alhaji Naibi Wali, a Kano Sharia court judge, addressed at least a thousand people on the topic "The Role of the Muslim Youth in Saving the Nation from Moral Decadence." The occasion was a conference organized by the Muslim Student Society, Kongo at Zaria, in the Assembly Hall of the Ahmadu Bello University.[3] Nationwide, Christian organizations also held similar conferences to address the problem of the immoral society.[4]

The churches supported the military administration in its campaign for institutionalizing morality. The Institute of Education's Study Guide observed, "In their Christian messages (in the military regime) during Christian festivals, Nigerian bishops and other church leaders always point

---

[1] Ibid.

[2] The posting of soldiers to maintain school discipline was vehemently opposed by the public.

[3] Muslim Student Society, "The Message," A Paper of the Muslim Student Society, Kongo, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, No. 1. 1st Jimada al'ulah 1339/29th March, 1979, p. 1.

[4] Examples, Barnaba B. Lekwat, "In Search of the Desired Nigerian Citizenry," A Paper Presented at the symposium Organized by the Christian Graduate Fellowship, School of Basic Studies, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, May 12, 1979; and Barnaba B. Lekwat, "Moral Education and the Draft Constitution," A Paper read also for the same Christian Organization, June 12, 1977.

out our national moral barometer."[1] The teachings of Vatican II on social mores, morality and religious education were echoed in the country, especially in Anambra state.[2]

Indeed, according to Documents of Vatican II, healthy social morality should be the concern of all groups, particularly the state and the church. Therefore,

> True education is directed towards the formation of the human person in view of his final end and the good of that society to which he belongs... Children and young people should be helped to develop harmoniously their physical, moral and intellectual qualities...children and young people have the right to be stimulated to make sound moral judgments based on well-formed conscience.[3]

During the constitutional debate between 1976 and 1978, the notion of the military's desire for a healthy moral society was felt in many places. The 1960 human rights provision was the most important part of the debate. In 1976, the Daily Times quoted Chief N. U. Akpan, arguing that the Fundamental Human Rights should be enshrined in the new constitution because

> The history of human experience has shown it to be necessary in a world which is becoming so increasingly immoral and oppressive.[4]

In 1977, Mr. Justice Udo Udoma, the chairman of the 228 member Constituent Assembly was reported to have said to the Assembly that the

---

[1]Ahmadu Bello University, Institute of Education, N.C.E. Correspondence Study Guide, Christian Religious Knowledge, Vol 3, p. 11.

[2]Anambara State Government, Hundred Years of Christian Education in Igboland, pp. 8, 14-15.

[3]Austin P. Flannery, ed., Documents of Vatican II (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmas Publishing Co., 1975, 2nd ed., 1978), p. 727.

[4]The Federal Republic of Nigeria, The Great Debate, Nigerian Viewpoints on the Draft Constitution, 1976/1977 (Lagos: Daily Times of Nigeria, Ltd., 1977), (cited hereafter as The Great Debate).

best government in the world was one in which "the Constitution respects individual liberty, protects minorities, and promotes the rule of law, justice, peace..."[1]

Of vital interest to the Muslims was the Sharia Provision in the draft Constitution. Most Muslims held that their morality was governed by the Sharia. Alhaji Adamu Chiroma, a one-time governor of the Central Bank presently the Minister of Agriculture, held that the Sharia was an Islamic personal law which influenced individual behavior.[2] In 1977, Dr. Lateef Adegbeti, former Attorney-General and Commissioner of Jutice, Western state argued, "The individual and collective life of Muslims is regulated by the Sharia which, according to Islamic jurisprudence, is a divine law."[3]

Charles Wambebe, a Christian layman debated that, "The right to general education in morals, good manners, and family responsibilities" was guaranteed by the Fundamental Human Rights.[4]

The influence of institutionalization of the crusade for healthy social morality in education, and moral education in particular, was seen in The National Curriculum Conference of 1969 and the Government White Paper on Education (1977). Religious instruction was accepted as contributory to moral education as a means of enhancing social morality.[5]

---

[1]The Federal Republic of Nigeria, Proceedings of the Constituent Assembly, Official Report, October 6, 1977 to March 21, 1978, 2 vols. (Lagos: Federal Ministry of Information, 1978), (cited hereafter as Proceedings of the Constituent Assembly, Official Report).

[2]Ibid., p. 43.

[3]Dr. Lateef Adegbite, "Legislative Institution in Nigeria," National Seminar on Islamic Law, Zaria, April, 1977, p. 1.

[4]The Great Debate...p. 109, quoting Charles Wambebe, New Nigerian, April 30, 1977.

[5]Fully discussed in Chapters II and IV, above.

The occurrence of the foregoing events gave rise to three principal aims by the state for religious instruction: the state institutionalized the quest for morality; the state assumed that morality could be taught in schools; and the state promoted a religious-based morality.

Constitutional Concept of Religious Instruction 1960-1979

Specific Concepts 1960-1979

The experiences of 1925 to 1959[1] led to the constitutionalization of the three principal concepts of religious instruction in the National Constitutions of 1960, 1963, and 1979. As pointed out earlier, the Constitutions recognized the right of parents to require their children to study religious instruction. On the other hand, parents were free to require their children to abstain from participating in religious instruction in any school: the subject was always regarded as optional in schools.[2]

The crucial concept of religious instruction, however, was the expression which described its nature: none of the Constitutions of 1960, 1963, and 1979 used the terms moral education, religious education or religious knowledge. Religious instruction remained the only expression in the Constitution on the subject. Similarly, the rule in all the educational laws between 1925 and 1977 was to retain the expression "religious instruction."

But there is no available definition, from the Nigerian archival sources, of the expression "religious instruction." It can only be deduced that the government persisted in using the term "religious instruction" for two reasons: first, because of the religion-based factual content of the

---

[1] As examined in Chapter III, Above, pp. 70-96.

[2] Above, pp. 129-130, 214f.

subject; and secondly, because it was taught like the church's religious instructional classes.

However, the 1977 educational policy used the expressions, "religious instruction," "moral education" and "religious education." The last concept pointed to a new awareness of the psychological approach to the subject on a broader basis.[1] The 1977 policy on education also used the concept, "moral instruction" when it stated:

> Moral and religious instruction will be taught in school through...the study of biographies of great people...studies and practice of religion...[2]

The emergence of the concepts of "moral education," "religious education," and "moral instruction" had three bases. There was the historical foundation: Moral instruction was part of the school curriculum in the 1920's and 1930's.[3] Psychologically, Nigerian educators were beginning to realize the need for integrating religious instruction with other disciplines. Socially, the military administration, which was responsible for the 1977 educational policy, wished religious educators to expand religious instruction to include moral ideas that could aid the military crusade against social corruption.

Expanded Moral Concepts in the 1979 Constitution

The Fifth Schedule of the 1979 Constitution is the Code of Conduct for Public Officers. As a result of the crusade against social immorality, lack

---

[1] National Policy on Education, 1977, pp. 5, 7, 8, 26.

[2] Ibid., p. 12.

[3] Above, p. 152.

of discipline, and the persistence of corruption, the military administration insisted on the inclusion of the Code of Conduct in the Constitution.[1] While the Code of Conduct Bureau and the Code of Conduct Tribunal are to ensure the implementation of the Code of Conduct, religious educators may find the Code a source for teaching virtues: indeed, the Code of Conduct is an expansion of the quest for personal virtues in public service.[2]

According to the Fifth Schedule of the 1979 constitution, the ten moral codes of Nigerian civil service are the following.

1) A public officer's personal interest shall not conflict with official duties and responsibilities.[3]

2) A public officer who has been lawfully prescribed by the National Assembly not to hold a foreign bank account shall not maintain a foreign bank account.[4]

3) A retired public officer shall not accept more than one remunerative position in government while receiving public pension.[5]

4) A public officer shall not receive a bribe on account of discharging an official duty.[6]

5) A public officer shall not offer a bribe to solicit the discharge of an official duty.[7]

6) A public officer of the rank of a permanent secretary or head of university positions or parastatals or equivalent positions shall not accept a financial loan from a lawful organization except from government.[8]

---

[1] The Constitution...1979, Fifth Schedule, Part I, p. 120.

[2] Ibid., pp. 120, 123, Code of Conduct Bureau and Code of Conduct Tribunal.

[3] Ibid., I:1, p. 120.

[4] Ibid., I:3.

[5] Ibid., I:4.

[6] Ibid., I:6, p. 121.

[7] Ibid., I:8.

[8] Ibid., I:7.

7) A public officer shall not be prejudicial to the rights of others.[1]

8) A public officer shall not belong to a secret society.[2]

9) A public officer prescribed by the National Assembly shall declare in writing his/her assets within three months after assuming a new office and later at the end of every four years and at the end of the tenure of that office.[3]

10) A public officer shall be subject to the Code of Conduct Bureau, Code of Conduct Tribunal, and the Nigerian Constitution[4] which shall hold the public officer responsible for a direct or indirect misconduct.[5]

Professional Concepts of Religious Instruction as Perceived by 1979

Denominational Concept of Religious Instruction

According to an Anglican syllabus of about 1963,[6] each lesson contained an evangelistic aim; for example, Lesson One, the aim was stated as

> To remember again how baptism makes us belong to Christ and gives us membership of God's great family.[7]

---

[1] Ibid., I:9.

[2] Ibid., I:10; IV:35 (4), p. 25, where a secret society is defined as a society which is not cultural or religious, but meets in secret and its members are under oath, obligation and use signs, rites or symbols to promote their interest without due regard to justice.

[3] Ibid., I:11.

[4] Ibid., I:15, 16, 17, 18, 19, pp. 122-124.

[5] Ibid., I:13, p. 122.

[6] The Anglican syllabus was undated: the catalogue dates at the National Library, Lagos, written in pencil, were 1965, 1968; a diagram in the Syllabus stated church dates A.D. 20-1963.

[7] Lessons for Anglican Schools, Book III, (Ibadan: Abiodun Printing Works, 1963), p. 4, cf. Lesson Two, pp. 6-7 with similar religious evangelistic aim.

The Anglican syllabus indicated that "God's great family" was the Anglican church. This was borne out by the unit title of Lessons 1-11, which was: "Belonging to the Anglican church."[1] The title for lessons 12-23 was "The Creed" of the Anglican church.

A sample lesson, lesson one, showed that the Anglican syllabus, besides its religious aim, had also the aim of promoting the virtue doctrines. That was why a purpose of the church was to teach members "to love other people sincerely."[2] While the Anglican syllabus might agree with the government's aims of teaching religious heritage and promoting virtues,[3] it would not fully promote the government's aim of social stabilization because of its Anglican orientation.

A denominational characteristic was seen also in the methodology of the lessons. There was a "personal application" which, in a church context, would challenge learners towards some Anglican church commitment. There was a typical pupil activity in each lesson. In lesson two, for instance, a student was to draw the picture of the bishop, label the hood, chimere, scarf, rochet, crotie and the Episcopal staff.[4] Actually, lesson two had little or nothing to do with the children's daily life experience, an approach discouraged by the government's policy.[5]

Other denominations had similar conceptions of religious instruction. A vivid illustration was the Protestant Christian syllabus under the auspices

---

[1]Ibid., p. 1.

[2]Ibid., pp. 4-5.

[3]Above, p. 133.

[4]Lessons for Anglican Schools, p. 7.

[5]Above, pp. 162-163, 166f.

of N.E.A.C. The N.E.A.C. syllabi were edited by an editorial board under the overall editorial work of the Rev. Dr. Ivan Eikenberry, the organization's secretary. In the 1970 series, for Native Authority and Mission Transferred Schools, Ivan Eikenberry wrote an introduction. Addressing the teachers, his introduction read:

> Christian religious knowledge...must include the leading of your pupils to love God, to have obedient faith in God as revealed in Jesus, and to love other people as they love themselves.[1]

In a more detailed way in the "Aims of the Curriculum," the Editorial Board listed the following aims of Christian religious knowledge:

1) To develop the individual children in every area of life according to Colossians 1:28b.

2) To inculcate knowledge of facts in the mind/ intellect.

3) To develop feelings in the heart in order to affect attitudes of truthfulness, honesty, kindness, helpfulness.

4) To lead the pupils to practice the Christian principles derived from the lesson: "Thus the problems of his home, his personal relationships, and society are understood to be fully met by the Christian Gospel."[2]

5) To lead pupils to experience truth, "FOR BIBLE TEACHING TO BE MEANINGFUL, BIBLE TRUTHS MUST BE EXPERIENCED BY THE TEACHER AND THE PUPILS."[3]

The school objectives of N.E.A.C. were similar to the church aims expressed in the Sunday School Lesson Books of the same churches.[4]

---

[1] Northern Educational Advisory Committee, Primary Schools Christian Teaching Year 2 Protestant Christian Syllabus-Handbook; Editorial Board of N.E.A.C of Protestant Christian Churches and Missions Primary School Series, (Kaduna: Baraka Press, 1970), p. 3.

[2] Ibid., p. 7.

[3] Ibid., (Capitals and underlined in original).

[4] Northern Educational Advisory Committee, Sunday School Lesson, Year 2, Book 3, (Kaduna: Baraka Press, 1974).

Two of the government objectives -- the virtue doctrine and teaching religious heritage -- were obviously presented in the above N.E.A.C. aims.

It was unfortunate that, for the purpose of this work, a Roman Catholic mission syllabus was not available; but it would be similar to the Anglican and N.E.A.C. in Church orientation.[1]

A common feature of the denominational curriculum was that it featured religious instruction, specifically Bible knowledge. The second N.E.A.C. point above specifies this aim, "To inculcate knowledge of facts in the mind/intellect."[2] However, since the syllabi had some aims for teaching the virtue doctrines, it would be reasonable to suggest that to some extent the denomination's religious instruction taught some morals. This teaching was strictly based upon the Bible. The lessons were reinforced with Christian hymns and prayer.[3]

Non Denominational, Factual Bible Knowledge

The General Certificate in Education (G.E.C.) and the West African School Certificate (W.A.S.C.) organized by the West African Examinations Council (W.A.E.C.), were factual-oriented, Bible-based examinations.

While W.A.E.C.'s work is popular in Nigeria, two research works were done on its Bible knowledge examinations. Claudius O. Akinwusi and David A. Awolala found that the W.A.E.C. syllabus encouraged mainly the study of religious facts in the schools. C. O. Akinwusi suggested a reduction of the

---

[1]Example, The History of the Catholic Church in Nigeria, (1982) p. 12, states that, "The schools were a means of evangelization...because catechism was taught as part of the curriculum..."

[2]Above, p. 227.

[3]N.E.A.C., Primary School Christian Teaching in Primary Schools, Year 3, p. 4.

content of religion in the G.C.E. and W.A.E.C. programs.[1]

In his study, David A. Awolala also thought, although without substantial proof, that African traditional religion was introduced in schools because the factual learning of Christian religious knowledge had failed to achieve the aims of educators.[2] Dean Stewart Gilliland's study, however, established that some educated Nigerians felt that, "being attached to traditional religion is shameful backwardness."[3] It may be difficult to accept the arguments of David A. Awolala and Dean Stewart Gilliland because each religion in Nigeria has a specific place in the school curriculum. Their works, however, indicated two characteristics of religious instruction. That is, it was mostly religion centered. It was also factual in orientation. For Christian religious instruction, the Bible was the main textbook; and for Islamic religious instruction the Qu'aran was the major textbook.[4]

The National Association of Bible Knowledge Teachers of Nigeria (N.A.B.K.T.N.) still accepted the religious and factual nature of Christian religious instruction in 1979. N.A.B.K.T.N.'s 1972 Constitution indicated Biblical objectives:

---

[1]Claudius Olayinka Akinwusi, "An Approach to Religious Studies in Nigerian Secondary Schools," pp. 3, 6f., 49f.; David A. Awolala, "Eight Representative Secondary Schools in the Western State of Nigeria Respond to Religious Education Curriculum Survey," pp. 48-60.

[2]David A. Awolala, "Eight Representative Secondary Schools in the Western State of Nigeria Respond to Religious Curriculum Survey," pp. 31, 59.

[3]Dean Steward Gilliland, "African Traditional Religion in Transition, The Influence of Islam on African Traditional Religion in North Nigeria," Ph.D. Thesis, Hartford Seminary Foundation, June, 1971.

[4]See Appendix D for the W.A.E.C. Bible Knowledge Syllabus of 1976.

1) To promote and maintain a high standard in Bible teaching and its methods in post-primary institutions.

2) To encourage the study of the Bible in post-primary institutions.

3) To encourage students to go into Bible teaching as a profession.[1]

N.A.B.K.T.N. published a Scheme of Work for Bible Knowledge in 1979. This publication was to assist teachers in Nigerian secondary schools in teaching the Old Testament, the New Testament and church history for forms I-III. The acceptability of N.A.B.K.T.N. nationwide is so crucial that part of its scheme should be reproduced here for public record:

	Form I	Term Two
Week 6.	A-B	Moses: wilderness experiences. God's covenant with Israel.
	C	Discuss the laws of local religious and moral ethics. Point out God's offer of covenant to Israel. Exoc. 19:4-6.
Week 7.	A	The Ten Commandments, Exod. 20:1-11.
	B	The Ten Commandments, Exod. 20:12-17. Activity: Memorize the Ten Commandments. Discuss them in relation to everyday life.
	Form II	Term Two; the teaching of Jesus:
Week 5.	A	The lost sheep and the lost coin, Luke:3-16. Emphasize God's searching love.
	B	The prodigal son, Luke 15:11-32. Activity: Dramatize the prodigal son.
	C	God as the forgiving father, Matt. 18:21-35. Besides emphasizing God's loving forgiveness, point also to God's expectations: that we forgive one another.
Week 6.	A	The Beatitudes, Matt. 5:1-8.
	B	The Beatitudes, Matt. 5:9-16. Activity: Memorize the Beatitudes.
	C	The call to perfect love, Matt. 5:17-32.[2]

---

[1] Constitution of the National Association of Bible Knowledge Teachers of Nigeria, 1972, Article II Objectives, Nos. 1, 2 and 6, p. 1.

[2] National Association of Bible Knowledge Teachers of Nigeria, Scheme for Work for Bible Knowledge, (n.p., 1979), pp. 3-4, 8.

Church history was for form II and covered the Acts of Apostles in the New Testament and the history of the local churches, Nigerian Church, Reformation and Orthodox Churches.[1]

In addition to the promotion of religious heritage, N.A.B.K.T.N. pledged in her Constitution to enhance the promotion of the virtue doctrine, and to act as a social stabilizing force. The relevant section of the Constitution had this objective:

> To build up the moral, spiritual and social responsibility of students for the promotion of service, peace and unity in society.[2]

It is not clear how the above objective would be achieved through the syllabus explained in the 1979 scheme.

It appears that the syllabus for which N.A.B.K.T.N. produced the scheme was the W.A.E.C. Bible knowledge for secondary schools. Thus N.A.B.K.T.N.'s conception of religious instruction, like that of W.A.E.C., was the teaching of Biblical facts as a base for morality; this notion of religious instruction was similar to the Anglican church and the N.E.A.C.

Non Denominational-Common Syllabi

Brief History of the Common Syllabi

After the take over of the schools in the 1970's, two major trends of religious instruction emerged: the introduction of common syllabus and the tendency towards reintroducing[3] moral instruction identified as moral

---

[1] Ibid., pp. 13-16.

[2] Constitution of the National Association of Bible Knowledge Teachers of Nigeria, 1972, p. 1. Article II, Objectives, No. 7.

[3] Discussed below, pp. 241-245.

education or religious education. The federal government, in the effort for providing the common syllabus, utilized the N.E.R.C. to monitor the desire of the churches. According to Dr. F. A. Akinlaye, the chief officer in charge of social studies (including religious instruction) at N.E.R.C., the strategy adopted by the government was to allow the churches to continue to produce syllabi even after the take over of schools. A government curriculum guide was used.[1]

It appeared that N.E.R.C. utilized the auspices of the Institute of Church and Society of the Christian Council of Nigeria and the Pastoral Institute of the Roman Catholic Church, both located in Ibadan. Other sections of the country were related to or represented at the Ibadan-based organizations.[2]

The sources showing the development of religious instruction in Nigeria between 1970 and 1979 have not been assembled by any known authority yet. Only minutes of meetings and seminar papers, not in any way having continuity, from departmental files were available for this writing.

In 1976, the Rev. Dr. Ivan Eikenberry, N.E.A.C. Education Secretary, an active participant in religious instruction, wrote notes to an "Ad hoc C.R.K. Planning Meeting" on the genesis of the Common Syllabi. He said to the Roman Catholics and Protestants present,

> Perhaps it can be said that thinking toward an agreed C.R.K. Syllabus began in the northern states when church primary schools were transferred to Local Education Authorities. As states began to permit L.E.A.'s to take over school staff postings without reference to the former V.A. proprietors, the principle of one C.R.K.

---

[1] Interview with Dr. F. A. Akinlaye, N.E.R.C., Lagos, August 27, 1982.

[2] National Association of Bible Knowledge Teachers of Nigeria (North Central State), Minutes of the 8th Meeting, October 25, 1975, Appendix B; N.E.A.C. represented most northern Protestants.

> Syllabus was pressed is some states. Christian Education planners of the churches in the southern states felt pressures from their governments for an agreed C.R.K. Syllabus. An attempt was made by the Pastoral Institute and the Institute of Church and Society to convene a national meeting of educational leaders, representing as many church denominations as would participate. One result of that meeting was the drawing up of a Joint Agreed Syllabus for Bible Knowledge in Primary Schools. This Syllabus has been widely distributed and publicized. At least two northern states have adopted it and other states are considering adoption. The Pastoral Institute and Institute of Church and Society took the initiative in calling together lesson writing groups to produce a series of six C.R.K. handbooks, "Together in God's Family," based on the Joint Agreed Syllabus. Introduction of U.P.E. with resulting increase in number of primary schools emphasized the desirability of one, jointly agreed C.R.K. Syllabus.[1]

According to a N.A.B.K.T.N. minutes, the original work, which was the basis of the Northern Protestant-Catholic ad hoc meeting, was started in Ibadan in 1972-1973 by the Institute of Church and Society, the Pastoral Institute and representatives from other parts of the country.[2]

Some Common Syllabi

A book entitled, Joint Agreed Syllabus for Bible Knowledge in Primary Schools was a result of a combined effort under the auspices of the Ibadan-based organizations.[3] The original work was written about 1971-1972, but the published version was released about 1974. In 1977, the Institute of

---

[1] Ivan Eikenberry, Proposed C.R.K. Handbook for Primary Schools Joint Agreed Syllabus, with attachment, "Background for Joint Catholic-Protestant Ad Hoc Workshop Planning Meeting, November 29-December, 1976," Kaduna, N.E.A.C., 1976, p. 1.

[2] National Association of Bible Knowledge Teachers of Nigeria (North Central State), Minutes of the 8th Meeting, Kaduna, October 25, 1975, Appendix B.

[3] The Institute of Church and Society, and the Pastoral Institute, Joint Agreed Syllabus for Bible Knowledge in Primary Schools, (Ibadan: Claverianium Press, 1974).

Education, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, included the original syllabus in its publication, Primary School Syllabuses.[1] In 1979, All God's Children, Religious Knowledge for Primary Schools, was published under the auspices of N.E.A.C. and the Roman Catholic Church in the northern states.[2] It was meant to be a teacher's aid. Together in God's Family had been published to serve a similar purpose, but it remained mainly in the South.[3]

Another common syllabus was the Christian Religious Education for Secondary Schools in Nigeria.[4] This was to replace the W.E.A.C. Bible Knowledge Syllabus. The idea of common secondary school syllabus came at the workshop of church leaders at the Institute of Church and Society, Ibadan, November 8-December 1, 1972. The workshop recommended members of various churches

> to serve on a committee for an "Agreed Syllabus" for secondary schools...to secure government approval for such a syllabus. The final meeting of the committee was on August 14-18, 1973, and the committee produced "a life" centred syllabus.[5]

In 1974, a comprehensive common grade II teacher's college syllabus, Christian Religious Education Syllabus, The Five Year Programme,[6] was produced under the auspices of N.E.R.C. According to the introduction of the

---

[1]Ahmadu Bello University, Institute of Education, Primary School Syllabuses, (Zaria: Institute of Education Press, 1977).

[2]Northern Educational Advisory Council, All God's Children Religious Knowledge for Primary Schools, Book I, in 6 series (Ibadan: Evans Brothers Limited, 1979).

[3]Institute of Church and Society, "Launching of 'Together in God's Family'" (November 18, 1975), Education, Samonda Newsletter No. 7, December, 1975, p. 1.

[4]Institute of Church and Society, Handbook and Syllabus for Christian Religious Education in Nigerian Secondary Schools, (Ibadan: Institute of Church and Society, 1973).

[5]Barbana B. Lekwat, "An Examination and Evaluation of Christian Religious Knowledge Syllabuses in Post-Primary and Post-Secondary Higher Institutions in Nigeria," P.G.D.E. Paper for Professior A. F. Ogunsola, Institute of Education, Zaria, September, 1976, pp. 3-4.

[6]Ibid., pp. 8, 17 f.

syllabus, it was produced at a workshop from April 1-8, 1974, at Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, under the auspices of the Federal Ministry of Education, College of Education, Lagos, the Institutes of Education of all Nigerian universities and various ministries of education.[1] Akpenpuun Dzurgba, acting head of the Department of Religious Studies, Advanced Teachers' College, Katsina-Ala, 1977, listed the names of participants: Rev. Fr. S. A. Okafor (Chairman); Archdiocese Secretary, Onitsha; Mrs. M. A. Orebanjo (Secretary), Department of Education, University of Ibadan; Rev. Fr. M. Monaghan, Basawa Teachers' College, Zaria; Professor E. W. Graber, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria; and Rev. Canon R. M. Nwosu, St. Barth's High School, Asata, Enugu.[2]

Problems and Criticisms of the Common Syllabi

Problems arose immediately after the emergence of the so-called agreed-upon syllabi, called the Common Curricula. Because of the suddenness of the venture, the curricula perplexed some people: of course, no teachers were pre-trained for the new methods and content of the adopted curricula. But the very existence of the common project was an achievement by both the state and the church. Despite this achievement and despite the fact that the Common Syllabi are being used in some parts of the country, reactions to the problems need to be examined so that lessons may be learned for future ventures.

---

[1] Ibid., p. 8.

[2] Akpenpuun Dzurgba, "Teachers' Certificate Grade Two Syllabus, Revised and Reconstructed," Katsina-Ala, January-March, 1977, pp. 9-10.

Those who were teaching Bible knowledge did not like the topics of the new syllabi. Both secondary and teachers' college syllabi were captioned "Christian Religious Education." The descriptive title, "Bible Knowledge in Primary Schools," was a camouflage, for its content was as secularly-based moral instruction as the post primary syllabi; the content was generally a set of ethical concepts.

The sudden reduction of the religious content of the syllabi was received with criticisms. Criticisms of the content came from all over the country. A midwest state critical "personal"[1] view was reported in 1974.[2] The Rev. Ken Sharpe, then President of N.A.B.K.T.N. wrote a message to the Association in the October, 1974, issue of the Association's Newsletter:

> Concerning the Common Agreed Syllabus: No one is forced to teach the new Syllabus. It is for those who have none, and to have something in our hands in case a national curriculum body is set up by the federal government for Christian religious knowledge... Those who have a syllabus can carry on as before.[3]

In the annual meetings of Kaduna State Branch of N.A.B.K.T.N. (1974-1975), mixed feelings about the "Agreed Syllabus" were expressed. In 1975, a standing committee was set up to "examine the present agreed syllabus for B. K. in primary schools and to suggest modifications..."[4] The Kadun state branch was frank in pointing out a major weakness in the agreed syllabus in primary schools, which was equally applicable to the post primary schools.

---

[1]National Association of Bible Knowledge Teachers of Nigeria, Minutes of Fifth Annual Conference of the National Association of Bible Knowledge Teachers of Nigeria, December 17-19, 1974, p. 3; "personal" was intentionally written to hide the fact that participants in such conferences officially represented their states.

[2]Ibid.

[3]Rev. K. Sharpe, "Message from the National President," N.A.B.K.T.N. Newsletter, October, 1974, p. 1.

[4]National Association of Bible Knowledge Teachers of Nigeria (North Central State), Minutes of the Meeting, Kaduna, April 9, 1975, p. 4.

The standing committee reported at the end of 1975: that the syllabus brought "confusion in the primary schools"; the syllabus was "very slight" in content and teachers could not teach it without a teacher's guidebook, which was not available; and despite these and other problems, the state Ministry of Education had sent an official directive that all schools should use the syllabus. The standing committee submitted a "modified version of the agreed syllabus" for church approval and ultimate clearance by the state Ministry of Education. The standing committee recommended that a review committee should be set up to maintain continuity in examining and reviewing syllabi. These suggestions seemed to be the process that should have been pursued initially by the Ibadan-based organizations and N.E.R.C.[1]

Even in the secondary schools, there was no democratic approach by the government when teachers were directed to start using the agreed syllabus.[2] Bible knowledge teachers of S.I.M/E.C.W.A. expressed their observation on the government's push for teaching from the new syllabi. A subcommittee set up in 1974 by these teachers on the Secondary School Syllabus reported,

> The Handbook and Syllabus for Christian Religious Education in Nigerian Secondary Schools has now reached the Federal Government but it is not accepted by any Church or ministry...The National Association of Bible Knowledge Teachers of Nigeria can suggest syllabus but can not make syllabus.[3]

---

[1]National Association of Bible Knowledge Teachers of Nigeria (North Central State), Minutes of the 8th Meeting, Kaduna, October 2, 1975, pp. 1-23.

[2]Kaduna State, Ministry of Education, R. J. Page, for Permanent Secretary, To All Principals, Secondary Schools, Kaduna State, Christian Religious Knowledge, Kaduna State Syllabus, Ref. No. NCE/CD/6A/64, September 1, 1976.

[3]Evangelical Churches of West Africa, SIM/ECWA Bible Teachers' Conference, Minutes of Secondary School Subcommittee, Appendix C, Jos., December 12-14, 1974.

The same teachers commented in 1975 that the new syllabus in the primary schools

> is being pushed strongly in some areas...
> [This syllabus and the secondary school one]...
> are likely to be liberal in theology.[1]

In 1977, a lecturer of a higher institution withdrew participation in the state review panel of the syllabus for primary schools. He gave the following reasons for his action:

> a) The syllabus is not Biblical.
> b) It is a mere set of ethical concepts fit for church sermons or exposition by experienced teachers in higher institutions.[2]

The official response to the lecturer was that, while his observations were correct, the adoption of the syllabus was not then changeable "until such times as the churches, jointly, produced an acceptable and suitable alternative."[3] N.E.A.C. was of the same opinion.[4] Rev. Chief T. T. Solaru, Principal of Immanual College, Ibadan, speaking at the launching of Together in God's Family in 1975 at Ibadan, agreed that the reduction of the religious content of the syllabus was a problem. It was reported that he

> sketched the despondency among the churches when the government had begun to take over schools, and even more, when in some places moral education syllabuses were produced which had no mention of religion at all. Moral education, he said, could give no answer to the question why any one should bother to be moral.[5]

---

[1] Evangelical Churches of West Africa, SIM/ECWA Bible Knowledge Teachers' Meeting, Miango Rest Home, April 9, 1975, p. 1; cf. same liberal fear expressed by Rev. S. A. Ibrahim, General Secretary E.C.W.A. in SIM/ECWA, Bible Knowledge Teachers' Seminar, Jos, December 12-15, 1975, p. 2.

[2] Barnaba B. Lekwat, to Rev. R. J. Page, Staff Inspector (C.R.K.), Ministry of Education, Kaduna State, Kaduna, April 20, 1977.

[3] Kaduna State, Ministry of Education, R. J. Page, Staff Inspector (C.R.K.) for Permanent Secretary, Kaduna, to Rev. Barnaba Lekwat, Ref. No. NCE/CD/6A/225.

[4] Northern Educational Advisory Committee, Ivan Eikenberry, Education Secretary, Kaduna, to Rev. B. B. Lekwat, Ref. No. E. 3/9/27, May 28, 1977.

[5] Institute of Church and State, Education, Samonda Newsletter, No. 7, December, 1975, p. 1.

N.A.B.K.T.N., Kaduna State Branch Standing Committee on the agreed syllabus made similar observations and suggestions in its 1975 modified version of the post primary school agreed syllabus. The points, inter alia were:

1) The syllabus could be valuable in the hands of an experienced and imaginative teacher but could create great problems for less qualified teachers [who are majority today].

2) The syllabus as it stands needs to be broken down into schemes of work.

3) The order in which the material is presented may not suit the age group.

4) A more religious approach is required rather than social.

5) Christ centered: religious education is concerned with communicating this truth which is the person of Christ...religious education not religious knowledge: Growth in Christ [is] more important than passing examinations.[1]

The Institute of Church and Society and the Pastoral Institute, aware of professional criticisms of the agreed syllabi, launched series of defensive rationalizations, particularly about arguments of methodology and the need for reducing religion in religious knowledge classes. Their arguments are shown in a subsequent section.[2]

The Historical Influence of the Common Syllabi

Notwithstanding the foregoing criticisms of the 1970's common syllabi, their emergence was a watershed in the history of the development of religious

---

[1] National Association of Bible Knowledge Teachers of Nigeria, Christian Religious Education for Post-Primary Schools in Nigeria, An Adaptation of the Proposed Agreed Syllabus, for use in North-Central State, (October, 1975), pp. 1-2, 6.

[2] Below, pp. 241-245.

instruction in Nigeria. The most obvious result was the unity of the churches, especially Roman Catholics and Protestants, in a joint effort to serve the nation. The national fame of N.A.B.K.T.N. was due to a united effort to teach Bible knowledge; and although sometimes critical of the Ibadan-based effort, the Association, from the evidence of its minutes, remained supportive of the Ibadan work. Rev. K. Sharpe, the President of the Association in 1974, suggested that the joint venture was a preparation in case, "a national curriculum body is set up by the federal government for Christian religious knowledge. We can present...a syllabus."[1] The efforts of the Rev. Dr. Eikenberry, N.E.A.C. Education Secretary led to the "Joint Catholic Protestant Ad Hoc Workshop" in November-December, 1976. The result of that initiative produced a scheme of work, distributed all over the North, to all churches, and later the handbook, All God's Children.[2] Although critical of liberalism, evangelical churches, like E.C.W.A., did not reject the syllabi: Biblical basis was their concern.[3] Rev. Simon A. Ibrahim, E.C.W.A. General Secretary, at the Jos Seminar of the Church's Bible Knowledge Teachers in 1975 challenged the teachers: "it is our duty to teach the Bible and introduce our children to Christ."[4]

---

[1]National Association of Bible Knowledge Teachers of Nigeria, News Letter, October, 1974, p. 1.

[2]Ivan Eikenberry, Background for Joint Catholic Protestant Ad Hoc Workshop Planning Meeting, November 29-December 2, 1976.

[3]Evangelical Churches of West Africa, SIM/ECWA Bible Knowledge Teachers/ Seminar Jos. December 12-15, 1975, pp. 1-2.

[4]Ibid., p. 1.

All the available minutes of meetings and seminars concerning the agreed syllabi indicated the unanimous desire to unite for the new syllabi: but their reduction of Bible content was the problem.

As indicated earlier, the universities became centers of church unity. A valid illustration was the coordinating role of The Institute of Education, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria. Besides its annual coordination of Islamic and Christian religious activities, it specifically reproduced the Joint Agreed Syllabus for Primary Schools.[1] The Institute also published the Grade II Christian Religious Knowledge Methods.[2] This work began in the school year 1978-1979. It was meant to assist teachers using the 1974 Joint Agreed Syllabus in Christian Religious Education for Grade II. Protestant and Roman Catholic teachers were the writers and editors of the book.[3]

The professional influence of the common syllabi of the 1970's was equally profound: precisely, it was the reintroduction[4] of moral instruction, dropped from the school curricula, officially, in the 1930's. The literature to explain and support this claim is the Ibadan literature of 1974 to 1979. Although the expressions "moral education" and "religious education" occurred much earlier than the 1970's, this latter period was the first sime, since the 1930's, that professionals identified these expressions as school subjects. The term "moral instruction" was rarely

---

[1]Ahmadu Bello University, Institute of Education, Primary School Syllabus.

[2]Ahmadu Bello University, Institute of Education, Grade II Christian Religious Knowledge Methods, (Zaria: Institute of Education Press, 1980).

[3]Ibid., p. iv.

[4]cf. Policy proposal, Above, p. 159.

used in the Ibadan literature. On the other hand, the expression "moral education" was prominent in the literature. Most popularly, perhaps because of criticisms, the term "religious education" replaced "moral education." An examination of a few Ibadan papers supports these observations.

The titles of the Ibadan sponsored common syllabi indicated a shift from religious instruction (Bible knowledge) to religious education: Christian Religious Education for Secondary Schools in Nigeria, and Christian Religious Education Syllabus the Five Year Programme (Grade II Teachers' College). Supportive of the Ibadan effort of moving away from Bible knowledge to religious education were Hundred Years of Christian Education in Igboland, printed by the Anambra State Printer.[1] The work was critical of "sudden overdose of any theological values,"[2] usually derived from Bible Knowledge. Christian Religious Education Syllabus for Secondary Schools Class I-III was produced by the Cross River state government in association with the Christian religious bodies and organizations in the state. The syllabus specified that the state was moving away from Bible knowledge to Christian religious education.[3]

Participants at various seminars and conferences at Ibadan reiterated in their papers that it was time to leave Bible knowledge and pursue religious and moral education. The Rev. E.A.A. Adegbola, the director of the Institute of Church and Society up to 1977, had on his letterhead the

---

[1]Rev. Fr. Dr. Stan Anih, the writer, was a government official, a Commissioner in the State Education Commission. Hence the book is regarded official.

[2]Hundred Years of Christian Education in Igboland, p. 6.

[3]Cross River State of Nigeria, Ministry of Education, Christian Religious Education Syllabus for Secondary Schools Class I-III (Port Harcourt: Ministry of Education, 1980), p. 4.

descriptive title "Religious Education." He initiated the foundation of the Association for Christian Higher Education in Nigeria in 1975.[1] Under his leadership the new Association's name was changed to reflect more clearly the Ibadan religious education aim: it became The Association for Christian Higher Religious Education in Nigeria.[2]

In the Association's March, 1976, Meeting at the University of Ibadan, all topics were concerned with religious education. Relevant points, including the psychological development of the Nigerian adolescent were discussed.[3] Christian Living Today,[4] an East African Christian religious education book, the basis of the Ibadan works, was introduced to participants. The East African study program emphasized "Christian religious education for secondary schools, a study of life themes."[5] A few Bible passages are inserted sporadically in the book. The East African course was "to replace the Cambridge Bible knowledge,"[6] and this was imported into Nigeria without any planning.

To buttress the point that in Nigeria Bible knowledge was to be replaced with religious education, the 1976 Meeting in Ibadan arranged special papers to convince national representatives of their course of action. Dr. J. A. Akinpelu, of the Department of Adult Education, University of Ibadan, wrote and read,

---

[1]Institute of Church and Society, Seminar Report, January 23-24, 1975, p. 3.

[2]Institute of Church and Society, "A.C.H.R.E.N. Inaugural Meeting," Education Newsletter, No. 7, December, 1975, p. 5.

[3]Institute of Church and Society, Meeting of A.C.H.R.E.N., Ibadan, November, 1976, p. 1.

[4]Pastoral Institute of East Africa, Christian Living Today, Book One, (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1974).

[5]Ibid., p. 1.

[6]Ibid.

> An examination of the current status of religious education [actually Bible knowledge] in schools will reveal distorted aims of religious education, obsolete content, outmoded method of teaching... and serious neglect of the moral dimensions of the subject.[1]

Similarly, Rev. John K. A. Aniagu, then Acting Programme Coordinator, National Institute of Moral and Religious Education, Lagos, argued that even comparative religion was not enough of religious education. He called for the integration of religious education with other disciplines.[2]

Another professional influence of the movement for religious education was the initiative for indigenous writers. In March, 1977, Rev. E. A. Adeolu Adegbola invited professionals of religious instruction to a "Workshop:I, grade II, T.T.C. textbooks for C.R.E." He wrote,

> The federal Ministry of Education has requested that the churches should write appropriate textbooks in Christian religious education for use in grade II T.T.C.'s. A copy of the current syllabus to be used as a basis for the books is enclosed. The books are to be published by the Ministry of Education itself.[3]

The emphasis that Rev. E.A.A. Adegbola had on the proposed textbook comprised two major points: attention on religious education not Bible knowledge, and emphasis on the "life-centered, Bible-based" method after the East African approach. The latter was based upon the pupils' experience. Thus he wrote,

---

[1]Dr. J. A. Akinpelu, "How Religious Education Can Help the Student to Relate Religion to Morality - In His Daily Life and Decisions," Ibadan, November 6, 1976, p. 3.

[2]Rev. John K. A. Aniagu, "How Can Religious Education Help the Students to Handle His Own Experience - His Joys and Sorrows, Hopes and Fears, Loves and Hates," Ibadan, November 6, 1976, p. 1.

[3]Rev. E. A. Adeolu Adegbola, Director, Institute of Church and Society, Christian Council of Nigeria, (Ibadan: Circular Letter, March 8, 1977).

> Unlike in the traditional historical, theological, or comparative approaches to the subject, research in this approach can be done not only by biblical specialists, theologians, and historians of religion, but also by psychologists, moral philosophers... The research necessary for the "life-centred, Bible-based" approach is therefore multi-disciplinary, but with emphasis on Christian value-systems.[1]

The Ibadan literature showed a change in leadership. Miss D. N. Obi,[2] succeeded Rev. E. A. Adeolu Adegbola as Director of the Institute of Church and Society. The 1978-1979 literature did not bear her name but names of delegated agents, particularly regarding the writing project. The literature showed little change in the promotion of religious education and the life-centered method. A circular letter purported to have contained the deliberation of the participants of the ongoing writing project reasoned as follows: that the historical chronological Bible study was mostly examination oriented; that it laid less emphasis on developing life attitudes; and that the East African textbooks should be adopted in totality -- education for life, experience, "integrative and holistic" methods. "Thus their approach fits in with the current Nigerian search for a more effective method of presenting Christian religious knowledge."[3]

In February, 1979, L. O. Failing and S. B. Mala for the Core Editorial Team of the writing project , since 1977, sent out another circular letter promoting religious education and the so-called life-centered method. They,

---

[1]Ibid., Attachment to A.C.H.R.E.N. Members, December 22, 1977, p. 2.

[2]Date of her succession uncertain at time of writing.

[3]A Memorandum Addressed to Church and Educational Leaders in Nigeria by the participants of the Third Workshop on Grade II Teachers' College Textbook for Christian Religious Education, at the Institute of Church and Society, Ibadan, May 8, 1978, pp. 1-2.

soliciting cooperation from teachers of religious studies and Christian religious knowledge, argued,

> Commissioned by the National Educational Research Council (NERC), to produce these textbooks, the editors have adopted a life-centred/Bible-based approach to learning which takes human experience as a starting point for understanding the Christian message and applying that message to present day situations.[1]

A reason for the delay of a single project sponsored by the federal Ministry of Education must be identified: up to the time research was done for this writing in August, 1982, the proposed textbook, since 1977, had not been published.[2] The research information only is mentioned as there are, probably several reasons for the delay, In 1982, Miss D. N. Obi suggested that her approach to religious instruction was Christ-centered not man-centered methodology. She added that Nigeria, at this stage of her development, needed Christian religious knowledge curriculum based on the Bible.[3] Her position in the project, therefore, was the exact opposite of the Adegbola administration. Furthermore, Pastor Simon Y. Waziri, a former National Vice President, and a Kaduna State Chairman of N.A.B.K.T.N., and a participant in the writing workshops, thought that the N.A.B.K.T.N. was not in favor of the sudden and wholesale importation and utilization of the East African religious education material. This, he argued, might

---

[1]L. O. Failing and S. B. Mala, To Heads of Departments of Religious Studies, Colleges of Education, Advanced Teachers' Colleges, Institute of Church and Society, Ibadan, February 2, 1979.

[2]Interview with Miss D. N. Obi, Director of the Institute of Church and Society, Ibadan, August 25, 1982.

[3]Ibid.

have discouraged some Bible knowledge teachers from active participation in the writing project. N.A.B.K.T.N., he continued, had argued that adequate research resource was available in Nigeria and mere adoptation would not be acceptable. S. Y. Waziri added that N.A.B.K.T.N.'s original argument to the Ibadan authorities was that the central issue of Ibadan orientation be resolved: Bible content curriculum was the preference of the Association.[1]

It was surprising that the National Educational Research Council should have allowed the Christian churches of Nigeria to be held ransom by advocates of one method of teaching a subject. The attempt to institutionalize the life-centered approach to religious instruction and to institutionalize the reduction of the Biblical content was not justified. While a federal government project, which was promoting one teaching method could not succeed since 1977, other writing projects succeeded between 1977 and 1980. For an example, the Institute of Education produced the Grade II Christian Religious Knowledge Methods. Over ten methods of teaching were suggested in this work.[2] Akpenpuun Dzurgba's review of grade II syllabus in 1977 listed eight teaching methods.[3] Using the same federal syllabus, 'Banji Olantona's book of 1977 named and discussed about nine teaching methods; his seven children's activities reinforced methods.[4]

---

[1]Telephone interview with Pastor Simon Y. Waziri, Menomonie, Wisconsin, February 24, 1983.

[2]Ahmadu Bello University, Institute of Education, Grade II Christian Religious Knowledge Methods, p. 23f., 35f., 40f. (The writing of this book started in 1978-1979 school year).

[3]Akpenpuun Dzurgba, Teacher's Certificate Grade Two Syllabus Reviewed and Reconstructed, p. 9.

[4]'Banji Olatona, A Comprehensive Revision Course on Religious Knowledge for Teacher's Grade Two, School Cert. and G.C.E., (Ekiti: Omolayo Standard Press and Bookshops, 1977, 3rd ed., 1980).

The humanistic approach to religious instruction by the languishing[1] Ibadan leadership showed that national aims of religious instruction were not fully promoted: the religious heritage of the church was put aside; knowledge of only the virtue doctrines was encouraged. To this extent, some professional approaches to religious instruction were not in accordance with government policy (1925-1979).

Nigerian governments, since 1925, had realized the realtionship between religion and morality in the Nigerian context: hence the promotion of a religious heritage. While some Western writers, for example, Edwin Cox[2] and Norman J. Bull[3] might have thought that the religious basis for morality might have been difficult to ascertain, it would have been appropriate for the organizations like the Ibadan-based organizations to undertake research in the Nigerian experience in this matter. The doubts of some Nigerians as to the positive basis of the Christian religion for morality -- for example, Otonti Nduka,[4] and J. A. Akinpelu[5] — have not been attested. Rev. Canon Dr. Edmund Ilogu's lamentation that social corruption persists even where Nigerian Christians are a majority does not negate the positive role of Christian moral laws on social morality.[6]

---

[1] In respect to the book project.

[2] Edwin Cox, Changing Aims in Religious Education, (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966, reprint., 1971), pp. 53f.

[3] Norman J. Bull, Moral Education, (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1969, reprint., 1973), 89f.

[4] Nduka, Western Education and the Nigerian Cultural Background, pp. 87-88, 92-93, 158-160.

[5] J. A. Akinpelu, "How Religious Education Can Help the Student to Relate Religion to Morality," p. 1.

[6] Rev. Canon (Dr.) Edmund Ilogu, "Changing Religious Beliefs in Nigeria," Nigeria Magazine, 1975, No. 117-118, pp. 14, 20.

After all, there are other researchers -- P. Udaroh Okeke,[1] Reinhold Niebuhr,[2] Norma H. Thompson,[3] Randolph Crump Miller[4] and Horace Bushnell[5] -- to name but a few who thought religion or theology may be a useful foundation to, or at least contributory to social morality. M. A. Orebanjo, a Nigerian educationist, concluded that for the Nigerian schoolchild

> there is a strong link between morality and religious education and that it is the duty of religious education teachers to ensure that religious education effectively inculcates in schoolchildren the necessary moral standard for which the subject is best suited.[6]

Students' Interest in Studying Religious Instruction as a Major School Subject

Indeed, the interest of Nigerian pupils in studying religious instruction as a school subject should be considered in any proposals affecting the subject. There was no available research data from the study to support the Ibadan tendency. Nor has the Christian community been informed by the Nigerian Educational Research Council of any research findings supporting the current proposal to emphasize civics and ethics without religion in schools.

---

[1]P. Uduaroh Okeke, "Background to the Problems of Nigerian Education," ed. Ikejiani, Education in Nigeria, pp. 92, 98.

[2]Reinhold Niebuhr, Moral Man and Immoral Society, A Study in Ethics and Politics, (New York: Charles Scribners' Sons, 1932, 2nd ed. 1960), pp. 51f., 257f., 266f.

[3]Norma H. Thompson, "The Role of Theology in Religious Education: An Introduction," ed. Norma H. Thompson, Religious Education and Theology, p. 9.

[4]Randolph Crump Miller, "Theology in the Background," ed. Thompson, Ibid., pp. 22f.

[5]Horace Bushnell, Christian Nurture, with an Introduction by John N. Mulder, (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Book House, reprinted from the 1861 ed., 1979), pp. 10f., 228f., 366f.

[6]M. A. Orebanjo, "The Relationship Between Religious and Moral Education," West African Journal of Education, October, 1974, No. 18, Vol. 3, pp. 433-440. (ERIC E.J127991).

In promoting the Harere Declaration, a 1982 African educational proposal, the Executive Secretary of the Council did not include religion or religious instruction with the African educational goals to be pursued in Nigeria. He wrote that it was the intention of his Council

> to give due prominence to the teaching of civics and ethics and to the encouragement of a sense of responsibility at all levels of their education systems.[1]

In considering students' interest, three points need be examined: the churches' interest in the religious instruction of their children; the parents' interest in the religious instruction of their children; and the children's personal interest in the subject.

Church Interest in the Religious Instruction Of Their Children

According to Mr. C. O. Williams, the General Secretary of the Christian Council of Nigeria, who (in 1981) was also the Acting General Secretary of the Christian Association of Nigeria, the Church expected the government to persist in upholding the teaching of religious instruction in the schools. He reasoned that Christian parents wished to bring up their children in a particular moral way based on religion; and the school could contribute appropriately.[2] In every quarterly meeting of the Christian Association of Nigeria in Kaduna between 1976 and 1980,[3] average attendance would be 100

---

[1]The Executive Secretary, Nigerian Educational Research Countil, "The Nigerian Educational Research Council Presents the Harere Declaration, Future Direction for African Education," Daily Times, February 25, 1983, pp. 12-13.

[2]Interview with Mr. C. O. Williams, Lagos, August 27, 1982.

[3]When Barnaba B. Lekwat was General Secretary and recorded the minutes of meetings; cf. Above, p. 203.

church leaders and lay representatives. Each meeting wished to know the condition of teaching Christian religious knowledge to Christian children in schools.[1]

Parents' Interest in the Religious Instruction of Their Children

According to Mr. David J. Dagat,[2] President and Mr. Anthony Olukoya, Secretary, the Nigerian Association of Catholic Graduates, Kaduna Branch,

> One of the fundamental duties of the Church is to give religious instruction to all people particularly the faithful and we cannot accept the Church being pushed out of her right and duty here. We as parents have the inalienable right to choose an education that is in keeping with our religion for our children. This, however, does not exclude them from an education which is also in keeping with the culture, tradition and security of their fatherland.[3]

N.A.B.K.T.N., Kaduna State Branch, has persistently maintained that it was crucial for the state to ensure the teaching of religious instruction in the schools because parents expected their children to study the subject. Mallam Yohanna Gamba, the founding state chairman of the Association, now (beginning April, 1983) the Consule General, Nigerian Consulate General, San Francisco, challenged members in 1974 to work hard in teaching the subject. He argued that, "many parents have expressed the fear that mass

---

[1] Ibid.

[2] In the 1970's, Head of Department of Technical Education, Kaduna Polytechnic and now Principal of College of Education, Kafanchan.

[3] National Association of Catholic Graduates and Professionals, Kaduna, D. J. Dagat and Anthony Olukoya, A Review of the Draft Constitution, To the Secretary, The Constituent Assembly Cabinet Office, Lagos, (1977).

education of the young might cause their moral and religious education to be neglected."[1] In 1975, Y. Gamba repeated the desire to pay attention to the moral and religious instruction need of children in the schools.[2]

Children's Interest in School

Religious Instruction

School records, interviews and researchers are the useful sources of data for this section of the study. The missions, it has been pointed out, always required their students in primary and post primary schools to study Christian religious instruction. After the transfer of schools to local education authorities and the total take over of education control by the government, the parents, as already indicated, persisted in their demands that Bible knowledge be taught in the schools. Interviews with graduates of mission schools showed interesting findings. During the period of the research for this work, in August and September, 1982, a number of the graduates of S.I.M. Kagoro Secondary School (1964-1965), were interviewed. Those interviewed were Lavosier C. Dogo, 1964 graduate, now Area Manager Northern States, Nigerian Breweries Ltd., Kaduna. The rest were 1965 graduates: Elias G. Mairabo, Medical Secretary E.C.W.A. Headquarters Jos; Zakariya M. Haruna, Director Technical Services, Nigeria Airways, Lagos; Balet Lebesa, Vice Principal Government Technical Secondary School Soba, and now a graduate

---

[1] National Association of Bible Knowledge Teachers of Nigeria, Minutes of the 5th Meeting of the North Central State Branch of the National Association of Bible Knowledge Teachers of Nigeria, Kaduna, September 27, 1974, pp. 2-3.

[2] National Association of Bible Knowledge Teachers of Nigeria (North Central State), Minutes of the 8th Meeting, Kaduna, October 25, 1975, Appendix A.

student, University of Wisconsin, Menomonie; and Dr. Danjuma Sule, Chief Medical Officer, Bauchi. These graduates had the following general comments regarding the teaching of Bible knowledge in Kagoro. They felt that it was reasonable that Bible knowledge was taught to them. They, however, felt that there was too much emphasis on religion in the school atmosphere, and perhaps a tendency to impose it. None of them suggested that they should not have been required to study the subject. They felt that the missionaries expected too much "holy life" from students, and that this expectation led some students to pretend to be morally good while in school. This expectation led to some missionaries being partisan in their treatment of the so-called good students vis-a-vis those who did not publicly express their religiousness.[1]

Students' attitude towards religious instruction was studied by David A. Awolola in 1976. He had 234 students in eight secondary schools in the Western state to answer his questionnaire. He himself regarded his findings as representative of Nigerian students' view. D. A. Awolola found that students were interested in promoting two of the aims of the government policy: the enhancement of the virtue doctrines and the stabilization of social norms. He wrote:

> The majority of students were saying that religious knowledge could help Nigeria to eradicate hatred and suspicion in the society. The students in great numbers believed that religion helps people to develope respect for others, helps people to understand what is right and wrong and Nigeria would get along better if the people were more religious.[2]

---

[1]Interview with L. C. Dogo, Kaduna, September 2, 1982; Elias G. Mairabo, New York, November, 1981, and September, 1982; Zakariya M. Haruna, Lagos, August 30, 1982; Dr. Danjuma Sule, on plane Kano to London, September 6, 1982; and Telephone Interview with Balet Labesa, Menomonie, February 11, 1983.

[2]Awolola, "Eight Representative Secondary Schools in the Western State of Nigeria Respond to Religious Education Curriculum Survey," p. 94.

Although D. A. Awolola did not personally agree with the students, they told him that African traditional religion should be excluded from the school curriculum. It was surprising that he agreed with the students that there should be no change in the method of teacher recruitment.[1]

Quantitatively, for the period of this study, it would not be an overemphasis to conclude that every school child in Nigeria studied either Islamic or Christian religious instruction: At least it was the case in all mission schools before the government took over the schools. In 1982, the Rev. Iliya B. Ahuwan said that it has become the norm for all students to study religious knowledge and that it was only at the higher classes of post primary some might not study the subject for the final examination.[2]

According to a government record, although religious knowledge was optional in 1952, in 39 mission schools in the country almost every student sat for the religious knowledge examination. This particular record showed that 390 students sat for the religious knowledge examination. There were only seven non-mission schools recorded, and some of their students also sat for the examination.[3]

In the period 1974 to 1980, the Institute of Education, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, conducted various programs in religious instruction.[4]

---

[1]Ibid., pp. 85, 113.

[2]Interview with Rev. Iliya B. Ahuwan, Chairman, N.A.B.K.T.N., Kaduna State, Bible Knowledge Master, Government College, Kaduna, August 14, 1982.

[3]The Federation of Nigeria, Official Gazette, No. 52, Vol. 40, September 3, 1953, "Government Notice, No. 1215, Teachers' Certificate Examination, Grade II, 1952 - Results," pp. 881-903.

[4]Islamic statistics were not available for this study. The Institutes of Education of all Thirteen Universities then did similar work.

For the Interim Joint Matriculation Board (I.J.M.B.), grade II teachers graduates and secondary school graduates studied religious studies in nine post secondary colleges in preparation for university entrance. There were 385 students studying Christian religious studies in these colleges in the school year 1979-1980; and 375 of them sat for the religious studies examinations in June, 1980.[1]

The Institute of Education, Zaria, runs two Advanced Teachers' Colleges, Kano and Zaria, and has, since the early 1970's, all the ten State Colleges of Education for the ten northern states affiliated to it up to 1980. Pius A. Oketa, Secretary of the Christian Association of Nigerian Students, Advanced Teachers' College, Zaria, 1979, estimated that in 1979 there were approximately 500 students who graduated in Christian religious knowledge from the Colleges of Education. These were students who studied the subject in post primary schools and continued to study it at the Colleges of Education.[2] Pius A. Oketa was soliciting the Ahmadu Bello University to start a degree program in religious studies for these 500 and other students.[3]

About 10,000 applications were received each year from post primary graduate applicants interested in studying various courses at the Advanced Teachers' College, Zaria. It was the experience of heads of department, between 1974 and 1980, to note that almost every application had a certificate

---

[1]Barnaba B. Lekwat was Chief Examiner for the I.J.M.B. in Religious Studies according to the Chief Examiners File, Advanced Teachers' College, Zaria.

[2]Christian Association of Nigerian Students, Pius A. Oketa, To the Secretary Academic Planning Committee, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, June 19, 1979, p. 2.

[3]Ibid., pp. 1-2.

with Islamic or Christian religious knowledge.[1] For any one year, at least over 500 candidates were interviewed for admission to study Christian religious knowledge.[2]

More students studied religious knowledge by correspondence as private candidates for the General Certificate in Education (G.C.E.). According to Claudius Olayinka Akinwusi's research

> In 1969, 17,534 candidates sat for religious knowledge (Islamic and Bible knowledge) out of a total of 24,333 who sat for the examinations in Nigeria. In 1970, out of the 43,320 candidates who sat for the entire West African School Certificate Examination, 21,249 candidates sat for Islamic knowledge or Bible knowledge.[3] In other words, approximately seventy-five percent of those who took the West African School Certificate Examination in 1969 took either Islamic knowledge or Bible knowledge, while in 1970, the percentage dropped to approximately fifty percent.[4]

The reason for students' interest in religious instruction was not only that the church and parents influenced them to study it; nor was it only that they realized the moral value of the subject, but also, in the Nigerian context, students realized that the subject had economic viability. The observation that the subject has economic value to students is substantiated by the rush for grade II teachers, secondary school graduates and G.C.E. holders to study Christian religious knowledge in the post secondary

---

[1]Barnaba B. Iekwat was Head of the Department of Christian Religious Knowledge and involved in sorting out qualified applications.

[2]Barbaba B. Iekwat conducted the interview between 1975 and 1980.

[3]Akinwusi, "An Approach to Religious Studies in Nigerian Secondary Schools," p. 31, quoting Ajibade Ogundiran, Assistant Registrar, W.A.E.C., Lagos, December 14, 1972.

[4]Ibid., Akinwuisi's calculation of percentage.

colleges. It is also becoming the norm for all universities in Nigeria to teach Christian religious studies.[1]

Summary

Chapter VI explores the conception of religious instruction. Some recent events which influenced the development of the concepts of religious instruction are identified. The events included the inclusion of the human rights clause in the 1960, 1963, and 1979 national constitutions; and the crusade for social moral discipline by the military regime.

The constitutional concept of religious instruction from 1960 to 1979 is examined. The crucial concept of the subject in the constitutions of 1960, 1963, and 1979 is religious instruction. Most education laws, between 1925 and 1977 used the expression "religious instruction." Although there is no available document in which religious instruction is defined, it is deduced that the term was popularly used because of the religious factual content of the subject; hence the missions called the subject "religious knowledge" or "Bible knowledge."

The 1979 constitution contains a code of conduct for civil servants. The chapter suggests that the code of conduct be a useful source for teaching moral and ethical principles in schools.

The professional conception of religious instruction is explored. The denominational notion of the subject centered on Bible knowledge. The main objective of denominational Bible knowledge was moral training based on the teachings of the denominations.

---

[1]Federal Republic of Nigeria, Interim Joint Matriculation Board, Brochure, Guide Lines for Admission to First Degree Courses in Nigerian Universities, 1980-1981, pp. 18-19, 34, 38, 42, 45, show universities and courses in religious studies.

Since the 1950's, a non-denominational factual Bible knowledge was promoted by the West African Examinations Council (W.A.E.C.). The N.A.B.K.T.N. accepted the W.A.E.C. curriculum up to 1979.

After the take over of Christian schools in the 1970's, a non-denominational common syllabi emerged. The common syllabi were promoted by N.E.R.C., the Ibadan-based Institute of Church and Society and the Pastoral Institute. Two problems of the common syllabi are discussed. The first issue, the sudden reduction of the religious content of the Bible knowledge course led to an advocacy for replacing religious instruction with moral instruction. The latter was given the name moral education, which, because of criticisms was later called religious education. The second problem of the common syllabi was the advocacy of one teaching method -- the so-called life-centered approach.

However, the chapter discusses the positive influence of the common syllabi. First, there is the united effort of the churches. Second, there is the professional advocacy for a more intergrative religious instruction by the advocates of religious education. Third, there is the initiative for indigenous writers.

Student's interest in studying religious instruction is also examined. The chapter shows that in Nigeria from 1925 to 1979, students were interested in religious instruction, partly because the church and parents influenced them to be interested. Also, the students themselves realized the religious and moral values of the subject. They also were influenced by the economic viability of the subject.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

The Research

The dissertation explores the changes which occurred in teaching Christian religious instruction as a major school subject from 1925 to 1979. Chapter II examines the official policy which challenged missions to re-orient religious instruction to be more meaningful to society. To supplement mission effort in religious instruction, government reinforced its policy to teach secular moral instruction. Therefore, government upgraded religious and moral instruction to the status of optional major school subjects. The study reveals the immediate underlying government aim in pursuing the teaching of religious and moral instruction: Chapter II shows the assumption of both the national and regional governments that the subjects can help provide a force to control cultural breakdown; to inculcate the concept of loyalty to authority and traditional community; and to promote ethical and moral principles.

A descriptive analysis of the extent to which the government policy of education upgraded religious instruction is provided in Chapter III. Although the missions organized more schools than the government did, government education laws superceded mission policies; and government gradually took over the ownership and control of schools. However, no government education ordinance reversed the 1925 policy that religious and moral instruction be on an equal status with other school subjects. Therefore,

since 1926, the government has been sponsoring the development of the curriculum of religious instruction through the religious organizations. The churches prepared themselves for school changes by uniting under various associations to carry out government policy. The Christian Council of Nigeria, The Christian Association of Nigeria, and the National Association of Bible Knowledge Teachers of Nigeria are some of the vital church associations which promote the government policy of teaching religious instruction.

The most profound regulatory provisions for teaching religious instruction were stated in educational laws between 1948 and 1977. Since the introduction of fundamental rights in the 1960 constitution, the national constitutions of 1960, 1963, and 1979 upheld the provisions of the education laws. The research shows that the laws stipulated that religious instruction and religious worship shall not be mandatory of any school pupil in any Nigerian school; that where religious instruction and religious worship are provided a pupil shall participate in the school religious activities according to the tenets and wishes of the parents or guardians of the pupil; that any religious denomination is free to offer its denominational, but optional, religious instruction and religious worship in its schools; and that no pupil shall be liable to discrimination due to his/her religious persuation in any school. Thus the educational policies and constitutions upheld a democratic approach to free participation in school religious activities.

In Chapter IV, the research examines specific changes in teaching school religious instruction. The findings of the data show that objectives of the subject changed: whereas the missions utilized the Bible-based subject to evangelize, plant churches, and to teach a Bible-based morality, government policy promoted three broad objectives. First, there

was the promotion of virtues because of the need for disciplined individuals in the public sector. Secondly, the promotion of a social stabilizing force was crucial in light of cultural breakdown - a result of the influence of westernization. Thirdly, the promotion of religious heritage was paramount since society was theistic prior to the advent of Islam and Christianity.

The study shows that government policy influenced curricula changes. For example, the non-mission schools began to take the curriculum of religious instruction more seriously in the 1960's and 1970's. The most profound influence of government policy was in persuading the religious organizations to abandon indoctrination in teaching curricula contents. As religious instruction was seen to be socially useful, the government advocated that religious educators utilize the critical and rational approaches; pupil's creativity through meaningful participation in the teaching — learning process is to be pursued; memorization is to be reduced; and the religious educator is to be an ideal of the moral principles he/she teaches.

Chapter V shows that government goals were not easy to achieve. A few professionals raised the philosophical criticism that morality may not necessarily be attained through school religious instruction only. In addition practical school problems are examined. The acute shortage of religious knowledge teachers is a major set back to government goals. Most available teachers were not prepared for the specialist discipline envisaged by government: the teachers were oriented towards denominational indoctrination; they were mostly trained in the seminaries, Bible colleges and Bible schools; and most of them had no integrative educational background, especially in the principles of education.

The research examines the problem of lack of policy implementation. Where teachers were available and willing to sacrifice their church commitments and teach in schools, they were frustrated in some states. They were not accorded equal professional status with other school teachers; and their personal emolument was not equal to that of secular counterparts on the basis that religious education certificates did not show secular qualifications. In the 1970's, however, some states cooperated with the Church Council of Nigeria, the Christian Association of Nigeria and the N.A.B.K.T.N. and adjusted the teaching conditions of religious educators vis-a-vis their secular counterparts, but in other states, the teaching of religious instruction is not freely done.

The foregoing findings indicate that the teacher shortage is traceable to a lack of policy implementation: where policy is implemented, there is more likelihood of obtaining many qualified teachers. The research shows that in the 1960's and 1970's some churches were attempting to reduce teacher shortages by affiliating their seminaries and Bible colleges to universities. Affiliation is a means of obtaining government recognition of certificates of graduates of church controlled institutions. The dissertation indicates that the church tendency for affiliation of seminaries to universities is an insufficient measure for reducing teacher shortage. There are internal church problems in such affiliations. The dissertation observes that the advisability of affiliation is not justified in light of the government's tendency to take over institutions in which it has a vested interest.

The research reveals that proposed government sponsored Bible Teachers' Colleges or Religious Education Colleges were abandoned in favor of pivotal grade II teacher's course. The research indicates that neither

grade II teachers nor N.C.E. graduates in Christian religious knowledge are fully allowed in some states to teach religious instruction. They are assigned to teach other subjects they studied in school. Therefore, the long-term solution to teacher shortage is not identified in the research documents.

In Chapter VI, the major concepts of religious instruction are identified. The crucial concept is religious education. The common syllabi for religious instruction in an era of intergrative education, the 1970's, placed emphasis on religious education. According to the data of the dissertation, there was a tendency to reduce the Bible content of religious knowledge by the advocates of religious education.

The study further examines a nationwide reluctance to accept a humanistic religious education which was promoted by advocates of a child-centered methodology. According to the research data, the interests of students, the majority of professionals, parents and the church, all point to the need to retain Bible knowledge as part of the curriculum of religious education. The research suggests that various interests should be met by adopting religious education as a double-major subject consisting of Bible knowledge and moral education. The research reveals that students are interested in Bible knowledge in order to promote government policy in respect to religious instruction, but they also foster their own interest. They find religious knowledge to be a viable economic and educational subject for life advancement in higher institutions.

The promotion of school religious education should be a major concern of education policy makers, religious educators, the churches, and other groups for whom this study is designed. An awareness of the historical perspective of religious education (commonly known in Nigeria as Bible knowledge, religious knowledge or religious studies) as perceived in this

study is crucial. From 1842 to 1924, the Christian missionary practice was to teach religious education in order to enhance evangelism for church growth. Missionaries also taught a Bible-based moral education. The government taught religious education for ensuring obedience among civil servants. Two major problems made religious education ineffective: indoctrination by denominational promoters of the various Christian missions, and the low public view of the subject, regarded to be secularly less important than other school subjects.

Between 1925 and 1969, when the government gradually increased participation in education, the evangelistic aims of religious education persisted: the missionaries were still responsible for a majority of the schools. However, Nigerian education laws and national constitutions persistently upheld the missionary legacy of teaching religious education in schools. The major influence of government policies was legalizing the teaching of a Bible-based (and Qur'anic-based) religious education as a major school subject. The government laws proposed unevangelistic aims: the promotion of the virtues, a social stabilizing force and a non-evangelistic, religious heritage. Also, the government policies encouraged the adoption of a more critical approach in teaching the subject; indoctrination was discouraged. Between 1925 and 1969, the missionaries, confronted with persisting financial and manpower shortages, endeavored to teach religious education in all their schools and in a majority of government schools.

Between 1970 and 1979, when Christian schools were suddenly taken over and controlled by state governments, the legal status of religious education was upheld, and the subject was taught at all levels in Nigerian schools; but the evangelistic aims of the subject appeared to

have been lost. Religious education was studied for its educational and economic values. Furthermore, in some states, grass-root policy implementers did not fully implement the policy to teach the subject. Teacher shortages were enhanced by the failure to implement the government policy to teach the subject.

The value of this research should be seen in the light of the foregoing historical overview of the subject. Students, parents, religious educators, policy makers, the churches, and other groups who want religious education to remain a major school subject need to understand its historical perspective. They should demand through the appropriate legal channels full implementation of the policy to teach the subject.

These interested groups should also resist the tendency to reduce the Bible content of religious education for Christian students. This tendency emerged immediately after the missions lost the control of the schools to the government. Between 1970 and 1979, Christian Bible teachers, who took over the teaching of the subject from the missionaries, were responsible for the movement to reduce the Bible content of religious education. In order for religious education professionals to appreciate the ultimate influence of the tendency to reduce the Bible content of the subject, they need to have an accurate perspective of the history of making educational policies in Nigeria. For example, despite the fact that the churches introduced and promoted Western education, and organized the majority of schools in Nigeria between 1842 and 1969, policy makers gradually encouraged the government to take over the control of the schools.

Until the take over of the Christian schools and medical services by various states, Western education was the major social contribution

of the churches to Nigeria. After the school take over, teaching of the Bible (traditionally called Bible knowledge or Christian religious knowledge) in Nigerian schools remained the major means of church influence on the Nigerian social life. There is no other social service which the churches jointly undertake for the nation. However, the development of the curriculum of religious education is done by the churches under government auspices.

The foregoing facts make it mandatory for religious education professionals to take certain precautions. The teachers of religious education (that is Bible knowledge, religious knowledge and religious studies) should not promote the reduction of the Bible content of the subject. Their attitude will influence other groups to agitate for excluding the teaching of the Bible in the classes of moral and religious education. Educational policy makers will be influenced to make laws to exclude the Bible in school religious education. Therefore, Bible knowledge teachers should insist on a Bible-based moral education; that is, the academic study of Nigerian moral norms, and ethical behaviors on a broad religious perspective. Furthermore, Bible knowledge teachers should practice the art of objective teaching, the purposeful pursuit of fair presentation of various views of educational topics before the learners. Objective teaching should be a criterion for achieving academic excellence in the field of religious education. In return, objective teaching will reduce the denominational tendency of teachers. Denominationalism, and therefore lack of harmony among students, will worsen the pluralistic tribal and ethnic situation of Nigerians. The government will be influenced to consider ways of reducing the major cause of denominationalism, which is the fundamentalist interpretation

of the Bible. Ultimately, the government will reduce the content of the Bible in schools. To prevent a government interference of this nature, Bible knowledge teachers should practice the art of objectivity in their classrooms, public discussions and published works.

The legal basis of religious education needs to be understood and applied by all groups concerned with school religious education. For example, the Nigerian educational laws and constitutions permit the teaching of the Bible and participating in other Christian activities in schools; but the laws do not demand any student to study the Bible and participate in other religious affairs. Parents, teachers and school administrators should not interfere with the choice of students; learners should be allowed the freedom to participate, or not be involved, in school religious activities. This freedom also means that promotors of teaching religious education in schools should continue to encourage the study of the subject.

Between 1925 and 1979, the government policies emphasized the crucial role of the Bible teacher. The major role of the teacher is not only to teach the subject, but to be an example of the principles that are taught. The respect that students have for religious education may largely depend upon the attitude of the teacher to the principles that the teacher promotes. The Bible, the major textbook of religious education in Nigeria, advocates that the teacher be an example of what he or she teaches.[1]

---

[1] I Timothy 4:12.

Suggestions for Further Research

The dissertation is not exhaustive in its exploration of the history of the development of religious education in Nigerian schools. Several issues raised in the research need detailed study to supplement the inexhaustive study of the dissertation.

An area that needs a careful study is the underlying government assumption that morality and religion are inseparable. The influence of the relationship between religion and morality in the Nigerian experience needs to be researched. While such a research may not give the solution to the problem of persisting lack of discipline in the public sector, educators will have an added reference work in evaluating Nigerian social conditions.

The methodology of disseminating truth in contemporary educational setting is a field that will enrich the Nigerian religious educator. Two important scientific variables should be part of a study of contemporary methodology: objectivity in learning truth, and the role of pupil participation in a creative learning situation. If the religious educator in Nigeria would avoid indoctrination, it is necessary to involve the learner; and a democratic teaching approach should be based on objectivity.

The scope of the curriculum of religious education in Nigerian schools is an area that needs to be researched. If such research is conducted, some crucial curricula aspects need to be considered: the history of religious education, the legal foundation of religious education, the conception of social justice, the family (marriage, birth control, abortion, polygamy, and monogamy) in the Nigerian religious experience, the influence of religious values on society, private and public ethics, politics, authority and child psychology, and contemporary religious movements in Nigeria. It must be

considered at what school level each of the above topics is to be studied. Curricula consideration should examine the suggestion that is made in this dissertation that religious education be adopted as a double-major subject, consisting of Bible knowledge and moral education. This is where the Bible in religious education is to be examined. The relevance of the Bible as an influence on religion, morality and education is a crucial consideration.

The last study area to be suggested here is policy implementation as a foundation for successful teaching of religious education. A consideration of the hindrances to policy implementation is vital; so are their solutions. The factors that will lead to attaining a sufficient number of qualified teachers of religious education should be identified. The suggestions that a long-term successful policy implementation may be found in the establishment of Religious Education Colleges should be examined. It is crucial to study the possibility of successful teaching of religious education as a double-major subject in Religious Education Colleges. There is a possibility that learners of a double-major subject are likely to promote the subject.

REFERENCE AND SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. Primary Sources: Archieves and Nonarchieves but Official Papers

A. Nigerian National Government (Colony, Protectorate and Federal)

Colony and Protectorate of Nigeria, Annual Volume of the Laws of Nigeria Containing All Legislation Enacted During the Year 1946. Lagos: Government Printer, 1946, "Public Notice No. 148 of 1946 Proclamation (Under Section 56(2) of the Nigerian Legislative Council) Order in Council, 1946."

Annual Volume of the Laws of Nigeria Containing all Legislation Enacted During the Year 1946. Lagos: Government Printer, 1948, "Nigeria (Legislative Council) Order in Council 1946."

_____. Board of Education, minutes of the 11th Meeting of the Board of Education Constituted Under Section 4 of the Education (Colony and Southern Provinces). Ordinance 1926 (No. 25 of 1926 as Amended by No. 7 of 1931) Held in the Council Chamber, Nigerian Secretariat, Lagos, from Monday to Thursday, 2nd-5th February, 1942, NAK, PCJ205.

_____. Education Ordinance (1926). Lagos: Government Printer, 1926, NAI, 16496.

_____. Education Policy in Nigeria, 1944. NAI, 23889, Vol. II.

_____. Nigeria Annual Report, 1925. Lagos: Government Printer, 1925, NAI.

_____. Nigeria Annual Report for the Year 1926. Lagos: Government Printer, 1926, NAI, ARS/MS3.

_____. Nigeria Gazette January to December, 1926. Lagos: Government Printer, NAI, "Government Notice, No. 69, The Nigeria Gazette, May 27, 1926, Education (Colony and Southern Provinces) Ordinance, 1926, No. 15 of 1926, Members of the Board of Education for the Colony and Southern Provinces."

_____. The Nigerian Handbook, 1927, 8th ed. Lagos: Government Printer, 1927, NAI, ARS/MS3.

The Federal Republic of Nigeria, Annual Volumes of the Laws of the Federal Republic of Nigeria Containing Decrees and Subsidiary Legislation Made in the Year 1977. Lagos: Federal Ministry of Information, 1977, "Supplement to Official Gazette Extraordinary, No. 27, Vol. 64, 13th June, 1977, Part A, Schools Take-Over (Validation Decree, 1977, Decree No. 48)."

_____. Federal Ministry of Education, Grade II Teacher's Syllabus, Christian Religious Education Syllabus, The Five Year Programme. Lagos: Federal Ministry of Education, 1974.

_____. Federal Ministry of Education, Professional Division, Mrs. A. O. Williams for Permanent Secretary To the Secretary National Association of Bible Knowledge Teachers of Nigeria, Government Secondary School, Kagoro, Ref. ADF. 160/S 109(v)34, 27th February, 1973.

_____. Interim Joint Matriculation Board, Brochure, Guide Lines for Admission to First Degree Courses in Nigerian Universities, 1980/81. Lagos: I. J. M. B. Secretariat.

_____. National Policy on Education, 1977. Lagos: Federal Ministry of Information, 1977.

_____. Nigerian Educational Research Council, A Philosophy of Nigerian Education, Report of the Nigerian National Curriculum Conference, 8-12 September, 1969, ed. Adeniji Adaralegbe and Forward by S. K. Cookey. Ibadan: Heineman Educational Books, 1972, reprint, 1981.

_____. Proceedings of the Constituent Assembly, Official Report, 6th October, 1977 to 21st March, 1978, 2 vols., Lagos: Federal Ministry of Information, 1978.

_____. The Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1963. Lagos: Federal Ministry of Information, 1963.

_____. The Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1979. Lagos: Times Press, 1979.

_____. The Great Debate, Nigerian View Points on the Draft Constitution, 1976/77. Lagos: Daily Times of Nigeria, Ltd., 1977.

The Federation of Nigeria, Annual Volume of the Laws of Nigeria, 1959, Containing the Ordinances and Subsidiary Legislation of the Federation. Lagos: Federal Government Printer, 1959, "Provision to be inserted as Sixth Schedule to Nigeria (Constitution) Order in Council, 1954."

_____. Annual Volume of the Laws of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. Lagos: Government Printer, 1960, "The Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, Fundamental Rights, Religion and Liberty, Freedom of Conscience."

_____. Education Ordinance 1948 (No. 39 of 1948). Lagos: Government Printer, 1948, NAK 13540, Vol. II.

_____. Education Ordinance 1952 (No. 17 of 1952). Lagos: Government Printer, 1952, NAK 13540, Vol. II.

_____. Nigeria Gazette, 6th November, 1952, No. 57, Vol. 39. Lagos: Federal Ministry of Information, 1952, "Government Notice, No. 1468, Education Ordinance, 1952 (No. 17 of 1952), Membership of the Central Board of Education for Nigeria."

_____. Official Gazette, 3rd September, 1953, No. 52, Vol. 40. Lagos: Federal Ministry of Information, 1953, "Government Notice No. 1216, Teachers' Certificate Examination, Grade II, 1952-Results."

_____. The Nigerian (Constitution) Order in Council, 1954. Lagos: Government Printer, 1960, "Supplement to Official Gazette, No. 20, Vol. 47, 14th April, 1960 - Part D.L.M. 52 of 1960, The Constitution Orders Statutory Instruments (Reprinted with all amendments - 31st March, 1960), 1954, No. 1146."

_____. The Laws of the Federation of Nigeria 1958, revised. Lagos: Federal Ministry of Information, 1958, Vol. II, "Education (Lagos) - Federal Territory of Lagos, Act No. 26 of 1957."

_____. The Laws of the Federation of Nigeria 1958, revised. Lagos: Government Printer, 1959, Vol. I, "Colonial Church Council (Incorporation) (Lagos) No. 2 of 1923."

_____. The Laws of the Federation of Nigeria and Lagos inforced on the 1st day of June, 1958, revised. Lagos: Federal Government Printer, 1958, Vol. 6, "West African Examination Council (Nigerian Status) (Federation)."

_____. Suplement to the Laws of Nigeria Containing the Ordinances of Nigeria and Subsidiary Legislation Made Thereunder Enacted Between the 2nd day of January, 1948 and the 31st day of December, 1948. Lagos: Government Printer, 1949.

_____. Ten Year Education Plan. Lagos: Government Printer 1942, NAI, SP. No. 61, 1944, No. PR/DI.

_____. White Paper on Education. Lagos: Government Printer, 1955/56, NAI, PR/D12.

B. Nigerian Provincial, Regional, Native Administration, State and Local Government Documents

1. Eastern Nigeria

Anambra State Government, Enugu Zone State Education Commission, Hundred Years of Christian Education in Igboland, A Reflection by Rev. Fr. Dr. Stan Anih, Commissioner. Enugu: Government Printer, n.d.

Cross River State of Nigeria, Ministry of Education, Christian Religious Education Syllabus for Secondary Schools Class I-III. Port Harcourt: Ministry of Education, 1980.

Eastern Nigeria, Ministry of Education, Policy for Education, Official Document No. 7 of 1963. Enugu: Government Printer, 1963, NAI, No. PR/D18.

Eastern Nigeria Government, Eastern Nigeria Development Plan, 1962-68, Official Document No. 8 of 1962. Enugu: Government Printer, 1962.

_____. The Ikoku Committee, Report of the Conference on the Review of the Educational System in Eastern Nigeria, Official Document No. 25 of 1964. Enugu: Government Printer, 1964.

Eastern Provinces, House of Assembly, Memorandum on the Imposition of an Educational Rate in the Eastern Provinces, Laid on the Table at the Session of the Eastern House of Assembly, August 1950. Enugu: Government Printer, 1950.

Eastern Region of Nigeria, House of Assembly, Policy for Education, Sessional Paper No. 6 of 1953. Enugu: Government Printer, 1953.

2. Northern Nigeria

Northern Provinces, Board of Education, Northern Provinces, NAK, PCJ 205 [containing minutes of meetings and Ordinances, 1931-1942].

_____. Education Department, Annual Report of the Education Department From the Year 1922, NAK, PCJ 4900.

_____. Education Department, Classes for Religious Instruction Changed to Schools, NAK 839.

_____. Education Department, Educational Policy in Nigeria (Northern Provinces), NAK DDN35, Vol. II.

_____. Education Office, Education Ordinance, 1948, and Regulations, Draft, NAK, DDN753A.

_____. Education Office, Opening and Closing of Mission Schools, NAK, DDN839.

_____. Provisional Syllabus for Middle Schools Primary Standards V and VI and Secondary Classes IV Under Old Code of Northern Provinces. Lagos: C.M.S. Bookshop, 1932, National Library Lagos (NLL).

Northern Region of Nigeria, A Short Survey of Education in Northern Nigeria, originally published by the Ministry of Education of Northern Nigeria for the Occasion of Self Government Celebrations, 1959, ed. D. H. Williams, with a Foreword by Alhaji The Hon. Isa Kaita, Minister of Education. Kaduna: Government Printer, 1964, NLL

_____. Ministry of Education, From the Provincial Correspondence, "Missions", March 8, 1949 - September 1, 1952," NAK, PCJ, C50.

_____. Ministry of Education, Education Law of Northern Nigeria, 1962. Kaduna: Government Printer, 1962, NAK, CIN/19.

_____. Education Law of Northern Nigeria, 1964. Kaduna: Government Printer, 1964.

_____. Ministry of Education, Religious and Moral Instruction in Government and Native Administration Schools in Northern Provinces, 6th April 1951 - 1952, NAK, PCJ 4900.

_____. Ministry of Education, Revision of the Education Law 1962 (Northern Region), NAK, CIN/19.

_____. Ministry of Education, School Syllabus and Curriculum 1954-1957, NAK 73194.

_____. Ministry of Education, Education Gen. S.D.O.'s File [1952-1958], NAK, Zaria Prof, C54.

_____. Ministry of Education, The Ministry of Education and Social Welfare Book, NAK 13540, Vol. II, "Education Ordinance, 1948 (No. 39 of 1948). Lagos: Government Printer, 1948;""Education Ordinance, 1952 (No. 17 of 1952)." Lagos: Government Printer.

_____. "Recollections of British Administration in the Cameroons and Northern Nigeria, 1921-1957" in But Always as Friends, Durham, N. C. Duke University Press, 1969, Extract from Yusufu Turaki, 1982.

_____. Smith, Sir Bryan Sherwood, Governor of Northern Region of Nigeria, Statement of Government Activities in the Northern Region to the Budget Meeting of the Northern Regional Legislature. Kaduna: Government Printer, 1955.

3. Northern States: Borno State, Ministry of Education, Musa Ibrahim, The Permanent Secretary Ministry of Education, Maiduguri, To All Education Secretarys [sic] in Borno State, Ref. No. CDN B.62/11/120, 10th June, 1980.

Kaduna State, Government House, Lawal Dano, Principal Private Secretary to His Excellency, Military Governor, Kaduna State, to the Secretary Christian Association of Nigeria, Kaduna, No. GH/12/883, April 26, 1977.

_____. Ministry of Education, Kaduna, Minutes of a Meeting Held in the Ministry of Education, November 3rd, 1976, CNC/P. 40/552.

_____. Ministry of Education, R. J. Page, for Permanent Secretary, To All Principals, Secondary Schools, Kaduna State, Christian Religious Knowledge Kaduna State Syllabus, Ref. No. NCE/CD/6A/64, 1st Sept., 1976.

_____. Ministry of Education, R. J. Page, Staff Inspector (CRK) for Permanent Secretary, to Rev. Barnaba Lekwat, Ref. No. N.C.E./CD/6A/1225.

Kwara State, Post Primary Education Policy 1969, Being the text of an Address to The Press by His Excellency, The military Governor of Kwara State, Lt. Col. D. L. Bamingboye.

Zaria Local Government Education Department, Minut Nataron NaBiyar Na Kwamiti Ili mi Wadda Akayi ran Alhamis 26 Ga Janairu 1978 [Minutes of the 5th Meeting of the Education Department Held on Thursday January 26, 1978].

_____. Education Department, Sub-Financial Committee Minit NaTaron Karam ar Kwamitin Kudi Wadda Aka Yi Ran 30 Ga Janairu 1978, Zaria Local Education Dept. N.B. iii "Religious Knowledge Personal Emoluments" [Minutes of the Sub-Financial Committee Held on January 30, 1978].

_____. Education Department, Minutes of the Meeting of the Education Committee, Local Government Education Department, Zaria, EDU/551A/139, 19th October, 1977 (Original in Hansa).

_____. Treasury Department, Treasury Expenditure, 1977/78, 1978/79.

4. Western Nigeria

Government of Western Nigeria, Banjo Commission, Report of the Commission Appointed to Review the Educational System of Western Nigeria, December, 1960 to January, 1961. Ibadan: Government Printer, 1961.

Western Nigeria, Ajayi Commission, Report of the Commission of Inquiry Into the Rise in Fees Charged by Public Secondary Grammar Schools and Teacher Training Colleges in Western Nigeria, Official Document No. 11 of 1963. Ibadan: Government Printer, 1963.

Western Provinces, Benin Province, Scheme for Educational Development in Benin Province. Benin City: Oluwa Press, 1946, NAI, PR/D20.

Western Region, Regional Legislature, Proposal for An Education Policy for the Western Region, Nigeria, laid on the tables of the Western Regional Legislature. Ibadan: Government Printer, July 1952, NAI, PR/D6.

Western State of Nigeria, Taiwo Commission, Report of the Commission on the Review of the Primary Education System in the Western State of Nigeria, 15th March 1968. Ibadan: Government Printer, 1968.

C. British Government and Other Foreign Primary Sources.

African Education, A Study of Educational Policy and Practice in British Tropical Africa, Produced on Behalf of the Nuffield Foundation and the Colonial Office edited by William Ernest Frank, et al with a Foreword by the Rt. Hon. Oliver Lyttefon, and Preface by Sir Philip Morris. Oxford: University Press, 1953.

Gt. Brit. British Information Services, Britain and Education in the Commonwealth, 1964.

Gt. Brit. Col. Office, Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies, Mass Education in African Society, H.M.S.O. Col. 186, 1941.

Gt. Brit. Col. Office, Advisory Committee in the Colonies, Memorandum on the Education of African Communities, H.M.S.O. Col. 103, 1935, NAI, 11279, Vol. III.

Gt. Brit. Col. Office, British Educational Policy in British Tropical Africa, Memorandum submitted to the Secretary of State for the Colonies by the Advisory Committee on Native Education in the British Tropical African Dependencies, Cmd. 2374, 1925.

Gt. Brit. Col. Office, Report of the Commission On Higher Education in the Colonies, H.M.S.O. 1945, Cmd. 6647, 1945.

Gt. Brit. Col. Office, Report of the Commission on Higher Education in West Africa, H.M.S.O. Cmd. 6655, 1945.

Jones, Thomas Jesse, ed. Education in Africa, with a Foreword by William I. Chamberlain and an Introduction by Dr. Anson Phelps-Stokes. New York: Phelps-Stokes Fund Foundation and Foreign Mission Societies, [1922].

_____. Education in East Africa, s.p.s. pub; [1925].

D. Nigerian Churches' Primary Sources.

Anglican Church, Lessons for Anglican Schools, Book III. Ibadan: Abiodun Printing Works [1963].

Christian Association of Nigeria, A Brief Report on the Meeting of Representatives of Christian Leaders and Committees from Parts of the Northern States with His Excellency, The Head of State, Lt. Gen. Olusegun Obasanjo at Dodon Barracks. Lagos: June 7th, 1977.

_____. Address by Rev. Habila Aleyideino, The Chairman of the Christian Association of Nigeria (Kaduna State Branch), Kaduna on 9th July, 1977. [Original in Hausa.]

_____. Aleyideino, Rev. Habila, Chairman, CAN Kaduna State Branch, Speech at the Second All Christian Conference at Murtala Square, Kaduna, 5th May 1979.

_____. Bauchi State Branch of the CAN to His Excellency Alhaji Tatari Ali, The Governor of Bauchi State, 5th September, 1980.

_____. Christian Association of Nigeria Kaduna State Branch to The Sole Administrator Ikara Local Government Area, Ikara, 20th June, 1979.

_____. Christian Association of Nigeria Order of Service of Inauguration Held on Sunday, 24th February, 1980, at 4 p.m. at the Tafawa Square, Lagos.

_____. Constitution For Christian Association of Nigeria. Lagos: Secretariat Christian Association of Nigeria, 1977.

_____. Draft Constitution Christian Association of Nigeria, Kaduna, 1976.

_____. Kaduna State Christian Association of Nig eria Birnin Gwari to the Chief Education Officer, Local Education Authority, Birnin Gwari, 23rd May, 1977.

_____. Kaduna State Christian Association of Nigeria, Birnin Gwari to the Chief Education Officer, Local Education Authority, Birnin Gwari, 20th October, 1980.

_____. Lekwat, Barnaba B., General Secretary Christian Association of Nigeria Kaduna State Branch To The Military Governor Kaduna State, Government House, Kaduna, April 21, 1977.

_____. Memorandum Submitted by the National Standing Committee of the Christian Association of Nigeria to His Excellency, Alhaji Shehu Shagari, President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria and Some Pressing National Issues, Lagos, National Secretariat of the Christian Association of Nigeria, 20th November, 1979.

_____. Minutes of the Meeting of the Christian Association of Nigeria, Northern States Branch, Held at the Social Center, Kaduna, at 10:30 a.m. on Wednesday, 13th October, 1976, [Original in Hausa.]

_____. Minutes of the Meeting of the Kaduna State Branch of the Christian Association, Held at the Social Training Centre, October 13, 1976, [Original in Hausa.]

_____. Minutes of the Meeting of the Kaduna State Branch of the Christian Association, Held at the Social Training Centre, October 13, 1976. [Original in Hausa.]

_____. Minutes of the Meeting of the State Branch of the Christian Association of Nigeria, Held at the Social Centre, Kaduna, 19th February, 1977. [Original in Hausa.]

_____. Minutes of the Meeting of the Emergency Meeting of the Kaduna State Branch of CAN Held at the Social Centre Kaduna, 25th March, 1977. [Original in Hausa.]

_____. Minutes of the Meeting of the State Branch of the Christian Association of Nigeria, Held at the Social Centre, Kaduna, 5th November, 1977. [Original in Hausa.]

_____. Nigerian Christian Association Daura Branch, To the Chief Education Officer, Local Education Authority, Daura, 25th January, 1978.

_____. Secretary Christian Association of Nigeria, Borno State Branch, Report to Christian Association of Nigeria Kaduna State Branch at the E.K.A.N. Church on 30th January, 1981, report written January 28, 1981.

_____. Shabanyan, Rev. Sankey, Chairman, and Eluwa, Rev. Secretary, Christian Association of Nigeria, Daura Branch, To The General Secretary Christian Association of Nigeria, Kaduna, 2nd October, 1980.

_____. Soba, Isa Abdu, Sole Administrator, Ikara Local Government, Ikara, To The Christian Leaders Ikara, Ref. ILG/GEN 223/Vol. 1/14, 9th January, 1979.

_____. Reports on Christian Religious Knolwedge Statistics from Kaduna State Local Government Areas in the Files of the General Secretary Kaduna.

_____. Ungbo, Rev. Chief S. A. Report of the Committee for Bible Teachers Training College, 31st March, 1977. [Original in Hausa.]

_____. Yahaya, U. Shehu, Chief Education Officer, Birnin Gwari, To The Secretary Christian Association of Nigeria, Birnin Gwari, No. Education 2G/CRK/Vol. 1/4, 15th November, 1980.

Christian Council of Nigeria, The Constitution of The Christian Council of Nigeria. Lagos: Christian Council of Nigeria, National Secretariat, 1962.

Fellowship of Christian Students, Fellowship of Christian Students. What is the F.C.S.? A Printed Pamphlet by the F.C.S., Jos, n.d.

_____. Oladipo, Emmanual, General Secretary F.C.S. "Address of the F.C.S. General Secretary to the Christian Association of Nigeria, (CAN) Kaduna State Branch", on Saturday, 12th April, 1980.

Institute of Church and Society, Adegbola, Rev. E. A. Adeolu, Director Institute of Church and Society, Christian Council of Nigeria. Ibadan Circular Letter, 8th March, 1977.

_____. Akinpelu, Dr. J. A. "How Religious Education Can Help the Student to Relate Religion to Morality In His Daily Life and Decision." Ibadan, November 6, 1976.

_____. Aniagu, Rev. John K. A., "How Can Religious Education Help the Student to Handle His Own Experience - His Joys and Sorrows, Hope and Fears, Loves and Hates," Ibadan, November 6, 1976.

_____. Education, Samonda Newsletter No. 7, December, 1975.

_____. Failing L. O. and Mala S. B. Institute of Church and Society To Heads of Department of Religious Studies, Colleges of Education, Advanced Teachers' Colleges, Ibadan, 2nd February, 1979.

_____. Handbook and Syllabus for Christian Religious Education in Nigerian Secondary Schools. Ibadan: Institute of Church and Society, 1973.

_____. Joint Agreed Syllabus for Bible Knowledge in Primary Schools. Ibadan: Clarverianum Press 1974.

_____. Memorandum Addressed to Church and Educational Leaders in Nigeria by the Participants of the Third Workshop on Grade II Teachers' College Textbook for Christian Religious Education at the Institute of Church and Society, Ibadan, 8th May, 1978.

_____. Proposed Constitution and By-Laws of the Association for Christian Higher Religious Education in Nigeria, Ibadan 1976.

_____. Report of a Seminar for Institutions Training Teachers of Religious Education, Ibadan, from January 23rd to 24th, 1975.

Pastoral Institute of East Africa, Christian Living Today, Book One. London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1974.

Northern Educational Advisory Council, All God's Children Religious Knowledge for Primary School, Book 1, in 6 series. Ibadan: Evans Brothers Ltd., 1979.

_____. Christian Teaching in Primary Schools, Junior Primary Year 1-4 and Senior Primary Year 5. Kaduna: N.E.A.C. Secretariat, 1960.

_____. Constitution of the Northern Education Advisory Council of Protestant Christian Churches and Missions, Adopted in Annual Meeting, 18th April 1961, Amended in Annual Meeting, 18th April, 1963. Kaduna: [NEAC Secretariat] 1963.

_____. Dukan Ya'yan Allah, Littafin Koyar Da Addini Na Makarantun Firamare, Littafi Na 1, Kashi 6, in 3 series. Kaduna: Baraka Press, 1979.

_____. Eikenbery, Education Secretary NEAC, Kaduna, To Rev. B. B. Lekwat, Ref. No. #. 3/9-27 28th May, 1977.

_____. Eikenbery, Ivan, Proposed C.R.K. Handbook for Primary Schools Agreed Syllabus with Attachment, "Background For Joint Catholic Protestant Ad Hoc Workshop Planning Meeting, Nov. 29 - Dec. 2, 1976." Kaduna.

_____. Primary Schools Christian Teaching Year 2 Protestant Christian Syllabus - Handbook. Editorial Board of NEAC of Protestant Christian Churches and Missions Primary School Series, in 6 series. Kaduna: Baraka Press, 1970.

_____. Related Teachers' Colleges, Grade II, 1969. Results for SIM Teachers' College Igbaja.

_____. Related Teachers' Colleges, Grade II Exam Results, 1971.

_____. Related Secondary Schools W.A.S.C. Results, 1971.

Nigeria Evangelical Fellowship and New Life For All, West African Congress on Evangelism, Detailed Report of Congress Proceedings as They Took Place at the University of Ibadan, Nigeria, from the 5th to 15th July, 1968, ed. Wilfred A. Bellamy. Lagos: Associated Press of Nigeria Ltd., 1968.

The Evangelical Literature Fellowship of Nigeria, Sunday School Lesson, Year 2, Book 3. Kaduna: Baraka Press 1973-1974.

Evangelical Churches of West Africa, Minutes of the Bible Teachers' Conference, Held in Jos: December 12-14, 1974.

_____. Minutes of Secondary School Subcommittee Discussion, SIM/ECWA Bible Teachers Conference Jos: 12-14 December, 1974, Appendix C.

_____. Bible Knowledge Teacher's Meeting, Miango Rest Home, 9th April, 1975.

_____. SIM/ECWA, Bible Knowledge Teachers' Seminar, Jos, December 12-15, 1975.

_____. Ibrahim, S.A. General Secretary, "Involvement of Primary School Teachers in Bible Teaching."

E. Papers from Professional Associations, Groups or Individuals:

Adegbite, Dr. Lateef, "Legislative Institution in Nigeria," National Seminar on Islamic Law, Institute of Administration, Kongo A.B.U. Zaria: April, 1977.

Biamegh, Edward, ed., "Moral Training and the State," ZATCOLL Bible Students' Association Bible Week, Advanced Teachers' College Zaria. November 1977.

Christian Association of Nigerian Students, Oketa, Pius A., Secretary, Advanced Teachers' College Zaria, To the Secretary Academic Planning Committee, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, 19th June, 1979.

Dzurgba, Akpenpuun, Teachers' Certificate Grade Two Syllabus, Revised and Reconstructed, Katsina - Ala: January-March, 1977.

Hossay, Professor Philip, Class Notes, New York University, February, 1982.

Muslim Student Society, The Message. A Paper of the Muslim Student Society, Kongo, A.B.U., Zaria, No. 1, 1st Jimada Al'ulah 1339/29th March, 1979.

National Association of Catholic Graduates and Professionals, Dagat D.J., and Olukoya Anthony, A Review of the Draft Constitution, Kaduna, To the Secretary, The Constituent Assembly Cabinet Office, Lagos, 1977.

National Association of Bible Knowledge Teachers of Nigeria, Constitution of the National Association of Bible Knowledge Teachers of Nigeria, Adopted at Ibadan, 5th May, 1972.

_____. Minutes of the Fifth Annual Conference of The National Association of Bible Knowledge Teachers of Nigeria, Pastorial Institute, Ibadan, 17th-19th December, 1974.

_____. Minutes of the 5th Meeting of the North Central State Branch of the NABKTN (N.A.B.K.T.N.), Held at Govt. College, Kaduna, Friday, September 27th, 1974.

_____. Minutes of the 7th Meeting of the North Central State Branch of the National Association of B.K.T.N. Held at the Social Centre Hall, Independence Way, Kaduna, on Wednesday, April 9, 1975.

_____. Minutes of the 8th Meeting of the N.C.S. Branch of the NABKTN, Held at the Social Centre Hall, Independence Way, Kaduna, on Saturday, October 25th, 1975.

_____. Kaduna State Branch Standing Committee on the Agreed Syllabus, "Christian Religious Education For Post-Primary Schools in Nigeria, An Adoptation of the Proposed Agreed Syllabus for Use in North-Central State, October, 1975.

_____. Scheme of Work for Bible Knowledge, n.p., 1979.

_____. Sharpe, Rev. K., "Message from the National President", NABKTN Newsletter, October, 1974.

Papers from Ahmadu Bello University:

Ahmadu Bello University, Institute of Education, Christian Religious Knowledge Board of Studies, IE/BOS/15, 1977-82.

_____. Grade II Christian Religious Knowledge Methods. Zaria: Institute of Education Press, 1980.

_____. Interim Joint Matriculation Board, Chief Examiner's File, Christian Religious Studies, Department of Christian Religious Knowledge, Advanced Teacher's College, Zaria, 1979-80.

_____. Media Methods by James Barth, Institute of Education Press, 1974.

_____. N.C.E. Correspondence Course Study Guide, Christian Religious Knowledge, Vol. 3, by Barnaba B. Lekwat and Christopher J. C. Tarrant. Zaria: Institute of Education Press, 1978.

_____. Primary School Syllabuses, Zaria: Institute of Education Press, 1977.

_____. P.G.D.E. Sandwich Course 1978 Summer Session, Prospectus. Zaria: Institute of Education Press, 1978.

G. Personal Papers:

Lekwat, Barnaba B., "An Examination and Evaluation of Christian Religious Knowledge Syllabuses, on Post-Primary and Post-Secondary Higher Institutions in Nigeria," P.G.D.E. Paper for Professor A.F. Ogunsola, Institute of Education, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, 1976.

_____. "Christian Religious Knowledge and Government Policy," Paper presented at the Bible Students' Association Week, Advanced Teacher's College, Zaria, November 11, 1977.

_____. "Government Policy and Christian Religious Knowledge," P.G.D.E. Paper to Prof. A. Ogunsola, Institute of Education, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, August, 1975.

_____. "In Search of the Desired Nigerian Citizenry," A Paper Presented at the Symposium Organized by the Christian Graduate Fellowship, School of Basic Studies, A.B.U. Zaria, May 12, 1979.

_____. "Moral Education and the Draft Constitution", A Paper Read also for the Same Christian Organization Main Campus, A.B.U. Zaria, June 12, 1977.

_____. "Notes on Introduction to Biblical Studies," Unpublished draft, 1974.

_____. "Practical Christianity: The Church and the State," a Lecture for Discussion Delivered at the Nigerian Federation of Catholic Students Annual Week, Advanced Teachers' College, Zaria, May 1, 1979.

_____. "Principles of Teaching Christian Religious Knowledge in Nigeria Schools", Unpublished Manuscript, 1978.

_____. "The Planting of Western Education in the Kaje Community, Kaduna State, 1933-1972", P.G.D.E. Thesis, Institute of Education A.B.U. Zaria, 1976.

_____. To Rev. R. J. Page, Staff Inspector (C.R.K.), Ministry of Education, Kaduna, 20th April, 1977.

_____. "Significance of Christian Religious Knowledge in the Educational System," Paper Presented at a Seminar, Institute of Education, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, August 13, 1980.

II. Secondary Sources.

A. Books.

Abernethy, David B. The Political Dilemma of Popular Education, An African Case, with a Foreword by Gabriel A. Almond, Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1969.

Ajayi, J.F.A. Christian Missions in Nigeria 1841-1891, The Making of a New Elite. London: Longman's Green & Co. Ltd., 1969.

Arikpo, Okwoi. The Development of Modern Nigeria. Baltimore: Penguin's Books 1967.

Awa, Eme O. Federal Government in Nigeria. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1964.

Ayandele, E.A. The Missionary Impact on Modern Nigeria. Political and Social Analysis. London: Longman Group Ltd., 1971.

Barth, Henry. Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa, 1849-1855, 3 vols. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1857.

Bello, Sir Alhaji Ahmadu. My Life. Cambridge: University Press, 1962.

Bingham, Roland V. Seven Seven of Years and a Jubliee. New York: Evangelical Publishers, 1943, 3rd ed. Toronto: Evangelical Publishers, 1943.

Bittinger, Desmond W. An Educational Experiment in Northern Nigeria In Its Cultural Setting. Elgin, Ill.: The Brethren Publishing House, 1971.

Boer, Jan Harm. Missionary Messengers of Liberation in a Colonial Context, A Case Study of the Sudan United Mission. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1979.

Borg, Walter and Gall, Meredith Damien. Educational Research, 3rd ed. New York: Longman, 1979.

Bowen, T. J. Adventures and Missionary Labours in Several Countries In The Interior of Africa from 1849 to 1856. London: Frank Cass and Co., Ltd. 1857, 2nd ed. 1968.

Bray, Mark. Universal Primary Education in Nigeria: A Study of Kano State, with a Foreword by Timo A.F. Afolayan. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1981.

Bull, Norman J. Moral Education. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1969; reprint, 1973.

Burns, Sir Alan. History of Nigeria. London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1929, 9th imp; 1964.

Burns, Donald G. African Education. An Introductory Survey of Education in Commonwealth Countries. London: Oxford University Press, 1965.

Bushnell, Horace. Christian Nurture. With an Introduction by John N. Mulder. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Book House, Reprinted from the 1861 ed., 1979.

Cartey, Wilfred and Kilson, Martin, eds. The African Reader: Independent Africa. New York: Vintage Books, 1970.

Chand, Hari. Fundamental Rights In Nigeria, with a Foreword by The Hon. Justice A. Obi Okoye. Jos: Unico Press, 1980.

Coe, George Albert. A Social Theory of Religious Education. New York: Scribner, 1920.

Clapperton, Hugh. Journal of Second Expedition Into the Interior of Africa From the Bight of Benin to Soccatoo. London: John Murray, 1829, new imp., London: Frank Cass and Co., Ltd., 1966.

Cox, Edwin. Changing Aims in Religious Education. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966, reprint, 1971.

Crampton, E. P. T. Christianity in Northern Nigeria. London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1979.

Crowder, Michael. A Short History of Nigeria. New York: Frederick Praegar, 1962.

_____. Revolt in Bussa, A Study of British Native Administration in Nigeria Borgu 1902-1935. Evanston, Ill: Northwestern University Press, 1973.

Downess, R. M. Tive Religion. Ibadan: Ibadan University Press, 1971.

Edge, Findlay B. Helping the Teacher. Nashville, Tenn.: Broadway Press, 1959.

_____. Teaching for Results. Nashville, Tenn.: Broadway Press, 1956.

Ekechi, F. K. Missionary Enterprise and Rivalry in Igbo-Land 1857-1914. London: Frank Cass, 1972.

Elias, T. Olawale. The Nigerian Legal System, with a Foreword by John Verity. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., 1954, 2nd, 1963.

Elsbree, Williard S. and Reutter, Jr. E. Edmund. Staff Personnel in the Public Schools. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1954.

Fafunwa, A. Babs. History of Education in Nigeria. London: George Allen & Unwin, 1974.

Flannery, Austin P., ed. Documents of Vatican II. Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Erdmans Publishing Co., 1975, 2nd ed., 1978.

Frobenius, Leo. The Voice of Africa, 2 vols.. New York: Benjamin Blom, Inc. 1913, reissue 1968.

Fuller, W. Harold. Run While the Sun Is Hot [Sudan Interior Mission in Africa]. Chicago: Moody Press, 1968.

Garba, Major General Joe. Revolution in Nigeria, Another View. London: African Journal Limited, 1982.

Gottschalk, Lewis. Understanding History. A Primer of Historical Method. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1950.

Grahman, Sonia F. Government and Mission Education in Northern Nigeria. Ibadan: Ibadan University Press, 1966.

Grimley, John B. and Robinson, Gordon E. Church Growth In Central and Southern Nigeria. Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1966.

Gunn, Harold D. Pagan Peoples of the Central Area of Northern Nigeria. London: International African Institute, 1956.

Helser, Albert D. In Sunny Nigeria. Experiences Among a Primitive People in the Interior of North Central Africa, with an Introduction by Otho Winger. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1926.

Hug, Muhammad Shamsul. "Education in Colonies and Newly Emerging Nations." in "Education, History of," The New Engyclopaedia Britannica. Chicago: The New Encyclopaedia Britannica, Inc., 1981, 6: 395-398.

Hunter, J. A. H. A Flame of Fire. Aylesburry: Hazell Watson Viney, 1961.

Idowu, E. Bolaji. African Traditional Religion, A Definition. Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 1973.

Ikejiani, Okechukwu, ed. Education in Nigeria, with a Foreword by Dr. Nnamdi Azikwe. New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1965.

Ilogu, Edmund, Christianity and Igbo Culture. New York: Nok Publishers, Ltd., 1974.

Kalu, Ezara. Constitutional Development in Nigeria. An Analytical Study of Nigeria's Constitutional Making Development and the Historical and Political Factors that Affected Constitutional Change. Cambridge: at the University Press, 1960, 2nd ed. 1964.

Kazu, Ogbu. Christianity in West Africa: The Nigerian Story. Ibadan: Day Star Press, 1969.

Kingsley, Mary H. West African Studies. New York: Barnes & Noble, Inc., 1899, 3rd ed. 1964.

Kirk-Greene, A.H.M. Compiler and Introducer. Lugard and the Amalgamation of Nigeria, A Documentary Record being a Reprint of the Report by Sir F. D. Lugard on the Amalgamation of Northern and Southern Nigeria and Administration 1912-1919. London: Frank Cass, 1968.

Kitchen, Helen, ed. The Educated African. Compiled by Ruth Sloan. New York: Frederick A. Praegar, 1962.

Lageer, Eillen. New Life For All, True Account of Indepth Evangelism in West Africa, with Foreword by Dr. Paul S. Rees, Eillen Lageer 1969, Published by Special Arrangement with Marshall Morgan & Scott, Ltd. London, Chicago: Moody Press, 1970.

Lee, James Michael, ed. The Religious Education We Need, Toward the Renewal of Christian Education. Michawaka, Ind.: Religious Education Press, Inc., 1977.

Lewis, I. M. Islam in Tropical Africa. London: International African Institute in Association with Indiana University Press, 1966, 2nd ed. 1980.

Lewis, L. J. Educational Policy and Practice in British Tropical Areas. London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1954.

_____. Society, Schools and Progress in Nigeria. Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1965.

Lugard, Lord Frederick John Dealtry. Political Memoranda, Revision of Instructions to Political Officers on Subjects Political and Administrative 1913-1918. London: Waterlow and Sons, 1919, 3rd ed. with a new introduction by A.H.M. Kirk-Greene. London: Frank Cass, 1970.

Makoji, Right Reverend A.I. and Ojo, Professor G. J. Afolabi eds. The History of the Catholic Church in Nigeria. Lagos: Macmillan Nigeria Publishers, 1982.

Manschreck, Clyde L. ed. A History of Christianity. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1964.

Mayhew, Arthur. Education in the Colonial Empire. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1938.

Mbiti, John S. Introduction to African Religion. London: Heinemann, 1975, reprinted, 1977.

_____. African Religions and Philosophy. New York: Praegar, 1970.

Meek, Charles Kingsley. Law Authority in a Nigerian Tribe. London: Oxford University Press, 1937.

_____. The Northern Tribes of Nigeria, 2 vols. Glassgow: Oxford University Press, 1925.

_____. The Northern Tribes of Nigeria, 2 vols. London: Oxford University Press, 1925, reprinted, New York: Negro University Press, 1969.

Metzger, Bruce M. Lexical Aids for Students of New Testament Greek. Princeton, N. J., Published by the Author, 1969, new ed., 1970.

Moehlman, Conrad Henry. The Wall of Separation Between Church and State. Boston: The Beacon Press, 1951.

Moran, Gabriel. Religious Body: Design For A New Reformation. New York: The Seabury Press, 1974.

Morel, E. D. Nigeria, Its Peoples and Its Problems. London: Frank Cass & Co. by Arrangement with John Murry, 1911, 3rd ed. 1968.

Moumouni, Adou. Education In Africa. Translated by Phyllis Nauts Ott, Preface by L. J. Lewis. London: Andre Deutsch, 1968.

Muffett, D. J. M. Concerning Brave Captains. London: Andre Deutsch, 1964.

Murray, A. Victor. The School In The Bush. London: Frank Cass & Co., Ltd., 1929, 2nd ed., 1967.

Nduka, Otonti. Western Education and the Nigerian Cultural Background. Ibadan: Oxford University Press, 1965.

Niebuhr, Reinhold. Moral Man and Immoral Society, A Study in Ethics and Politics. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1932, 2nd ed., 1960.

Nigeria Year Book. Lagos: Times Press Ltd., annual Publication, series from 1968-76.

Oduyoye, Modupe. The Planting of Christianity in Yoruba Land. Ibadan: Day Star Press, 1969.

Ogunsola, Albert F. Legislation and Education in Northern Nigeria. Ibadan: Oxford University Press, 1977.

Ojiako, James O. Thirteen Years of Military Rule. Lagos: Daily Times of Nigeria Ltd., 1980.

Okafor, Festus Chukwudi. Africa At The Crossroads: Philosophical Approach to Education, with a Foreword by Sir Eric Ashby. New York: Vantage Press, 1974.

Olatona, 'Banjo. A Comprehensive Revision Course on Religious Knowledge For Teachers' Grade Two, School Certificate and G.C.E. Ekiti: Omolayo Standard Press and Bookshops, 1977.

Orr, Sir Charles. The Making of Northern Nigeria, with a new Introduction by A.H.M. Kirk-Greene. London: Frank Cass & Co., Ltd., 1965.

Oxford American Dictionary. New York: Oxford University Press, 1980.

Parrinder, Geoffrey. Religion in Africa. Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1969.

_____. African Traditional Religion. London: Sheldan Press, 1954, reprint ed., 1968.

Peel, John D. Y. Aladura: A Religious Movement Among the Yoruba. London: Oxford University Press, published for the International African Institute, 1968.

Ray, Benjamin. African Religion, Symbols, Rituals and Community. Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1976.

Rogets' International Thesaurus, 4th ed. rev. by Robert L. Chapman. New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, Inc., 1977.

Scanlon, David G., ed. Traditions of African Education. Classics in Education, No. 16 Lawrence A. Gremin, General Editor. New York: Bureau of Publication, Teacher's College, Columbia University, 1964.

Schaeffer, Francis A. A Christian Manifesto. Westchester, Ill.: Crossway Books, 1981, 4th printing, 1982.

Sizer, Theodore, ed. Religion and Public Education. New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1967.

Smith, M. G. Government in Zazzau 1800-1950. London: Oxford University Press, 1960, reprint, 1964.

Taiwo, C. O. The Nigerian Education System, Past, Present and Future. Lagos: Thomas Nelson (Nigeria) Ltd., 1980.

Talbot, P. Armaury. The Peoples of Southern Nigeria, 4 vols. London: Oxford University Press, 1926.

Temple, Charles L. Notes On The Tribes, Provinces, Emirates and States of the Northern Provinces of Nigeria. London: Frank Cass & Co. Ltd., 1919, new imp. New York: Barnes and Noble, Inc., 1967.

The Holy Bible. New International Version. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan Bible Publishers, 1978.

The New Encyclopaedia Britannica, 15th ed., Vol. I, S.V. "African Peoples, Art of," by Frank Willet, et al.

_____. Vol. VI, S.V. "Education in Colonies and Newly Emerging Nations" in "Education, History of," by Muhammed Shamsul Hug.

The Reader's Digest Great Encyclopedic Dictionary. Pleasantville, N. Y.: The Reader's Digest Association, Inc., 1971.

Thompson, Norma H., ed. Religious Education and Theology. Birmingham, Alabama: Religious Education Press, 1982.

Trimingham, J. Spencer. A History of Islam in West Africa. London: Oxford University Press, 1962, reprinted, 1968.

_____. Islam in the Sudan. London: Oxford University Press, 1949.

Turabian, Kate L. A Manual for Writers of Term Papers, Theses, and Dissertations, 4th ed. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1973.

Turner, H. W. History of the African Independent Church. 2 vols. London: Oxford University Press, 1967.

Warshaw, Thayer S. Religion, Education and the Supreme Court, with an Introduction by Robert M. O'Neil. Nashville, Tenn.: Abingdon, 1979.

Westerhoff, III, John, ed. Who Are We? The Quest For A Religious Education. Birmingham, Alabama: Religious Education Press, 1978.

White, B.M.N. Elements In Luvale Beliefs and Rituals. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1969.

Willoughby, W. C. The Soul of the Bantu. New York: Doubleday, 1928.

Wilson, John. Education and the Changing West African Culture. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teacher's College, Columbia University, 1963.

Wilson, Monica. Religion and the Transformation of Society. Cambridge: University Press, 1971.

Wise, Colin G. A History of Education in West Africa. London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1956.

Zahan, Dominique. The Religion, Spirituality and Thought of Traditional African, trans. Kate Ezra Martin and Lawrence M. Martin. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1970.

B. Articles.

Adenaye, Rev. Fr. J. "Impact of Church on Education," Catholic Independent, July 14, 1974, p. 6.

Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria (Office of the Registrar). Daily Times, Tuesday, March 19, 1974, p. 22.

Arinze, Emmanuel Nnakenyi. "Nigeria's Culture-History," Catholic Life, June/July, 1982.

Bishop D. Abba and Rev. D. A. Adeniran. "Christian Association of Nigeria, Niger State Branch, Inaugural Address," New Nigeria, August 10, 1977, p. 11.

"Curriculum in Religious Education," Religious Education, Vol. 75, No. 5, September/October, 1980.

"Education Bill Criticized in Northern Assembly," Daily Times, 19:7:48, pp. 1, 9, The Ministry of Education and Social Welfare Board, Education Ordinance and Regulation of 1948, NAK 13540, Vol. II.

Executive Secretary, Nigerian Educational Research Council, Lagos. "The Nigerian Educational Research Council Presents The Harere Declaration, Future Direction For African Education, Daily Times, Friday, February 25, 1983, pp. 12-13.

Garba, Gen. Joe, "My Father's Conversion to Islam: Revolution in Nigeria - Another View, July 1966 Coup (Day 5)." New Nigeria, July 30, 1982, p. 5.

Hay, Ian M. "Church Planting: Next to Knowing Where We Are Going is the Determination to Get There," SIM Now, November, 1982, p. 2.

Ilogu, Rev. Canon (Dr.) Edmund. "Changing Religious Beliefs in Nigeria," Nigeria Magazine, 1975, No. 117-118.

_____. "Christianity and Ibo [sic] Traditional Religion," Nigeria Magazine, No. 80, December, 1964 pp. 304-308.

Kathan, Boardman W. ed. "Pioneers of Religious Education In the 20th Century," Religious Education, September/October, 1978, vol. LXXIII, No. 5-8.

Leigh, Edward Akin. "Education As a Means of Promoting National Consciousness" Nigeria Magazine, June, 1968, No. 97, pp. 155-158.

Nduka, Otonti. "Moral Education in the Changing Traditional Societies of Sub-Saharan Africa," International Review of Education, 1980, Vol. 26, 2:153-78 ERIC, EJ229344.

Orebanjo, M. A. "The Preparation of the Primary School Teacher of Religion and Morals," West African Journal of Education, February, 1975, No. 19, 1: pp. 61-69, ERIC, EJ 132 906.

_____. "The Relationship Between Religious and Moral Education," West African Journal of Education, October 1974, No. 18, 3:433-440, ERIC EJ 127 991.

Panya, Rev. Baba. "Nigeria's Isawas: Muslims Who Follow Jesus," Africa Pulse, June, 1980.

Ogunshakin, Partrick. "Some Thoughts on Christian Education," Catholic Independent, Sunday, January 28, 1973, p. 4.

_____. "Future Role of Religious Education," Daily Sketch, Monday, May 7, 1979, p. 5.

_____. Daily Sketch, Tuesday, May 8, 1979, p. 11.

Smith, Richard Upsher, ed. "Religion and Public School Curriculum, Proceedings of the National Council on Religion and Public Education," Religious Education, Part 2, July-August, 1972.

Ugna, Mrs. Maria S. "Religion in Danger of Abolition," New Nigeria, May 10, 1977, p. 4.

Webster, J. B. "The African Churches," Nigeria Magazine, December 1969, 79:554-566.

"Why They Struck," Sunday New Nigeria, February 7, 1982.

C. Interviews.

Ahuwan, The Rev. Iliya B., Chairman Kaduna State Branch of N.A.B.K.T.N. and C.R.K. Master, Government College, Kaduna. Interview, August 14, 1982.

Akinlaye, Dr. F.A., Chief Education Officer, Social Studies, N.E.R.C. Lagos. Interview, August 27, 1982.

Dogo, Lavosier C., Area Manager Northern States, Nigerian Breweries Ltd., Kaduna. Interview, September 2, 1982.

Fehl, The Rev. Larry D. H., Former Principal Igbaja Seminary, Liaison Officer, SIM Jos and Director U.S.A. International Office, Cedar Grove, N. J. Interview, February 6, 1983; and Telephone Interview, February 17, 1983.

Gadzama, Mallam Umoru Alesa, Principal Inspector of Education, Borno State, Graduate Student, Teacher's College, Columbia University, New York. Interview, January 21 and February 2, 1983.

Harling, The Rev. Donald P., Former Principal S.I.M. Kagoro Secondary School, and now at Cedar Grove, N. J. Telephone Interview, February 17, 1983.

Haruna, Zakariya M., Director Technical Services Nigeria Airways, Lagos. Interview, August 30, 1982.

Labesa, Balet, former Vice Principal Government Technical Secondary School Soba, now Graduate Student, University of Wisconsin, Menomonie. Telephone interview, February 11, 1983.

Mairabo, E. G., Medical Secretary, E.C.W.A. Headquarters, Jos. Interview in New York, November, 1982.

Obi, Miss D. N., Director of the Institute of Church and Society, Christian Council of Nigeria, Ibadan. Interview, August 25, 1982.

Sule, Dr. Danjuma, Chief Medical Officer, Bauchi State. Interview, September 6, 1982.

Viringborg, Miss Elizabeth, N.E.A.C. Education Secretary, Kaduna. Interview, September 4, 1982.

Waziri, Pastor Simon Y., Former National Vice President and Kaduna State Chairman, N.A.B.K.T.N., now studying at the University of Wisconsin, Menomonie. Telephone interview, February 11 and 24, 1983.

Williams, C. O., General Secretary, Christian Council of Nigeria, Lagos. Interview, August 27, 1982.

D. Dissertations and Theses.

Akinwusi, Claudius Olayinka, "An Approach to Religious Studies in Nigerian Secondary Schools," Ed.D. Thesis, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1973.

Awolola, David A. "Eight Representative Secondary Schools In The Western State of Nigeria Respond to Religious Education Curriculum Survey," Ed.D. Thesis, College of Education, University of Colorado, Greeley, 1976.

Gilliland, Dean Stewart. "African Traditional Religion in Transition, The Influence of Islam on African Traditional Religion in North Nigeria," Ph.D. Thesis, Hartford Seminary Foundation, June 1971.

Kaburuk, Chidawa, B. "Polygamy in the Old Testament and The Church In Africa," M.S.T. Thesis, Dallas Theological Seminary, May, 1976.

Okongwu, Nnodu J. "History of Education in Nigeria 1842-1942," Ph.D. Thesis, New York University, 1946.

Retief, Malcolm William. "A Program of Primary Religious Education in Africa," Ph.D. Dissertation, The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1930, DAI, ADGO 1-25905.

Turaki, Yusufu. "The Institutionalization of the Inferior Status and Socio-Political Role of the Non-Muslim Group in the Colonial Hierarchial Structure of the Northern Region of Nigeria: A Social-Ethical Analysis of the Colonial Legacy," Ph.D. Dissertation, Boston University, 1982.

Appendix A

Some Addresses of Nigerian Organizations and Institutions Coordinating Programs in Christian Religious Education

Each Ministry of Education in the 19 states of Nigeria coordinated some program of Islamic or Christian religious knowledge in 1979. So was the federal Ministry of Education. Also each state had an Advanced Teachers' College (or College of Education) and a College of Arts and Science. Islamic and Christian religious knowledge was taught in these post-secondary institutions.

More specifically, the following institutions or organizations were involved in teaching or coordinating some program of Christian religious education:

1. Christian Association of Nigeria
   Forced Road, P. O. Box 951
   Lagos (and every State Capital in the North)

2. Christian Council of Nigeria
   139 Ogulana Drive
   Sure Lere, Lagos

3. Education Department
   E. C. W. A. Headquarters
   P. O. Box 63
   Jos

4. Institute of Church and Society
   Christian Council of Nigeria
   Off Oyo Road
   P. O. Box 4020
   Ibadan

5. National Association of Bible Knowledge
   Teachers of Nigeria (N.A.B.K.T.N.)
   Found at each of the 19 State Capitals.

6. Nigerian Educational Research Council
   No. 3 Jibuwo Street
   Sure Lere, Lagos

7. Northern Educational Advisory Council
   (for Protestants)
   Box 132
   Kaduna

8. Pastoral Institute
   Roman Catholic Church Bodiga
   P. O. Box 1784
   Ibadan

9. Project TIME
   National Institute of Moral and Religious
   Education
   Akoka, Lagos

10. Roman Catholic Secretariat of Nigeria
    Force Road (Tafawa Balewa Square)
    P. O. Box 951
    Lagos

11. Some Universities:

    a. Institute of Education
       Ahmadu Bello University
       Zaria

    b. Nigerian University, Nsuka

    c. University of Ibadan, Ibadan

    d. University of Ife, Ife-Ife

    e. University of Ilorin, Ilorin

    f. University of Jos, Jos

Appendix B

Personal Emolument - Religious Instructors, Zaria Local Government

Estab	Details of Expenditure		Appr. 1977/78	Est. 1978/79	Increase (Decrease)
1	Supervisor of Arabist	L.07	-	2,532	2,532
5	Asst. Supervisors	L.06	-	9,720	9,720
1	Clerk typist	L.03	980	1,020	36
1	Messenger	L.02	-	852	852
76	Arabic Teachers	L.04	45,000	91,200	46,200
200	Arabic Teachers	L.03	86,400	197,800	111,800
350	Arabic Teachers	L.01	144,000	268,800	124,800
50	Arabic Teachers	02	-	42,600	42,600
70	Student Teachers	L.01	31,570	53,760	22,190
60	Student Teachers	L.02	35,100	51,120	16,020
80	Christian Instructors	L.01	36,000	65,280	29,800
20	Christian Instructors	L.02	-	17,040	17,040
	Supervisor of Arabist	1.06	2,100	-	(2,100)
	Asst. Supervisor 1	L.05	1,332	-	(1,332)
	Messenger 1	L.01	786		786
			383,268	741,724	419,390
	Increase				419,390

Other Charges:	Appr. 1977/78	Est. 1978/79	Increase (Decrease)
Basic Allowances	1,500	2,000	500
Other Transport and Traveling	1,000	1,500	500
Arabic Books and Stationeries	20,000	70,000	50,000
Vehicle Advances	-	10,750	10,750
Course Allowances to 130 Students at the rate of N30 per month	-	46,800	46,800
Inducement Allowances	11,232	-	(11,232)
Total	33,732	131,050	97,318
Net increase			97,318

Appendix C

The Failure to Implement the Teaching of Christian Religious Instruction, GNPP Campaign Promise, 1979

An interview statement between Barnaba B. Lekwat and Mallam Umaru Alesa Gadzama, Teacher's College, Columbia University, New York, February 10, 1983.

As you already know, Alhaji Waziri Ibrahim was instrumental in the formation of the N.P.P. You are also aware that he broke away from the N.P.P. to found his own party, the G.N.P.P. You would recall, too, that Alhaji Waziri Ibrahim as the flag bearer of the G.N.P.P. in 1979 indulged in religious activities. The Nigerian press publicised these religious activities as you know well. In this light it was Alhaji Waziri Ibrahim, with the support of Senator Anya of Cross River state who built churches in that state.

When Alhaji Waziri Ibrahim started his presidential campaign in his home state, our state, Borno, he made it known to the citizens that the G.N.P.P. belonged to all citizens irrespective of religious creed according to the G.N.P.P. 1979 manifesto. Senator Ja'afaru Manga, the G.N.P.P. campaign chief in Borno state made religion a campaign issue, promising to fulfil the manifestor's declaration - the freedom of religion in Borno state. The masses in Borno state remembered that the defunct N.P.C. had extreme religious activities in 1966, and they were relating the N.P.C. to the N.P.N. which was promoted in Borno state by Mallam Adamu Chiroma, now

Minister of Agriculture in the Shagari N.P.N. federal administration. Because of the religious promises and other pledges of the G.N.P.P., the party received the support of the masses while the N.P.N. had less followers.

But you can not understand fully why things were as you have been told so far. Before 1979, under the military administration, Christian parents were requesting that their children be taught Christian religious instruction in school. This was particularly so in Biu, Dambwa and Chibuk local government areas. It was even more so in Askira Uba local government area, where 90% citizens are Christians. The few Muslims in these local governments had Islamic religious instruction taught to their children in school, especially in Askira. The Local Government Education Secretary, Mallam Kumani, had recruited Christian religious instructors from Kelp Bible School based upon the demands of parents; but the Ministry of Education in Maiduguri refused to pay remuneration to the teachers. In Uba Askira the parents resented this. Therefore Governor Idiabo, the military administrator, directed that the parents' wish be fulfilled. The Other local government areas - Biu, Dambwa and Chibuk - were less fortunate. They were still requesting for Christian religious knowledge instructors when Alhaji Waziri Ibrahim's G.N.P.P. arrived with its promises of religious freedom in 1978/79. Of course, shortage of funds for religious instructors was being experienced in Uba Askira.

You can now see why the G.N.P.P. was accepted by the Christian community in Borno. It is necessary to remember also

that teachers were a strong hold of the G.N.P.P. in the 1979 vote, and 90% of teachers were Christians, especially in Biu and Uba Askira.

After the 1979 G.N.P.P. election victory, Mallam Mari Y. Malgwi, the Staff Inspector, Christian religious instruction, began to implement the party manifesto. He received the permission of the Ministry of Education to recruit teachers of Christian religious instruction. The Christians were respecting the G.N.P.P. government for fulfilling this promise. The permanent secretary had ordered the teaching of Islamic and Christian religious instruction in all primary schools in the state.

But problems soon arose for conservative Muslims from Potiskum and Mungono local government areas opposed the teaching of Christian religious instruction in schools. The State Cabinet appeared to have listened to this conservative group.

In an emergency meeting, the State Cabinet, in the absence of Mallam Stanley Balemy, the education commissioner who was not invited to the meeting, directed Mallam Musa Ibrahim to reverse the plans to teach Christian religious instruction in all primary schools. He was bluntly told, "This matter was in the ministry before you, go and withdraw the order." His commissioner was later invited to the meeting, in the absence of the permanent secretary, who was told to leave the meeting. The commissioner, like the permanent secretary, was directed to ensure that the permanent secretary comply without delay with the withdrawal order.

When Christian leaders petitioned Alhaji Waziri Ibrahim about the withdrawal order, the chairman of the G.N.P.P. explained that the problem was that of implementation by the State Executive; it was not a party policy matter.

I, and many other citizens were disappointed in the G.N.P.P. failure to fulfil its promise.

Appendix D

W. A. E. C. Bible Knowledge Syllabus 1976

Bible version - R.S.V.

There will be two papers of 1-1/2 hours each, both of which must be taken. In each of the two papers, that is, O.T. paper and N.T. paper, the Section A, B, and C will be rotated on a year-to-year basis as follows:

1976 - Either Section A or Section B.

1977 - Either Section A or Section C.

1978 - Either Section B or Section C.

Each paper will consist of two sections. Six questions including one context question, will be set on each section in each paper.

In each paper, candidates must attempt three questions from only one section. One of three must be a context question.

PAPER I. OLD TESTAMENT HISTORY AND RELIGION

SECTION A: From Abraham to the Early Days of Israel in the Promised Land.

1. Abraham, Isaac and Jacob

   Genesis 12:1-9; 17:1-21

   Genesis 21:1-8; 25:19-26

   Genesis 37:1-28; 42:1-25; 46:1-7; 49:28-33

2. Israel under the leadership of Moses

   The call of Moses, Exodus 1, 2, 3.

   Moses and Pharaoh, Ex. 4:27-31; 5:1-19; 7:14-25; 11.

   The Covenant, Ex. 19:1-20; 20; 24:1-11; 32:1-20, 30-34

Desert Hardship and death of Moses

Numbers 13; 14; 20; 27:12-23; Deut. 34.

3. Israel under the leadership of Joshua

Joshua 1; 2; 3; 4:1-19; 6; 8:1-23; 10:1-15; 18:1-10; 19:49-51; 24.

4. Israel under the Judges Promised Land,

Judges 1; 2:11-23, Deborah 4; 5.

Gideon, Abimelech and Jephthah 6; 7; 8; 9; 10:17-18; 11:1-12, 28-40.

Coming of the Philistines, 13; 14; 16:4-31; 21:25.

SECTION B. From the Institute of the Monarchy to the Fall of the Northern Kingdom

1. Samuel and the First Israelite King Isam. 1; 2:21; 3; 8; 9; 10; 11.

2. Saul's rejection, I Sam. 15.

3. The Rise of David and his Flight from Saul

I Sam. 16:14-17; 18:1-16; 19:1-17; 20; 27.

4. The Death of Saul, I Sam. 28:31; 2 Sam. 1.

5. The reign of David (The Early Part)

2 Sam. 2:1-11; 3:17-27; 5; 6:1-19; 8.

6. The Reign of David (The Later Part), 2 Sam. 11;

12:1-14; 15; 16; 17; 18; 19:1-30; I Kings 1; 2:1-4.

7. The Reign of Solomon, I Kings 3; 4:22-34; 5:13-18;

7:1-14; 8; 1; 10:1-13, 11.

8. The Disruption of the Kingdom and the reigns of

Rehoboam and Jeroboam I, I Kings 12; 14:21-31.

9. Omri, Ahab, and the prophet Elijah, I Kings 16; 17; 18; 19; 20:1-34; 21; 22:1-40.

10. Elisha - The Moabite and Syrian Wars, 2 Kings 8:7-15.

11. The Prophetic Revaluation led by Judah, 2 Kings 8:25-29; 9; 10:1-28, 32-36; 11; 12.
12. Jeroboam II and Eighth Century Prophets, 2 Kings 14:23-29; Amos 1-4; 5:1-20; 7:10-17; 8:4-7, Hosea 1; 2; 3; 6; 11:1-8.
13. The Fall of the Northern Kingdom, 2 Kings 15:17-31; 16;5-9; 17:1-6; 24-28.

SECTION C. From Hezekiah to the Return from the Exile (586 B.C.)

1. Hezekiah, Manasseh, and the Assyrians, 2 Kings 18; 19; 20:12-21; 21.
2. Josiah - The Reformer, 2 Kings 22; 23:1-27.
3. From Death of Josiah to First Deportation, 2 Kings 23:28-37; Jeremiah 26:20-23; 2 Kings 24:1-16; 25:27-30.
4. Jeremiah the Prophet - His early Preaching, chs. 1; 2; 3; 5; 7; 23.
5. Ezekiel - A voice in Exile, chs. 1:1-3; 2; 3; 8; 13; 18.
6. The Early Years of Zedekiah, 2 Kings 24:17-20; Jeremiah 27.
7. The Fall of Jerusalem, 2 Kings 25:1-21; Jeremiah 37, 38.
8. In Days of Exile, 2 Kings 25:22-6; Jer. 29; 52; 28-30. Days of Nebuchadnezzar Jer. 29.
9. Voices of Hope, Jer. 31; Isa. 12; 35; 40; 52:13-35; 53; Ezek. 34; 36:22-38; 37:1-14.
10. The Return (Restoration), Ezra 1; 2:1-2; 3; 4:1-5; 5; 6:1-12; 16-18; Cyrus

PAPER II: NEW TESTAMENT

Six questions, including one context question, will be set on each section. Candidates must attempt three questions from only one section. One of the three must be the context question.

SECTION A: The Gospel according to Matthew, and The Acts of the Apostles, chs. 1-15:35.

SECTION B: The Gospel according to Mark, and The Acts of the Apostles.

SECTION C: The Gospel according to Luke, and The Acts of the Apostles, chs. 1-15:35.