

The content of the Christian Religious Studies syllabus
in Nigerian secondary schools:
A historical perspective on indigenous pastoral theology

By

Cyril Aigbadon Odia

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Author's Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis represents my own work and has not been submitted, in whole or in part, by me or any other person, for the purpose of obtaining any other qualification.

Signed: Cyrel Alcarazon ODA Jan

Date: 3rd Sep. 2018.

ABSTRACT

Christian Religious Studies in Nigeria is almost entirely based on the study of the Bible. This is as a result of the historical foundation of formal education in Africa, and the contribution of missionaries. Though strongly influenced by political and economic factors, African theology has developed from a strong scriptural standpoint.

The different approaches to pastoral theology on the continent need more clarity on what the future holds for young people of faith. This research provides that clarity and specifically identifies the present situation of Indigenous pastoral theology (IPT) in Nigeria.

The pedagogical option and method used for teaching Christian Religious Education provide an opportunity to understand why there is a lot of emphasis on Christology in secondary schools.

Through formal education and a systematic study of academic materials, one can develop a hypothesis for an African theology of Education (ATE) as a sustainable way of contributing to the growth of pastoral theology from a local level.

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my parents and grandparents. It is also dedicated to all my friends and dear ones who have gone to their eternal reward.

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ABBREVIATIONS

ACTEA	The Association for Christian Theological Education in Africa
ACUHIAM	Association of Catholic Universities and High Institutes of Africa and Madagascar
AIM	Alliance for International Monasticism
ANBC	Advanced National Business Certificate
ANCOPSS	All Nigeria Confederation of Principals of Secondary Schools
ANTC	Advanced National Technical Certificate
AOATA	L'Association oecuménique des théologiens africains
ASUNICAM	Association des Universités et Instituts supérieurs Catholiques d'Afrique et Madagascar
ATA	Association of African Theologians, Associação dos Teólogos Africanos, Association des Théologiens Africains
ATCB	Association des Théologiens Catholiques du Bénin
ATE	African Theology of Education
ATIEA	Association of Theological Institutions in Eastern Africa
ATISCA	Association of Theological Institutions in Southern and Central Africa
AU	African Union
BEC	Basic Education Curriculum
BECAN	Association of the Benedictine and Cistercian Association of Nigeria
BECAN	The Benedictine and Cistercian Association of Nigeria
BFBS	British and Foreign Bible Society
BK	Bible Knowledge
CAN	Christian Association of Nigeria
CAS	Centre for African Studies
CATHAN	Catholic Theological Association of Nigeria
CBCN	Catholic Bishops conference of Nigeria
CCC	Catechism of the Catholic Church
CCN	Christian council of Nigeria
CE	Civic Education
CESAC	Comparative Education Study and Adaptation Centre

CICM	Congregatio immaculate Cordis mariae. Also called Scheut Missionaries or Missionhurst Congregation of the Immaculate Heart of Mary (<i>Scheutists</i>)
CIRCLE	The Circle of Concerned African Women Theologians
CMS	Church Mission Society/Church Missionary Society
COCIN	Church of Christ in Nigeria
COCIN	The Church of Christ in Nations
CPC	Consumer Protection Council
CPC	The Consumer Protection Council
CPFN	Christian Pentecostal Fellowship of Nigeria
CRE	Christian Religious Education
CREPTI	Cellule de réflexion et de propositions des théologiens Ivoiriens
CRK	Christian Religious Knowledge
CRS	Christian Religious Studies
CSN	Catholic Secretariat of Nigeria
CTSSA	Catholic Theological Society of Southern Africa
DRRE	Disaster Risk Reduction Education
ECWA	Evangelical Church of West Africa
FCT	Federal Capital Territory
FEC	Federal Executive Council of Nigeria
FRSC	Federal Road Safety Corp
GILLBT	Ghana Institute of Linguistic, Literacy and Bible Translation
HIV/AIDS	The human immunodeficiency virus /acquired immunodeficiency syndrome
HMS	Her Majesty's Ship
HND	Higher National Diploma
IBE	International Bureau of Education
ICHE	International Council for Higher Education
ICT	Information and Communication Technology
IEIs	Innovation Enterprise Institutions
IFCU	International Federation of Catholic Universities
IMC	Instituto Missioni Della Consolata
INSeCT	International Network of Societies for Catholic Theology
InSITE	Information Science and Information Technology Education

IRM	International Review of Missions
IRS	Islamic Religious Studies
JAMB	Joint Admissions and Matriculation Board
JCCE	Joint Consultative Council in Education
JSR	Journal of Service Research
JSS	Junior Secondary School
L'ASTHOL	Association of Theological Institutions in Francophone Africa
LCCN	The Lutheran Church of Christ in Nigeria
MCCJ	Missionarii Comboniani Cordis Jesu -Comboni Missionaries of the Heart of Jesus-
NABKTN	National Association of Bible Knowledge Teachers of Nigeria
NAFDAC	National Agency for Food, and Drug Administration Control
NAPTIP	National Agency for the Prohibition of Trafficking in Persons
NAPTIP	The National Agency for the Prohibition of Trafficking in Persons
NBC	National Business Certificate
NBP	National Book Policy of Nigeria
NBTE	National Board for Technical Education
NCCL	National Conference for Catechetical Leaders
ND	National Diploma
NDLEA	National Drug Law Enforcement Agency
NDLEA	The Nigerian Drug Law Enforcement Agency
NEC	National Council on Education
NECO	National Examination Council
NECO	Nigeria National Examination Council
NEDRC	National Education Development and Research Council
NERDC	Nigerian Educational Research and Development Council
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisations
NID	National Innovative Diploma
NKST	Nongu u Kristu u i Ser u sha Tar, (Universal Reformed Christian Church) and Nongu u Kristu u ken Sudan hen Tiv.
NLC	Nigeria Labour Congress
NPE	National Policy on Education
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version
NTC	National Technical Certificate

NUC	National Universities Commission
NUT	National Union of Teachers
NUT	The National Union of Teachers
OLA	Our Lady of Apostles
OP	Order of Preachers (Dominicans)
OSA	Order of Saint Augustine
OSB	Order of St Benedict
PCE	Polytechnics and Colleges of Education
PCR	Peace and Conflict Resolution
PFN	Pentecostal Fellowship of Nigeria
PKN	Pedagogy and Content Knowledge
Post- HND	Full Professional Diploma
PSPP	Public Schools in Private Property
PVP	Projected Video Package
QIM	The Qua Iboe –United Evangelical Mission from Belfast
RNV	Religion and National Values
SE	Security Studies/Education
SECAM	The Symposium of Episcopal Conferences of Africa and Madagascar
SMA	Societas Missionum ad Afros, (<i>Société des Missions Africaines</i>) Society of African Missions.
SOAS	School of African and Oriental Studies (University of London)
SPS	St Patrick’s Society (<i>Societas Sancti Patritii pro Missionibus ad Exteros</i>)–Kiltegan Fathers
SS	Social Studies
SSS	Senior Secondary School
St.	Saint
SVD	Divine Word Missionaries- <i>Societas Verbi Divini</i>
TAF	The Albino Foundation
TVET	Technical and Vocational Education and Training
UAC	United Africa Company
UBE	Universal Basic Education
UCH	University College Hospital Ibadan
UK	United Kingdom of England, Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland
UNA	United Native African Church

UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UPE	Universal (and Compulsory) Primary Education
USA	United States of America
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
VEIs	Vocational Enterprise Institutions
WAATI	West African Association of Theological Institution
WAEC	West African Examination Council
WASC	West African School Certificate
ZM	Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft und Religionswissenschaft

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APPENDIX

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INTRODUCTION

Since many scholars have not presented the historical foundations of the curriculum design of Christian Religious Studies in Nigeria, this pioneering work on the topic provides the much-needed historical basis for it.

This work is designed in two broad sections made up of three parts each. The first section is the historical section (chapters 1-4) and the second section is the pastoral theological section (chapters 5-8). The historical section is rather lengthy and contains an in-depth presentation of original documents, which is one of the major contributions of this work. As a result of the necessary historical quest to build a solid foundation for this research, most of the volume of data collected have been presented in their original textual format. It is hoped that future studies in this field would profit from such materials with the publication of this work.

The second section of the research is a contribution to the local development of pastoral theology in the schools. It is also divided into three parts. The analysis is done by identifying theological themes and the rationale for their inclusion in the curriculum. It also makes a logical connection with the historical evidence already presented in the first section of the entire research. The final part of this thesis contains a discourse on African theology as a growing research area in pastoral theology. This part continues in chapters 8 and 9 where designed pastoral proposals are suggested for the future of indigenous Christological studies and an African Theology of Education (ATE). These proposals are compared to other works of experts in contextual theology from different non-African contexts.

Statement of the problem (raison d'être)

Pastoral theology has consistently been adapted in different cultures and parts of the world. African theology has been of interest in pastoral conversations especially with the growing decline of the Catholic faith in Western societies. The growth of Christianity in Africa, even

with the rise of secularism, has been interpreted with some erroneous assumptions that need to be clarified. Some think that economic hardship and illiteracy are the primary reasons for the comparative increase in the growth of the faith. What if the exact opposite is the case? In Nigeria, the growth of the Catholic Church can be traced to the pastoral model of Christian education in the country. Formal education and the growth of Christian schools have not only changed the national literacy landscape but has influenced the theological significance of education in Nigeria. Similarly, there is a growing controversy about the spiritual connection between prosperity, wellbeing, and living a devout Christian life. New private educational institutions from pre-schools to universities have been established in Nigeria in the past twenty years that promote a curriculum with biblical teachings and ethos.

However, there is a vacuum in identifying which is the most emphasised trend in theology within the Nigerian context. One way of finding this theological focus is to analyse the academic content in the syllabus for teaching secondary school students. This process necessarily invites one to see how this content has been interpreted by the local publications of indigenous writers and theologians in the country. By so doing, the style of the Gospel ‘interpretation’ that local theologians and publishers present to young students as they prepare for the university could be identified and enhanced.

With the plurality of contents in the Nigerian secondary school syllabus, this research evaluates the structure of the national syllabus for Christian Religious Studies against the background of historical and cultural influences of the early missionaries, slavery, colonialism and post-independent Africa. This historical quest reveals a basis to form an African Theology of Education from a Nigerian perspective. The primary question of this research is to find out the reason for the teaching of Christian Religious Studies in the country and present what is the

main trend over the centuries. This is useful at a time when there is an alternate theory to eliminate the teaching of religion in schools. It answers the question: ‘how did we come about the teaching of Christian Religious Studies in Nigeria today in our secondary school syllabus’? It also attempts to show the theological heritage and trend in Africa today from pastoral academic work in the schools. The link between Christian education started by the missionaries and social development has been a source of radical Islamic attacks with killings and kidnapping of students by those opposed to ‘Western civilisation and education’. In recent years, there have been attacks in Nigeria by Islamic militants on formal education in general and the teaching of Christian Religious Studies in schools. This research explores the direct link between faith formation and politics in Nigeria as a way to understand the reason for such attacks against Christianity.

This research also explores the historical background of the theology behind Christian education in Africa with a particular focus on the content of the Nigerian secondary school syllabus for Christian Religious Studies. It shows why the teaching of Christian Religious Studies (CRS) has stood the test of time within the various stages of the development of the secondary school syllabus. By so doing, one is able to answer the question of what type of pastoral theology is evident in schools. And within the present global and local situations, this research presents the roots and principles of what can be called an African Theology of Education (ATE). It explains why theology in the secondary school syllabus in Nigeria is fundamentally Christological and explores how the learning process in schools is closely connected with studying the Holy Bible.

Rationale for the study (relevance)

A school curriculum usually contains the philosophy, long-term goals, and structure of the educational system. This curriculum is further broken down or divided into sets of syllabi for

different subjects and evaluation to ascertain the level of knowledge gained to meet the national or local needs of the people. ¹ The contents of Christian Religious Studies syllabus in Nigeria have been developed over the years since the time of the early missionaries after the slave trade. This research attempts to identify the theological trend that has permeated the content of this subject with a view to identifying the theological formation that has been passed down to generations of Nigerians through the formal education system. Previous studies have not stated the theological trend contained in the syllabus which is relevant to developing an African Theology of Education. With a growing concern of young people having a different understanding of the relevance of religious studies in Nigeria today, this work helps to highlight the present content of what is being taught to young people in the classroom that shapes their understanding of God and the world.

The specific research on identifying the theological content of the secondary school Christian Religious Studies syllabus has not been carried out previously and this study helps to identify what comes from an analysis of the content. We can now speculate with some indications, the expected theological orientation of teenagers who have passed through the Nigerian secondary school system.

The Research Method of this work

The main method used for this research is the historical research method. It is a method of qualitative research that basically examines records or events and make conclusions and recommendations based on the findings. The *historical research method* is based on primary and secondary sources. Primary sources are usually original documents in print, audio or picture. Secondary sources are subsequent studies based on previous primary materials. This

¹ Cf. J. C. Richards, J. Platt, and H. Platt, *Longman dictionary of language teaching and applied linguistics*. (Harlow, GB: Longman Group, 1993), 94.

method of research is different from quantitative research method that is based on numerical collection of data usually through interviews or questionnaires. Another method used for this research is the ‘descriptive method’ which is basically about presenting findings (usually from a combination of different research methods). “For example, description by interview and description by testing are two entirely different research approaches, but both of them come under the heading of descriptive research”²

The reason for using these research methods is because of the historical nature of this work which necessarily requires a methodology that is apt to historical studies in a theological evaluation and educational studies that spread over a considerable period of time. This is also sometimes called a retrospective longitudinal study. In Longitudinal studies, the research design is mainly cantered around ‘time frames’ and yardsticks of comparison or evaluation.³

Any study that involves the collection of data that goes back hundreds of years can be described as ‘historical’, ‘longitudinal’ and ‘descriptive’. These are the methods used in this theological work of pastoral history of education and curriculum in Nigeria.

Pastoral Theology and Qualitative Research Methods

Pastoral theology uses a method similar to that of the social sciences because of its emphasis on human experience. Theological reflections that focus on daily social and cultural human enterprise rely on data collection and interpretation. It’s a reflection on divine revelation as studied in human history and specific local situations. As a theological reflection, the strong emphasis on ‘statistical data’ and surveys and questionnaires -typical of quantitative research

² Gajendra K. Verma and Kanka Mallick, *Researching Education: Perspectives and Techniques* (London: Falmer Press, 1999), 77.

³ Melanie E. Hassett and Eriikka Paavilainen-Mäntymäki, (eds.) *Handbook of Longitudinal Research Methods in Organisation and Business Studies* (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing Limited, 2013), 4-7. See also Louis Cohen, Lawrence Manion and Keith Morrison, *Research Methods in Education* (New York: Routledge, 2011), 267.

method is not used primarily in this research. The data collected in this research are historical documents from various centuries that are being analysed qualitatively and applied within a pastoral context of the theology of education.⁴

The advantages of using a qualitative historical research method include the following:

- a. It helps to show the original foundation of any field of study. This is specifically necessary when the research is on a topic that has not been previously done. One has to find out with available data, the primary sources of previous documents and materials of the topic.
- b. A second advantage is that it helps to validate the present or disprove the authenticity of later materials (or findings) in the area of research. Modern African studies often lack historical qualitative data to support their present assumptions.
- c. A third reason is that this method also helps in formulating reliable proposals for present and future practices based on the accurate study of past patterns and inherent conditions. In a rapidly changing world, theologians are looking for clear evidence of what is stable, consistent and authentic from divine intervention in human history. This is becoming more and more difficult to identify without a careful reflective process involving an in-depth interaction between the past and the present.
- d. This method also helps to understand changes in the history of educational practices

Some of the limitations of using this method include:

- a. Insufficient access to historical data. Finding primary sources involves a lot of mobility and financial investment. Materials for this research was collected in five different

⁴ See John Swinton and Harriet Mowat *Practical Theology and Qualitative Research* 2nd Ed. (London: SCM press, 2006), 28-53.

countries (Nigeria, England, Italy, Ireland and the United States of America) as most historical printed data can only be accessed at confined sources and libraries. The researcher can only use what is found and cannot create a historical data, unlike quantitative research where materials may be generated from prepared questionnaires and new statistics.

- b. Another challenge of historical research is on the interpretation of collected data. Times change, expressions and nuances get modified, and some materials are never complete. Sometimes interpretations are subjective and open to further study. In some difficult cases, it's better to present the text as it is and leave it to the readers to make their own interpretations in the light of the given context.
- c. There is no other option for carrying out a historical research than looking for historical materials. This means that not finding the right material will jeopardise or invalidate the process.
- d. A dangerous risk of using this method is the sometimes lack of internal validity of the available data received from the past. In this case, the credibility, reliability, and authenticity of the source of the data have to be of a high standard.

Collection of Data

The process of this research on the Theological Content in Indigenous Publications for the teaching of Christian Religious Education in Nigerian Secondary schools was carried out in the Republic of Ireland with Mary Immaculate College and in partnership with the Centre for African Studies (CAS) in the School of African and Oriental Studies (SOAS) of the University of London. SOAS provided the much-needed access to original historical documents especially

of the colonial British period as contained in the first four chapters of this research.⁵ With an academic hospitality of one year as a ‘temporary staff’ on associate membership with the Centre for African Studies (CAS) from January 2015 to January 2016, I was offered the possibility to participate in many related academic conferences in SOAS including two sessions organised in the House of Commons. The archival materials of the Vatican on early missionary education and influence in West Africa was also accessed as part of the field work for this research. In Ireland, the historical collections of the Society of the African Missions (SMA) was particularly useful with the kindness of their community in Cork city. The Irish Salesian Archival materials were also used as part of the field work for this research with specific reference to the origins of the Salesian education missionary works in the Republic of South Africa. Most of the Materials on Afro-American Slavery are from the United States of America achieved in Harvard, Libraries in Lynn Massachusetts and Washington D. C. collected in 2015. Other materials were accessed from the Nigerian Educational Research and Development Council (NERDC) with the support of the National Library of Nigeria and the Library of the Federal Ministry of Education headquarters [located within the premises of the National Federal Secretariat (both) in Abuja] also in 2015.

The samples of the instructional materials are taken from a collection of different publishers in Nigeria. These publishing houses participate in annual book sales and promotion organised by the Nigerian Government in Abuja.⁶ In the southern part of the country where the history of Christian missionary education took its roots, some materials were also retrieved from the South

⁵ Some of the relevant Christian early theological materials in Nigeria include those held at the Archival reference code: GB 0102 MMS at School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), University of London Library. (Wesleyan) Methodist Missionary Society/Methodist Church Overseas Division Archive, 1744-1976 Super-collection, 1,760 boxes.

⁶ During the book fair for mainly Nigerian local publishers held in Abuja in the summer of 2015, my physical presence there during the event provided a first-hand observation of the present findings of the situation of secondary school textbooks in the Federal Capital Territory of Nigeria. Visits to Harvard and former slave houses in Virginia and Washington DC also made a lasting impression that influenced the historical part of this research. The previous trip to the Vatican (Italy) was in 2014.

Western (St Louis girls Secondary School, established in 1954) and from the South Eastern (Bubendorff Memorial and Community Secondary school Obeledu) parts of the country to give a broader geographical sampling. These schools were selected with a specific target at the possibility of having historical materials in their archival collections. Outside Nigeria, other samples of the early publications of missionaries were procured from academic institutions from the United Kingdom, like the Benjamin Elliott's '*Help to Reading the Bible*' of 1845, (published in London by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge), and Fafunwa's *A History of Nigerian higher Education* (procured from the university college of North Wales). Another procurement was also made from the United States of America of Fafunwa's earlier publication on the 'History of Education in Nigeria' from Grand Rapids Baptist College and Seminary.⁷

With specific reference to indigenous theological content, a part of this research was carried out in October 2015, by reviewing early publications kept at the previous headquarters of the Nigerian Education Research Council in Lagos. One of the first findings in Lagos was that of the structure of the Nigerian education system, especially in its 'content' capacity. This means that from the early promotion of local theologians and missionaries in the preparation of the content of the syllabus for teaching Christian Religious Education (CRE), one is able to identify and compare the changing trends in African theological thoughts from the Nigerian Educational domain especially at the secondary school level where teenagers are being taught the fundamentals of theology. After the initial years of various educational documents (from conferences, policies, laws, and ordinances) as seen in chapter 4, the faith experience and Christian religious influence became enshrined within the Nigerian education curriculum. Even though the Federal Government took over the schools from the Christian missionaries during

⁷ Most of these items were collected at the beginning of 2015.

this period, it did not change the theological outlook and basic belief of what was taught to the children in the secondary schools. At this stage of the local curriculum, one can say that the teaching of Christian Religious Education was accepted as part of the subjects in the syllabus. The Western style of formal education had come to stay as the primary structure on a national level, and Religious Education had also come to be part of the learning process.

Method of Selection

A *simple random sample* method⁸ is used for this research in sampling the textbooks for teaching Christian Religious Education in Nigeria based on the fact that the syllabus at any given time has always been the same. However, for the sake of the ‘longitudinal study research method’ of this work, some other samples were collected from different time frames especially in the past thirty years. The publication of the 1985 syllabus by the Nigerian Education and Research Council introduced a more definite layout of the content of the subjects in the curriculum. To that effect, the two divisions of examining the sampled textbooks are those before 1985 and those after 1985. This method is preferred since the materials being reviewed are all ‘homogenous’ (referring to the same subject-Christian Religious Education).

This method of sampling also guarantees that any textbook selected at random during any given period under review would be like any other textbook used at that historical time. This is because the basic content (at various historical periods) are the same as can be seen from the historical origins of the teaching of the subject from the Christian missionary influence and the development of government policies on education in Nigeria.

⁸ For a recent publication on research methods see Federick J. Gravetter, and Lori-Ann B. Forzano, *Research methods for the behavioral sciences* (5th ed.). (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Cengage Learning, 2016).

Another practical reason for using this sampling method is because of its relevance to the primary purpose of this research which is to look at the ‘Theological Content’. With a focus on the content, the interest lies in the area of ‘themes’, ‘interpretation of fundamental Christian elements of the faith’, ‘attempts at inculturation of the content’ and ‘identifying the future shape of African theology’ from this pastoral education model which the research on these materials provide.

In the historical analysis of documents and records, as well as a random sampling of the various published textbooks for teaching the subject in the past fifty years, this historical and textual analytical method was preferred because of the specific interest of identifying the source and evaluating the actual content in the syllabus. This method helps in providing necessary data and archival materials that are useful in tracing the source of the content of the publications we have today. This research method is professionally useful in ‘understanding’ the past through studying of historical documents and publications.⁹

This work is also influenced by the ‘theology from below’ of Edward Schillebeeckx. It is an understanding of a pastoral theology that is pragmatic. It borrows the idea of the ‘historical-critical’ method (as different from the ‘transcendental’ method used by other theologians like Karl Rahner). “Rahner’s theology correlates the transcendental structures of the subject with the doctrines of revelation, while Schillebeeckx correlates the Christian message with various universal anthropological constants”.¹⁰

⁹ Cf. Martha C Howell, Walter Prevenier, and Cornell University Press. *From reliable sources: An introduction to historical methods*. (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2005).

¹⁰ Neil Ormerod, (1996). Quarrels with the Method of Correlation. *Theological Studies*, 57(4), 707-719. doi:10.1177/004056399605700406, <http://cdn.theologicalstudies.net/57/57.4/57.4.6.pdf> , 710.

The idea can be adapted to the African situation where ‘speculative thinking’ may not be as useful as ‘practical thinking’ at this historical time of economic oppression. The pastoral approach has helped in the study of the Christological emphasis in the entire school syllabus in preparation for the Secondary School Certificate and university studies. An emphasis on Christology that is identified as the major theological proposal in the secondary syllabus is consistent with the major vision of traditional Catholic education. “A Catholic vision of education is radically Christocentric, that is centred on the person of Christ”¹¹. This is rooted in the foundation dating back to the origins of Western education from the era of the monastic schools. “The last hundred years have also seen a major transformation in the scholarly discipline of theology. The integration of historical studies, a diversity of philosophical starting points, modern approaches to Scripture, and other factors have transformed the doing of theology, particularly in Roman Catholic circles. The relative uniformity of an earlier scholasticism has been replaced by a pluriformity of approaches and methods—personalist, historical-critical, liberationist, neo-Thomist, feminist, transcendental, political, to name a few. A modern student of theology is confronted not only with a multiplicity of theological questions and topics but also with a multiplicity of theological methods for moving from questions to acceptable answers”¹².

Since African theology is still being shaped, pastoral reflections aimed at formulating any form of theological identity would be largely influenced by the contextual experience of theologians, missionaries and cultures of the local African people over a significant period of time. The future of Catholic education in Nigeria will be influenced by theological clarity about what an African theology of education should be. One of the presumptions of this work is that such a

¹¹ Patricia Kieran and Anne Hession. *Children, Catholicism and religious education*. (Dublin: Veritas, 2005), 123.

¹² Ormerod, 1996, 707.

construct is already present in the historical deposits of faith, culture and literature that needs to be harmonised and identified.

Who will find this study useful?

This study will be useful for building up the on-going conversation on the nature and scope of African theology. This will be relevant from the perspective of pastoral or practical theology. Educators involved in curriculum planning will benefit from a study of this kind that presents historical and documented data for the sources of the content in the school syllabus. Those preparing for ministry and other specialised pastoral services will find this study useful in discerning the trend of theology in Africa. The roles of pastoral theology and the eradication of poverty are something that Christian social workers could also extract from the findings of this study. The theological community in Nigeria will find this research useful in designing the future of theological studies from the secondary level. A specific awareness is created by focusing on ‘theologies’ contained in a syllabus or school textbooks. This initial foundation from the secondary school level needs a historical background that this study provides. Publishers of textbooks and other instructional materials for teaching Christian Religious Studies (CRS) in Nigeria will find this study useful in designing future materials. People interested in ‘particular theologies’ from different parts of the world will also find this work useful from the perspective of indigenous theological content.

Scope and ‘limitation’ of the thesis

The focus of this research is to identify the ‘what’ that makes theology in African schools as it is. Historically and methodologically, samples of publications and archival materials have been analysed based on the Nigerian school model. These have helped to present the content of the secondary school pastoral and theological learning from a Christian and Biblical perspective.

This research interest is on the sources and content. Further quest could be made on an analysis of how students apply the theological introduction they have received through their secondary school education later on in adult life. It would be useful to have another quest into that based on the conclusions from this work. It is logical to identify what the theological contents are before following up on their impacts in the lives of millions who have been trained through this curriculum and method. The primary focus is based on the Nigerian educational system though lots of comparisons have been made with documents available from other African countries and other continents that are relevant to the study. Like many studies in Africa, the understanding of traditional pre-colonial cultures mainly refers to sub-Saharan communities.

Influence and limits of previous works

This work is influenced by other theological and educational studies in Nigeria. More than fifteen years ago there was a research that studied the Christian Religious Studies syllabus but with an interest in national policy and inclusive learning of Islamic and Christian studies in general. It had no specific theological focus and did not provide historical foundations. It also concentrated on the Junior Secondary School circle of the 1985 Nigerian syllabus¹³.

The Ministry of Education designs the content of the national school programme by a special council for Educational Research and Development.¹⁴ This council is in turn influenced by the international global agenda on formal learning by organisations like the International Bureau of Education (IBE). This bureau focusses on school curriculum within the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO). The general slant of the global proposal for religious education which is popular in Western societies is to teach about world

¹³ Cf. Augustine Uzoma Ihedinma, *Reconstructing the Religious Knowledge Curriculum in Nigeria: A study of inclusive education and pedagogical reform* (Doctoral dissertation, Institute of Education, University of London, 2004).

¹⁴ Nigerian Educational Research and Development Council (NERDC)

religions in general rather than confessional or theological knowledge of specific religions in schools. One can identify some of the influences of the non-confessional teaching of religious education in another research on the Christian Religious Studies curriculum focused on religious integration along the same principles of Christian-Muslim dialogue. Chizurum Ann Ugbor is an African pastoral theologian that carried out her research proposal along the lines of designing a joint syllabus of religious education in Nigeria that will encompass a combination of values that are common to both Islamic and Christian religious studies. As a study ‘about’ religion, this may be possible. However, as a theological synchronisation, both traditions may not be able to generate a third set of concepts in a merged syllabus in the minds of secondary school children. Nevertheless, the underlying assumption that elements of goodness and peace can be found in both religions, and therefore, one can construct a way of bringing those elements together in a syllabus is very useful. Ugbor focused on the educational aspect of this possibility which is quite different from this study which looks at establishing a historical foundation for an educational inquest into an understanding of African theology.¹⁵

A sociological study on the potential for formal education for social ‘transformation’ of Nigeria was done by Anthony Ikechukwu Chimaka. His research explains how Western education introduced to Nigeria by the Christian missionaries, applied the tenets of the teachings of the Church in setting up and running schools. His findings associated Western (also called formal) education with Christian evangelisation and proposed a Catholic model of Christian education for reconstructing a prosperous Nigeria. The study critically examines the Nigerian educational system and its role in social development, nation-building and peace.¹⁶

¹⁵ This method is called the Hermeneutical-Communication Model of Religious Education. See Chizurum Ann Ugbor, *Living the future in dialogue: Towards a new integral and transformative model of religious education for Nigeria in the 21st century*. (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang Edition, 2015).

¹⁶ Anthony Ikechukwu Chimaka, *Formal education: A catalyst to nation building: a case study of Nigeria*. (New York: Peter Lang), 2015.

Gotan carried out a similar research in 2005, by studying the social effects on learning ‘Christian Religious Knowledge’ (CRK)¹⁷. The research was carried out with a specific focus on the junior secondary school curriculum. Though this scope is limited only to the junior secondary school, it was useful in looking at the ‘Hypothetical Socio-moral Problem’ which was based on a test designed by Gotan. There were 336 students in the third year of junior secondary school from 35 schools within Plateau state in Nigeria that participated. Using a random sampling method, the study showed that the content of the curriculum and teaching methods are effective in achieving the aims of ‘Christian Religious Knowledge’ in Junior Secondary school in that state. Challenges, however, remained in getting qualified teachers and adequate learning materials to make the goal realistic. Other findings include the major influence of the learning environment playing a more influential role than the family background in helping students achieve the learning objectives of the subject. A major recommendation from this sociological study was on the provision of adequate facilities and qualified teachers.¹⁸

Similar studies have been done in Ghana with a group of women to find out how a curriculum on biblical studies could be designed within the local African context in order to have an effective evangelization. It was called ‘A Contextual Discipleship Curriculum’. It is based on a model of pastoral theology that allows for indigenisation so that conversion and discipleship can be more integrated with local cultures. The method of the research was mainly by oral learning since the target group was local market mothers who may not have formal literacy

¹⁷ The subject is also known as Christian Religious Studies (CRS), Christian Religious Education (CRE), Christian Religious Knowledge (CRK) and Bible Knowledge (BK). Since these names have been used at different times in the history of Nigeria, the names will be used interchangeably in this research.

¹⁸ Cletus Tanimu Gotan, (2005). *Evaluation of Christian Religious Knowledge Curriculum for Junior Secondary Schools in Plateau State of Nigeria 1985-2002*, Doctoral dissertation. (University of Jos, Jos, Nigeria).

skills in reading and writing. A significant part of the finding was that the growth of the Church in Africa is largely influenced by the participation of African mothers in the domestic Church and the local community. Consequently, a pastoral education with a curriculum on Christian Religious Studies tailored to them increases the response to the call of discipleship. The research was conducted with a combination of the qualitative and quantitative methods.¹⁹

In 2015 Catherine Okeke discovered in her research that ‘simulation teaching’ is effective in helping students of Christian Religious Studies to perform better during exams. The study was influenced by poor performance by students in Christian Religious Studies in the school leaving certificate examination in Anambra state of Nigeria from 2007-2011. The specific area of difficulty was identified as the themes in the Epistles of the New Testament. It was also reported that poor teaching methodology and students’ lack of retention of the subject matter were the root causes of the failure. She recommended a constructive teaching that uses illustrations, group discussions, demonstrations, role-playing and symbols.²⁰

The Catholic community in Nigeria has been consistent in interpreting the pastoral choices of the local church, through the works done by the Catholic Theological Association of Nigeria (CATHAN). This research also presents some of the major themes that the association has been studying with a view to understanding the pastoral interests of the Nigerian Catholic theologian. The political changes of the country affect the economic destiny of the nation. Theologians are actively participating in the social movements of the country by these series of academic reflections and engagements that they present. The topics that the theologians are discussing

¹⁹ Janice Fareed-Hardy, (2014). *Implementing a contextual discipleship curriculum to impact biblical knowledge and application for women in a large church in Ghana* (3629059) (Doctoral dissertation). Retrieved from ProQuest Dissertations and Theses database. Alliance Theological Seminary, Rockland, New York.

²⁰ Catherine Nwada Amara Okeke, (2015). *Effect of constructive simulation teaching strategy on students’ achievement and retention in Christian Religious Studies* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of Nigeria (UNN), Nsukka, Nigeria. http://www.unn.edu.ng/publications/files/17811_EFFECT_OF_CONSTRUCTIVE_SIMULATION_TEACHING_STRATEGY_ON_STUDENTS%20%80%99_ACHIEVEMENT_AND_RETENTION_IN_CHRISTIAN_RELIGIOUS_STUDIES.pdf

also show the present hermeneutical trends in biblical and pastoral theology that can be considered original to the African experience and expression of 'Church'. In fact, some see 'practical' theology as the goal of other branches of theology especially with regards to putting faith into action. Pastoral theology provides one with the tools and contexts to do what may be called 'applied theology'. With such an understanding, learning the principles of theological studies and having a collection of the dogmatic and systematic definitions in theology, is just like having a dictionary of words and meanings. They all still need to be put into sentences and paragraphs to make sense together. Similarly, pastoral theology or contextual theology can be understood as the 'putting' of already defined truths and principles based on the content of divine revelation into local use in specific cases or communities. That is why some argue that "there is no such thing as 'theology'; there is only *contextual* theology, *feminist* theology, *black* theology, *liberation* theology, *Filipino* theology, *Asian* theology, *Asian-America* theology, *African* theology, and so forth. Doing theology contextually is not an option...".²¹

The approaches to theology as a theoretical and practical study date back to the scholastic influence of faith and reason. "Anselm of Canterbury's *Proslogion*, which clearly appeals to reason and emphasizes the role of logic in theology, 'anticipates the best of scholastic theology'. His two mottos of *fides quaerens intellectum* (faith seeking understanding') and *credo ut intellegam* (I believe, in order that I may understand'), advance the insight that 'while faith came before understanding, the content of faith was nevertheless rational'. The two dictums 'established the priority of faith over reason, just as they asserted the entire reasonableness of faith'. With this, Anselm bridged the previous generation's spiritual theology of the monasteries— which emphasized 'the sufficiency of faith as expressed in Sacred Scripture'—to

²¹ Angie Pears, *Doing contextual theology*. (London: Routledge, 2010), 21. Citing Stephen B. Bevans, *Models of Contextual Theology*. Revised and Expanded Edition, (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2002), 3.

the new theology of the schoolmen (or scholastics) of the twelfth century—which emphasized ‘the need for critical reflection on the faith, using not only Sacred Scripture, but the writings of the early Christian witnesses, theologians, and philosophers, even non-Christian philosophers such as Aristotle’. While there are certainly differences amongst the scholastics (Bonaventure, Duns Scotus, William of Ockham, Thomas Aquinas, etc.), all advocate ‘the power of reason’ in the ‘understanding of the mysteries of faith’ and in the construction of ‘some overarching synthesis of the whole Christian doctrinal system’. An ‘intellectual optimism,’ therefore, characterizes the scholastics’ method.”²² The ‘reasonableness’ of theology is the part that is often highlighted by pastoral theologians. A study of this kind is concerned with the application of logical and right thinking in the pastoral care of secondary school students who have the opportunity of growing their faith within a school environment. The content of the faith knowledge is enshrined within the syllabus and printed in the school textbooks for teaching Christian Religious Studies.

African theologians in the modern world are challenged to intellectually engage with their historical understanding of the world within the context of divine revelation. Faith in Africa today, requires more intellectual articulation and expressions in arts, music and literature. This is similar to the Thomistic school that explains that: “For Thomas Aquinas (undoubtedly the foremost of the scholastic theologians), ‘the act of faith is essentially an act of the intellect, but not just any act of the intellect. It is thinking with assent’. While clearly emphasizing the cognitive dimensions of faith, Thomas also posits the centrality of God’s action in the assent of faith: ‘Revelation...is that saving act by which God furnishes us with the truths which are necessary for our salvation’. Occurring in history, revelation is that divine initiative which

²² Edmund Kee-Fook Chia, *Edward Schillebeeckx and interreligious dialogue: Perspectives from Asian theology*. (Eugene, Or: Pickwick Publications, 2012), 65. Citing Alister E McGrath *Christian theology: An Introduction*. 2nd ed. (Oxford: Blackwell, 1997). And Richard P. McBrien *Catholicism* Revised edition, (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1994).

facilitates the understanding of revealed truths, the climax of which is the incarnation of God in Jesus Christ. Faith, on the other hand, is the supernatural assent to these divine truths by means of a reasoning process that is ‘an ascending movement of the mind from creatures to God’. The task of theology, or *sacra doctrina*, is to enable the intellect to draw conclusions from the knowledge of God’s revelation so that the will can make an assent of faith.”²³ Since the school structure of learning and academic pursuit includes the psychosocial dimension of ‘experience’, the teaching of religious education cannot be reduced to mere conceptualisations of ideas. Faith has to be translated to a lived reality of economic and social development. This could still be traced to the influence of the scholastics because “without denying the importance of Augustine’s thesis that spiritual ascent and purification are requisite to knowledge of God and of the faith, the scholastics advanced the thesis that ‘our sense experience of the visible and concrete’ are also ways by which we know God. The experience, however, has to be guided by the authority of Sacred Scripture, which the scholastics view as the ultimate authority of all theological endeavors. For Thomas Aquinas, ‘the canonical Scripture have...a primal significance and authority’ while the use of the doctors of the Church are ‘only with probable effect’ and the reliance on the ‘philosophers only as extrinsic and probable’. Extra-scriptural sources are only employed inasmuch as they assist in ascertaining the revealed truths as contained in Scriptures. The entire procedure is conducted through the process of natural reasoning. The instructional methods employed during the scholastic period were that of *quaestio* (‘question’)—especially during the high period of scholasticism—and of *disputatio* (‘disputation’)—especially in late scholasticism. The use of these methods often entailed lively academic debates, encouraged divergent thinking, and resulted in numerous viewpoints and

²³ Chia, 2012, 65-66. Citing Richard P. McBrien *Catholicism* Revised edition, (San Francisco: Harpersanfrancisco, 1994), 35 and 240-241.

opinions.”²⁴ In our schools today, this academic debate has come into the classroom. It is discussed in the syllabus. It is tested in written and oral examinations where students have to display an acceptable level of proficiency in order to graduate. In Africa and elsewhere, the conversation has to grow and be constantly renewed.

Above all, this study wants to know what kind of theological foundation African children in Nigeria are given. The role of Catholic education in Nigeria and its historical effect on the spiritual formation of the people over the years is also studied. One may now speculate about the kind of Christian communities that will be sustained into the future with the present educational impact.

²⁴ Chia, 2012, 66. Citing Francis Schüssler Fiorenza, “systematic theology’: Task and Methods” in Francis Schüssler Fiorenza and John P. Galvin, *Systematic Theology: Roman Catholic Perspectives* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991), 21 and 24.

CHAPTER 1
HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENTS OF CHRISTIAN THEOLOGY AND WESTERN
EDUCATION IN NIGERIA

This (historical) section presents the interaction between the missionaries and the local people. It also includes the influence of the transatlantic slave trade. Slavery is a phenomenon that has cut deeply into the historical psyche of the average black African, both (externally by non-Africans) as a *perceived* and as a *lived* reality (by Africans' self-identity). This idea and its effects will be discussed at various lengths, especially in the first three chapters of this work.

The history of Western Education in Nigeria can be traced to the coming of the Europeans to Nigeria. This history can be divided into three stages. The first is the coming of the Portuguese, followed by the coming of the British and the third being the post-independence (self-rule) era.

1.1 The Catholic Portuguese Mission and the Benin people of Southern Nigeria (1472-1621)

Benin historians generally agree that the first Portuguese to step into the ancient Benin Kingdom (in present day Nigeria) was Ruy De Sequira in 1472. There is also another record of the arrival of another fellow country man called Fenaio de Po in 1485.²⁵ "Portuguese records show that missionaries settled in the city from 1485, 1515-1516, 1651-1653, 1664-1674, 1695 (the year Father Francesco da Monteleone died) and 1713-1714.²⁶ One of the earliest authoritative

25 See J U Egharevba, *A short history of Benin* (Ibadan: Ibadan University Press), 1968. And Nicholas Ibeawuchi Omenka, *The school in the service of evangelisation: the Catholic educational impact in eastern Nigeria 1886-1950* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1989) p. 16, citing L. Kilger, "Die Missionsversuche in Benin," ZM, 22 (1932), 305-309, see also A. F. C. Ryder, "The Benin Missions," Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria, 2 (1961), 231-259, see also A. F. C. Ryder, "Portuguese Missions in Western Africa", Tahrik, 3, No 1 (1969), 113. Also J. A. Cavazzi, Relation Historique de l'Ethiopie Occidentale, Vol III (Paris, 1732), 432-462, and J. F. Ajayi, Christian Missions in Nigeria (London: Longman, 1956) 14.

26 Omenka, 16. Citing L. Kilger, "Die Missionsversuche in Benin," ZM, 22 (1932) 319. John Affonso d'Aveiro visited Benin in 1842 and there was trade in slaves, ivory, beads, cloths and firearms. See J U Egharevba, *A short*

account of the educational and societal development of Nigeria is from the chronicles of Ruy de Pina. The Portuguese chronicler was able to document some of his early findings at the time of the Portuguese conquest of foreign lands. However, the immediate preparation for this encounter began a few years earlier “beginning with King Alphonso, King John II, King Manuel and King John III, Lisbon launched a pioneering missionary enterprise in the Kingdoms of Benin and Itsekiri (Warri), Nigeria. By the Papal Bull of Demarcation of the Holy See, Portugal was given the monopoly of commercial and spiritual influence over the continent of Africa. This monopoly was based on the exploration done on the West African Coast with funds and charters by the Portuguese monarchy in the fifteenth century. After 1472, Portuguese priests from the Diocese of Lisbon who, technically speaking were not missionaries, were sent by the kings of Portugal along with the Portuguese merchants to evangelise and trade with the Benin kingdom. The Benin kingdom, being situated in the rain forest zone, was not immediately accessible to the Portuguese, so both the missionaries and the merchants had to approach Benin via the Warri creeks and the Benin River and then by land. The Portuguese missionaries and traders came to Benin from Ughoton on foot and thus were constantly exposed to the danger and pestilence of tropical diseases.”²⁷ This was during the reign of Oba Ewuare (always called ‘great’). It was during his reign (1440-1473) that the record of the first contact with the Portuguese took place. A man gifted with natural wisdom, he expanded the roads and set up a good system of leaders (chiefs) to govern the people. It was during this time Benin started to be called a ‘city’. Benin City began this interaction with the Western world already with the growth of the local carving in ivory.²⁸

history of Benin (Ibadan: Ibadan University Press) 1968. Cited in Magnus O Bassey, *Missionary Rivalry and Educational Expansion in Nigeria, 1885-1945* (Lewiston: E. Mellen Press, 1999).

27 C. A. Imokhai, ‘The evolution of the Catholic Church in Nigeria’ in A. O. Makozi and G. J. Afolabi Ojo eds., *The History of the Catholic Church in Nigeria* (Lagos: Macmillan Nigerian Publishers, 1982), 3.

28 Ben-Amos, Paula Girshick. *The Art of Benin*, Revised Edition. (London: British Museum Press, 1995). 32. The First International Conference on Benin Studies: was held in 1992. It looked at some issues around The Centenary Celebration of the British occupation of Benin (1897-1997). This event was held at the University of Benin, Nigeria (from March 23-25) 1992.

But according Joao de Barros (1496-1579) from Portugal, the idea of transmitting a culture with its religious beliefs was always part of the agenda. He stated that: “With the discovery of these lands, the prince’s main objective was to bend the barbarian nations under the yoke of Christ, as well as to advance the honor and glory of these kingdoms along with enriching the imperial inheritance”²⁹ In the same chronicles one can find a rather clear report of the situation of the local people at that time.

The king of Beny (Benin) sent as ambassador to the king a negro, one of his captains from habouring place by the sea, which is called Ugato (Ughoton), because he desired to learn about these lands, the arrival of people from them in his country being regarded as a novelty. This ambassador was a man of good speech and natural wisdom. Great feasts were held in his honour, and he was shown many of the good things of these kingdoms. He returned to his land in a ship of the king’s, who at his departure made him a gift of rich clothes for himself and his wife: and through him he sent a rich present to the king of such things he understood he would greatly prize. Moreover, he sent holy and most catholic advisers with praise worthy admonitions for the faith to administer a stern rebuke about the heresies and great idolatries and fetishes which the negroes practice in their land.³⁰

29 Koschorke, Klaus, Frieder Ludwig, and Mariano Delgado, eds. *A History of Christianity in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, 1450-1990: A Documentary Sourcebook*. (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2007), 144. Citing source: O. Lopez, *Relazione del Reame di congo* (Rome 1591); Duarte Lopez, *A Report of the Kingdom of Congo* (London, 1597, Amsterdam, 1970), 119 and 120. See also John Thornton, “Early Kongo-Portuguese Relations: A New Interpretation”, *History in Africa* 8 (1981), 183-204.

30 Ibid.

Although many historians of the ancient kingdom of Benin like Egharevba still trace their educational and theological influence to the Portuguese influence³¹, most of the actual documents to attest to the claim are not available. However, one can infer that the desire for conquest and expansion of the Kings of Portugal in Nigeria brought about the early introduction of Catholicism to the country. “After Portugal had launched its European expansions overseas, it acquired papal rights for colonial territories. Of decisive significance was the bull of January 8, 1455, *Romanus Pontifex*, with which Pope Nicholas V (1447-1455) sanctioned the earlier advances of Portuguese on the African coast. He transferred to the Portuguese King Afonso V and Prince Henry the lands, harbors, islands and seas of Africa, together with patronage over the churches, a trade monopoly and the right to sell “infidels” into slavery. But even his predecessors, Martin V (1417-1431) and Eugene IV (1431-1447) had supported the undertaking of the colonial expansion: Sixtus IV (1471-1484) had discharged a corresponding papal bull....”³². This is what has been described as the ‘papal privilege of Portugal’. However, By 1640, the “Portuguese influence in Benin waned because of its struggle with Spain at home and the Dutch overseas”³³

Nevertheless, there were some amount of missionary work going on in the territories as can be seen in the reports by Fr Francesco de Pomplona (in 1646) and Fr Columbin of Nantes (from 1634-40) who was the Prefect of the French Mission to West Africa. They influenced the creation of the Benin Prefecture in 1648³⁴ in a report dated 1634 Columbin de Nantes writes:

To come to our observations, in a kingdom called Benin the king is the god of his people who adore him, prostrating before him, carrying him in triumph, building him palaces, sacrificing children to him every seven years and making many other ceremonies for him which I did not have time to learn. These peoples are the most

31 Egharevba, 1968.

32 Koschorke, Klaus, Frieder Ludwig, and Mariano Delgado, eds., 144.

33 Imokhai, 7.

34 Ibid.

civilized and polite of the coast. They love foreigners and treat them with much love and reverence, always kneeling on the ground when they present them something. There are also distinct classes among them: only gentlemen have the privilege of wearing blue. There are great riches in this kingdom. The nations have a good spirit and are industrious in working with iron, gold, ivory and drapery, making cloths and covers out of cotton of different colours.³⁵

1.2 The Spanish Capuchin mission

In 1648, the *Propaganda Fide* assigned the Prefecture of Benin to the Capuchin Order of the Provinces of Valencia and Aragon in Spain. The Prefect was Fr Angel de Valencia, who together with twelve other Franciscan priests, were appointed to the Benin Prefecture Mission. The mission set out on 12th of February 1651 (three years after the mandate). At the very outset three of them died in Cadiz in Spain even before the ship set sail. The other nine made the first leg of the voyage that stopped at Cape Palmas in Liberia and Takoradi in Ghana as the ship captains normally did for trade. With the stopover in Ghana, the Prefect Fr Angel and another priest were arrested by the Dutch and kept prisoners at the Elmina castle. The remaining seven priests now led by Fr Jose de Jijona, continued the mission to Benin and arrived at the Ughoton port. The tedious journey from Ughoton port to the centre of the ancient Benin kingdom was embarked on by only two out of the seven priests as the other five were not physically strong enough to continue the journey from the port. Fr Jose de Jijona and a companion were the two priests that eventually took the letter from the Holy See to the King (Oba) of Benin. Later the

35 '20-6-1634 Columbin de Nantes, Report on West Africa', in Joseph Kenny, *The Catholic Church in tropical Africa, 1445-1850*. (Ibadan, Nigeria: Ibadan University Press, 1983). From <http://www.dhspriory.org/kenny/DH03E.htm> Jan 18, 2016.

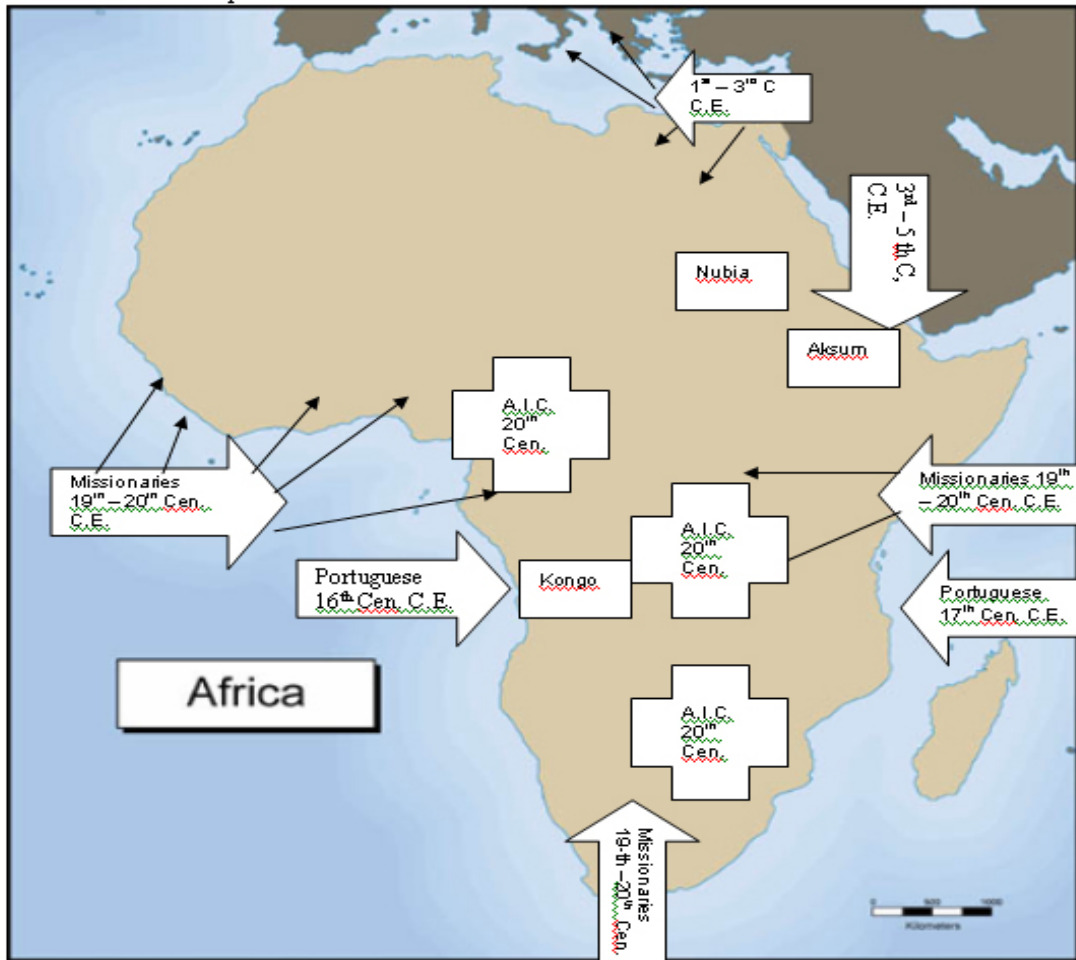
Prefect Fr Angel was released from the Elmina and reached Benin in August 1651 (six months after they left Cadiz).³⁶

The death toll of the nine missionaries that made the trip from Spain soon increased as Fr Jose De Jijona and two others died within six days, leaving the initial group of twelve brave men with only six. This mission met with a strong resistance from the local people. The people had very strong cultural practices (including offering of human sacrifices) and it was not possible to convert the Oba (King) and his chiefs who are the primary custodians of the local tradition. This meant that local people of the kingdom could not immediately accept the new religion. The traditional leaders were not ready to change their ancient understanding of life. The initial missionary strategy (which was also used in Latin America) to convert the local king and get the entire clan or subjects to follow his religion did not succeed at this first attempt. Fr Angel and the surviving priests later returned to Europe with his report on an English ship ³⁷ A subsequent attempt by the Italian Capuchins to enter Benin was also unsuccessful as it was proving difficult to convert the local King and his chiefs and therefore not possible to convert the local people.

36 For the full text of A Capuchin's description of the Benin Kingdom by 1654 is given by Filippo da Hajar see Joseph Kenny, *The Catholic Church in tropical Africa, 1445-1850*. (Ibadan, Nigeria: Ibadan University Press, 1983), cited from <http://www.dhspriory.org/kenny/DH03E.htm> Jan 18, 2016. In appendix 6.

37 Cf. Imokhai, 7-8.

A.I.C. = African Independent Churches



Map 1. Africa showing the spread of Christianity in stages³⁸

1.3 The Padroada and the Propaganda

From the time of Pope Martin V 1369-1431 (papacy from 1417), the ‘*Patronage accord*’³⁹ between the Church, some states, and royal household saw to an increase in ‘investment’ in Church missionary expansion. New territories were ‘acquired’ and even though a complex situation gradually developed between territories owned by monarchs, some empires tried to develop the tribes under their jurisdiction. Some of these ‘patrons’ had the capacity to influence the appointment of bishops and clergy to secure their national interests and royal significance

38 Cited from <http://exploringafrica.matrix.msu.edu/images/christianity.jpg> on Thursday 12 February 2015. The African Studies Center and MATRIX digital humanities center at Michigan State University.

39 John Baur, *2000 years of Christianity in Africa: An African history*, (2nd ed.). (Nairobi, Kenya: Paulines 2009). 44-50. Baur explains the complex arrangement between the Church and the state of the Conquista and Padroada. Having similarities with the ‘Crusades’ and desire to ‘save’ the Africans from the ‘invasion’ of Islam. Also influenced by the Islamic occupation of Spain and Portugal (the Moors). A long war of 722-1492.

in territories under their control. The *Bull of Demarcation* in 1493 (of Pope Alexander VI) saw the administration of the Indies and Africa under the royal court of Portugal.⁴⁰ These privileges facilitated the religious and political administration of the mission territories with military, royal, and religious delegates, all coming from the same national palace in their country of origin. This situation later influenced the style of education, evangelisation, and system of government that would later emerge in these *Padorado* arranged territories in Africa and elsewhere.

The dynamics of the '*patronage*' (Padorado) is a very complex one in the history of the church. This is because Portugal had ecclesiastical powers, monarchical influence (what may be described as political authority) and economic authority. With a few illustrations from the work of Joseph Kenny⁴¹, one can get an idea of the complex arrangement that was in place at this historical period. It could be argued that it was a heavy Westernization process and it is relevant for this research, as its influence will remain as the fundamental bedrock for the teaching of the faith and spread of formal education in Nigeria.

Joseph Kenny's research reveals how prince Henry also known as 'the navigator' was keen on the expansion of Portugal's territory outside of Europe. Before the death of Prince Henry the navigator around 1460, he used his social and religious influence to see to the conquest of lands in Africa and Asia. It is important that among other ideas, these early explorers and missionaries had the intention of introducing Western Education and Christianity. The historical investigation of this research dates back to the Portuguese interaction with the local African kingdoms:

40 Omenka, 1. Cf. A. F. C. Ryder, "Portuguese Missions in Western Africa" *Tahrik*, 3 No. 1 (1961), 1.
41 Kenny, 1983.

Prince Henry the Navigator (d. 1460) initiated Portugal's exploration and expansion overseas. A patron of navigational science and technology, he was also a religious man, the Grand Master of the Order of Christ, which was established in 1319 to replace the suppressed Templars in Portugal. From their monastery headquarters in the town of Thomar, religious of the Order of Christ, and later members of other orders, accompanied Henry's explorers sailing on their newly designed caravels. In particular Henry was eager to contact the legendary Prester John about whom he heard so many rumours, a faraway Christian ruler thought to be somewhere in Asia and later discovered to be the Negus of Ethiopia.

Henry's first and last exploit in Morocco was the taking of Ceuta in 1415. Thereafter in his school of navigation all his attention was on planning how to get around Africa to India and discover far off and unknown lands. In 1418 his explorers discovered and colonized the island of Madeira. Bypassing the Canary Islands which were occupied by Spain beginning in 1401, Portuguese sailors went as far as Cape Bojador in 1434. In 1439 the empty islands of the Azores were discovered. There was a medieval saying that no man sailing south of Cape Bojador returns alive. That is because the ships always sailed within sight of the shore and at that point there was a strong current going south. By learning to tack away from the shore with the guidance of the compass, astrolabe and quadrant the Portuguese could go anywhere on the ocean. In 1441 they reached Cape Blanco, in 1442 Arguim Bay and in 1444 Cape Verde, giving the lie to the old fear that the ocean in the Tropics was boiling water. In 1445, the Portuguese built a fort on the island in Arguim Bay and stopped at the Senegal

River and then at Cape Verde, where Fr. Polono de Lagos celebrated the first Mass in West Africa.⁴²

The expansion of the Portuguese gradually moved towards the interior, as they wanted to make contacts with the local chiefs and rulers of the different tribes. With the courage of people like the Italian youth Alvisé Da Cadamosto (1432-1483) who began his expedition to Africa in 1455 (at about 23 years old). He worked for Prince Henry the navigator and eventually arrived in Sierra Leone. The contacts with the West African societies always had an educational and religious influence of the local people even when trade and conquest was very evident in the mission:

In 1456 Da Cadamosto sailed 100 kilometres up the Gambia river and then went on to Sierra Leone. Fernando Gomez came to Sierra Leone in 1460 and then to Cape Palmas. Also in that year the Cape Verde islands were discovered. In 1470 the Portuguese touched São Tomé, in 1471 the coast of Ghana as well as the islands of Príncipe and Fernando Po, and in 1474 Cape St. Caterina. In 1482 Diogo Cão reached the Zaïre river and in 1486 Cape Cross and Walvis Bay. Also in 1486 the Portuguese discovered Benin. Bartolomeu Dias came to Lüderitz Bay in 1487 and in 1488 reached the Cape of Good Hope (which he called the "Cape of Storms") and Key Mouth. In 1498 Vasco da Gama went around Africa to Mozambique, Malindi, and then Calicut and Goa in India. The dream of Henry the Navigator was then realized. These vast new territories were assigned to Portugal by the treaty of Tordesillas in 1494. The line of demarcation was 45E west longitude through the Atlantic and Brazil. Everything to the east of this line was Portugal's; everything to the west, including most of the Americas just

42 Kenny, 1.

discovered by Christopher Columbus, belonged to Spain. This treaty was confirmed by Pope Julius II in 1506.⁴³

From the ecclesiastical leadership, the title 'Primate of Africa' was given to the Bishop of Ceuta who at this time was probably João Manuel de Vilhena by Pope Eugene IV from 1444 and at about 1455 Pope Nicholas V formalised the 'padroado' privilege of the Portuguese aristocracy to have political and ecclesiastical control and over territories they 'evangelised' and captured⁴⁴. Consequently, the Kingdom of Portugal took financial responsibility of all the explorations and economic investments, trips, ships, personnel and workforce to develop such territories in the name of the Roman Catholic Church. The king of Portugal "became the head of the Church in all these lands, now considered 'his' lands, and only missionaries approved by the king from among Portugal's population of one million people would be welcome to this vast new world".⁴⁵

Within the African continent, there were about five groupings of the local people and kingdoms alongside the territorial patronage of the Spanish and the Portuguese in broad ecclesiastical dioceses made by pope Clement VII in 1518. These groupings were shared and distributed under the leadership of appointed bishops.⁴⁶ It should be noted though that the Canary Islands

43 Kenny, 1983), 1-2. See also Alexander Peter Kup, *A history of Sierra Leone, 1400-1787*. (Cambridge England: University Press, 1961).

44 Baur, 50. The expansion of the Portuguese reached one of its main peak at the expedition of Vasco da Gama that got to India in 1498.

45. The dioceses were very large and even though the actual number of baptized catholics could have been relatively few, the emphasis seems to be on the grandeur of the land that was 'conquered' or under the control of the Portuguese or Spanish led Churches. "In the Portuguese zone of the globe Alexander VI established in 1499 the diocese of Āsfī (أسفي) in Morocco, which extended as far south as the Senegal river. Leo X in 1514 established the diocese of Funchal on the island of Madeira, which took from Āsfī the African coast south of Cape Bojador. Moreover, jurisdiction for all the new Portuguese discoveries from Africa to the Far East was transferred from the Order of Christ to the bishop of Funchal, who resided in Lisbon. In 1518 Pope Leo X gave the bishop of Funchal an auxiliary for São Tomé and Congo, and in 1533 Pope Clement VII divided the whole territory into five, making Funchal an archdiocese with four suffragan dioceses", see J. Kenny, 2. Subsequent popes would continue with this style of leadership like during the time of Popes Callixtus III (1456), Sixtus IV (1481), Alexander VI (1493) and Leo X (1514).

46 Kenny, 3.

were already a diocese from 1406 under Spanish patronage. From 1558 Goa (in India) became an Archdiocese.⁴⁷ The initial grouping of four dioceses were all along the African coastline under the Archdiocese of Funchal in Portugal (that also had Brazil as its territory).

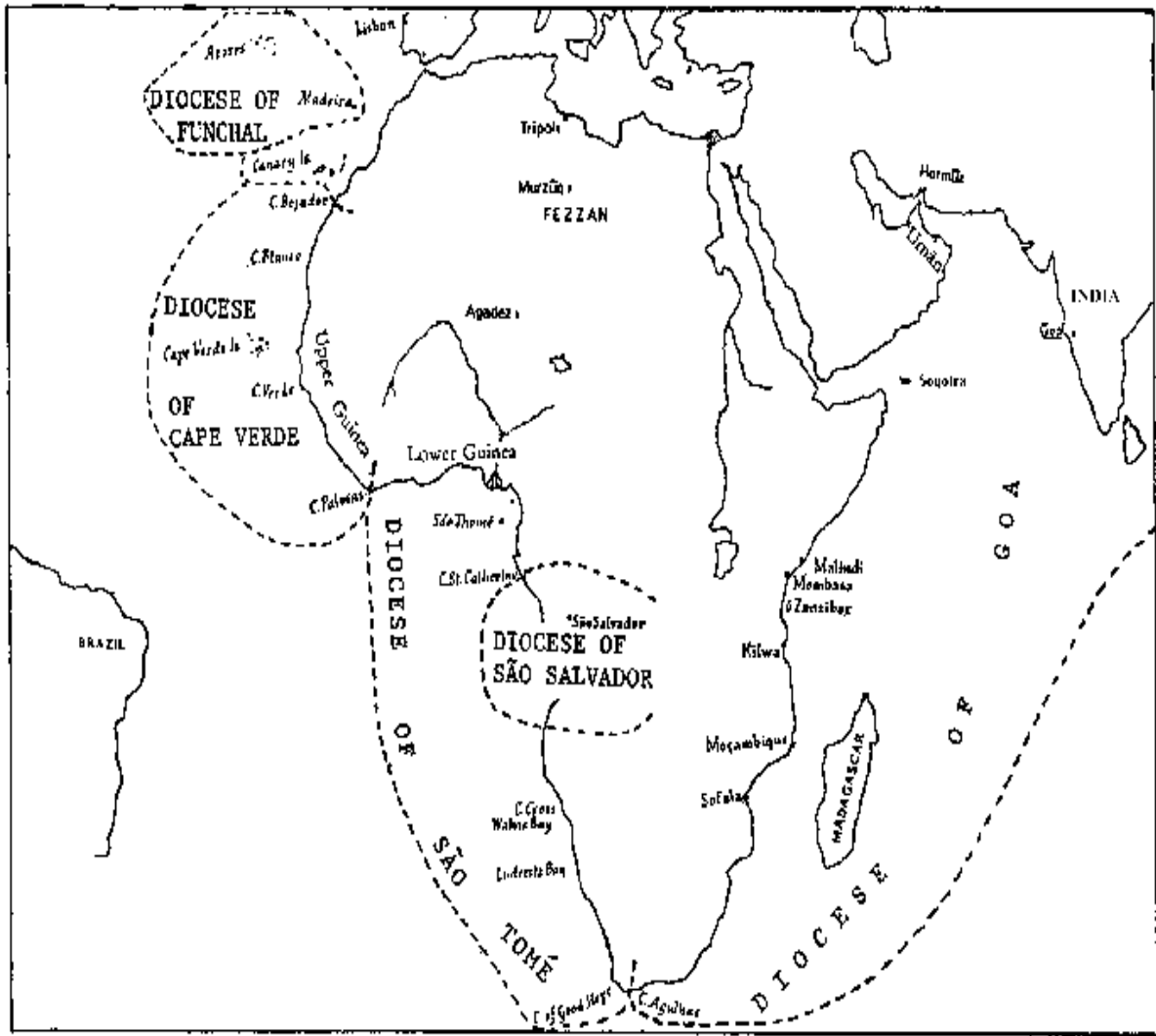
Archdiocese of Funchal 1533 (from the Archdiocese of Lisbon) having six extensive ecclesiastical jurisdictions made of (Four within) Africa, Brazil, India and Azores/São Miguel in the North Atlantic Ocean. These dioceses were later rearranged over the years.		
<i>Archdiocese of Funchal in African geographical Territory</i>		
1	The diocese of Goa 1533	Egypt, Ethiopia, Madagascar, Kenya, Arabia, Mauritius, Mozambique, Northeast and East Africa, India and parts of Asia
2	Cape Verde, and Santiago 1553	Upper Guinea, Sierra Leone, Gambia, Senegal, Cape Verde,
3	São Tomé and Central Sudan 1533	Nigeria, Ghana, coast, São Tomé, Central Sudan, Liberia, Cameroon.
4	São Salvador 1597 (from São Tomé)	Congo, Angola, down to the Cape of Good Hope

Table 1. *Archdiocese of Funchal in African geographical Territory*

The expectations of these early adventures cannot be overemphasised as the amount of time and risk that was taken during these explorations called for bravery, faith and strong determination.

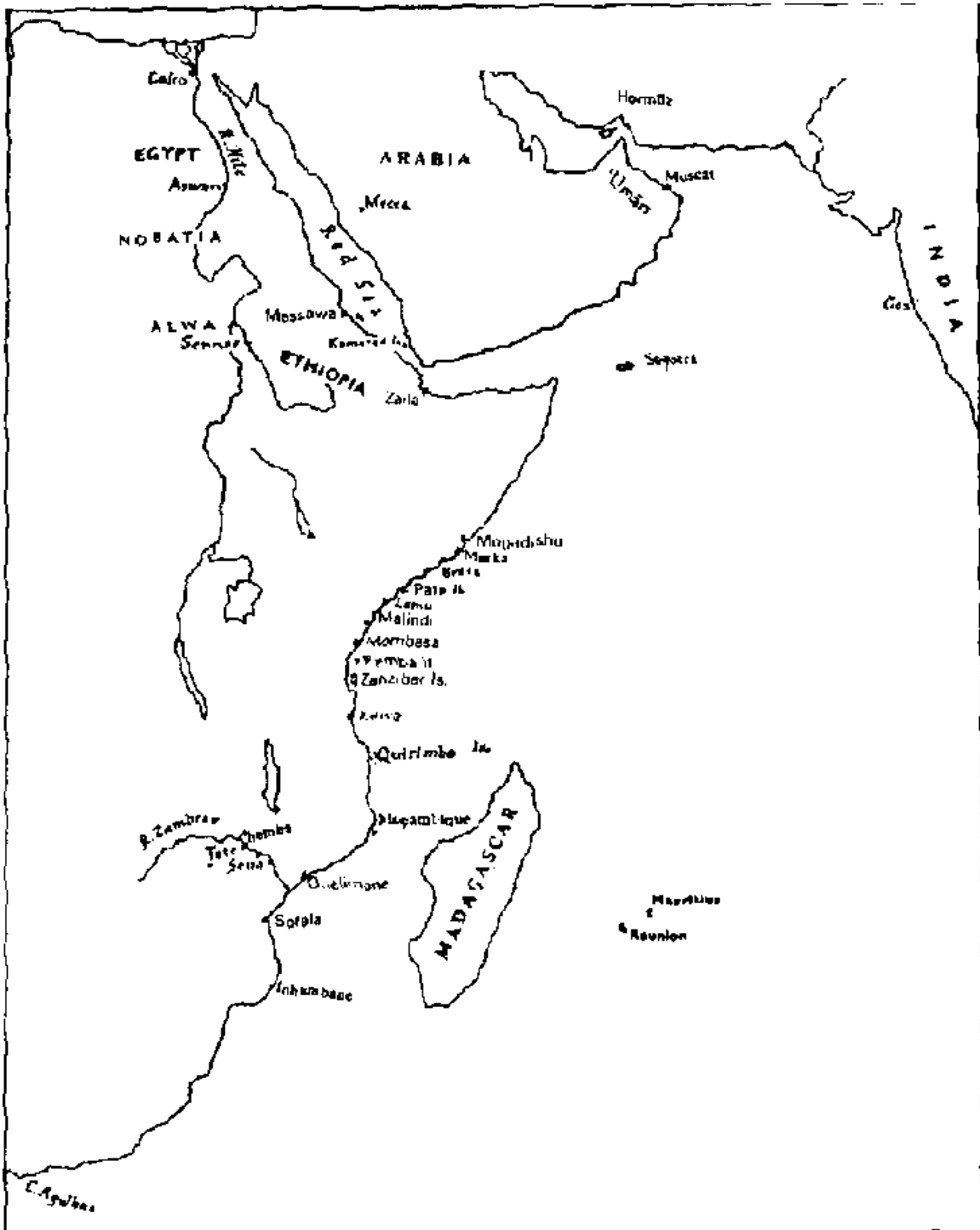
47 The Diocese of Goa traces her origins to the conquest made by Afonso de Albuquerque in 1510. Dominicans and Franciscan missionaries led the leadership of the mission and in 1557 pope Paul IV concluded the process of separating the Goa Diocese from the jurisdiction of Portugal (Lisbon). See Stephen Neill, *A History of Christianity in India: The Beginnings to AD 1707*. (Cambridge University Press, 2004)

One cannot understand the impact of these missionary investments and extent to which the ‘seed’ that was planted will grow unless we have a critical historical analysis of the development of Western formal education in Africa today. In the particular case of Nigeria, the future development of education and theological formation is rooted in this foundational plan, structure and methodology. And looking at the present Western model of education and predominant Christian theology in Nigeria today, traces of these early influences can be found. With the introduction of Western formal education as a result of the interaction between the local cultures and the early missionaries, all of what was the ‘traditional’ methods of learning and civilization came into a crossroad at the level of cultural and intellectual communication. The maps below from Joseph Kenny show the partitioning and ecclesiastical arrangements of the African Church at this point of history. This model was in place from the 16th to the 19th century and further developments sprang from this foundation.



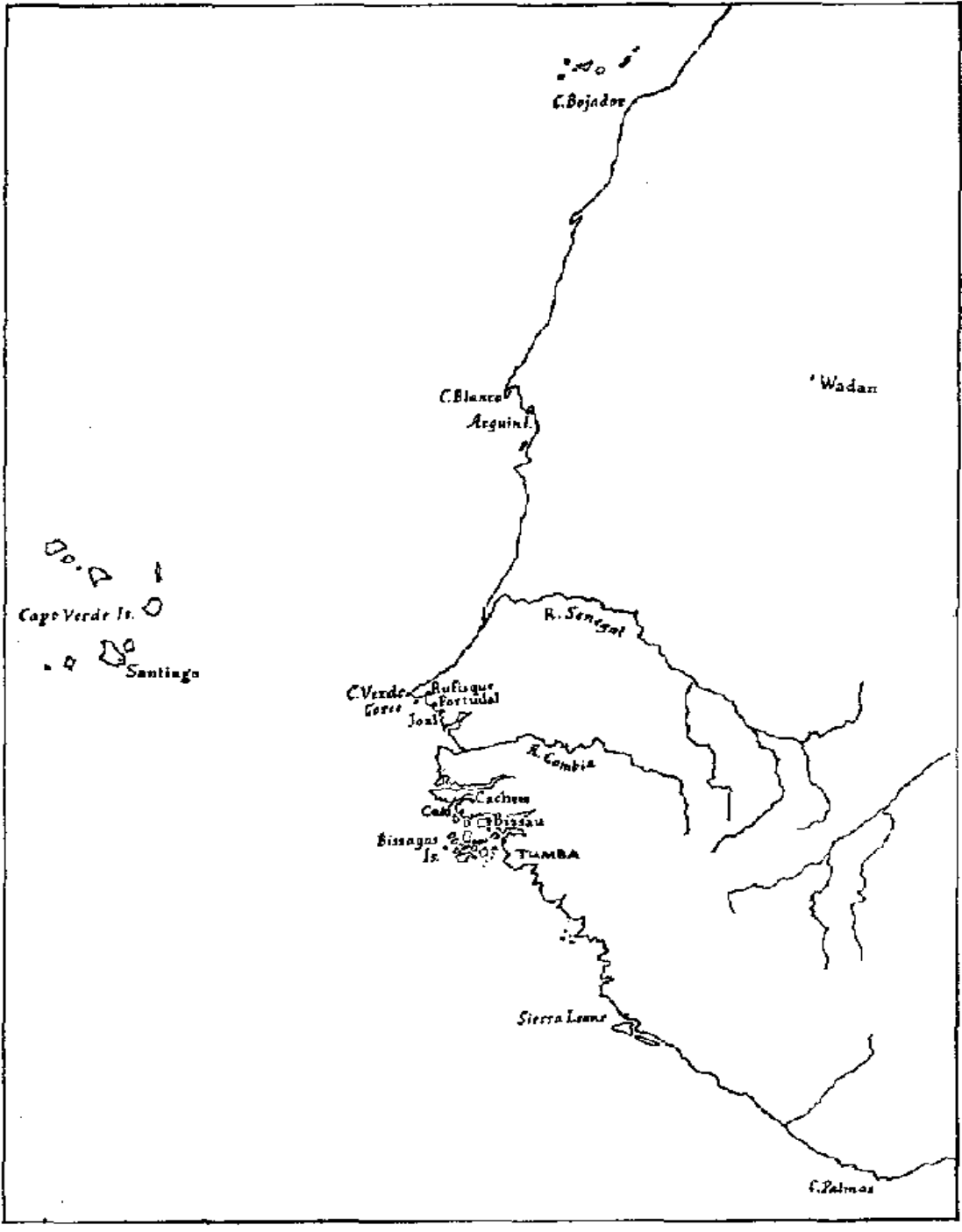
Map 2. Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction of Africa from the 16th-19th century⁴⁸

⁴⁸ Kenny, 76.



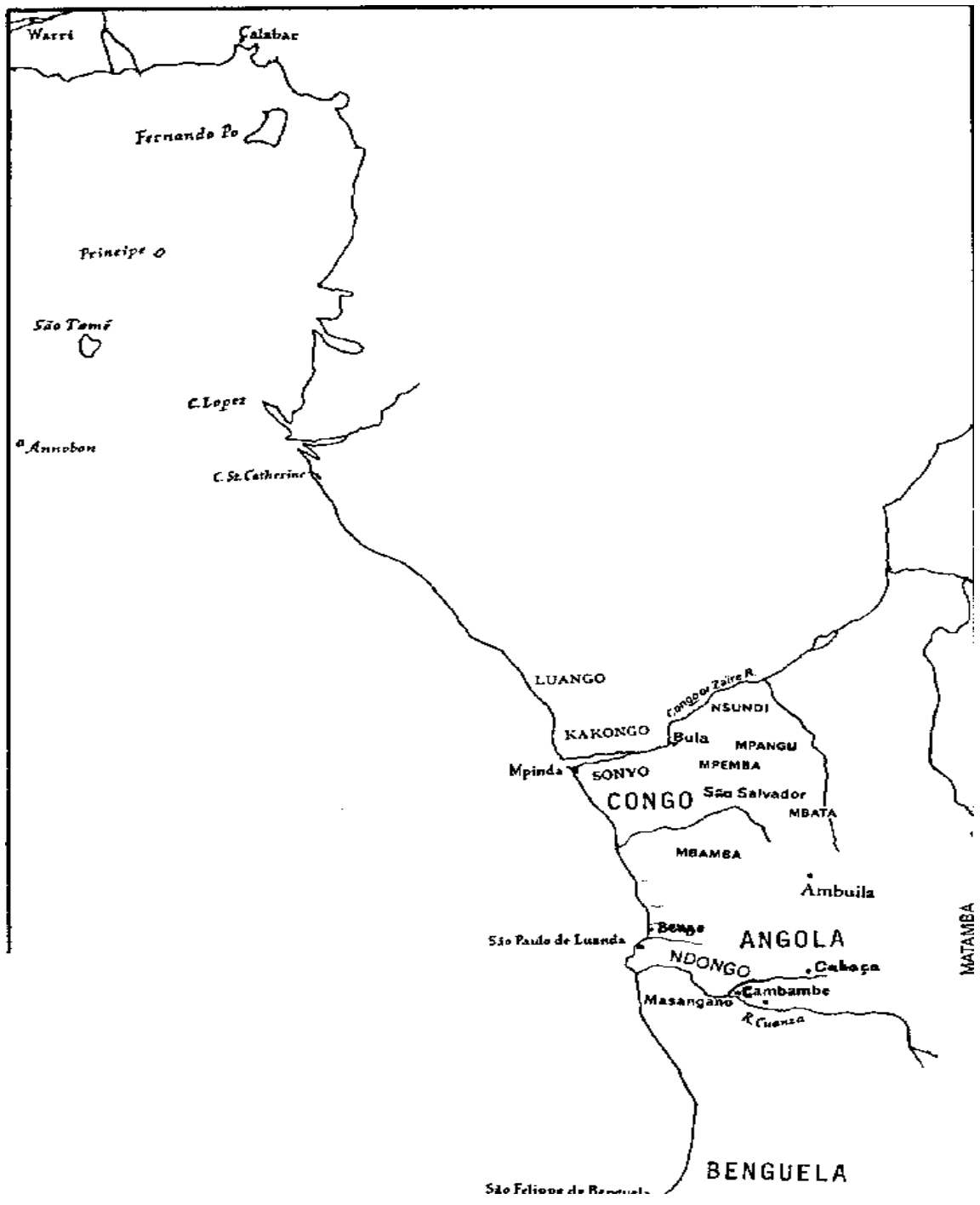
Map 3. Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction of Africa from the 16th-19th century, Diocese of Goa and Northeast Africa⁴⁹

⁴⁹ Kenny, 77.



Map 4. Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction of Africa from the 16th-19th century, Diocese of Santiago⁵⁰

50 Kenny, 80.



Map 5. Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction of Africa from the 16th-19th century, Diocese of São Salvador and the São Tomé Region⁵¹

⁵¹ Kenny, 78.

1.4 The *Propaganda Fide* (1622)

With gradual stability coming to Europe between the territorial divide of the Protestants and the Catholics, new energies were invested on mission lands in America, Asia and Africa. Pope Gregory XV established the Propaganda office in 1622 to sort out and coordinate the missionary enterprises of different religious Orders that were in turn closely supported and controlled by the monarchies in the empires, where these Orders had been founded and funded. “The Pope established the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of Faith as an arm of the Vatican Curia to direct all missionary activities within the Catholic Church throughout the world. This powerful Congregation recruited missionaries from existing religious orders and founded new congregations of missionaries to facilitate the evangelization of the non-Christian lands. It also organized and distributed funds to aid missionaries toiling to establish the Catholic faith in foreign lands. It kept detailed records of the statistical reports sent in by missionaries in foreign parts. Such reports formed the basis of structural organization of the local missionary church into Prefectures, Vicariates and Dioceses.”⁵²

On the occasion of the 380th anniversary of the *propaganda Fide* (6th Jan 1622 - 6th Jan 2002), that was held at the Vatican in 2002, the archival materials from the works of the missions were secured with renovations, in such a way, that they would continue to be available for research and historical purposes. The collections of materials and documents are classified in sections of *deposito Antico Archivio* (old archive) and *deposito Nuovo Archivio* (new Archive).⁵³ These valuable documents and materials show us today the historical steps that led to the present-day

52 Imokhai, 7. Joseph Kenny emphasises that “to coordinate and foster missionary work throughout the world. Missionaries sent out by this body were usually also members of one or other of the religious orders founded in the Middle Ages or later for evangelical work, such as the Order of Friars Minor (OFM, Franciscans, founded by St. Francis in 1209), the Order of Preachers (OP, Dominicans, founded by St. Dominic in 1216), the now defunct Order of Christ, the Society of Jesus (SJ, Jesuits, founded by St. Ignatius of Loyola in 1540), and the Capuchins (OFM Cap, a break-away branch of the Franciscans, founded in 1528)”; see Kenny, 3.

53 see <http://www.archivioistoricopropaganda.va/content/archivioistoricopropagandafide/en/archivio-storico/cenni-storici.html>

teaching of Christian Education in Nigerian secondary schools, and also the origins of the theological thoughts that have shaped the minds of the theologians that have been educated within this tradition.

In the early days, the propaganda office also started training missionaries and responding to requests coming from missionaries in the far distant lands asking for more support of manpower and supplies. Some previous study by Spitz has shown that there were tensions and territorial struggles (known as the '*padroado controversies*') between the Church and 'monarchical patrons' like Spain, Portugal and England.⁵⁴ This ultimately "led to the division of mission lands into two categories, the *Padroada* and the Propaganda."⁵⁵ Statistically there were about 300 missionaries from the Catholic tradition and about 47,000 Catholics in Africa at the beginning of the nineteenth century.⁵⁶ This work will try to understand the method of catechesis that was used at that time and seek an understanding of how the huge interest in the slave trade and other merchandise synchronised with the desire to convert the natives by baptism and setting up mission territories. Though materials may be scarce, documents and records available from missionary and explorers' accounts will be useful in this research.

The local cultures were able to withstand the pressure of a foreign civilization. They were able to absorb the information and consequences of the cross-interaction without losing their fundamental local traditions, language and customs. The first attempt was not completely futile as it left marks and signs of mutual influence between the missionaries and the natives. For example, in the Benin kingdom in Nigeria, the accounts of the missionaries show a very superior attitude towards the natives and a downgrading approach to what was the natural

54 Omenka, 1. Citing M. Spitz, "The Growth of Roman Catholic Missions in Africa", *International Review of Missions* (IRM) 12, (1923), 360-372.

55 Ibid. Citing M. Spitz, "The Growth of Roman Catholic Missions in Africa", *International Review of Missions* (IRM) 12, (1923), 360-372.

56 Ibid. See also R. Gray, "The Origins and Organization of the Nineteenth-Century Missionary Movement", *Tahrik*, 3, No. 1 (1969) 14-22, also W. Henkel, "Gestaltnahme von Bekehrungsvorstellungen bei Ordensgründungen im 19. Jahrhundert, *Mission: Präsenz, Verkündigung, Bekehrung?* *Studia Instituti Missiologici Societatis Verbi Divini*, No. 13 (St. Augustin: Styler Verlag, 1974), 102-114. See also A. Mulders, *Missionsgeschichte: Die Ausbreitung des katholischen Glaubens* (Regensburg, 1960).

religion of the people. In a report by Felipe de Híjar to the Apostolic Nuncio in Madrid in June 1654 some details of the understanding of the missionaries of the local people are expressed:

No doubt your Eminence knows how in 1650 we left the realms of Spain by order of his Holiness and of the King of Spain, our Lord (may God preserve him). We were eight Capuchin religious of the Province of Aragon and Valencia, going to the kingdom of Benin in Africa. We reached that kingdom in the month of June, the same year. Disembarking, the first place we stopped, which is the third in order from the port, is called Gotto. Here we were all sick, because the climate of this land is very bad and, of the eight religious, three preachers died in six days; the rest of us survived, but were very low. We tried, even with little energy, to continue our travel to the city of Benin, the capital of this kingdom, where the king lives. We arranged to talk to him to let him know that we came to his kingdom to convert the people. We carried a letter from his Holiness to the said king, but since no one in this whole kingdom can read, we explained it to him in Portuguese, which some blacks of this kingdom understand a little. To get this far much had to be done, since the king spends the whole year in his house mixed with four hundred wives, and he is held as a god, because they say he does not eat (although if he really did not eat he would not have such a big belly as he has). To keep up this deception and this custom, he does not go out of the house. Besides he keeps a black man called the Beedor Major, who assists him with such care that no one (I mean foreigners) can talk to the king without him standing by serving the king as a second interpreter. For this reason, it was very difficult for us to see the king. We arranged, to gain the good will of both the king and the Beedor, to present them some things which were neither holy nor for

eating. With this we were able to speak to him twice, through an interpreter. They accepted the presents, promised much but fulfilled little, because after we saw him these two times we could no longer reach him, even though we tried every possible means, going through his mother, his brother-in-law and the other Beedors of that city. As far as we could understand, it was not the king's fault, because he showed us much affection and said that he wanted to build a house for God, and even sent to of his black chiefs to tell us that, pointing out the place where it was to be built. But, since to do this and to look for an interpreter it was necessary to talk to the king and the Beedor Major would not have it, we found ourselves unable to accomplish anything worthwhile, after trying every possible way and wasting a year and a half doing so with much labour.

During this time, we were able to see very much of their rites and diabolical ceremonies, which are many and very great, and even the least of the people are very much involved in them, so that they do nothing without having something offered to the devil, whose picture everyone has in his house and compound; with this they decorate elephant tusks, and heads of cows, sheep and other animals they meet. Besides what they keep in their houses, they also have buildings specially dedicated to the devil, where they offer him sacrifices of wine, fruit and various animals of the earth.

Apart from these, which are general for all, many times a year the king makes sacrifices in his house of men, cows, horses and any other animals.

Then seeing that the time was passing and for all our preaching we could not convert the blacks, we got the answer that they could not do so because they are all captives of the king and that he did not order that infernal minister of

the king to stop us from talking to him [y que el no se lo mandaua por impedirlo aquel infernal Ministro del Rey que no le ablaramos??], we made up our minds, even if the Beedor did not agree, to talk to the king. So we chose a day which was the first day of Lent, when in the palace before the king they sacrifice five men to the Devil along with many animals (I omit the ceremonies they follow in such an action, which are many, various and ridiculous.) More than two thousand chiefs, as they are called, gather for this, each one coming with a large entourage of servants which perform many tasks for him, such as shading him, making music, leading the horse and serving him as pages under whose protection he is confident and secure to travel down the street.

Finally, we went to the palace with the above intention, to impede them from making the sacrifice (so inhuman a thing those barbarians do). We entered the first of the three or four patios that are there, each one twice as large as the plaza of Madrid, which make up the palace. We mixed among the people, who were jammed along with the horses. After a while a man, who was black in colour but with a white beard, who outwardly looked like a Saint Peter, saw us and made us a sign with the hand to follow him. We agreed easily, because we found no other way than to let someone guide us to the place of sacrifice, which was in the last patio. When we entered this one, amid so much confusion of people, our volunteer guide told us that we should go to where there was a covering over the same patio, where we met a half-caste [mesita??] who held some matchets for the decapitation. We went on further in the same patio coming as close as we could to the king, for our purpose. The whole time until we left the patio we were among people who were doing

their ceremonies, making speeches and the chiefs, including the king, began to shout [baylar??]. When they turned around they saw us. The Beedor Major sent us a message that we should leave, but we would not obey. He then came in person, terribly annoyed, demanding that we should leave. We gave him the same answer and went to the middle of the court and began to preach to them in a loud voice what great evil they were doing in making such sacrifices to the Devil. But after a few words those barbarians attacked us, carrying us through that patio like a ball, with enough bad treatment. Although we really did not want to leave without insisting on new proposals, they threw us out of that patio by force and shut the door. We tried again and again to enter, but they would not let us, and they did not stop until they had thrown us completely out of the palace. Outside a great number of black children followed us all the way home, shouting and making fun of us.

The very evening, when it was already dark ten black men came, saying the king sent them, commanding us to leave the city right away. This pained us a little, since the altar where we said Mass and all the vestments they would not let us take. We went by night through a terrible forest, but our Lord wanted them to taste a little of the rage they carried, and they left us that night, although under guard, so that we could get used to what we had [para que acomodaremos lo que tenemos?]. The next morning other black men came with a fake message that the king was calling us and wanted us to come. That the message was fake became clear when, passing by the palace, they carried us almost outside the city. We thought they were bringing us to a wood to kill us, as they do to their own criminals. This went on until night came, and our companions knew nothing of this [vellaqueria?]. We got a message to them

about how the Father Prefect and I were held with six men. We spent that night in a hut with these men and in the morning, shaking the dust from our sandals, we left the place where those leopards brought us, leaving the three companions in the house in the city. They led us through a wood to a hut four leagues from the city. There we suffered hunger and thirst, since they would give us nothing but a small ration. After four other days they brought us to Gotto, where we were held the whole of Lent, until our companions brought our loads. After Pentecost, we left that place for another called Ardo, which is in the same kingdom. There we stayed five months under the hospitality of four heretics who trade with the blacks, two of them Dutch and two English. Even though they did us this act of charity, we understood otherwise that they did much evil to prevent us from staying in that kingdom, since in this way they could stay there, and live freely without fear that we might through them out of it.

At the end of these five months we left on an English ship which took us to the island of Principe, Portuguese territory, where we stayed until we found a Portuguese ship going to São Tomé. From there we went to Capo Verde, also Portuguese territory, where Father Friar Angel de Valenzia remained to convalesce from the illness he contracted on the way, with the intention of coming to Lisbon with his companion Friar Alphonse de Toulouse, a laybrother who stayed back to look after him. The rest of us, Fray Bartholomé de Viana and myself, priests, and Friar Gaspar de Sos, a laybrother of the Province of Aragon, continued our journey on the same ship and arrived thanks be to God at Lisbon, where we got a passport from the Duke of Berganza to go by land to our Province. We arrived at Seville, where I wrote

to your Eminence the above story, but I know that your Eminence did not receive the letter, which made me feel bad, since the galleons are leaving soon. According to what a judge of traffic told me, it will be less than fifteen days.

We wanted to ask you if there would be a place for us to go with Father Friar Fr. Lorenzo de Magallon to the mission of Cuamanagotto, where they say these galleons are going. So, if the other letter has not reached you, we beg your Eminence as a father to allow us to go to that mission, where we could achieve what we could not achieve in Benin and which cannot be achieved as long as Portugal's independence is not crushed.

I wish to inform your Eminence that when I went to the mission of Benin I was asked by the fathers of the Province to go to Cumanagotto, but I did not go because I was first appointed to Benin. That is one reason; another is that, explaining this to the Father Provincial of that time that I would go where he wanted, he left it to my choice; so I went to Benin. We [we] have asked of your Eminence we have also already requested from the Province of Aragon while we were at Lisbon and later on here. We have had no answer to these letters, even though it is too soon to have one for the later ones. We are [are] ready for whatever your Eminence decides, and we would like also to have the agreement of our Province, so that an enterprise like this which entails so much suffering (at least where we have come from), where there is nothing to eat but rice, will not lose some of its merit because self-will enters in.

So I repeat that we are entirely at the disposition of your Eminence, may God preserve you. I beg pardon for my lengthiness; I could have gone on longer, if I were to describe everything.

Seville, 2 June 1654. The unworthy servant of your Eminence, Friar Filippo da Híjar⁵⁷

Various conflicting reports were sent to the propaganda Fide office from missionaries and the frustration of not getting the king (Oba)⁵⁸ of Benin to allow the missionaries have leadership control over the local people could be noticed in the documents. It was not a matter of the Holy Spirit converting the people with the good example and testimony of the missionaries; it looked more like having the ruling class and elite to become subservient to the superior person, message and wishes of the white missionary. This could be seen in this letter from Ángel de Valencia to the Propaganda Fide (dated c.1654) about the people in Benin Kingdom and nearby Warri (both in present day Nigeria).

It was mistakenly supposed, before they were sent there, that the king of Benin professed the Catholic religion. The confusion came from the report that his predecessor had a Portuguese wife. Nevertheless, that kingdom at other times was all passed [scorso tutto?] by evangelical ministers, through certain accords made by one of those princes with the king of Portugal, almost at the same time that Christianity entered Congo, as is stated in the history of Father Maffei, S.J., book 1, chapter 12. Although at the time it bore little fruit, since [attesoché?] the converts were few or none persevered in their intentions. Today, when commerce is prospering between European

57 Kenny, Cited from <http://www.dhspriority.org/kenny/DH03E.htm> Jan 18, 2016. While the missionaries were struggling with the local people and situation, they also had their own internal conflicts, which were expressed in their correspondence. An example is in a letter sent by the Capuchin Friar Felipe as part of a report to the propaganda Fide dated 27th July 1654. Though the scope of this research does not cover the details of the entire works of early missionaries, these documents remain the most authentic available data in a research of this kind that tries to establish the historical circumstances that led to the present-day theological foundation of the Catholic Church in Nigeria today. See appendix 7.

58 From a collection of the lists of the Obas of Benin kingdom, there are about twenty-four dynasties (of Kings) in Benin history from 1440-1888. The Oba at the time of this letter of Ángel de Valencia around 1654 would be Oba Ohuan who ruled from 1602-1656. Prior to this era, the rulers before the 'Obas' can be traced back to eleven kings and leaders from Eweka I (1180-1246) to Uwaifiokun (1434-1440). See <http://www.edofolks.com/html/hist1.htm>

merchants coming up the Formoso River, the landing point of the more Mediterranean countries[?], the project is more feasible. But if the heart of the king is not first won over, any other efforts would be in vain. He shows himself really disposed to listen to the arguments for our holy Faith, but he does not have the freedom to put into effect his good desire, since he is surrounded by certain officials who in no way permit foreigners, especially Europeans, to enter, because they fear precisely that they would talk to him about religion. These have been the meetings and the obstacles that have moved him and his companions to abandon the enterprise. Nevertheless, the case should not be given up as lost, according to the opinion of prudent persons, who suggest that the strategy should be to gain the confidence and good will of the king of Warri, neighbouring the kingdom of Benin, since he can sufficiently speak and write Portuguese and one can talk with him. If he once heard from mere curiosity our dogmas, he would easily be persuaded by way of arguments to detest idolatry. Since he is gifted with diplomatic sense and his neighbours respect him much, he would not only allow missionaries into his own kingdom, but would introduce them also into that of Benin. It is true that among these peoples a faint light of Faith can be observed, but because of the confusion of a hundred thousand errors with which their minds are so entangled, they seem no better than atheists, adoring what they do not know, without distinguishing the true God from other idols. The only difference among them (though all over they profess the same religion) is that the people of Warri at least do not confuse God with so many imagined gods,

while the Benin people, with a more detestable impiety, openly associate him with the wickedness of their very many gods.⁵⁹

The contact with the Portuguese by the Benin people is also traceable to some works of arts (crafts and paintings) and borrowed linguistic expressions and words especially from the Portuguese. For example, the local name *Kpotoki* (a name still used by the Benin people to describe the white man) probably comes from the local pronunciation of the word ‘*Portuguese*’.

Since the fifteenth century till today, the oral tradition of associating the Catholic priest and the Portuguese (white man) still remains. There is an idiomatic expression in the Benin local language that says: ‘*e we nu ghe fada, u we ni ghe kpotoki*’, literally meaning ‘*I am telling you to see a priest and you are telling me to see a Portuguese*’, which states that there is no difference between a *kpotoki* and the *catholic priest*. But apart from what could have been a cultural and linguistic interaction, documents are limited to give in-depth analysis of the theological impact of these first missionaries. It will take another two hundred years for a more sustained theological formation and established educational activity to be sustained in Nigeria. However, one may correctly speculate that: “in spite of the repeated presence of white missionaries in Benin, Christianity failed to take strong roots there. Nor did the missionary undertakings in Warri in the seventeenth century, when the Italian Capuchins, operating from

59 Kenny, cited from <http://www.dhspriory.org/kenny/DH03E.htm> Jan 18, 2016. In March 2016, The Guardian UK carried out a special investigation on ‘stories of cities’ and the ancient city was presented with more recent findings corroborating previous documentations asserting that the city was described as ‘wealthy, well-governed, industrious and richly decorated’. Now called a ‘lost medieval city’, it is said to be organized around 500 villages. It is recognized as being discovered by the Portuguese around 1485 and the report mentions that the “The early foreign explorers’ descriptions of Benin City portrayed it as a place free of crime and hunger, with large streets and houses kept clean; a city filled with courteous, honest people, and run by a centralised and highly sophisticated bureaucracy”. See Mawuna Koutonin, *Story of cities #5: Benin City, the mighty medieval capital now lost without trace* (Friday March 18 2016) in <http://www.theguardian.com/cities/2016/mar/18/story-of-cities-5-benin-city-edo-nigeria-mighty-medieval-capital-lost-without-trace> This ‘cities’ project is supported by Rockefeller Foundation. As most historical records, there have been other documents mentioned in this thesis where the people of Benin were described as offering human sacrifices and worshipping the devil. Missionaries, explorers, traders, all have their versions of the encounter with the city that certainly was in existence and probably were not privileged to get their own version of their story into the printing and publishing media of their time.

Sao Thomé produced the desired result.”⁶⁰ Previous works on the influence of the Portuguese suggest that huge investment in the transatlantic slave trade of African people changed the perspective of what was the initial missionary understanding of the early white visitors. Sulaiman states that “Historically, the first set of Europeans who made contact with Nigeria were the Portuguese who came in order to establish trading relationship with the natives, and along the line established schools and churches to promote trading relationships. They maintained a trading relationship and used the Roman Catholic Church creed to evangelize as well as give modern education to the natives for almost a century, before the trans-Atlantic slave trade which ravaged the African continent for almost three hundred years came to wipe away all their efforts.”⁶¹

These three hundred years of mainly Portuguese Catholic missionary work with the ancient African kingdoms were strongly influenced by the slave trade business already practiced within the different West African empires, and the expansion of the transatlantic slave trade (15th-19th centuries). There were also Spanish and Dutch and English traders as well during this period. Some letters written by Monteleone the Apostolic Vicar of Sao Thomé (1684-1695) who died during one of his visits to Benin (1695) reveals that he was constantly asking for more missionaries to work with the indigenous people and he was making contacts with the local kings in the various regions to convince them to get their citizens to accept the faith.⁶²

60 Omenka, 16. Citing R. Streit, J. Dindinger, *Bibliotheca Missionum*, XVI, 685-686, 723-725. For a more extensive detail on the accounts of the early missionary work in various parts of tropical Africa, see the works of Joseph Kenny, *The Catholic Church in tropical Africa, 1445-1850*. (Ibadan, Nigeria: Ibadan University press, 1983). And *West Africa and Islam: History, beliefs, practices and Christian attitudes : what every Catholic should know*. (Ile-Ife, Nigeria: Association of Episcopal Conferences of Anglophone West Africa, 2000).

61 Folasade R. Sulaiman, ‘Internationalization in Education: The British Colonial Policies on Education in Nigeria 1882-1926’ in *Journal of Sociological Research*, Vol 3 No. 2 , August 2012. 84-101.

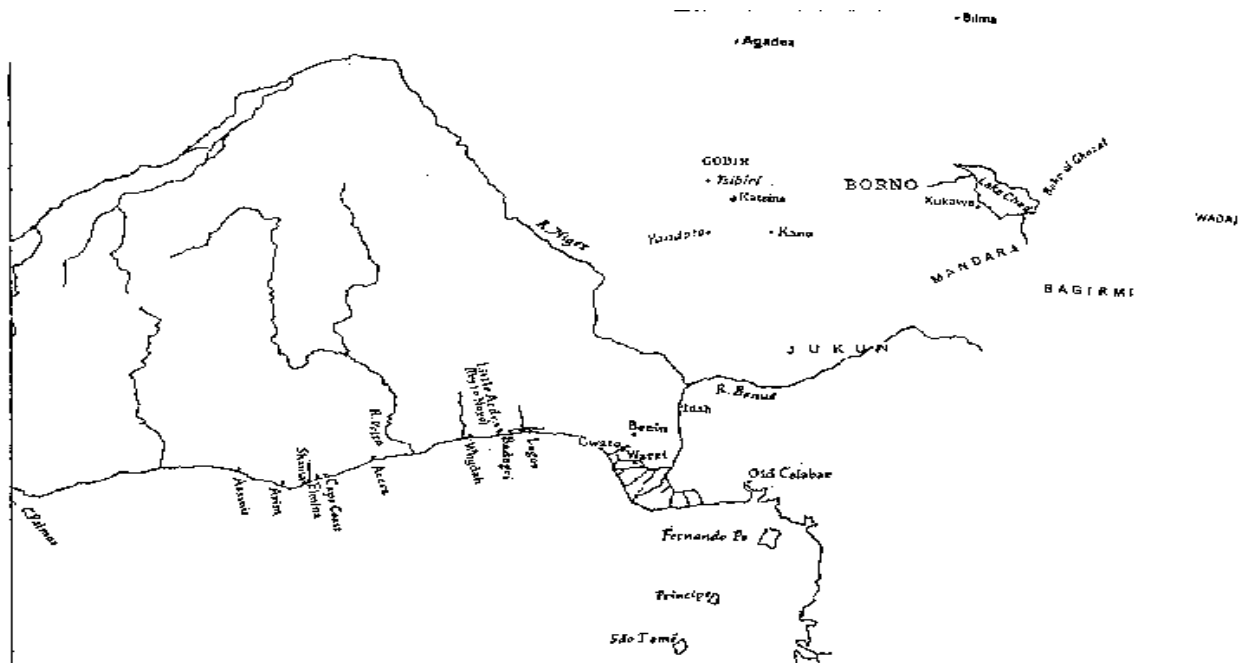
62 Omenka, 17. Citing “F. Monteleone to Propaganda” Sao Thomé, 25 April 1691, in *Bibliotheca Missionum* , XVI, 724, see also Cf. Archivio di Propaganda Fide, Rome (AP): Acta 1714, fol 657, cited in L. Kilger, “ Die Missionsversuche in Benin,” (1932) 319.

Meanwhile, these local kingdoms were regularly engaged in regional conflicts trying to secure their borders and expand their territories. According to a previous work on the Benin kingdom by Imokhai he stated: “The civil war, which preoccupied the Oba, made it frustratingly difficult for the missionaries to gain frequent access to him. Above all, the dwindling trade relations between Lisbon and Benin, were the main cause of the collapse of the first mission in Benin, which was inspired by the evangelical enthusiasm of the kings of Portugal. The Oba for his part was interested in the missionaries for the access their mutual relationship gave him to Portugal. It seemed highly improbable that he wanted to be more involved. It seems unlikely that he ever expressed the desire to be baptized.”⁶³ When the Franciscan missionaries from Spain encountered the people of the kingdom of Benin after the previous attempt by the Portuguese, they also encountered strong resistance as far as getting the local people to succumb to their foreign leadership. However, *Propaganda Fide*, gave a verdict on the 24th of August 1654 based on the report coming from the mission in Benin, in response to a report given by the missionary Filippo who had expressed some internal tensions even among the missionaries themselves:

His Eminence the Lord Cardinal Albitio refers to the letters of the Reverend Father Lord Nuncio of Spain who transmits the letter of Friar Filippo da Híjar, Capuchin. The latter writes that the mission to the kingdom of Benin was unfruitful, and besides that, the Spanish members of the Order of Friars Minor of the Observance were very hostile to the Capuchin missionaries and went to the royal ministers to prevent these Capuchins from ever returning to that mission, from which they presumed the Capuchins were expelled by them. The Sacred Congregation, having discussed the matter maturely, decrees that the missionaries of the Order of Friars Minor may work in that kingdom, since they have many convents there [in Spain]. And lest quarrels and contentions

63 Imokhai, 6.

between missionaries of different orders become a scandal to the young Christianity, we decide[d] to recall the Capuchins altogether.⁶⁴



Map 6. Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction of Africa from the 16th-19th century Diocese of São Tomé and the Central Sudan⁶⁵

This challenge of having few missionaries and was indeed critical since the work was much and extensive. A request of the Apostolic Vicar for more missionaries shows the desire to evangelise the territory and frustration at the lack of sufficient missionaries. This was more painful when in some villages the local people responded positively and welcomed the missionaries. There were requests from ‘Calabar, Futu, Pope, and Accra’ of local chiefs and rulers who wanted the missionaries to come and work among their local people in these various West African communities. In 1692, the Apostolic Vicar could not start some missions due to lack of personnel as documented in the letter to the propaganda office.⁶⁶

64 Kenny, cited from <http://www.dhspriory.org/kenny/DH03E.htm> Jan 18 2016.

65 Kenny, 79.

66 Omenka, 17. See also “F. Monteleone to propaganda” Sao Thomé, 29 December, 1692 cited in R. Streit, J. Dindinger, *Bibliotheca Missionum*, XVI, 724.

1.4.1. Societe de Mission Africaines (SMA).

A major ground-breaking missionary foundation in Nigeria was made with the arrival of the *Societe de Mission Africaines* (SMA)⁶⁷. Prior to their arrival, the West African coast was being animated by the *Holy Ghost Fathers* (Spiritians), led by Father Schwindenhammer who was the general superior. In the work of Mcloughlin,⁶⁸ one finds accounts of The Missionary Congregation of the *Societe de Mission Africaines* – SMA (African Mission Society), founded in Lyon, France on December 8, 1856 by Melchior de Marion Bresillac.⁶⁹ In a letter he wrote to the *Propaganda Fide* in 1856⁷⁰, he expressed his desire to work in West Africa. As a bishop and in collaboration with the *Holy Ghost Fathers* already present in West Africa the SMA was given some geographical territory in Sierra Leone (January 12, 1859), Dahomey (now an independent country with the name Republic of Benin different from another ‘Benin kingdom’ in present day Nigeria)⁷¹ and Nigeria. In 1861, the SMA began their presence in Lagos. The British political authorities in Sierra Leone accorded the French Catholic missionaries the same

67 The Latin acronym stands for Societas Missionum ad Afros, In French: Société des Missions Africaines. See <http://www.smafathers.org/about/our-history-2/sma-history/>

68 M. P. Mcloughlin, ‘Highlights of the History of the Catholic Church in the Lagos ecclesiastical province in Nigeria’ in A. O. Makozi and G. J. Afolabi Ojo eds., *The History of the Catholic Church in Nigeria* (Lagos: Macmillan Nigerian Publishers, 1982).

69 P. Gantly, *Marion Brésillac in India: A study of twelve challenging years.* (London: Pen Press 1998). Melchior de Marion Bresillac was a bishop with previous missionary experience in India where he is known to have taken a strong stand against issues of liturgical rites and caste system. This suggests that he was a Bishop with a strong sense of equality and emancipation of the poor. He was born in 1813 and was sent as a missionary to India on April 12 1842. He was later engaged in the formation of local clergy and was later appointed Pro-vicar of Coimbatore on May 4, 1850. See also M. O’Shea, *Mission or martyrdom?: The spirituality of Melchior de Marion Brésillac and the Society of African Missions.* (Ibadan: Society of African Missions, 1989).

70 This latest collection of the writings of Bishop Bréillac contains about 922 documents and letters he wrote between 1833 and 1859. Recently released in digital kindle format. See Melchior de Marion Brésillac. *Letters* (English version) [kindle] (Rome: SMA Publications, 2016).

71 The Kingdom of Dahomey (1600-1894) was conquered and colonized by the French around 1894. Like other African Kingdoms at that time, they began by trading with the European invaders who soon took over the political leadership of the land especially during and after the trans -Atlantic slave trade. Dahomey was famous for its strong Voodoo roots (later exported to the Caribbean and South America) and was known for its female fighters. The name was later changed to the Republic of Benin (République du Bénin) in 1991 after previously being called ‘French Dahomey’ and ‘People’s Republic of Benin’ (from 1975-1990) See Alpern, S. B. *Amazons of black Sparta: The women warriors of Dahomey.* (New York: New York University Press, 1998).

protection they gave to the earlier Protestant missionaries already there.⁷² This early Protestant foundation in West Africa is one of the historical sources of the modern-day African Evangelical and Pentecostal Churches today.

On May 14 1859, Bishop Melchior de Marion Bresillac, Fr Louis Riocreux and Brother Gratien Maonnoyeur went to join Father Baptiste Bresson, Father Louis Raymond and Brother Eugene Raynaud who had previously arrived in Freetown (on January 12, 1859). Unfortunately, all except one of them were dead by June of the same year⁷³. Such were the challenges and risks that marked most of the attempts of the foreign missionaries adapting to new environment, health situations and poverty. Around 1876 the superior of the SMA Fr Augustine Planque founded the religious congregation of the sisters of Our Lady of Apostles (OLA)⁷⁴ with special emphasis on health care by opening of clinics, which helped to reduce the mortality rate in subsequent years.⁷⁵

Two years later in 1861, the SMA sent the third missionary expedition from Toulon led by the Italian Father Francesco Borghero together with Father Francisco Fernandez and Father Louis

72 John Baur in his work mentions that the Protestant missionaries actually took the lead in the evangelization of Africa until the First World War. This is attributed to the fact that the radical separations within the revival in Christianity in Europe from 1792-1842 of the Scottish Missionary Society (1796 also known as the CSM or church of Scotland mission), Baptist Missionary society (1792) and the radical Anglican evangelicals known as the CMS (Church missionary society) that really pioneered the first schools and churches after the decline of the catholic Portuguese and Spanish era of the 15th century. In Nigeria the European protestants were quickly followed by the American Baptist (1814). The rivival of the Catholic missions we are looking at here came after 1815 when the Napolian control was getting over. See Baur, 103.

73 Bishop Brésillac died at 45 on 25th of June (about six months to his 46th birthday), Father Bresson died previously on the 5th of June at 47, Father Riocreux died on the 2nd of June at 27, Brother Gratien died on the 13th of June at 29, Fr Louis Raymond died on the 28th of June at 36. The sixth and only immediate survival of the yellow fever outbreak was Brother Eugene was taken back on a ship back to France on a sick bed. See. <http://www.sma.ie/category/our-history/foundation-of-the-sma/>

74 Various attempts were made by Planque to find collaboration with other missionary sisters dating back to 1856. With failed results after reaching out to about 15 congregations. So sisters from France and Ireland would eventually begin the first group after various setbacks before the OLA sisters will eventually take a firm root. See <http://www.olasistersnigeria.org/vocation.php>

75 Cf. M. P. McLoughlin, 'Highlights of the History of the Catholic Church in the Lagos ecclesiastical province in Nigeria', in A. O. Makozi and G. J. Afolabi Ojo eds., *The History of the Catholic Church in Nigeria* (Lagos: Macmillan Nigerian Publishers, 1982).

Edde. They had a flourishing Catholic mission presence in a place called Ouidah in Benin Republic bordering Nigeria. Father Francesco Borghero⁷⁶ eventually established the SMA mission in Lagos Nigeria (around 1863)⁷⁷ with the slaves that had returned from the Americas, especially Brazil. By 1870 a Vicariate called the *Bight of Benin* was founded in Nigeria (during the papacy of Pope Pius IX). Lagos was a very mixed city with returned slaves, traders, and other local groups. Different small communities used various languages (including Portuguese) and the population grew rapidly. From 1876-1883 there were at least 25 priests and 2 brothers who worked in Lagos, prominent among them was Fr J. B. Chausse.⁷⁸

1.5 Slave trade, the British Occupation of Lagos and the use of English Language.

To understand the situation of the returned and settled slaves in Lagos and growth of formal education in the 19th century, a reflection on the transatlantic slave trade would be useful. Dating back to the fifteenth century one can trace the buying and selling of human beings in Africa from the Islamic merchants. Portuguese traders would buy slaves from them from the interior and transport them by sea abroad outside the continent. As the business expanded, the Portuguese gained direct access to the local African slave traders making links with most of the communities of sub-Saharan Africa. The communities near the coasts in east and West Africa were the most practical exit points by sea. A long period of about three hundred years witnessed the boom of this notorious business of the buying and selling of the African people. Lovejoy, Miller and Thomas have done various levels of research on the statistical data and methods of

76 See Annals of the Propagation of the Faith, 1886 on the movements of Fr Francesco Borghero through Lagos, Abeokuta, Ijebu and stories of the young people he sent to Puerto Real in Spain for studies.

77 In a recent book on the history of the Catholic church in Nigeria and the SMA missions, Francis Rozario argues about a record of a first mass (in modern times) being celebrated on the 9th of March 1862 near or around Lagos Nigeria. See Francis Rozario, *Nigerian Christianity and the society of African missions: History, strategies and challenges*. (Ibadan, Nigeria: CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform 2012) 40-49.

78 Cf. McLoughlin, 18.

the transatlantic slave trade from 1440-1870 and in the collection of Neil Frankel, a succinct summary is presented:

The European slave trading activity moved south along the African coast over time, as far south as Angola. On the east coast of Africa and in the Indian Ocean region, slaves were also taken from Mozambique, Zanzibar and Madagascar. Many of the slaves were from the interior of Africa, having been taken captive as a result of tribal wars, or else having been kidnapped by black slave traders, engaged in the business of trading slaves for European goods. These slaves would be marched to the coast to be sold, sometimes traveling hundreds of miles. Many perished along the way - the numbers can only be estimated. Lovejoy notes that losses on the ships were estimated at 9-15 per cent, and losses at Dutch-ruled Cape Coast castle were reported to be 6-7 per cent. Losses from the point of capture to the point of arrival at the slave trading forts were estimated to be 40% by Miller based on data from Angola. Using Thomas' figure of 11,128,000 live slaves delivered to the New World during the Atlantic slave trade, and considering Lovejoy's and Miller's estimates of losses, the number of captured slaves in the interior of Africa is estimated to be from 21.7 million to 23.5 million people. This figure does not include the many who may have been killed in the process of capture⁷⁹.

Patrick Manning emphasises that though various forms of slave trade business had been going on from within and outside Africa to other parts of the world, the volume of the transatlantic

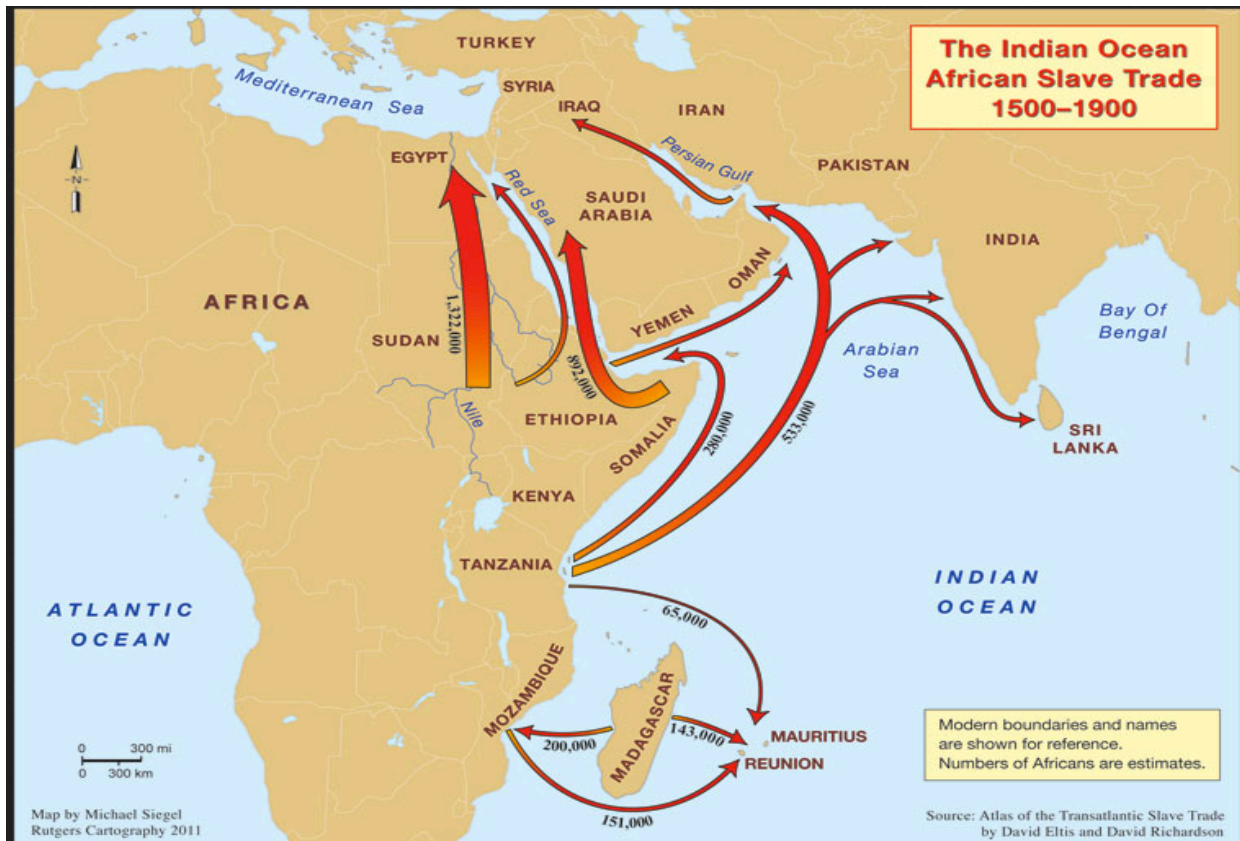
79 N. A. Frankel, (2009, April 14). Slaverysite. Retrieved from <http://www.slaverysite.com/Body/maps.htm> with reference to the works of Paul E. Lovejoy, *Transformations in Slavery, A History of Slavery in Africa*, Second Edition, Cambridge University Press, New York, c1983, second edition c2000 and, Joseph C. Miller, 'Mortality in the Atlantic Slave Trade: Statistical Evidence on Causality', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 11:385-423, And Hugh Thomas, *The Slave Trade, The Story of the Atlantic Slave Trade: 1440-1870*, Simon & Schuster New York, c. 1997 Hugh Thomas. See also J. C. Miller, *Slavery and slaving in world history: A bibliography*. (Armonk, NY: Sharpe, 1999).

buying and selling of people was very high. The focus also on black Africans as the major target of this trade also increased from the 1600 to the 1800.⁸⁰ From what initially looked like a sampling of the African slave trade in 1441 by Antão Gonçalves who explored the area of Guinea in West Africa, this human selling and buying soon became a major enterprise. The local kingdoms and empires that were on the African continent were not able to withstand the influence and the manipulation of the Western nations and kingdoms that sent great numbers of ships on the high seas for buying and selling of natural materials and African slaves.

The local practice of ‘servitude’ and domestic dealings in slaves in those societies soon escalated into millions of slaves being sold from Africa reaching a peak of about six million people sold from around the 17th-18th centuries.⁸¹ Though the Arabic route and slave trade among the Arab traders also affected the continent, the number of people and sophistication of the transatlantic trade is much higher. Most of the Arab slave traders used the East Africa coast.

80 P. Manning, (1990). The Slave Trade: The Formal Demography of a Global System. *Social Science History*, 14(2), 255. doi:10.2307/1171441

81 According to Lovejoy’s account, the volume of slave trade on the transatlantic route years of 1450-1500 recorded 81,000 slaves sold. This increased to 328,000 (from 1500-1600) and 1,348,000 (from 1601-1700). The escalation was from the years 1701-1800 that saw to the export of 6,090,000 and later about more than half of that (3,466,000) from 1801-1900. See Paul E. Lovejoy *Transformations in Slavery*, 2nd Ed (Cambridge University Press, 2000). See also http://africanhistory.about.com/od/slavery/ss/Origins_Of_Slave_Trade.htm by Alistair Boddy-Evans. Cited on Feb 26 2016.



Map 7. East African Coast: 'The Indian Ocean African Slave Trade 1500-1900' ⁸²

The focus of this research concerns the origins of the investments in formal education as a stable and most effective way to eradicate the effects of 'racial' based slavery from the 15th century. The early catholic missionaries were caught up in this huge situation while they carried out their evangelisation. The theological slant of African theologians today is largely influenced by these historical circumstances, as we shall discuss in subsequent chapters. Religion and education is also quite related in Nigeria with Christianity and Islam playing a major role in the content of the instructional materials for teaching religious education, especially in secondary schools.

The major intervention for the abolition of the racial slave trade of the African people was championed by Britain. The official process heavily supported by the Quakers Christian group soon gained political momentum despite serious opposition. Earlier writings from Thomas

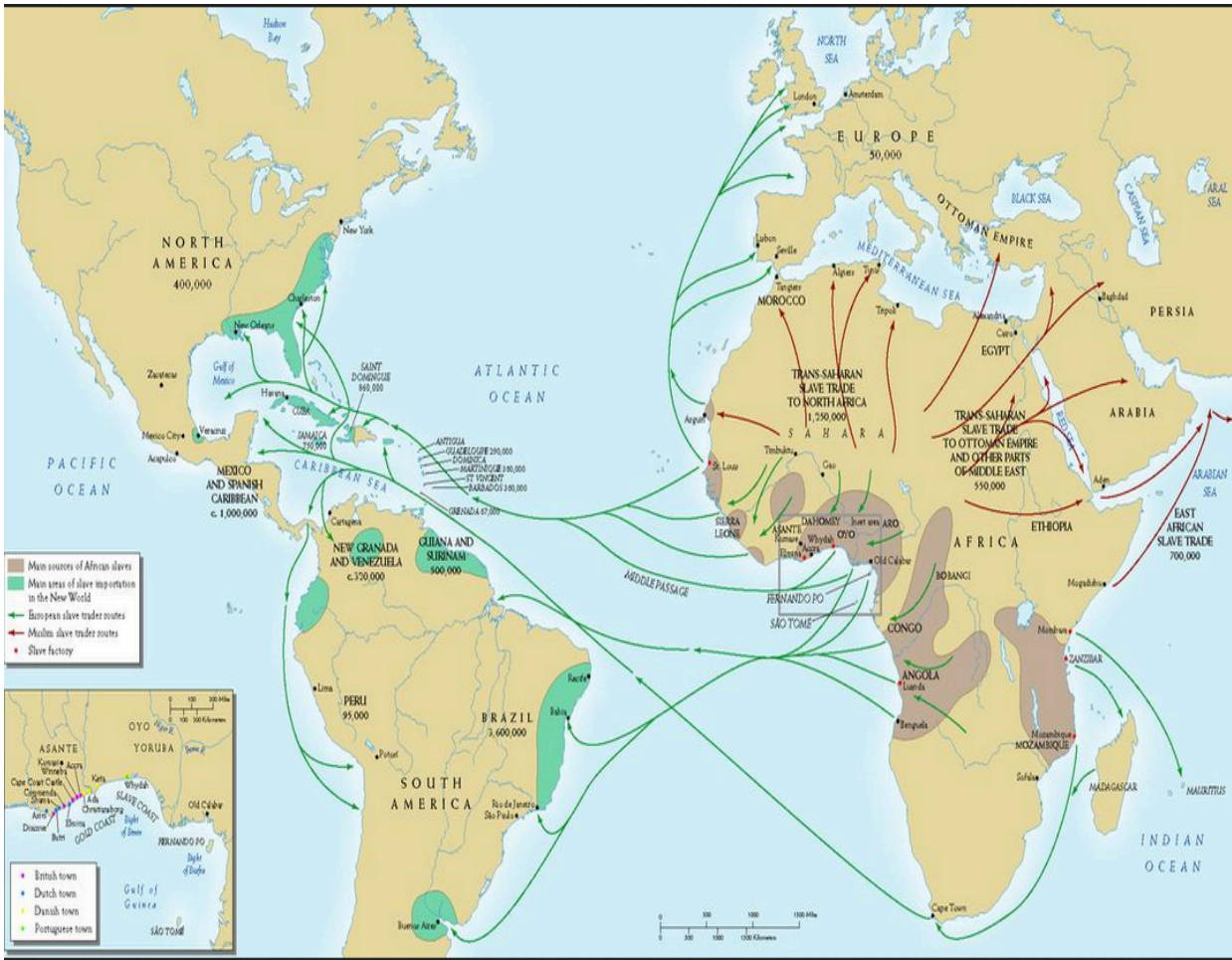
⁸² D. Eltis, and D. Richardson, (2010). *Atlas of the transatlantic slave trade*. New Haven: Yale University Press. Cited online from <http://ajammc.com/wp-content/uploads/2012/06/indian-ocean-slavetrade.jpg?w=300>

Clarkson show that formal attempts for the abolition of slavery by Bartholomew de la Casas (Bishop of Chiapa) in the 15th century against the Spanish invasion in Latin America did not get the desired response at that time.⁸³ Documents from the UK national archives reveal that in 1806 a strong appeal was made by Lord Grenville using the argument that the slave trade was “contrary to the principles of justice, humanity and sound policy”.⁸⁴ This appeal reinforced the ongoing political will to abolish slavery that was already on a high scale. Though the goal was not achieved immediately, every positive step on the direction of the abolition of selling and buying human beings as personal property and regarding them as less human than other human beings was very significant at this stage. This was particularly sensitive as black Africans were used as product of this trade. It had reached an alarming rate and the escalation in the trade needed to be arrested vigorously.

From the map below one can see one of the depictions of the routes that the slave traders used at different times in history from the perspective of the African continent. This is followed by a second map that shows the estimated number of people that were sold out of Africa.

83 T. Clarkson, and T. C. Portmore, *An essay on the slavery and commerce of the human species, particularly the African.* (1787). (e-book) Retrieved from <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/10611/10611-h/10611-h.htm> See also Thomas. Clarkson, *Abolition of the African slave-trade, by the British Parliament.* (Augusta: P.A. Brinsmade. 1830).

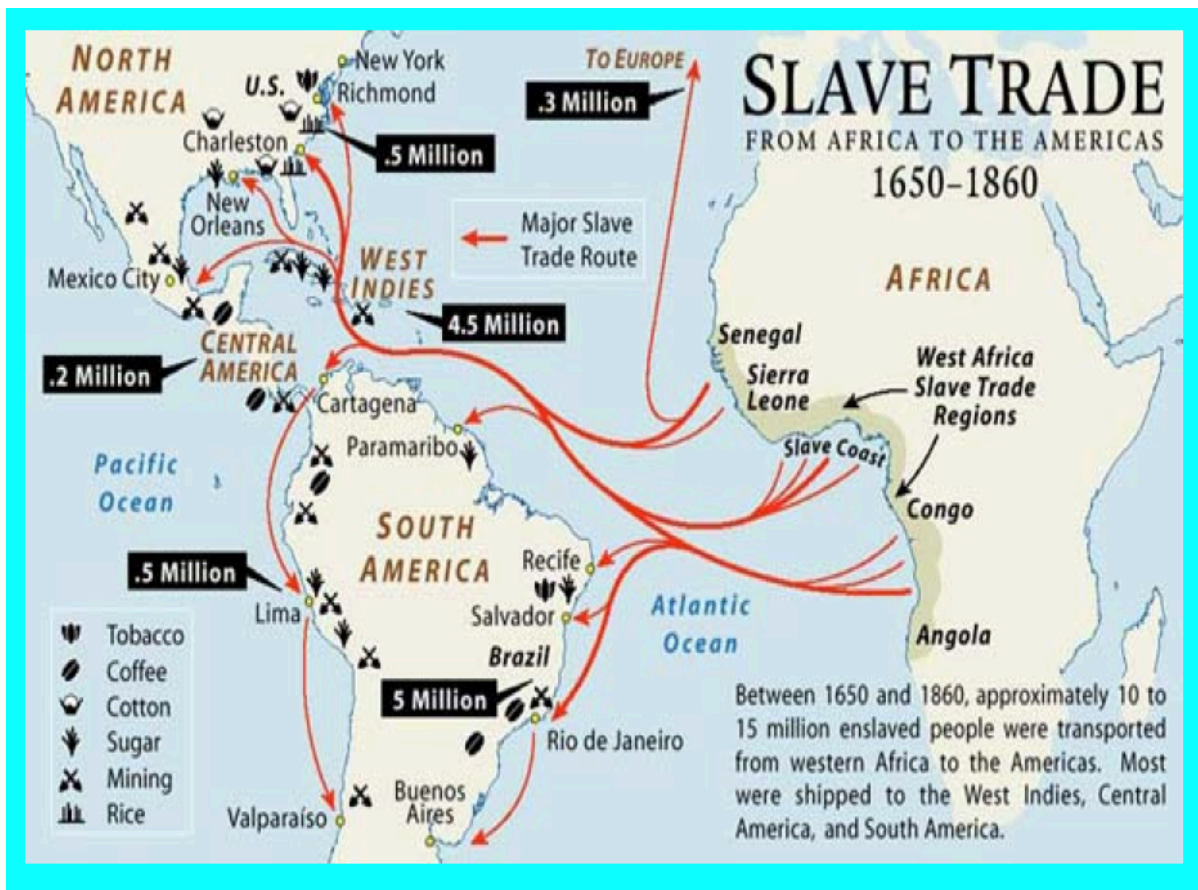
84 See <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/pathways/blackhistory/rights/abolition.htm>



Map 8. African international slave trade⁸⁵

The complex nature of the entire African slave trade shows that missionary activities going at this historical period shaped the slant of the evangelisation process inevitably. As we shall see later in some parts of Nigeria some missionaries would have to ‘purchase’ some slaves in order to change their ownership from a previous entity to that of the mission where they could be baptised, prepared to receive other sacraments and also have the opportunity to go to school and receive formal ‘Western’ education against other odds at that time.

85 Map also showing destinations of Arab traders from D. Eltis, and D. Richardson, *Atlas of the transatlantic slave trade* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010). Cited from <https://www.britainfirst.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/11/slavery3.jpg> on January 24 2016



Map 9. The movement of the transatlantic slave trade from 1650-1860⁸⁶

As far as participation was concerned in the volume of trading countries or kingdom at that time the Portuguese was the highest followed by the British. Other three nations that were also relatively engaged in the African slave trade in volume after the Portuguese and the British were the French, Spanish and Dutch.⁸⁷

⁸⁶ There are different statistical data on the number of people sold as slaves from Africa at this historical moment. According to Neil Frankel, "Slave trade routes from Africa to the Americas during the period 1650-1860 are shown. There were additional routes to the New World from Mozambique, Zanzibar and Madagascar on the east side of Africa. Most of the slaves from the east side were brought to Portuguese controlled Salvador in the state of Bahia, Brazil, along with many other slaves from Angola. Brazil received more slaves from Africa than any other country in the New World. The 500,000 African slaves sent to America represents 10% of the number sent to Brazil, and 11% of the number sent to the West Indies. According to the estimates of Hugh Thomas, a total of 11,128,000 African slaves were delivered live to the New World, including 500,000 to British North America; therefore, only 4.5% of the total African slaves delivered to the New World were delivered to British North America. Also from Hugh Thomas, the major sources of the 13 million slaves departing from Africa (see slave ports map, above) were Congo/Angola (3 million), Gold Coast (1.5 million), Slave Coast (2 million), Benin [in Nigeria] to Calabar (2 million), and Mozambique/Madagascar on the east coast of Africa (1 million)" see Frankel, N. A. (2009, April 14). 'Slaverysite'. Retrieved from www.slaverysite.com/Body/maps.htm. Citing Hugh Thomas, *The Slave Trade: The Story of the Atlantic Slave Trade: 1440-1870*, (New York: Simon and Schuster 1997).

⁸⁷ Herbert S Klein, and Jacob Klein. *The Atlantic Slave Trade*. (UK: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 103-139.

However, the abolition of slave trade took a combined effort of individuals and groups in both Europe and America to prevent the buying and selling. This effort included military action fighting against slave dealers, ship owners and factory businessmen who had developed an entire economic system based on slavery. Some useful dates and names include the 1772 decision led by William Murray (also known as Lord Mansfield) who as chief justice in England legally supported the end of slavery. In what is known as the ‘Somerset’ case he stated that: “The state of slavery is of such a nature that it is incapable of being introduced on any reasons, moral or political, but only by positive law which preserves its force long after the reasons, occasions, and time itself from whence it was created, is erased from memory. It is so odious, that nothing can be suffered to support it, but positive law. Whatever inconveniences, therefore, may follow from the decision, I cannot say this case is allowed or approved by the law of England; and therefore the black must be discharged”.⁸⁸ Denmark had legislation against slavery as early as 1792 and by 1807 with the combined effort of like minds led by William Wilberforce⁸⁹, the House of Commons abolished the slave trade and worked to fight against perpetrators. This was a defining moment of the struggle on February 22 1807.

In America Thomas Jefferson was instrumental with his political influence to push for the legal rights of religious freedom and banned the selling of slaves in Virginia in 1778.⁹⁰ By 1794 the American government had a ‘slave trade act’ which targeted the ships and persons dealing on slave trade. This was followed in England by another prorogation of the “slave trade act’ in 1807 which enabled the British Navy to counteract other slave dealers on the ocean. This

88 Stephen Usherwood. (1981). The Black Must Be Discharged - The Abolitionists' Debt to Lord Mansfield. *History Today*, 31 (3).

89 1759-1833.

90 J. E. Selby, *The Revolution in Virginia, 1775-1783*. (Williamsburg, VA: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation 1988).

attempt to abolish the slave trade will be extended throughout the British Empire and reinforced with the ‘Slavery abolition Act’ of 1833. Unfortunately, by this time a strong, divisive and racial social stratification was already ingrained in the generations of both the English and American societies after centuries of slavery. The struggle to eradicate it will take an education of a lifetime.

Though law tackled the trade in slaves, the life of ‘slavery’ continued. For the early missionaries in Nigeria at this time, they understood that racial discrimination and respect for the human person would only make more sense when the local people begin to take the lead for self-liberation and emancipation. Christian principles of influential people in England had pushed the liberation this far and to sustain it, education of the local people was necessary. While in Western Societies, groups and associations were growing in support of Anti-slavery initiatives on the one hand, the Catholic Missionaries were moving with zeal into African territories to be with the people. In England, the ‘Anti-Slavery Society’⁹¹ began to gain momentum as early as 1839. Officially known as the ‘British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society’ it was inspired by similar works done by Thomas Clarkson and William Wilberforce (as early as 1823) with a substantial support of the Quakers (Society of Friends) and Anglican Communion. These efforts were later consolidated at the ‘World Anti-Slavery Convention’ in 1840 in London led by the Quaker Joseph Sturge⁹². Today in its UNESCO website, the Anti-Slavery International presents itself as the oldest international human rights organisation in the world dating back to 1839 just before this convention.⁹³

91 Douglas H. Maynard, (1960). The World's Anti-Slavery Convention of 1840. *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 47 (3), 452–471.

92 Caleb W. McDaniel, (2007). ‘World's Anti-Slavery Convention’. In Peter P. Hinks, John R. McKivigan, and R. Owen Williams (Eds.), *Encyclopedia of antislavery and abolition*: Vol. 2 (Westport, CT: Greenwood), 760-762.

93 See http://portal.unesco.org/education/en/ev.php-URL_ID=9462&URL_DO=DO_PRINTPAGE&URL_SECTION=201.html (copyright 2006) cited on January 27 2016.

Perhaps a challenging aspect of the anti slavery movement which is significant for this research is the role played by the British Navy that deployed ships to protect slaves and defend them against slave traders. In study put together by the Institute of Historical Research in the School of Advanced study of the University of London, together with the University of York's Institute for the Public Understanding of the Past in 2007, this project of the Royal Navy was launched in 1808 (a year after the Slave Act) as 'West Africa Preventative Squadron'. For a record of 53 years the Royal Navy of this special West African Squadron claimed to have intercepted 1,600 ships involved in dealings with black African slaves and in the process rescued up to 150,000 slaves. There were casualties as well on the British side as about 1,587 of this West African Squadron died in action due to impact from combat or from diseases⁹⁴. Cahal Milmo, mentions some notes found in the diary of one of the navy officers in 1823. In this diary of Cheesman Binstead said he saw sharks eating the dead bodies of slaves that had been thrown overboard as a fine of 100 pounds was imposed on each slave found on the ships of traders to prevent them from buying slaves. This showed that when the West African Squadron came with their ships to intercept the slave dealers, already bought slaves would be thrown overboard by the dealers. In this document at the Royal Navy Museum in Portsmouth Binstead describes: "Many large whales and sharks about us, the latter is owing to the number of poor fellows that have lately been thrown overboard. The ship is now truly miserable, many of our own crew very sick and decks crowded with black slaves who are dying in all directions and apprehensive- their cases of fever are contagious"⁹⁵ In another memo, Binstead also noted that there were: "many large canoes of which I went in chase of. On my coming up with her, the whole crew jumped

94 Institute for the Public Understanding of the Past (York University) and the Institute of Historical Research (University of London). (2007). Chasing Freedom: the Royal Navy and the suppression of the transatlantic slave trade, an exhibition review. Retrieved from <http://www.history.ac.uk/1807commemorated/exhibitions/museums/chasing.html>

95 Cahal Milmo. (2007, January 29). Diary reveals reality of African slave trade. Independent UK. Retrieved from <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/this-britain/diary-reveals-reality-of-african-slave-trade-434167.html>

overboard and I fear they met a watery grave. These poor wretches were fearful we were going to make slaves of them⁹⁶.

As we shall see in subsequent chapters, the intervention of the West African Squadron of the Royal Navy prevented the further selling of some slaves and in 1822, one such rescue operation saved the life of a 12-year-old boy with the name Samuel Ajayi Crowther, as their slave boat was intercepted and all slaves were settled as freed men in Sierra Leone (Freetown). He later became a Christian and went back to his native country of Nigeria and became the first African Bishop of the Anglican Church in 1864 after studies in England.⁹⁷ His collaboration with the Catholic Missionaries would also be significant in the establishment of schools and pastoral work in the country.

This vested interest of different nations in the slave business soon grew to become an interest in taking over the land and not just doing the trade of natural products in gold or other vital economic materials in addition to the buying of slaves. Though the West African Squadron was initially stopping British traders and those in the 'empire' from trading on slaves, other European countries that were also legally abolishing the trade gave their mandates to the Squadron to work on their behalf against any nation that may be dealing on slaves.

A major shift occurred in 1884 when the Belgian, Italian, German, Portuguese, Spanish, British and French governments of the day will settle for an official portioning of Africa in Berlin (see

96 Cahal Milmo. (2007, January 29). Diary reveals reality of African slave trade. Independent UK. Retrieved from <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/this-britain/diary-reveals-reality-of-african-slave-trade-434167.html>

97 Institute for the Public Understanding of the Past (York University) and the Institute of Historical Research (University of London). (2007). Chasing Freedom: the Royal Navy and the suppression of the transatlantic slave trade, an exhibition review. Retrieved from <http://www.history.ac.uk/1807commemorated/exhibitions/museums/chasing.html>

Map below)⁹⁸. At this Berlin conference, there was more understanding for collaboration not only for anti-slavery control already led by the British but for the issue of the Land. Interest was to settle rivalry between different nationals who were already involved in importing and exporting goods and sometimes having clashes for territories and with the ‘partitioning’ of Africa along the geographical division of these European nations, there was a new arrangement of the local people. This will continue till 1884 when the Belgian, Italian, German, Portuguese, Spanish, British, French governments of the day will settle for an official portioning of Africa in Berlin (see Map below)⁹⁹. Together with these seven main countries, there was also the participation of Austria-Hungary, Sweden-Norway, the Ottoman empire (Turkey), Denmark, The Netherlands, USA and Russia. Portugal was one of the main initiators having the backing of Britain and Otto von Bismarck the German counsellor chaired meeting when it opened from the 5th of November 1884 to the 26th of February 1885.

The document was signed by 14 representatives of the various nations and made up of 38 clauses. The Africans had no say neither were they present at this meeting. This meeting practically concretised the 1878 method of King Leopold II of Belgium in his occupation of the Congo. These nations quickly started planting their national flags in African territories where they had been doing business and trade and claiming ownership of them. To avoid more tensions among the European nations, the Berlin conference seemed more reasonable an option to take and share the land diplomatically. Before the partitioning about 75-80 per cent of the land was governed and owned by local African tribes who had the final say in their business dealings with other neighbouring kingdom and the Arab and European traders. But by 1914, Africa woke up to be told that she had been divided into about fifty different states and each of

98 This map is taken from Lance Fuhrer. (2000). The Partition of Africa Maps. Retrieved from http://lancefuhrer.com/partition_of_africa.htm on January 15 2016.

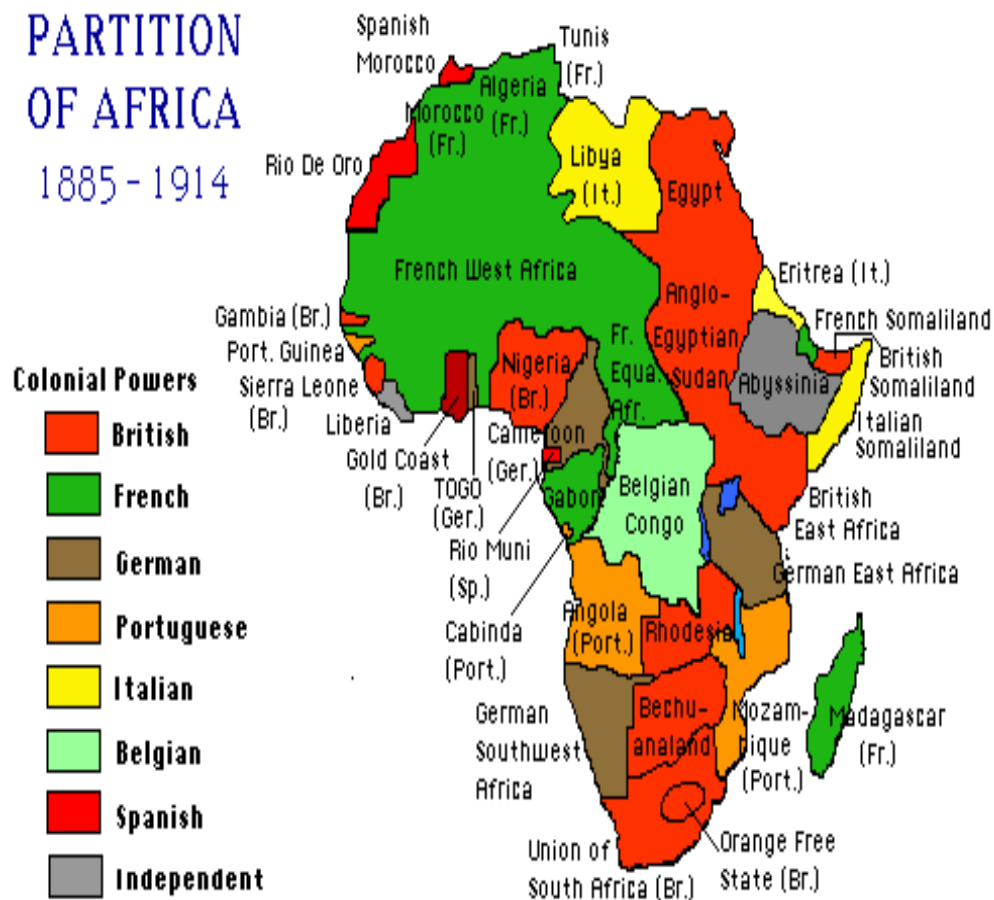
99 This map is taken from Lance Fuhrer. (2000).The Partition of Africa Maps. Retrieved from http://lancefuhrer.com/partition_of_africa.htm on January 15, 2016.

these local tribes mixed together had to enter into diplomatic agreement with their new colonisers. The good news was that slavery would be stopped in all the lands and other aspects of the 38 clauses included clarification of who controlled the significant water ways like the Congo, Nile, Niger and sea ports for trade exports and marketing. This arrangement was also called the 'effective occupation of Africa'.¹⁰⁰ At the end, about 90 percent of Africa was under colonial rule from European countries. Military and systems of government and taxation would be imposed, and the Africans would have to participate in the first and second world-wars after which, from the end of the second world war, a new African independence struggle would begin.

From the missiological perspective, the pastoral dimension of the Catholic mission will also be affected by these political changes. As we shall see later in this work, there would be a need to get English speaking catholic priests to come to Nigeria, as an English colony and that move will get a response from the catholic Church in Ireland. And religious orders will begin to send their English-speaking nuns and priests to go as missionaries to Nigeria. They will focus on education, catechism and health.

100 For documents on the Berlin and earlier agreements of the European nations on Africa see http://www.africafederation.net/Berlin_1885.htm

PARTITION OF AFRICA 1885 - 1914



Map 10. The Partition of Africa by 7 European nations¹⁰¹

This new partitioning had a series of effects and consequences. For example, in Nigeria the language for official communication, government matters and learning in schools would be changed to English. The previous influence of the French and Portuguese (Languages) in a city like Lagos was suppressed. The English language, businessmen, political agenda, military and leadership took over. The emphasis being made here is that the decision to abolish slavery and free the African people is not separated from the decision to occupy the countries and provide protection and ‘redemption’. These philosophical goals were always part of the initial intentions as well as the other opportunities that such an occupation provided by economic activities in

¹⁰¹ Map cited from http://lancefuhrer.com/partition_of_africa.htm

cotton, cocoa, diamonds, gold, tea, rubber, and being landowners with superior military control.¹⁰²

The British occupation of Nigeria was met with resistance by local rulers, and some of these local kings were deported out of their territories or subdued by a stronger military might. Popular among the resistance was the attack on the Benin Kingdom led by Sir Harry Lawson (1843-1910) who was later appointed Governor of New South Wales in 1902. It was retaliation for the killing of Robert James Philip and some of his men who attempted to enter Benin against the orders of the Oba in 1896. It was also connected to trade fall out agreements with other local rulers of neighbouring Itsekiri tribe.¹⁰³ The ‘looting of Benin’ or ‘invasion of Benin’ as it is also called was a response to the resistance of Benin King Ovonramwen to the British annexation in 1897, despite earlier contact with the British since 1553, when there was the first British expedition.¹⁰⁴ Soon after 1885, there was interest in Palm Oil (which proved resourceful for soap making, and lighting) rubber and ivory (especially from the Benin kingdom which has been a focus in this study due to its historical links with the Portuguese in the 15th century and later with the British in the 19th century).¹⁰⁵ Immediately after the Berlin conference, the British government set up a ‘consular authority’ led by the businessman John Beecroft, for the Bights

102 Lynn Hunt. *The making of the West: Peoples and cultures*. Volume C (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2009).

103 See P. M. Roese, and D. M. Bondarenko, (2003). *A popular history of Benin: The rise and fall of a mighty forest kingdom*. (Frankfurt am Main: P. Lang, 2003). See also T.U. Obinyan ‘The Annexation of Benin’ in *Journal of Black Studies* , Vol. 19, No. 1 Sage Publications, Inc (Sep. 1988), 29–40. And Crowder, M. West African resistance: The military response to colonial occupation. (New York: Africana Pub. Corp, 1971).

104 Some of the looted materials include ivory and bronze. The British and Dutch companies already working and doing business in Nigeria also had a lot of influence on the effective take-over of the leadership seats in the various territories of Nigeria. With the advancement of industrial revolution in Europe and the superior military might, the local African rulers were not able to row back the pressure of the colonial countries to take over political control. In Nigeria there were a good number of raw materials needed for industries in Britain and like other colonies in the British Empire, valuable goods in form of Agricultural and mineral products found their way from the colonies to England.

105 Thomas Uwadiale Obinyan, “The Annexation of Benin”, in *Journal of Black Studies*, Vol. 19, No. 1 (September, 1988), 29-40.

of Benin and Bonny (Biafra) in 1849. Other resistance to the British also met similar brutality like the 1892 conquest of the Ijebu Kingdom and the assault on Oyo town in 1894.¹⁰⁶

The British started using the system known as ‘indirect rule’¹⁰⁷ whereby a local chief or leader works for the British political interest and under the British supervision, using such local leaders sometimes against their own people when there is a clash of interest. And as mentioned above, local leaders who did not comply were disposed of by killing, imprisoning or banishing to foreign lands where they would not be able to influence the British agenda on business, leadership and control. This was what led to the deportation of Oba Ovoranmwun of Benin (Oba from 1888-1897) to Calabar in where he died in 1914 after the British conquest of Benin in 1897.

While this political manoeuvring was going on, the missionaries continued their work with the local people. In the next chapter, the methodology and agenda of the Christian missionaries will be examined with more focus on Catholic missionaries.

106 Tunde Oduwobi. “From Conquest to Independence: The Nigerian Colonial Experience.” In *Historical Actual Online*. (HAOL primavera 2011), 25, 19-29. And T. Oduwobi, “Deposed Rulers under the Colonial Regime in Nigeria”. In *Cahiers d’études africaines*, 43(171), 2003) 553-571. doi:10.4000/etudesafriaines.215.
107 Murray, A. Victor. (1935). “Education Under Indirect Rule” in *Journal of the Royal African Society*, 34 (136), 1936 227-268. Retrieved from <https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/716819.pdf>. See also A. Boahen, J. F. Ajayi, and M. Tidy, *Topics in West African history* (Burnt Mill, Harlow: Longman Group 1986). In a letter written in 1901 by MacGregor who was the Governor of Lagos (then a ‘Colony’ and ‘Protectorate’ of Britain) supported the idea of ‘indirect rule’ by using the local chiefs as the middlemen: “if there was to be peace and government conducted at an expense that can be borne by local revenue that Government must as regards the interior be carried on through the instrumentality of the chiefs” (NAI, CSO 1/3, vol V., Letter No. 44 of 11 November 1901, MacGregor to Colonial office, as cited in J. A. Atanda, *The New Oyo Empire* (London: Longman, 1973), 94.

CHAPTER 2
FORMAL EDUCATION AND PASTORAL APPROACH OF THE MODERN
MISSIONARIES

2.1 English Protestants Missionaries (1792-1890)

After the decline of the early Catholic missionary expeditions of the Spanish and Portuguese¹⁰⁸, the Protestant missionaries sustained and kept the growth of Christianity on the continent. “For half a century (1792-1842) Protestant missionaries were practically alone in the field, and outnumbered Catholic ones until World War I. The major reason for this imbalance is that in the 18th century the Protestants in Europe had experienced a great revival movement, while the Catholic Church had suffered a serious decline from which it slowly started recovering after the Napoleonic Wars (1815 onwards)”¹⁰⁹

Protestant Missionary societies with influence on education in Africa were mainly from England. The Christian movement at this time included the ‘Society for the Education of Africans’, which was a strong focus of the Evangelical wing of the Protestant groups.¹¹⁰ They were often united with a common purpose to support missionaries who were ready to go to mission territories in Africa from the beginning of 1804, when the first missionaries (mainly German Evangelical Lutherans). From 1812, the name ‘Church Missionary Society’ became official for this group of missionaries:¹¹¹

108 Baur, 104.

109 Baur, 103. Prominent among these were the Baptist missionary Society (1792), London Missionary Society (1795), the Scottish Missionary Society (CSM) 1796, and The Church Missionary Society (CMS) among others. Baur argues that since most of the early Protestant groups were ‘evangelicals’, it proves the origin of the present-day statistics of about 80% of African protestants being ‘evangelicals’ in their theology and spirituality. Cf. D. B. Barrett, G.T. Kurian, and T.M. Johnson, *World Christian encyclopedia: A comparative survey of churches and religions in the modern world*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2001).

110 Cf. B. L. Mouser, African academy—Clapham 1799–1806. *History of Education*, (2004) 33(1), 87-103.

111 Charles Hole, The early history of the Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East to the end of A.D. 1814. London: Church Missionary Society, 1896. See also Gordon Hewitt, and Church Missionary Society. The

1	Baptist Missionary Society (BMS)	1792	Influence of William Carey
2	London Missionary Society (LMS)	1795	Interdenominational
3	Church of Scotland Mission (CMS), Edinburg Society, Glasgow Society, Free Church of Scotland Mission (FCSM) from the Scottish Missionary Societies –Kirk or national church of Scotland: Presbyterian and Protestant. Later founded the ‘African’ Presbyterian Churches	1796	Origins to the Protestant reformer John Calvin and 1560 ‘Reformation’
4	Society for Missions to Africa and the East (Church Missionary society) also called Church Mission Society (CMS)	1799	
5	Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society	1813	
6	Universities’ Mission to Central Africa (UMCA)	1858	
7	American Baptist Foreign Mission	1814	
8	British and Foreign Bible Society	1804	Interdenominational association

Table 2. Some of the major Protestant missionary groups that worked in Africa (1792-1842)¹¹²

problems of success: A history of the Church Missionary Society 1910-1942. (London: SCM Press for the Church Missionary Society, 1971).

112 Cf. Baur, 103-104.

Although the primary focus of this research is on the foundations of Catholic theology in Africa within the context of formal education in Nigeria, the influence of these Protestant missionaries cannot be over emphasized. One unique characteristics of the Protestant missionaries is that some of them came with their immediate families. Thus, having a missionary presence with a Pastor, his wife and sometimes, children. This opened the way for more female contributions to be made to the growth of the missions. Henry Townsend (1815-1886) was one of the first Church Missionary Society (CMS) pastors from Exeter in England to be sent to Nigeria. He began his missionary work in Sierra Leone where he was first appointed to work in 1836 as a teacher, since the emphasis was on the schools. After his marriage to Sarah Pearse in England in 1840, he took more interest in learning the Yoruba Language (also called the 'Aku' language) from the freed slaves from Nigeria that he was working with in Sierra Leone. In January 1843, he arrived at Nigeria with some of the freed slaves and began his mission there. "Townsend and his team left Freetown on November 15, 1842, on their assignment to "Badagry and its vicinity." In Badagry they met the Methodist missionary to the Gold Coast, Thomas Birch Freeman and his colleagues, Mr and Mrs DeGraft, who were returning from Abeokuta where they too had gone to explore the possibility of starting a mission".¹¹³

In September 1853, Townsend and his wife travelled the country north of Abeokuta to explore for more mission opportunities. They visited Bereḱodo and passed through Eruwa to Biolorunpelu, known today as Lanlatẹ. Having been joined there by Adolphus Mann, who was just starting the work at Ijaye, they proceeded to Awaye; Isehin; Ago Oja, renamed Oyo; and Ijaiye. Townsend found "the worthy old Chief Bioku" of Biolorunpelu hospitable and benevolent and considered his place as deserving mission presence. In his

113 Kehinde Olabimtan. (2002). Dictionary of African Christian Biography. Retrieved May 13, 2016, from http://www.dacb.org/stories/nigeria/townsend_henry.html Center for Global Christianity and Mission at Boston University School of Theology. Citing Henry Townsend. (1843). "Mr. Townsend's journal of research to Badagry and Abbeokuta,". CMS C/A1/M10(1842-1843)/609, 610.

words, "I sincerely desire that our society will take up this place as an outstation which may well be occupied by a sober & right minded Xtian native teacher from S. Leone."¹¹⁴

The commitment to education and as a married couple to the mission gives a witness of family dedication to evangelization and development of the local people. And by learning the local language, Henry was able to improve the linguistic ‘visibility’ of the Yoruba language by starting a printing press in Nigeria and publishing what is considered the first newspaper in Nigeria in 1859 known as *Iwe Irohin*.¹¹⁵ Despite many challenges faced by these missionaries, one could see that education was not separated from evangelization in their interaction with the local people of Nigeria. Literacy and numeracy was paramount in their teaching, and the more they took interest in the local languages the more they understood the native cultures and were accepted by the people of the land.

From Scotland, there was Mary Slessor (even though her engagement at 42 to a young man called Charles W. Morrison, who was 25, did not end in marriage), who remains one of the most significant female evangelisers of Nigeria. She had originally come as a volunteer Missionary Teacher with the United Presbyterian Church from Scotland to help out in the

114 Kehinde Olabimtan. (2002). Dictionary of African Christian Biography. Retrieved May 13, 2016, from http://www.dacb.org/stories/nigeria/townsend_henry.html Center for Global Christianity and Mission at Boston University School of Theology. Citing Henry Townsend. (1843). "Mr. Townsend's journal of research to Badagry and Abbeokuta," , journal entry, September 8, 1853, CMS C/A2/O85/254.

115 Thomas Birch Freeman, *Journals of various visits to the kingdoms of Ashanti, Aku, and Dahomi in Western Africa*. (London: Cass, 1968). Henry Stanphone Free man who was the first governor of Colonial Lagos (from 1862-1865), was not in favour of the establishment of local newspapers as he considered the local people to be uncivilised. This act from the local authority figure of the colonial office in Lagos was only suppressed by the British parliament, who had many members who were in favour of the Christian educational impact of the local people. Many of the Christians in government who supported the abolition of slavery, were constantly in support of education of the indigenous people and self-determination of some sort. This 1854 Yoruba newspaper called ‘Iwe Iroyin’ was already being published in Lagos as Anglican missionaries mastered the local language and started translations and printings. Subsequently on June 6, 1863 another publication called the ‘Anglo-Africa’ was issued. This was published by Robert Campbell with Jamaican and Scottish descent. See *Klaus Benesch, and Geneviève Fabre, African diasporas in the New and Old Worlds: consciousness and imagination*. (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2004).

missions of Calabar¹¹⁶. She soon became the pillar of her new-found community and left a legacy of educational and cultural significance. She is popularly remembered for her intervention in stopping the killing of twins that was practiced among the local people where she served in Calabar. She also worked hard to see to the establishment of the vocational school and was influential in resolving issues of justice as she was appointed a local judge by the colonial government at that time. She was successful in her mission also because she invested on learning the local language and won the favour of the local kings who gave her protection and respect. In 1895, The United Presbyterian Church of Scotland founded opened the Hope Waddell training Institution in Calabar. The curriculum was designed for vocational and skills training in courses like Naval Engineering, Carpentry, Dress Making, Accountancy, Typing, Printing, Blacksmithing, Bricklaying, Agriculture and Masonry. According to Taylor, it was the largest vocational institution in West Africa¹¹⁷ and some of their students came from other countries like Cameroon, Ghana, Sierra Leone, Liberia and Ghana.¹¹⁸ Mary Slessor was influential in this school project and at a time when Africa was sometimes called ‘the white man’s grave’, she was bringing new life of knowledge and faith.

116 Mary Mitchell Slessor (1848-1915) was the second of seven children from a poor family in Gilcomston, Aberdeen (Scotland). After some basic education and working in the weaving mill, she was trained by the Presbyterian Mission Society in Edinburgh in 1876 before her appointment as a teacher in the Calabar mission in Nigeria. It was a paid job. Apart from her not being married and frequently seen without shoes like the natives, the local people could see that she was not in the mission for the job, but for life. She had come to become one of them and went the extra mile to serve with education and Christian evangelization. She was popularly called ‘Ma’ and with the appointment the British colonial administrators she was made the vice president of the local court. For thirty years, she was dedicated to her mission in Nigeria. She is recognized on a Scottish bank note and deserves more missionary recognition for the promotion of faith, inculturation and education. She is renowned for the stopping of some local practices like the killing of twins, offering of human sacrifice and the use of poison to extract confessions from suspects in resolving disputes. She spoke the local Efik language in the Calabar area and was actively involved in introducing western education. She died at 66, on January 13, 1915 in Calabar and was given a state funeral by the British authorities there in Duke Town (also known as Akwa Akpa). See J Hardage, *Mary Slessor--everybody's mother: The era and impact of a Victorian missionary*. (Cambridge, U.K: Lutterworth Press.2010). And W H Taylor, *Mission to educate: A history of the educational work of the Scottish Presbyterian mission in East Nigeria, 1846-1960*. (New York: E.J. Brill, 1996).

117 W.H. Taylor, *Mission to educate: A history of the educational work of the Scottish Presbyterian mission in East Nigeria, 1846-1960*. (New York: E.J. Brill, 1966).

118 Maurice Archibong. (2005, February 17). Hope Waddell, a Nigerian metaphor. *The Sun (Nigeria)*. Cited on 2011/09/06.

In general, this Protestant mission had a good collaboration with the local Calabar rulers as their kings were favourable to receiving the Christian faith and education. The local community saw business prospects for their children in the future and were open to trade with the British. One possible reason for the success of the Calabar mission could be due to the influence of the presence of some ex slaves from Jamaica. The collaboration with King Eyo of Creek Town and King Eyamba V of Duke Town to stop the trading in slaves was significant in opening a new social order in the Calabar area. These two kings signed the treaty prohibiting slavery in 1842.¹¹⁹ The British in return offered military protection, and from 1884-1893 Calabar was the capital of the *Oil Rivers Protectorate* (later called *Niger Coast Protectorate from 1893-1900* and *Southern Nigeria Protectorate of the British Empire from 1900-1914*). All of this was a follow up of the 'Berlin Conference' of 1884 when there was the demarcation of African geographical territories by European nations. Ralph Moor who was the head of the British government in the Southern Nigerian Protectorate (as commissioner) from 1900-1904 had to use a lot of military strategy to gain grounds from the coastal territories to the hinterlands. The official slogan of the conquest was to abolish slavery, stop the practice of human sacrifice and expunge all forms of uncivilized practices. But for critics of this period in the historical development of Nigeria's educational growth, there seems to be a lot of trade and land control going on. According to Adiele Afigbo:

Sir Ralph Moor and his men woke up from sleep on the eve of this major change in policy and in method of advance into the interior of the Bight and restored the campaign against the slave trade to the position of priority which the antislavery movement could be said to have occupied in British policy

119 Though slavery was officially banned in the Britain by a decree of 1808 and promulgated in the colonies in as early as 1833, it was in 1842 that the kings in Calabar signed the treaty. They expanded their trade in agricultural products especially palm oil. H. Goldie, *Calabar and its mission*. (Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier 1890). See also H. Goldie, *Memoir of King Eyo VII of Old Calabar: A Christian king of Africa*. (Old Calabar: United Presbyterian Mission Press 1894).

toward west Africa in the period 1807 to 1830. Indeed, from about 1900 onward, every military campaign undertaken in the interior of the Bight for the purpose of bringing the people under undisputed British control was justified on the twin grounds of suppressing the slave trade and all the barbarous customs supposedly linked to it, and creating conditions favorable to British trade, no matter what the precipitating *casus belli* was.¹²⁰

When the United Presbyterian Church got the support of the local king Eyo to set up their mission in the areas near Duke Town and Henshaw Town in 1846, this was seen as a model for other local kings in the Southern Region. But this was not to be as the British would use military force to conquer the *Aro Confederacy* (*in the Anglo –Aro war of 1901-1902*), ending the Igbo political and local military stronghold that dated back to 1690 and taking over their economic control in domestic trade. For the kings who collaborated, they were decorated and recognized by the British empire and given publicity.

In the New York times of November 6, 1878 there is a published article of the coronation of one of the local kings in Calabar supported by the British colonial powers, who found in him a good collaborator. He was recognized by queen Victoria. Since the local chiefs and ruling class of Akwa Akpa accepted British control, it was logistically possible for the missionaries from England to gain access to the inner land and work directly with the local people either for military protection, education or for Christian evangelization. In the meantime, these colonial rulers gained access to the water ways of the Atlantic and negotiating advantages in the trades on agricultural products from the land.

120 Adiele Eberechukwu Afigbo, *The Abolition of the Slave Trade in Southeastern Nigeria, 1885–1950* (University of Rochester Press, 2006), 44.

In the article,¹²¹ it is significant to note here that ‘the whole of’ the English missionaries were reported to have been present and the translation to the king was done by a missionary. This collaboration especially in education grew in the coming years to other parts of the country. The missionaries were not only learning the local languages to facilitate their evangelical work, but also to be able to teach the young people to read and understand the English language which would eventually become the official language for education in Nigeria.

While most of the female missionaries and educators might not be popular in the educational history of Nigeria, Mary Slessor is one of those that cannot be easily forgotten, especially as she is strongly connected to the modern history of the Calabar people. Ancient Calabar history of interaction with the West shows a missionary and political influence of the English-speaking world that has become part of the Christian Religious Education foundations of the country. In the rescuing of twins from being killed, Slessor was assisted also by a local lady called Ma Eme of Ekenge who was a sister to the local chief Edem of Ekenge.¹²²

Another family missionary from Germany and England was David Hinderer (1820-1890) from Württemberg in Germany and his wife Anna Martin (1827-1870) from Hempnall, Norfolk East of England. They were missionaries of the Church Missionary Society (CMS) of the Anglican communion. After his ordination in 1848 David served in the Yoruba land (also called Yoruba

121 New York Times. (1876, November 6). Coronation of An African King. *New York Times* [New York]. Retrieved from <http://query.nytimes.com/mem/archive-free/pdf?res=9901E5D9153EE73BBC4E53DFB7678383669FDE>. For other studies on the Christian religious influence in Calabar and the British diplomacy see Rosalind I. J. Hackett, *Religion in Calabar: The religious life and history of a Nigerian town*, (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter 1989), and Kannan K. Nair. (1977). Politics and society in south eastern Nigeria, 1841–1906: a study of power, diplomacy and commerce in Old Calabar. *Journal of African Studies*, (3), 242-280. See appendix 8 for full article report.

122 Other popular works on Mary Slessor include J. H. Proctor, (2000). ‘Serving God and the Empire: Mary Slessor in South-Eastern Nigeria, 1876-1915’, in *Journal of Religion in Africa*, 30(1), 45-61. And Hugh Goldie, *Calabar and its mission*, (Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1890). Hugh explains that the name ‘Calabar’ was given to the area by the previous Portuguese explorer Diogo Cao, one of the first explorers of West Africa (1452-1486). For further readings on the political situation see G. I. Jones, *The trading states of the oil rivers: A study of political development in Eastern Nigeria*, 2nd ed., (Oxford: James Currey 2001). For more recent insight into the private life of Mary Slessor see Jeanette Hardage *Mary Slessor--everybody's mother: The era and impact of a Victorian missionary*. (Cambridge, U.K: Lutterworth Press 2010).

country) of South Western Nigeria from 1849 in Abeokuta. After his marriage to Anna in 1852 in England they returned to continue their missionary work among the Yoruba people from 1856 at Ibadan. This family is renowned for their attractive Christian Charity and friendliness with the local people and for learning the local language, as David soon became a translator. They immediately started educating the children and made local leaders from among the locals to continue the work of the education and evangelization. From the pastoral work and writings of his wife Anna, historians have seen a prototype of the contribution of the wives of missionaries in the growth of the missions. When Anne arrived at Ibadan in April 1853 she described their arrival in the following words:

[A]s soon as we touched the town there was such a scene, men, women, and children shouting and screaming, "The white man is come!" -- "*Oibo 'de!*" and "The white mother is come!" and then their thousands of salutations, everybody opening eyes and mouth at me. All seemed pleased, but many frightened too when I spoke; they followed us to our own dwelling place with the most curious shouts, noises, and exclamations. All seemed perfectly bewildered; horses, sheep, goats, did not know where or which way to go. Even the pigeons looked ready to exclaim, "What is happening?" The people were good and kind enough to let us enter our house by ourselves, but many, many of them stood round about till sunset, just to catch a glimpse of the wonderful white woman; and every time I appeared, down they went on the ground, rubbing their hands, and saying, Alafia, alafia, peace, peace. We could but let them enjoy the treat, though we were not sorry when daylight fading warned them to depart, for with all our comforts and alleviations we were tired

enough. We soon unpacked things sufficient for present necessity, and a good night rest was very refreshing¹²³.

Anna died back home in Norfolk in 1870. Her husband retired from the missions in 1877 and continued local Yoruba translations until his death in 1890 in Bournemouth.

2.2 New Catholic Missionaries growth in Education and Local vocations (‘save Africa with Africans’)

The ‘modern missionaries’ were not under the patronages of their countries of origin like the previous ‘*padroado* arrangements’ in past centuries with the kings of Spain and Portugal as discussed in the previous chapter. However, it should be noted that the ‘official’ abolishment of the Portuguese *padroado* in some areas did not take effect till around 1975.¹²⁴ Practically the establishment of local churches with local vocations and leadership was the long-term plan of the Catholic church. One can argue that movements of self-governance in Africa after the colonial era was influenced by the methodology of the Christian missionaries. This missiological trend was highlighted by the decisions in Rome and the new sense of support for the African mission by catholic lay associations and families across Europe. According to John Baur:

...significantly, the movement started at the grassroots, with a new popular enthusiasm for the missions: in 1822 Pauline Jaricot founded in Lyons the first

123 R. B. Hone, *Seventeen Years in the Yoruba Country--Memorials of Anna Hinderer* (London: Religious Tract Society, 1872), 55. Cited in http://www.dacb.org/stories/nigeria/hinderer_anna.html some of their first collaborators include Daniel Olubi, J. C. Akielle, Henry and Samuel Johnson. See also J. F. Ajayi, *Christian missions in Nigeria, 1841-1891: The making of a new élite*, 6th ed., (London: Longman 1981). And A. Hinderer, and R. B. Hone, *Seventeen years in the Yoruba country: Memorials of Anna Hinderer, gathered from her journals and letters*. (London: Seeley, Jackson and Halliday 1873). This missionary couple was faced with the danger of the Yoruba Ijaye War (1860-1862) which affected both Abeokuta and Ibadan. Anna was a courageous woman and describes the safety situation in Ibadan in her 1853 diary. See appendix 9..

124 Baur, 104. Baur also mentions that in Africa this Portuguese Patronage was more effective in areas where Portugal had more political control in the past. However, as the African states started getting political independence from their colonizing nations, the *propaganda fide* also started favouring the establishment of more local leadership of the Catholic communities in the various territories on the continent.

and most extensive of some 270 support organizations, which provided finance and ensured daily prayers for the salvation of the pagans. Papal reorganization took place under Gregory XVI (1831-46) and was effected through ‘propaganda’ (the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith), which grew into the most important Roman curial department. The foundation of a missionary society to carry out the light of the Gospel to Africans was spearheaded by Fr Francis Libermann in 1841. There followed, in the second half of the century, the revival and missionary reorientation of a number of old orders: Benedictines, Franciscans, Dominicans, beside Jesuits who had so far almost alone engaged in missionary activity, and the foundation of new societies, chiefly congregations, which dedicated themselves entirely to the work of evangelization.¹²⁵

Catholic missionary groups from France dominated missionary activity in Africa from the 19th century. This was characterized by the foundation of religious orders in France. This influence increased numerically over time and by 1933, France had the highest number of missionary personnel in Africa, reaching up to about thirty percent of the total number of missionaries. The closest to France numerically at that time was Belgium (17%) followed by the Dutch (9%) and Italian (8.9%) missionaries. There are records of more than eleven nations sending active

¹²⁵ Baur, 104. Pope Gregory XVI has been described as been rather ‘conservative’ on the one hand and was generous in supporting the development of the local churches in the mission territories. He was appointed Pope before he was consecrated a bishop (the last of such a case in modern history) and was active in leadership in his religious order (The Camaldolese monks) and theological reflections on mission. His interest in developing the local church may be connected to his role as a former ‘prefect’ of the *propaganda fide* department in Rome. He was also officially against the slave trade in his Apostolic letter *In supremo apostolatus* (1839). With the political aftermath of Napoleon and the regaining of the papal state, Gregory XVI was influenced by a new wave of global power and control. His refusal on two occasions to be made a bishop could be seen as an expression of his focus on human liberation more than political control. See Richard P McBrien, *Lives of the Popes: the pontiffs from St Peter to John Paul II*, (London: HarperCollins, 2000) and Owen Chadwick “Gregory XVI” *A History of the Popes 1830-1914* (Oxford: University Press, 2003). His policy would influence the growth of missionary orders at this historical time including the spread of the schools and hospitals in Africa.

missionaries through different religious orders to Africa from 1933 to 1957 (just as the African nations started getting their independence). The numerical consistency of France and Belgium remained top at 19.6% for both countries by 1957, with a steady growth of local African clergy reaching 16.0% in the same year.¹²⁶

A 1933 statistics (for priests only, without any specific name of Missionary Order) support the idea of the prevalence of the French-speaking missionaries (from different congregations) leading the evangelization and promotion of Western form of education in Africa at that time.

1	French	1054	30%
2	Belgian	620	17.4%
3	Dutch	317	9.0%
4	Italian	314	8.9%
5	German	308	8.7%
6	African	237	6.7%
7	Irish	197	5.5%
8	English	134	3.7%
9	Swiss	101	2.8%
10	Canadian	88	2.5%
11	Spanish	80	2.2%
12	USA	17	0.5%
13	Non-identified nations	76	2.1%
	Total	3,543	100%

Table 3. 1933 Catholic Missionaries in Africa ¹²⁷

126 Joseph McGlade, *The missions: Africa and the Orient*. A History of Irish Catholicism Series Vol. VI (Dublin and Melbourne: Gill and Son 1967), 29.

127 Ibid.

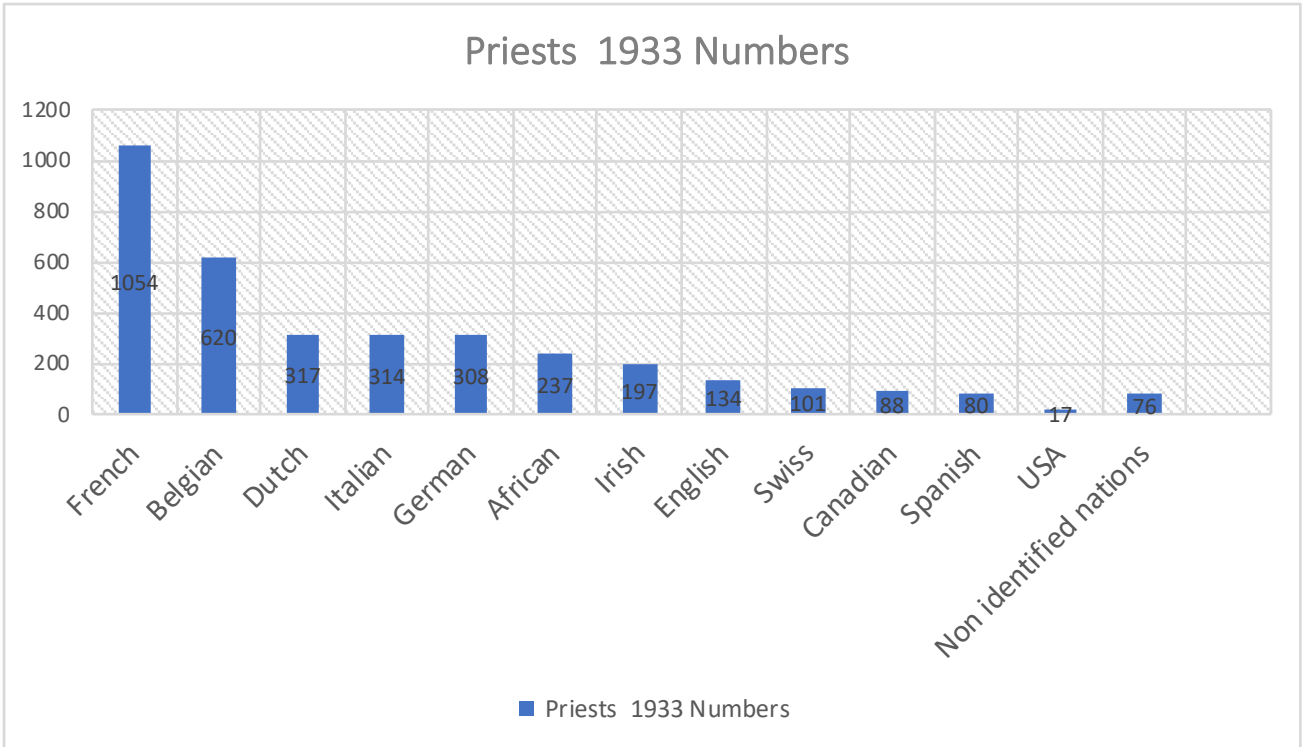


Chart 1 1933 Nationalities of Priests

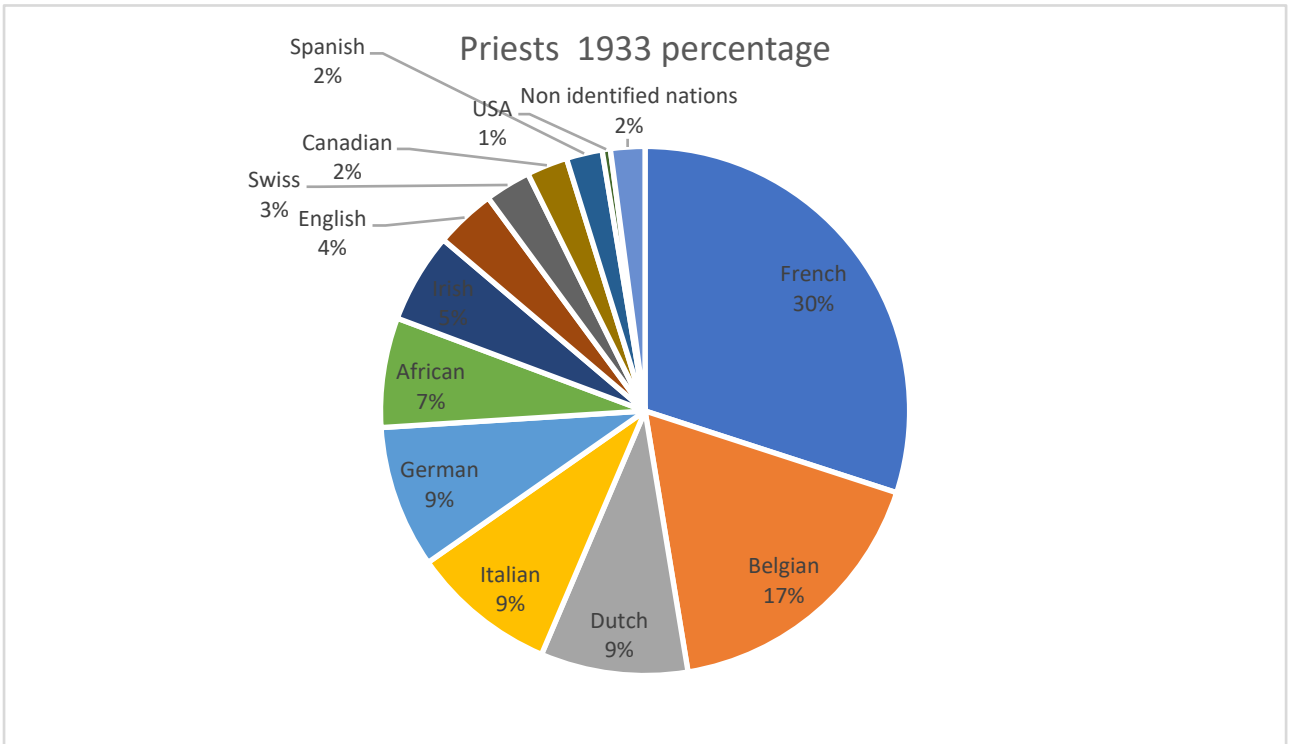


Chart 2. Percentage of Priests

This growth in the missionaries from France is also related to the number of missionary congregations that were being founded at that time in France. Baur explains that there were at

least three missionary congregations that were founded in France at that time that were considered the ‘largest’ missionary groups that evangelised Africa¹²⁸. The congregations from France that had such a great impact in the evangelisation of Africa are the Spiritans,¹²⁹ the SMA¹³⁰ and the ‘White Fathers’. The ‘White Fathers’ so called by their white vestment, are also known as the Missionaries of Our Lady of Africa (M. Afr.). This group was founded by Cardinal Charles Martial Allemand Lavigerie (1825-1892). He founded the *Pères Blancs* (‘White Fathers’- as they were known in France) when he was Archbishop of the Northern African region of Algeria in 1868. Like the other two missionary congregations with foundations in France, the *Pères Blancs* were also popularly known as the *Société des missionnaires d’Afrique*. Even when he later became the Archbishop of Carthage (1884-1892) -now Archdiocese of Tunis and primate of Africa, his focus was not so much on administration, but on evangelization especially of the Moslems. Historically, the region was under the French ‘protectorate’ and though anticlericalism had risen in France, many people supported the work for the African mission because of their focus on the poor and emancipation through education. Through his efforts missionary contacts were made with the African kingdoms in the area of Mali and Senegal that was formally known as the French Sudan¹³¹. He worked hard against

128 Baur, 104.

129 With the Latin acronym C.S.Sp: *Congregatio Sancti Spiritus sub tutela Immaculati Cordis Beatissimae Virginis Mariae* translated as: Congregation of the Holy Ghost under the protection of the Immaculate Heart of Mary; also popularly known as the Holy Ghost Fathers. With foundation history dating back to 1703 by Claude Poullart des Places (1697-1709). The congregation was later ‘renewed by Francis Libermann, a Jewish convert 1804-1852 (also called Jacob), around 1848 after a merger of his own congregation of the Immaculate Heart of Mary, to that of the Spiritans, who had suffered practically a total decline after the French revolution. See Christy Burke, *No Longer Slaves: the mission of Francis Libermann (1802–1852)*, (Dublin: Columba Press 2010). And H. J. Koren, *The Spiritans: A history of the Congregation of the Holy Ghost*. (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University, 1958).

130 *Societas Missionum ad Afros* (Society of African Missions) founded by Bishop Melchior de Marion Brésillac in 1856. As explained in the previous chapter, they were one of the founding modern missionaries to West Africa and contributed to the introduction of education to Nigeria together with the *Spiritans*. See C. A. Ebelebe, *Africa and the new face of mission: A critical assessment of the legacy of the Irish Spiritans among the Igbo of southeastern Nigeria*. (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2009).

131 Sudan means ‘black’ from the Arabic *bilād as-sūdān* (‘the land of the blacks’) that is why Sudan is sometimes used loosely (before the creation of the African nation states) as referring to the black nations in Africa and not limited to the present-day Sudan and the Republic of South Sudan that are two separate countries now.

selling Africans as slaves and supported the poor and the sick¹³². His contribution in creating a Christian-Muslim dialogue can be summarised in the response to the invocation of Our Lady of Africa: ‘pray for us and for the Muslims’.¹³³

Just as the French founded missionary congregations were launching their campaign to educate and evangelise Africa, the Italian missionaries were also doing the same. Prominent among them at this turn of the century was Daniel Comboni (1831-1881) who, with his missionaries, began his work in (Khartoum) Sudan. The congregation is called *Missionarii Comboniani Cordis Jesu* (Comboni Missionaries of the Heart of Jesus -MCCJ).¹³⁴ Saint Comboni is outstanding for his mission philosophy of ‘save Africa with Africans’; proposing the evangelisation of Africa with the training and education of Africans themselves. Even with the difficulties of health and menace of slavery, he was resolute in his ‘Africa or death’ determination. This showed his sense of calling and commitment to the continent. When he was made the bishop of central Africa in 1877, he solicited for support especially from Europe, for the development of the African people. By his founding of the missionary congregation of Religious men (1867) and women (1872), he was eventually able to have a lasting effect of keeping the dream of the mission alive after he died at the age of 50 in 1881 in Khartoum.¹³⁵ He participated in the First Vatican council (1869-1870)¹³⁶ with the bishop of Verona. Though

132 F. Renault, (1994). *Cardinal Lavignerie: Churchman, prophet, and missionary*. (London: Athlone Press 1994).

133 In her honour, a basilica was built in 1872 in the Archdiocese of Alger.

134 The congregation was previously known as *Filii Sacri Cordis Jesu* (*Sons of the Sacred Heart*)-FSCJ and popularly known by their place of origin in Italy as the ‘Verona fathers’.

135 A. G. Mondini, *Africa or death: A biography of Bishop Daniel Comboni, founder of the Missionary Societies of the Verona Fathers (Sons S.H.) and the Verona Sisters*. (Boston: St. Paul Editions 1964).

136 The first Vatican Council (20th in the number of the official Catholic councils) is mainly remembered for the definition of ‘Papal infallibility’ and with the dogmatic constitution *Dei Filius* containing the teaching of the Church on Creation, Faith and Reason, Divine Revelation and Sacred Scripture. These issues will continue to be prominent in the Second Vatican Council and magisterium of the church up to the present time. This is partly because they were discussed against the background of ‘materialism’ and ‘enlightenment- rationalism and liberalism’. And anthropological condition that defines the modern person. See Cardinal Henry Edward Manning, *The Vatican council and its definitions: A pastoral letter to the clergy*. (New York: D. and J. Sadlier, 1871).and James T. O'Connor, *The Gift of Infallibility: The Official Relatio on Infallibility of Bishop Vincent Ferrer Gasser at Vatican Council I*. (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2008).

personal proposal for the plight of the African people was not discussed at the council¹³⁷. Comboni was still able to get about 70 bishops to sign his proposal for the African Church.¹³⁸

Other religious congregations that have been present in Africa and particularly Nigeria since the time of the modern mission era include the Dominicans, the Benedictines, the Vincentians, the Salesians, the Redemptorists, the Pallottines, the De La Salle brothers among others. These missionaries were primarily concerned about the education of the local people and the setting up of the local church. Without their intervention, courage and sacrifices, any conversation about the prospects of education in Nigeria today would be a completely different story. There were some missionary congregations that arrived much later after formal Western Education was already in place in the country and these congregations are playing very significant roles in the shaping of the teaching of Christian Religious Education in secondary schools in Nigeria today. There are others who had previously been in other parts of the continent and later came to Nigeria to continue the missionary work of education and pastoral care like the Vincentians who had early contacts with Africa in Algiers, Tunis and the Island of Madagascar dating back to 1638-1646. But the present development of the congregation in Nigeria began in 1960 with

137 One of the reasons why Comboni not able to present his proposal at the sittings in the first Vatican council was due to the abrupt adjournment of the council, after the defeat of Louis Napoléon Bonaparte (Napoleon III) which led to a political crisis for the church at that time.

138 Saint Daniel Comboni's proposal is known as the *Postulatum pro Nigris Afiriae Centralis* (for the evangelization of the central African black people). Active also during this time were the Contolengo sisters and Fathers in Kenya. (See Gianni Maritati, *The ark of charity: The life of Saint Giuseppe Benedetto Cottolengo*. (Hyde Park, NY: New City Press, 2001). Cottolengo placed emphasis on the care for the sick and handicapped. And Giovanni Tebaldi, *Consolata Missionaries in the world, 1901-2001*. (Nairobi, Kenya: Paulines Publications Africa, 2001). There were also the Jesuits in Africa since 1541 in Mozambique (see *Giuseppe De Rosa, Gesuiti (Turin. Elledici, 2006)*. And Bertrand M. Roehner, (1997). 'Jesuits and the State: A Comparative Study of their Expulsions (1590–1990)'. In *Religion*, 27(2), 165-182. doi:10.1006/reli.1996.0048 especially with the Monomotapa people; a Shona Kingdom that extended to present day South Africa, Lesotho, Namibia, Zimbabwe, Swaziland and environs around 1430-1760. They had dealings with the Portuguese. They had a strong religious tradition with their local 'priests' and diviners known as 'mhondoros'. See Bhila, H. H. (1982). *Trade and politics in a Shona kingdom: The Manyika and their African and Portuguese neighbours, 1575-1902*. (Harlow, Essex: Longman, 1982). The Jesuits like Pedro Páez also worked in Ethiopia till 1622. (See Festo Mkenda. (2005). Jesuit Superiors of Africa and Madagascar (JESAM). Retrieved from www.jesam.info/thejesuitshistoryinafrica 'Our History in Africa' retrieved on April 14 2016. About eight Jesuits were killed by the Ethiopian Emperor Fasilidas (died 1667). The Franciscans also have early records dating back to 1220 in Africa. See Report from the East African Franciscan (OFM) review cited from <http://www.ofm-eastafrika.org/index.php/historymenu323/the-africa-project>, on April 15, 2016.

the Irish Vincentian Missionaries.¹³⁹ The same could be said for the Dominicans who began their presence in Nigeria in 1951 and have developed strong pastoral and educational foundations and institutions.¹⁴⁰ One of the early fruits of Catholicism in Africa was Saint Augustine Bishop of Hippo Algeria, (born in Tagaste Algeria, a border town between Algeria and Tunisia 345-430)¹⁴¹. His seventy-five years was a life of different epochs. In Africa today, the legacy of Saint Augustine does not only include his rich theological and philosophical insights, which are shared by the global academia, but also by one of the different religious orders within the Catholic tradition that evangelised Nigeria. These missionaries known as the Order of Saint Augustine (O.S.A) were already present in West Africa at the Gold Coast (Ghana Elmina Castle) in 1572 and in the East African coast of Mombasa (Kenya) in 1597 and during that period, were also in Warri (Nigeria). Like the other old missionaries, they would later come back more permanently and promote indigenous vocations with the starting of the educational approach in missionary work by the Irish Augustinians in Nigeria around 1938. When the Irish Augustinians came to Nigeria, they started from the Northern part of the country that includes Adamawa and the prefecture of Jos. At a time of British occupation of Nigeria, the Irish (English speaking) Catholic missionaries of different orders could be validly described as the primary evangelisers, especially through education of the people of Nigeria.¹⁴²

139 Richard Ikechukwu Diala, (1995) "Vincentian Presence in Nigeria (1960-1994)," *Vincentiana*: Vol. 39: No. 1, Article 10. Cited from at: <http://via.library.depaul.edu/vincentiana/vol39/iss1/1>. The Vincentians (also known as Lazarites) are officially called the 'Congregation of the Mission' (*Congregatio Missionis*) C.M. Founded by Saint Vincent de Paul (1581-1660). He had a personal experience of being sold into slavery and by 1617 he founded the *Demes de la Charité* in his parish in Paris to help the poor especially the materially deprived, prisoners and the sick. From around 1624 the Vincentian congregation started. He formed the Daughters of Charity of Saint Vincent de Paul together with Saint Louise de Marillac (1591-1660). See also Frances Ryan., and John E. Rybolt. (Eds), *Vincent de Paul and Louise de Marillac: Rules, conferences, and writings*. (New York: Paulist Press, 1995).

140 See <http://www.dominicans.org.ng/briefhistory.php> the Dominicans arrived on 27 February 1951. For other historical work on the Dominicans in Africa see Philippe Denis, *Dominicans in Africa: A history of the Dominican friars in sub-Sahara Africa*. (Pietermaritzburg, South Africa: Cluster Publications, 2003).

141 Alexander Wilhelmus Henricus Evers, *Church, cities, and people: A study of the plebs in the church and cities of Roman Africa in late antiquity*, (Leuven: Peeters, 2010).

142 Province of Saint Augustine of Nigeria. (2012). *The History of the Augustinians in Nigeria (1916-2012)*. Retrieved from http://osaprovnig.org/?page_id=49 April 23, 2016.

The Salesians of Don Bosco founded by Saint John Bosco (1815-1888) also fall into the categories of missionary congregations that are investing primarily in Christian education in Nigeria. Their presence in Africa dates back to 1891 when the Salesians arrived in Algeria and followed by the Salesian Sisters in Mers-el-Kebir (in Oran, Algeria) in 1893 with immediate attention to education.¹⁴³ The history of the Salesian congregation is particularly unique as she launched an extensive project which is perhaps more than any other missionary congregation specifically for education of the young people in Africa using the pedagogical method of Saint John Bosco, known as the *Preventive System*.¹⁴⁴ From 1905, the Salesians began their institutions in South Africa and Mozambique, and expanded to Congo in 1911. From the 1970s the congregation made a massive expansion in global focus on Africa called the *project Africa* which brought generous Salesian missionaries from all continents coming to open Schools for training young boys and girls. This response has seen to the present widespread of the Salesian male and female missionaries in about 43 African countries out of the total 54 countries on the continent with a focus on education¹⁴⁵. Though present on the continent for more than one hundred years, the arrival of the Salesians in Nigeria was in 1982 with emphasis on technical

143 Institute of the Daughters of Mary Help of Christians, (2016). The African provinces. Retrieved from <http://www.cgfmanet.org/2.aspx?Lingua=2&sez=2&sotsez=3&detSotSez=1> 26, April 2016. Citing *journey of the Institute within a century Vol 2*.

144 The ‘preventive system’ of education as taught by Saint John Bosco is a system of education where the school and learning environment is run like a family. There is no use of corporal punishment which he describes as an ‘oppressive system’. However, it is a particularly ingenious system of Christian education as it has three elements of reason, loving-kindness and Christian religion which are essential parts of the school and learning system. The learning environment incorporates intellectual and spiritual formation of the child. Therefore, it makes no sense to have a Catholic educational institution where Christian religious education is not taught or practiced. For a recent contextual application of the Preventive System see: D. S. Sequeira, *A re-reading of the Salesian Preventive System from the perspective of moral development in the light of recent findings in character education: A research to facilitate criteria for the moral development of students in the formal Salesian academic institutions in Karnataka (India)*. (Rome: Salesian Pontifical University 2013).

145 Salesian priests and brothers in Africa as of 2013 are in 38 countries divided into 12 juridical leaderships across the continent; while the Salesian sisters are in 24 countries on the continent (grouped into their own 9 juridical ‘provinces’) it is significant note that the Salesian presence in Egypt and previous presence in Tunisia are not administratively grouped with the rest of the African region, but with the Middle-eastern Salesian region now presently made up of Israel, Lebanon, Syria, Iran, turkey and Egypt –six nations with an administrative centre in Jerusalem. On a Salesian regional arrangement, these six Mediterranean countries are clustered together with the Salesian missions in Italy, Spain and Portugal. This clarifies the difference between the numerical number of ‘Salesian countries’ within the African Continent geographically from the group of countries in Africa that make up the ‘salesian African region’. For a summary of the history of the Salesians in 1905 and 1911. See <http://www.salesians.org/pdf/11/may/RM%20Reflects%20on%20Africa.pdf>

Secondary School education. As we look at the missionaries of the modern era in the evangelization of Nigeria and helping to shape the future of Western Education in general and Christian Religious Education in particular, one has to include the contribution of the Monks (see appendix 10 for the Alliance for International Monasticism A. I. M. in Nigeria).

In this analysis of the modern missionaries that came to Africa around the time of the colonial occupation and their historical settings, there were also female members and consecrated non-ordained ('religious bothers') missionaries who were all working together. Sometimes they were in the same compound or region and working in a way that complimented each other, and in some other settings, they would be in separate geographical places. For example, the Comboni Sisters, the 'White' Sisters (of the 'White' Fathers), the Benedictine Sisters, the Salesian Sisters, the Consolata Sisters and the Mill Hill Sisters are some of the congregations that have both male and female religious members and volunteers working together in the African mission. Again, France had one of the highest female missionary groups at that time as there were new Sisters' congregations in France in the 19th century (about 70) including the Sisters of St Joseph of Cluny who came to West Africa (Senegal) in 1819. Most of these Sisters concentrated on Education and Health.¹⁴⁶

Fr Theophiel Verbist (1823-1868) from Belgium founded the missionary group of the *Scheutists*.¹⁴⁷ After some missionary experience in China, they arrived Africa around 1888 working with the 'White Fathers' in the Congo. In the '*History of Africa Journal*' by the Cambridge University Press, a 1977 article by Albert Raskin contains historical information about the early C.I.C.M. works in Africa.¹⁴⁸ Other Catholic Missionary groups include the Benedictines (OSB) of St Ottilien from Germany who opened a mission in Congo in 1887, as

146 Cf. Baur, 105.

147 In Scheut, Anderlecht near Brussels, with the official name of *Congregatio immaculate Cordis mariae*, C.I.C.M. also called Scheut Missionaries or Missionhurst.

148 Albert Raskin (1977). The Archives of the Congregation of the Immaculate Heart of Mary (C.I.C.M.) *History in Africa*, 4, 299-303. doi:10.2307/3171592.

well as the S.V.D. (Divine Word Missionaries-*Societas Verbi Divini*) founded in Steyl in the Netherlands in 1875 by Fr. Arnold Janssen. They began their work in Africa in 1892 in Togo. This was followed by the Mill Hill Missionaries from England in 1894.

Years later (1939) the St Patrick's Society (*Societas Sancti Patritii pro Missionibus ad Exteros* –S.P.S. also known as the Kiltegan Fathers) from Ireland joined the group of missionaries on the continent and began their work in Nigeria. Before the erection of the local dioceses, some of these congregations or Orders were put in charge of a *Prefecture Apostolic* (an ecclesiastical geographical territory without a bishop), a *Vicariate Apostolic* (with a bishop) and with some entire dioceses entrusted to them. This new missionary zeal of the French, Italians, Belgians and Irish Catholic Missionaries shaped the new face of the Church of Africa today.

With the missionary focus on education, there was more opportunities for the acceptance of local vocations and leaders both in the Church and in society. By 1951, the growth of the local African Priests had gone up from 237 (in 1933) to 1257. This growth of 430.37% in 18 years represents a numerical increase of 1,020 new priests in the same period. The process of indigenization of theology, pedagogy and much later, pastoral leadership seems to be a deliberate one from the catholic educational method that was being used. During this same period, there was an increase of the Irish missionaries into English speaking West Africa (especially Nigeria), as the country became a British colony (mentioned in the previous chapter) and the French Missionary congregations started sending more English-speaking Catholic Priests to the country especially from Ireland where some of them had also laid foundations like the SMA and the 'Spiritans' (also called 'Holy Ghost Fathers'). They increased from 197 to 807 representing a growth of 309.6% with a numerical increase of 610 new priests on the continent from Ireland in 18 years (or an average of 33 priests every year). This finding is

remarkable as it shows a root source to the growth of the schools and teaching of Christian Religious Education, which the Irish missionaries are renowned for in Nigeria (followed by health care).¹⁴⁹

1	French	1800	21.5%
2	Belgian	1583	19.7%
3	African	1257	15.0%
4	Dutch	916	10.8%
5	Irish	807	9.5%
6	Italian	482	5.6%
7	English	327	3.8%
8	German	311	3.6%
9	Canadian	282	3.3%
10	Swiss	236	2.7%
11	USA	134	1.5%
12	Spanish	129	1.5%
13	Non-identified nations	132	1.5%
	Total	8,396	100%

Table 4 1951 (a) general missionary statistics for Priests only ¹⁵⁰

149 The earlier works on health care started by the French Nuns will be continued and expanded by the Medical Missionaries of Mary. See Mary Purcell, *To Africa with love: The life of Mother Mary Martin, foundress of the Medical Missionaries of Mary* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1987).

150 Cf. Joseph McGlade, *The missions: Africa and the Orient*. A History of Irish Catholicism Series Vol. VI (Dublin and Melbourne: Gill and Son 1967), 29.

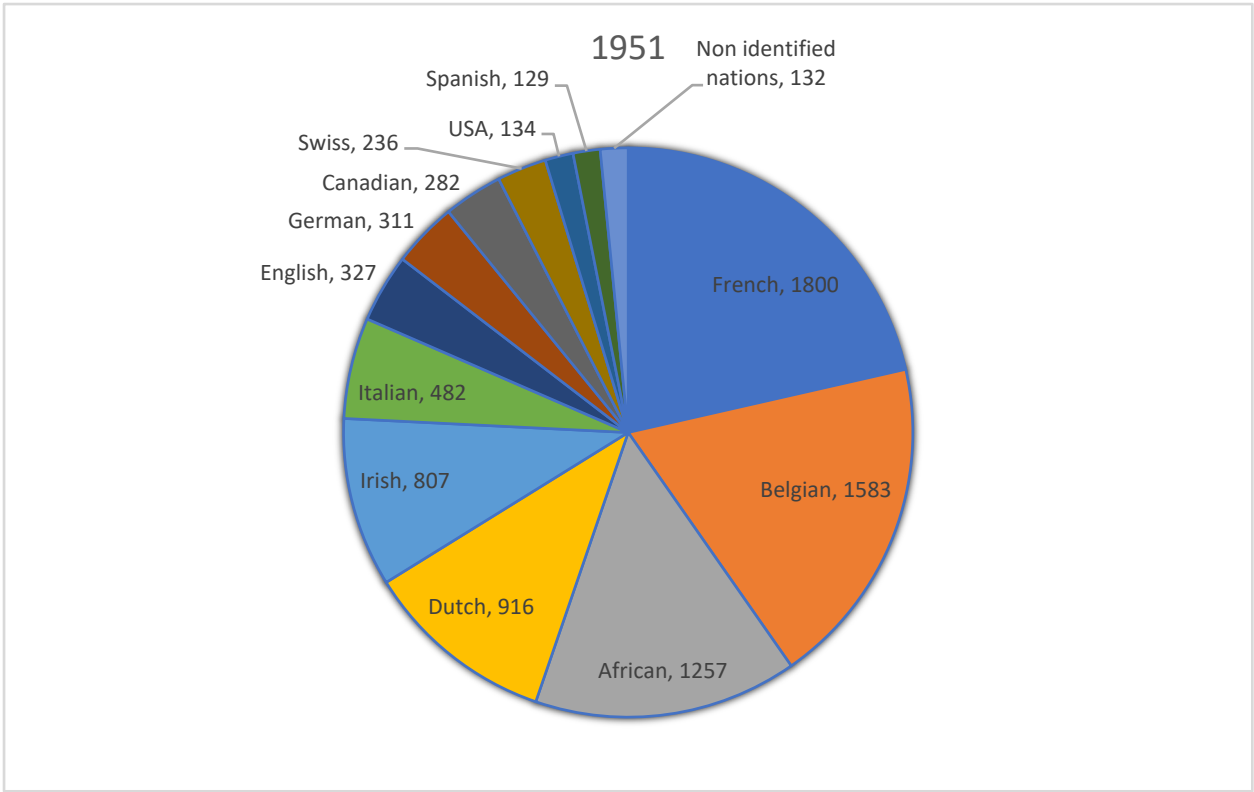


Chart 3. 1951 Number of Priests

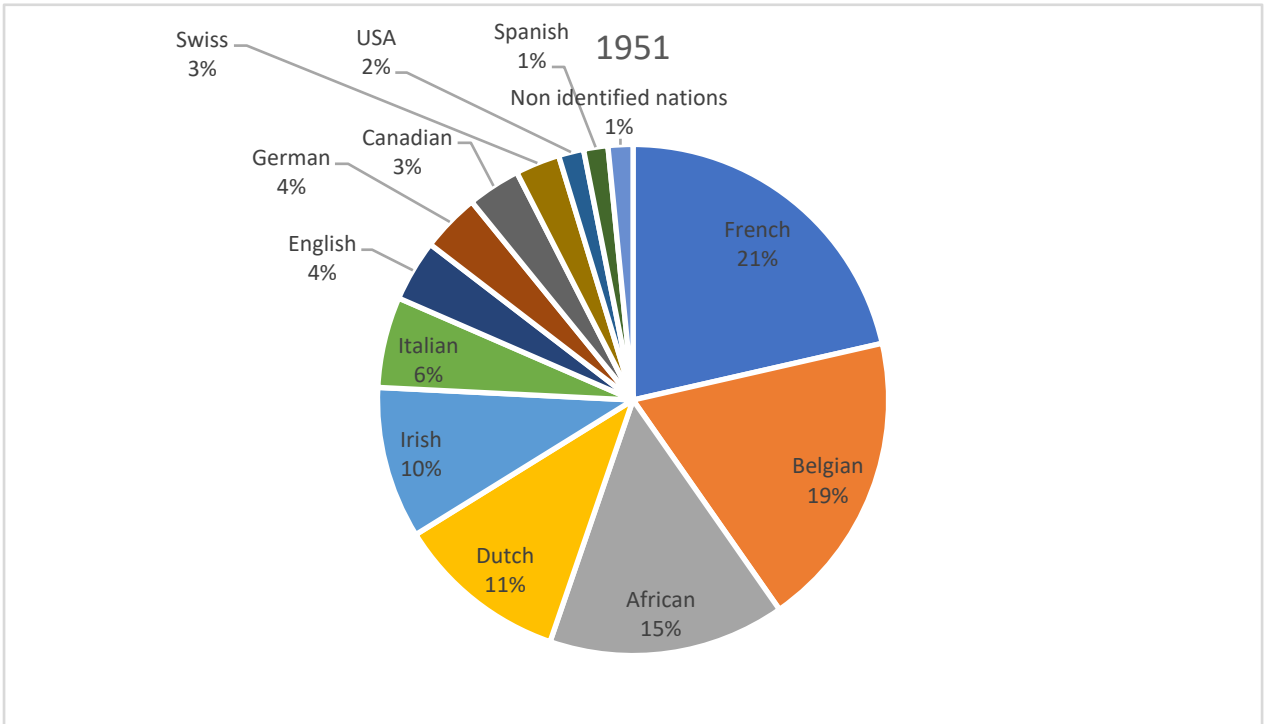


Chart 4. 1951 percentage of Priests

The growth of the female religious missionaries is even more phenomenal as their numbers (15,120) almost doubled the number of priests (8,396) in 1951. This data is significant for understanding how the missionaries were able to get teachers and health workers to run their institutions. It is also important to note that the largest number of members of religious congregations at this stage were local vocations. They were not vocations coming directly from Europe, but foundations made by European missionaries who started local congregations and missionary sisters who accepted local girls and young unmarried women to join their congregations. Most of these Sisters were involved in the setting up of schools and training of young girls in trade and home economics as well as helping mothers and patients in hospitals.

1	African	4437	29.0%
2	German	2570	17.0%
3	French	1901	12.6%
4	Belgian	1896	12.6%
5	Irish	1589	10.6%
6	Italian	924	6.2%
7	Spanish	368	2.5%
8	Dutch	348	2.3%
9	Non-identified nations	1087	7.2%
	Total	15,120	100%

*Table 5. 1951 (b) general missionary statistics for Female Consecrated Women only*¹⁵¹

151 Cf. Ibid. For a recent update on the works of the Monks, See Peter Eghwudjakpor, (2015) The Alliance for International Monasticism. Retrieved from <http://www.aimintl.org/index.php/en/2015-05-29-13-29-49/bulletin-100/association-benedictine-et-cistercienne-du-nigeria>, cited 15 March 2016 Benedictine and Cistercian Association of Nigeria (BECAN): Forum for Dialogue between Western Monasticism and Nigerian Traditional Culture. See also Richard Elphick, and T. R. Davenport, (1997). *Christianity in South Africa: A political, social, and cultural history*. (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1997), 199.

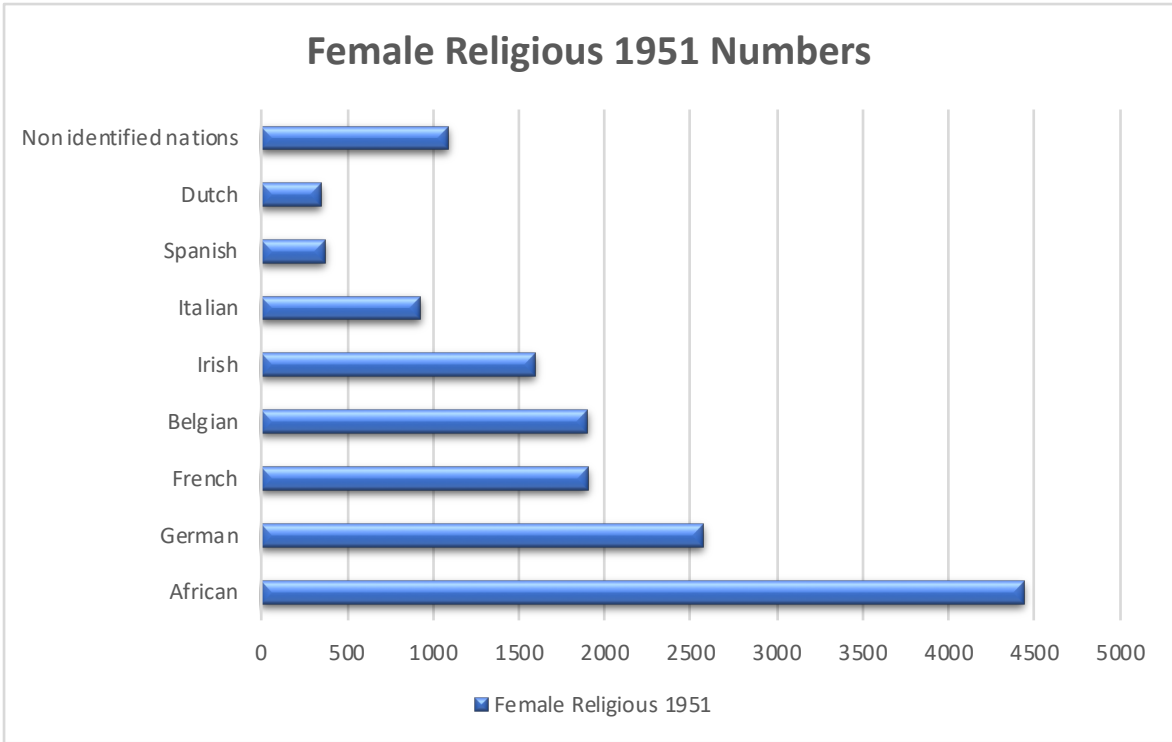


Chart 5. Nationalities of Female Religious 1951

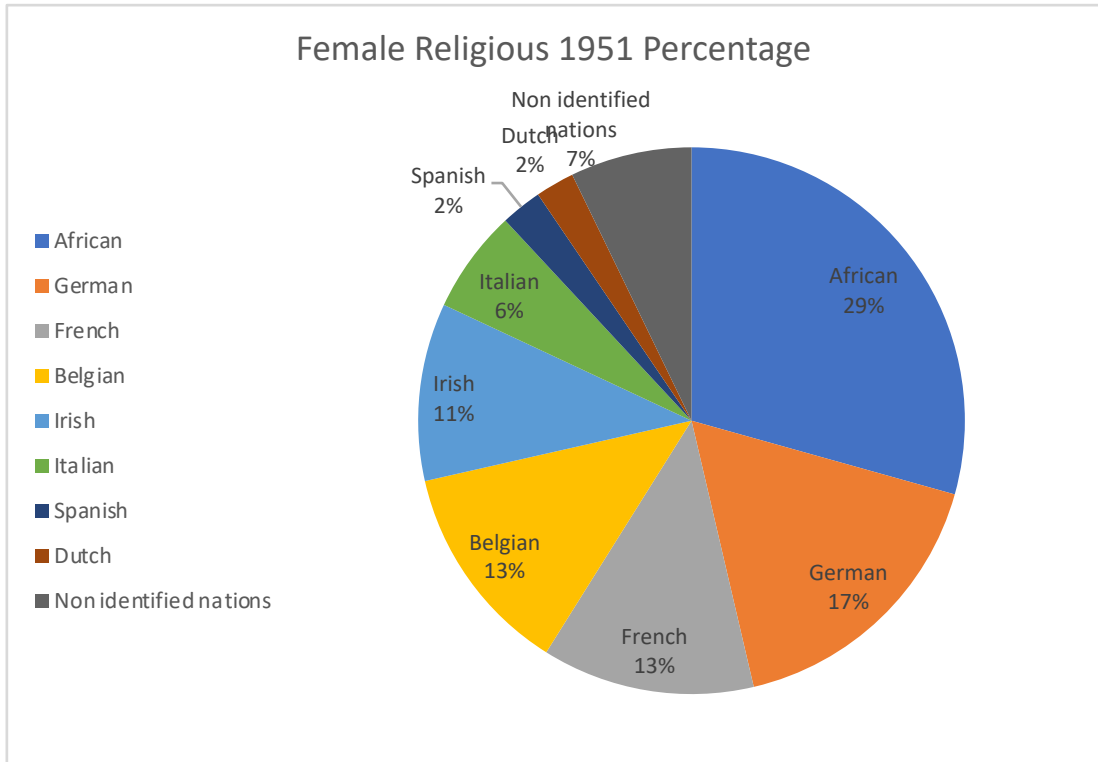


Chart 6. Percentages of Female Religious 1951

1	African	849	27.0%
2	Belgium	563	17.0%
3	German	358	11.5%
4	Dutch	253	8.1%
5	French	248	8.0%
6	Italian	213	6.9%
7	Canadian	154	5.0%
8	Irish	128	4.1%
9	Swiss	111	3.6%
10	Spanish	95	3.1%
11	English	68	2.2%
12	Non-identified nations	105	3.5%
	Total	3145	100%

Table 6. 1951 (c) general missionary statistics for Male Consecrated ('Brothers') only. ¹⁵²

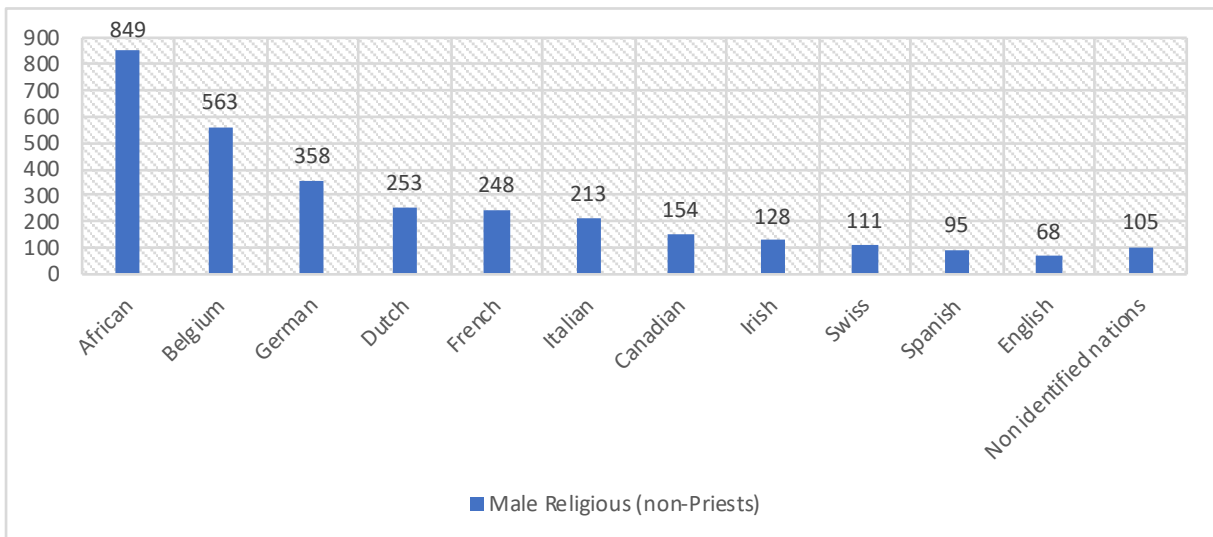


Chart 7. Nationalities of Male Religious

¹⁵² Cf. Ibid.

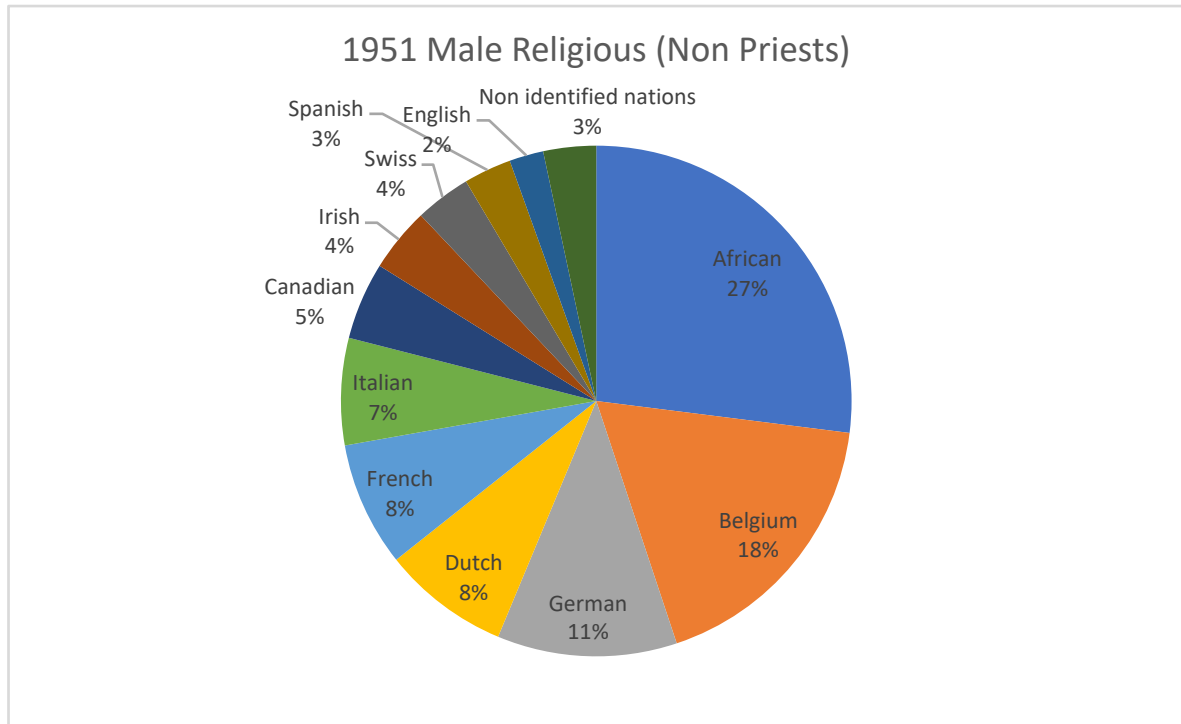


Chart 8. Percentage of Male Religious

Around Africa different Catholic missionary groups were moving more into the local communities and making contacts with the local people. The focus for these missionaries was to stay with the people and help build their societies and evangelize them with a hope of spreading the message of the Gospel. Saint Daniel Comboni (1831-1881) would popularise a slogan with his missionary order of the Comboni Missionaries (MCCJ- *Missionarii Comboniani Cordis Jesu*). This slogan: ‘save Africa with Africa’ (also translated as ‘save Africa through Africa’)¹⁵³ is a philosophical and pastoral agenda that resulted in the construction of schools, building of churches, hospitals and training of local clergy and leaders from among the African people. This was at a time when the saint was also reported to have said ‘either Africa

¹⁵³ ‘*Salvare l’Africa con l’Africa*’ was the motto of Saint Daniel Comboni, from a vision he received while praying at the tomb of Saint Peter in Rome in 1864. See Fidel Gonzalez Fernandez, *Daniele Comboni e la rigenerazione dell’Africa. Piano, postulatum, regole*. (Vatican: Urbaniana University Press, 2003). And Fidel Gonzalez Fernandez and Universidad Pontificia (Salamanca). *La idea misionera de Daniel Comboni, primer vicario apostolico del Africa Central, en el contexto socio-elesial del siglo XIX*. (Madrid: Editorial Mundo Negro 1985).

or death' as an expression of his determination to respond to the *call* to evangelise in Africa. This kind of expression will be common in the hearts of many of the missionaries at that time. In the nineteenth century, this development in Africa was happening at the same time as the colonial powers were also taking over territories and expanding their kingdoms. This brought about a certain level of connection, as missionaries from countries that were colonising a particular African territory would find it easy to get support from their home countries capitalising on similar legislations and policies from their home governments. The linguistic similarity between the colonial countries and the local African tribes they were colonising made it easy for them to get education materials and books that the missionaries involved in education could use for their mission schools. French missionaries got books from France and English-speaking missionaries got books from England.

2.3 Influence of Colonial Rule and British occupation of Nigeria (1855-1960)

Historically, the River Niger¹⁵⁴ and water-ways played a significant role in the colonial exploration and search for economic prospects in Nigeria. In 1790, The Irish explorer Daniel Houghton (1740-1791) was first commissioned by the African Association¹⁵⁵ in London to explore the hinterland of Africa. Part of his dream was to trace the Gambia and Niger Rivers, and discover the much talked about city of trade in gold, salt and ivory in Timbuktu.¹⁵⁶ The Niger River was the route to get there as the city is located just 20km from the river. However,

154 The River Niger is the third longest River (4,180 km) in Africa after the Nile (6,695 km, which is also the world's longest) and the Congo River (4,700km). For a study on the longest rivers in the world including the Nile and Congo see Laurie Burnham, *Rivers*. (New York: Chelsea House 2007).

155 The African Association invested in the exploration of West Africa inner-land with particular interest in Timbuktu, the 'lost city of Gold' and the Niger River. It was founded in London in 1788 under the leadership of Joseph Banks (1743-1820) and the British elite at a time of 'European enlightenment' and discovery. See Frank T. Kryza, *The Race for Timbuktu: In Search of Africa's City of Gold*, (1st Ed) (New York: HarperCollins, 2006 11).

156 Timbuktu's grandeur is contained in the writing of al-Hasan ibn Mohammad al Wazzan, who after his baptism and Christian conversion became popularly known as Joannes Leo Africanus -1494-1554 by his book *Descriptione dell'Africa* (description of Africa in 1550) see John O. Hunwick, *Timbuktu and the Songhay empire: Al-Sa'di's Ta'rikkh al-sūdān down to 1613 and other contemporary documents*. (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 272-291.

Houghton went missing in action, as his last communication was on September 1791. Speculation suggests different causes of death, probably by hostilities on his way to Timbuktu. Later a Scottish man, Mungo Park (1771-1806) was also sponsored by the African Association in London to continue the exploration of the Niger. He began his journey in 1795 and his second journey in 1805. He died at the age of 35 in Bussa (Nigeria) after traveling about 2,400 km during one of his exploration trips which he had started from Gambia. A collection of the writings of Mungo Park and his African assistant simply known as 'Isaaco' gives details of his explorations¹⁵⁷ Another unsuccessful attempt to trace the source of the Niger River from a North African route in 1822 was by another Scottish man called Alexander G Laing (1793-1826) who eventually made it to Timbuktu (Mali) in August 18, 1826 before he was killed. Alexander took a route from Libya going through the Sahara.¹⁵⁸ The exploration of the Nile continued with Richard Lander and his younger brother John Lander (known as the 'Lander Brothers') around 1830. They began with a different route from Badagry in Lagos and went up to the place in Bussa where Mungo Park had died in 1806.¹⁵⁹ At the same time the Germans who were also interested in the region were also exploring the River Benue. Heinrich Barth (1821-1865)¹⁶⁰

157 Mungo Park, and Isaaco. *Travels in the interior districts of Africa: Performed in the years 1795, 1796, and 1797. (2 vols) With an account of a subsequent mission to that country in 1805.* (London: Printed for John Murray, by William Bulmer and Co. 1816). Mungo Park, a trained surgeon, took a lot of interest in this exploration.

158 A report of his journeys is published in Alexander G Laing, *Travels in the Timannee, Kooranko, and Soolima countries, in Western Africa.* (Hildesheim: G. Olms. 2000). Previously published in 1825.

159 Richard Lander had previously worked with Hugh Clapperton who explored part of Northern Nigeria and died in Sokoto area in 1827. The Lander brothers also explored the River Benue and the Niger Delta. (John Lander (1806-1839) who was younger returned to Britain after the second exploration where he died in 1839 and Richard Lemon Lander came back to Nigeria in 1832 (1801-1835) and died in Nigeria. See Hugh Clapperton, R. Lander, and A. V. Salamé, *Journal of a second expedition into the interior of Africa: From the Bight of Benin to Soccatoo: to which is added the Journal of Richard Lander from Kano to the sea-coast, partly by a more eastern route.* (London: Frank Cass.1966) available at <https://archive.org/stream/journalofseconde00inclairp#page/n7/mode/2up> The report was made around 1829.

160 Heinrich Barth, *Travels and discoveries in North and Central Africa: Being a journal of an expedition undertaken under the auspices of H.B.M.'s Government in the years 1849-1855,* (London: F. Cass, 1965). This collection in 5 volumes includes information Barth got from oral tradition and friendship with local traditional rulers. He is also renowned for his ability to speak some of the different local languages including Arabic and Hausa. He traveled Around Africa expensively between 1850 and 1855. He died at 44 in Berlin. For his works on Nigeria See Heinrich Barth, and In A. H. Kirk-Greene, *Travels in Nigeria: Extracts from the journal of Heinrich Barth's travels in Nigeria, 1850-1855,* (London: Oxford University Press. 1962).

and Eduard R. Flegel¹⁶¹ had different expeditions in mapping out the areas and making contacts with the local leaders for trade and control. These two rivers are important as they form a confluence around Lokoja town area that the British would initially use as their command headquarters for the Northern Protectorate and stop all German influence on trade through the Royal Niger Company.



Map 11. The river Niger in Blue from Guinea to the Niger Delta in Nigeria ¹⁶²

The writings and historical writings of these explorers are useful in having a geographical and historical background to the colonial precedents of Nigeria today. These were the information and data that missionary expansion and projects were based upon in addition to the testimonies and records of the Christian missionaries themselves.

161 Eduard Robert Flegel, (1855-1886) on the other hand was born in Lithuania and was supported by the German African Society to explore the River Benue around 1880. He was not able to secure German control in the region because of the interest of the Royal African Company of the British which made that impossible as the ‘scramble for Africa’ was already been tactically fought for at this time.

162 Map by Hel-hama from https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Map_of_River_Niger.svg 9, August 2013.

The Colonial rule can be traced back to situations in 1829, when John Beecroft (1790-1854) was stationed on the Island of Fernando Po (of the Gulf of Guinea) which the British was using as a base to stop the selling of slaves. The area was under the control of the Spanish government who appointed John Beecroft as governor of the Island in 1843. With his experience of about twenty years in dealings with natives, he was given additional jurisdiction over the Bights of Benin and Biafra in 1849 as the British Consul. During this time, there were local political tensions over the traditional leadership in Lagos. Beecroft would intervene using his position and role in the anti-slavery campaign. The British intervened in the hierarchical dispute between two rivals (from the same extended family) to the throne in Lagos by supporting the dethroned (Oba) king Akintoye.

Oba Akintoye was king of Lagos from 1841-1845. He was dethroned by his nephew Akosoko who became ruler from 1845-1851. The British supported Oba Akintoye who was opposed to the slave trade and immediately aroused British interest. With the justification of abolishing slavery, the British helped to get Akintoye reinstated from 1851-1853. The slave dealings of Akosoko who had dethroned Oba Akintoye were suppressed.¹⁶³ On the first of January 1852, Oba Akintoye made this treaty with the British government that was represented by John Beecroft and Henry William Bruce, who was the commander of the British Navy in West Africa¹⁶⁴. Lagos established a treaty with the British Empire primarily of military protection.

163 The strategy of abolishing slave trade created two political interests. On the one hand, it gave the king of Lagos (Oba Akintoye) a negotiating advantage to get British support to regain his throne. On the other hand, it softened the political justification for the British to fortify their military control over the territory and support the local king, while in effect making him sign a political subjugation to British rule and control. This will later be known as 'indirect rule', whereby a local leader is on the throne, but ruled over by the colonial government. Oba Akintoye was also facing pressure from other slave dealers and rich merchants like the famous Madame Tinubu who had a lot of influence. For more reading on Madame Tinubu see: *Oladipo Yemitan, Madame Tinubu: Merchant and King-maker. (Ibadan: University Press, 1987). See also L. B. Adams, and Tinubu Foundation, The history, people and culture of Ita-Tinubu community. (Lagos, Nigeria: Tinubu Foundation, 2002).*

164 William M.N. Geary, *Nigeria Under British Rule (1927): Lagos from 1851-1861.* (Hoboken: Taylor and Francis 2013).

The formal document reads in article VIII, that this agreement safeguarded the promotion of the Christiana faith and Western Education. ‘Encouragement shall be given to such Missionaries or Ministers in the pursuits of industry, in building houses for their residence, and schools and chapels’. Though the colonial government would not provide sufficient financial aid for mission schools (as we shall see in a chapter ahead of this thesis), this contract, clearly showed the interest of the British government to allow freedom of religion and education.¹⁶⁵

However, the pressure from the French (externally) and the ousted king Kosoko (internally) continued to create significant indecisiveness about the future of Lagos. This agreement was in 1852 before the Berlin conference of 1884-1885 and there were no settled colonial territories divided at this time. The British decided to take a further step in 1861 with the next Oba Dosunmu (also spelt Docemo) of Lagos who was not only asked to seek support but to practically ‘surrender’ the city to British control. They made a move to make Lagos a ‘formal British protectorate’ after a decision made by Henry John Temple 1784-1865 (Lord Palmerston -British prime minister from 1859-1865). The British commander of Her Majesty’s Ship (HMS) Prometheus was Norman B. Bedingfield and together with the acting Consul to Lagos, William McCoskry signed the treaty of ‘cession’ with the King of Lagos (Oba Dosunmu) on August 6, 1861. It reads:

Treaty between Norman B. Bedingfeld, Commander of Her Majesty’s ship Prometheus, and Senior Officer of the Bights Division, and William McCoskry, Esquire, Her Britannic Majesty’s Acting Consul, on the part of Her Majesty the

¹⁶⁵ Robert Smith, *The Lagos Consulate 1851-1861*. (London: Macmillan 1979). 135–137 Appendix A. Cited from https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Treaty_Between_Great_Britain_and_Lagos,_1_January_1852. For full text see appendix 11 of this thesis.

Queen of Great Britain, and Docemo, King of Lagos, on the part of himself and Chiefs.

Article I In order that the Queen of England may be the better enabled to assist, defend, and protect the inhabitants of Lagos, and to put an end to the Slave Trade in this and the neighboring counties, and to prevent the destructive wars so frequently undertaken by Dahomey and others for the capture of the slaves, I, Docemo, do, with the consent and advice of my Council, give, transfer, and by these presents grant and confirm unto the Queen of Great Britain, her heirs, and successors forever, the port and Island of Lagos with all the rights, profits, territories, and appurtenances whatsoever thereunto belonging, and as well the profits and revenue as the direct, full, and absolute dominion and sovereignty of the said port, island, and premises, with all royalties thereof, freely, fully and entirely and absolutely. I do also covenant and grant that the quiet and peaceable possession thereof shall with all possible speed, be freely and effectually delivered to the Queen of Great Britain, or such person as Her Majesty shall thereunto appoint for her use in the performance of this grant; the inhabitants of said island and territories, as the Queen's subjects, and under her sovereignty, Crown, jurisdiction, and government, being still suffered to live there

Article II Docemo will be allowed the use of the title of King in its usual African signification, and will be permitted to decide disputes between natives of Lagos with their consent, subject to appeal to British laws.

Article III In the transfer of lands, the stamp of Docemo affixed to the document will be proof that there are no other native claims upon it, and for this purpose he will be permitted to use it as hitherto. In consideration of the cession as

before-mentioned of the port and island and territories of Lagos, the Representatives of the Queen of Great Britain do promise, subject to the approval of Her Majesty, that Docemo shall receive an annual pension from the Queen of Great Britain equal to the net revenue hitherto annually received by him; such pension to be paid at such periods and in such mode as may hereafter be determined

LAGOS, August 6, 1861

Signed

DOCEMO

TELAKE

OBALEKOW

NORMAN B. BEDINGFIELD Her Majesty's ship Prometheus, Senior Officer,

Bights Division

W. McCOSKRY, Acting Consul¹⁶⁶

After this treaty and development of (August 1861), Lagos was officially annexed as a British colony (from March 5, 1862-February 1906). Technically the missionaries and their work with the local people around the Lagos area now had to follow the new set of leadership in the land. The King of Lagos was compensated with an annual pension from the British government. With the annexation of Lagos as a colony of Britain, the Niger-Benue region business started getting more support from the British government. Around 1879, an enterprise that was later

166 Robert S. Smith, *The Lagos Consulate 1851-1861*. (London: Macmillan, 1979). 140–141 Appendix C. as cited in https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lagos_Treaty_of_Cession
See also Kristin Mann, *Slavery and the birth of an African city: Lagos, 1760-1900*. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007).

known as the Royal Niger Company¹⁶⁷ was set up and operating in Nigeria. Their presence in the region and previous British exploration of the Niger river from 1841, aided the British claim to the territory during the Berlin Conference, against the French and Germans. The Germans were also having colonial interest in the same area previously called ‘German or Dutch Kamerun’ (part of today’s Cameroon and Nigeria).¹⁶⁸

After the Berlin conference (1884-1885) the British Empire took over what is now Nigeria as a part of their share of the distribution of Africa among the European nations. Consequently, the government of England began a more formal collaboration with the English business establishments already in the territory. The Royal Niger company was one of the ‘chartered’ companies owned by various (mainly) European investors who basically got the license to do business, acquire properties, and sometimes provide security and leadership on behalf of the British government. However, as the work became more sophisticated, the British government took over leadership from some of the territories of the chartered company.¹⁶⁹

167 The company lasted for about 21 years (1879-1900), previously called *United African Company* (1879) and *National African Company* (1881). Exploration of the Niger began around 1830 and continued to 1871. See Geoffrey L Baker, *Trade Winds on the Niger: Saga of the Royal Niger Company, 1830-1971*. (London: Radcliffe Press 1996).

168 Geoffrey L Baker, *Trade Winds on the Niger: Saga of the Royal Niger Company, 1830-1971*. (London: Radcliffe Press 1996).

169 Most of the chartered companies started around 1482 with the Scandinavian *Storia Enso* and the Portuguese *Companhia da Guiné* in 1482. The Dutch, French, Germans, English and Spanish all had numbers of ‘Chartered’ trading companies for centuries including dealings in slaves in North America, India, Africa, Asia and the Caribbean. It was also sometimes used as a viable colonial tool. The British used a method of ‘charter colony’ in some areas where companies of this kind worked on their behalf like in Rhode Island and Massachusetts. These were different from a ‘Royal colony’ (with direct control) and ‘Proprietary colony’ (under the custody of a different leader or ruler). In the case of Nigeria, as soon as there was more viability, the charter to the Royal Niger company was withdrawn and the area became a British ‘overseas territory’ (a Royal or Crown colony). See Edward Jenks, *The government of the British Empire*. (CADAL.) (Boston: Little, Brown 1918), and C. W. Hobley, *Kenya, from chartered company to crown colony: Thirty years of exploration and administration in British East Africa*. (London: F. Cass 1970), and Niall Ferguson, *Empire: How Britain made the modern world*. (London: Allen Lane, 2003). For historical data see also Robert Montgomery Martin, *Statistics of the colonies of the British Empire in the West Indies, South America, North America, Asia, Austral-Asia, Africa, and Europe: Comprising the area, agriculture, commerce ... &c. of each colony: with the charters and the engraved seals*. (London: W.H. Allen and Co., 1839).

As a background to understanding the occupation of Lagos by the British, it is important to recall the buying and selling of slaves¹⁷⁰ that took place in West Africa as this slave trade and the entire psychology of slavery shaped the social interaction of the society at that time. This means that human beings were not treated as equals. People considered others who were more vulnerable to be less human and could be traded as material possessions without the same human rights as other people. Villages and towns were affected, communities were divided and families were fragmented as a consequence of this situation. When the British occupied Lagos in 1851, English language soon overtook Portuguese and French as a medium of communication and education.¹⁷¹

In the Niger-Delta, King Jaja¹⁷² was considered a threat to the British businessmen as he was quite successful and able to export palm oil directly to Britain with direct dealings with the *Alexander Miller Brother & Company* and others who were interested in the Palm Oil trade.¹⁷³

170 William Wilberforce (1759-1833) was one of the strong opponents against slavery and with the influence of his later Christian Evangelical conversion in 1785, he championed a political and Christian agenda together with other anti-slavery proponents which led to the 1807 passing of the 'Slave Trade Act'. In 1833, the year he died, the 'Slavery Abolition Act' was approved'. His Contributions include the plans for the settlement of redeemed and freed slaves in Sierra Leone where one of the first formal educational institution (Fourah Bay College, 1827) was started in West Africa. He combined, Christian Morality with Education. After the initial settlement of 330 black and 70 white 'prostitutes' near Freetown in 1787, there was another batch of 1,100 freed people who went there led by Thomas Clarkson in 1792. Towards the end of the American Revolutionary War (1775-1783), another 500 free blacks were sent there from the West Indies (Jamaica) in 1800. This movement continued till about 1864 when Freetown had around 50,000 freedmen. British and French control of this part of West Africa became competitive from 1827 and by 1896, Sierra Leone became a British Protectorate and Colony. See Crowder, Michael (1966). "Institute of African Studies, Fourah Bay College, Sierra Leone". *The Journal of Modern Sierra Leone Studies* 4 (1): 95-6. And Kopytoff, Jean Herskovits. *A Preface to Modern Nigeria: The "Sierra Leonians" in Yoruba, 1830-1890*. (Madison: Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1965), 35. For the previous research on Slavery and West Africa see also Paul E Lovejoy, *Transformations in slavery: A history of slavery in Africa* (2nd ed.). (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2000). And Paul E Lovejoy, and Suzanne Schwarz. *Slavery, abolition and the transition to colonialism in Sierra Leone*. (Trenton, New Jersey: Africa World Press, 2015). Harriet Tubman series.

171 T. Oduwobi. "From Conquest to Independence: The Nigerian Colonial Experience". 15 June 2011 *Historical Actual Online*. (HAOL primavera 2011), 25, 19-29.

172 Born around 1821, he was also known as Jubo Jubogba, Mbanaso Okwaraozurumba and Jo Jo Udam. He was a slave that rose to the heights of political and financial success. Around 1867 (at 46) he was a political threat to the British consul Richard Burton in the area. See Elizabeth Allo Isichei, *A history of the Igbo people*. (London: Macmillan, 1976), 98.

173 Later, Alexander Miller Brother & Company merged with three other companies (West African Company Limited, Central African Trading Company Limited and James Pinnock) to form the United African Company – UAC in 1879. This company now has a huge variety of products in Nigeria from chemicals, dairy food, agriculture, property development and automobile. Especially with General Motors Nigeria Limited in cooperation with the General Motors of Detroit USA of which she holds 30% equity. They have been active in the stock exchange

In 1884, the British took over the Niger Delta area and named it the *Oil Rivers Protectorate* (1884-1893). This was further confirmed after the Berlin Conference and the deportation of King Jaja of Opobo to the Ireland of Saint Vincent (in West Indies) after a trial in Ghana (Gold Coast)¹⁷⁴. At this time, the British had gained more ‘international political’ control over the area after the Berlin conference. With the arrival of Christianity in the Niger Delta area around 1864, loyalty to the traditional chiefs and the white missionaries became challenged as people moved from one to the other. The missionaries supported the traditional house of the Manilla ruling class as opposed to the Anna dynasty that was not in support of the Christians,¹⁷⁵ especially after the death of King William Pepple in 1865. Though individual British traders did direct business with King Jaja for almost eighteen years, his political and military control was not helping the agenda of the British parliament. In 1884, with the British consul Edward Hewett, Jaja was made to accept the proposal of the British ‘Protectorate’ especially as allies were needed with local chiefs and rulers to wade off the German incursion in the same region. Apart from the financial and political suspicions from both sides, Jaja favoured the introduction of Education to his people, with the assistance of the Emma White and Gooding.¹⁷⁶

market. Historically the British Royal Niger company was chartered from 1672 to 1750 to administer the west African region of present-day Nigeria. In 1889, there was a merger of other 8 companies that were in the Oil Rivers area as these companies increased their influence over the territory. After the revocation of the charter, the name of the company was changed to the Niger Company Limited in 1900. A larger merger occurred when on the 3rd of March 1929 the Lever Brothers Limited owners of the African & Eastern Trade corporation made an agreement. The name was changed to United Africa Company Limited in 1943 and United Africa company of Nigeria Limited in 1973. See <http://www.uacnplc.com/>

174 The methodology of dethroning the local rulers was consistent. They are banished by deportation out of their own local territory or kingdoms. This was the situation of Oba Ovonramwen who after the British Invasion of Benin 1897 was deported to Calabar where he died in 1914. Nana of Olumo was deported to (gold coast) Ghana, and William Koko is said to have ran to the interior land of Etiema, until his death in 1898, having lost his control to the British forces. (it was said to have been by suicide).

175 Traditional Religious beliefs and practice continued side by side with Christianity as not everyone accepted the missionaries who were sometimes seen as part and parcel of the colonisers. Their religion was also suspected in some quarters as being part of the colonising tactic. See Kannan K. Nair, *Politics and society in South Eastern Nigeria, 1841-1906: A study of power, diplomacy and commerce in Old Calabar*. (London: F. Cass, 1972).

176 Emma White later changed her name to Emma Jaja and after her infancy from slave parents in Kentucky, was one of those who came back from America to the West African coast of Liberia and Sierra Leone. By 1870 she was in Opobo (now Sothern Nigeria) working with King Jaja. For further reading on King Jaja see Sylvanus John Sodiemye Cookey, *King Jaja of the Niger Delta: His life and times, 1821-1891*. (New York: NOK., 1974). The story of Emma Jackson Jaja is mentioned in the *Cleveland Gazette Newspaper* of 10/11/1885, p. 2. Published by Gasette Pub. Co., Cleveland, Ohio found in University of Kentucky Libraries under African American Newspapers, 1827-1998. See University of Kentucky Libraries, Notable Kentucky African Americans - Johnson,

The interactions and resistance of Oba Ovonramwen of Benin (died 1914)¹⁷⁷, Nana Olumu of Itsekiri (1852-1916), Jaja of Opobo (1821-1891) and Frederick William Koko (1853-1898). King Koko, like Oba Ovonramwen, did not surrender without a fight. However, the Royal Niger company with more sophisticated weapons were able to defeat them in due time. Shortly after the defeat of Koko by the British force led by (Rear Admiral Sir) Frederick Bedford in 1895, the main incursion into the mainland of the Niger Delta was technically secured for the colonial powers. In a message published in the newspapers in 1895 the report of Frederick Bedford reads:

Left Brass on February 20, with HMS *Widgeon*, HMS *Thrush*, two steamers of the Niger Company, and the boat of HMS *St George*, with marines and Protectorate troops; anchored off Nimbi Creek and seized Sacrifice Island the same afternoon; the approach was obstructed by stockades, which are also under construction on the island; 25 war canoes came out and opened an ineffectual fire; three were sunk, and the rest retired. On February 21, the intricate channels were buoyed and the creek reconnoitred. At daybreak on February 22 we attacked, and, after an obstinate defence of a position naturally difficult, a landing was gallantly effected and Nimbi completely burned. In the evening the force was withdrawn, after King Koko's and other chiefs' houses were destroyed.¹⁷⁸

Emma White JaJa. Retrieved May 24, 2016, from http://nkaa.uky.edu/record.php?note_id=2420. Copyright 2003-2016 Reinette Jones & University of Kentucky Libraries.

177 Thomas Uwadike Obinyan. (1988). The Annexation of Benin, in *Journal of Black Studies*, 19(1), 29. September. For Further readings on Jaja and the Niger Delta interior see Alan Cuthbert Maxwell Burns, *History of Nigeria*. George (London: Allen & Unwin, 1929), Kenneth O Dike, *Trade and politics in the Niger Delta, 1830-1885: An introduction to the economic and political history of Nigeria*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956), Walter Ibekwe Ofonagoro, *Trade and Imperialism in Southern Nigeria, 1881-1929*. (New York: NOK Publishers, 1979), and Sylvanus John Sodiemye Cooley, *King Jaja of the Niger Delta: His life and times, 1821-1891*. (New York: NOK Publishers 1974).

178 Frederick Bedford. (1895, February 26). 'The Fighting on the Niger', *The Times of London* [London]. 5. Retrieved from https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Frederick_William_Koko_Mingi_VIII_of_Nembe. Tuesday issue

The British government bought took over the full administration of the lower Niger area that was previously chartered to the Royal Niger company on January 1 1900 and paid them about £865,000.¹⁷⁹ With this development, the *Niger Coast Protectorate* (1893-1900), now became more enlarged from the previous *Oil Rivers Protectorate* (1884-1893).¹⁸⁰

Most of these arrangements were influenced by the work of George Dashwood Taubman Goldie (1846-1925) who had lots of administrative insights into the activities of the various British chartered companies working in Nigeria and Southern Africa. He was active in securing British interests against the Germans and French in the ‘scramble’ for Africa that culminated with the Berlin Conference of 1884-1885.

The Colonial administration in the Northern part of the country took a more dominating role with the British occupation of Zungeru in 1902. The previous capital of the Northern Protectorate was Lokoja from 1900-1902. The water-way means of transport was able to get as far as Zungeru in the North at this time.¹⁸¹ Later in 1916 (two years after the amalgamation of the North and South) the capital of the North was moved to Kaduna. Some other important political events of the Northern Protectorate include the appointment of Frederick John Dealtry Lugard as the first British High Commissioner there in 1902, and suppression of the Bornu Empire in 1902. The following year, in 1903, the Kano Emirate and the Sokoto Caliphate that were two strong political and Islamic monarchies in the Northern part of the country were subjugated. Though some resistance continued till 1907, like the fighting in Basa (1904) and

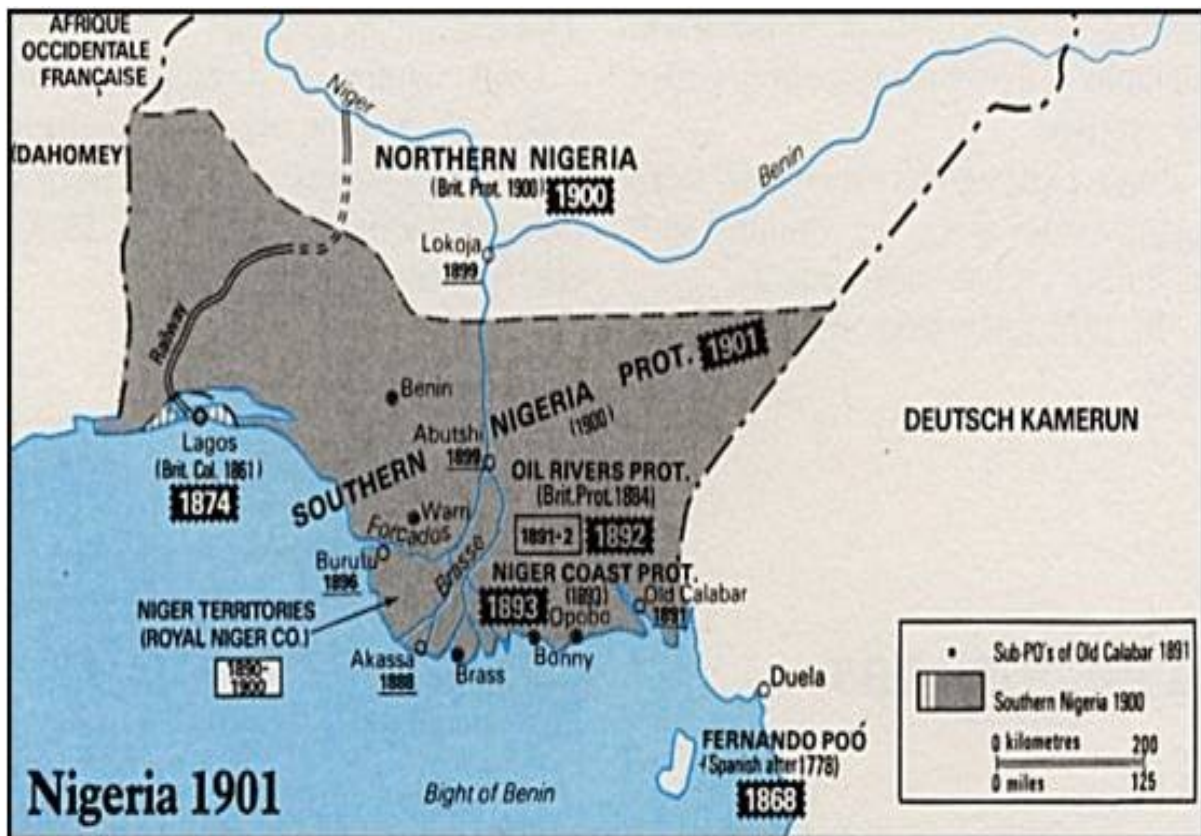
34510. For previous work on the struggles See also Ebiegberi Joe Alagoa, *The small brave city-state: A history of Nembe-Brass in the Niger delta*. (Ibadan, Nigeria: Ibadan University Press, 1964).

179 Cf. Paul Samuel Reinsch, *Colonial government: an introduction to the study of colonial institutions* (Macmillan Company, 1916).

180 Toyin Falola, and Matthew Heaton, *A History of Nigeria*. (Cambridge University Press, 2008).

181 *Dantsoho Mohammed, Zungeru: The Forgotten Capital of Northern Nigeria*. (Oworonsoki: Bolukunwa Printing Press, 1991). See also William Nevill Montgomerie Geary, *Nigeria under British Rule*. (London: Routledge, 2013), 211, previously published in 1965.

Mahdist revolt in Satiru (Sokoto area), they were crushed by the British forces aided by Muhammadu Attahiru II who was appointed Sultan of Sokoto by the British¹⁸². The Islamic fortification in the North had been sustained by the work of the famous Usman dan Fodio (1754-1817) which saw to the fortification of the Sokoto Caliphate. Though his children and followers continued the leadership of the Caliphate, there was already a decline prior to the arrival of the colonial powers.¹⁸³ After 1907, the local people were practically under full colonial control in collaboration with the local chiefs and traditional leaders typical of the British ‘Indirect rule’ system.¹⁸⁴



Map 12. A 1901 map of Nigeria¹⁸⁵

182 Charles Lindsay Temple, Northern Nigeria. *The Geographical Journal*, 40(2), 149-163. (1912) doi:10.2307/1778461.

183 Ibraheem Sulaiman, *The Islamic state and the challenge of history: Ideals, policies, and operation of the Sokoto Caliphate*. (London: Mansell Pub., 1987).

184 Yinka Ogedengbe presents some historical developments to these facts in Yinka A. Ogedengbe, An historical archaeology of Zungeru colonial settlement: a case study. In Kit W Wesler, (Ed.), *Historical Archaeology in Nigeria* (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 1998), 278-279.

185 Cited from <http://www.dcstamps.com/?p=3809>.

Charles Temple gives an account of the school and economic situation in the North as the colonial rulers took over administrative affairs. At Nasarawa there were about 250 students in the school, mainly boys.¹⁸⁶ Economic prosperity was described:

That the general prosperity of the people is increasing year by year is, however, evident. Large sections of the population are now clothed which years ago were stark naked. In the more prosperous parts, such as the neighbourhood of Kano, Zaria, Sokoto, and Bida, the general standard of living is high, and the use of imported cloth extending very rapidly. The latter is always a sign that the people have money to spare. For the imported cloth is not nearly so durable as that made locally. The receipts on the Baro-Kano railway, which has been open for hardly a year, already exceed an average of £6000 per month. The statistics of population are not yet very reliable, but there is an increase of children between the ages of one and seven years, which is very noticeable in the towns; also large areas uncultivated are now found to contain pioneer settlers. The cost of food is low throughout Northern Nigeria excepting at Zungeru and Lokoja. At Kano, a man, his wife, and two children can feed themselves well on 1 ½ *d* per diem.¹⁸⁷

However, the Northern Protectorate was not as economically viable as the Southern protectorate and the colony of Lagos. One practical way of sustaining both protectorates together was to

186 Temple, 161.

187 Charles Lindsay Temple, Northern Nigeria. *The Geographical Journal*, 40(2), 161. (1912) doi:10.2307/1778461. For other colonial reports See J. M. Carland, *The Colonial office and Nigeria, 1898-1914*. (London: Macmillan 1985) and R. O. Ekundare, *An economic history of Nigeria, 1860-1960*. (New York: Africana Pub. Co. 1973).

have a merger (now popularly referred to as the amalgamation of Nigeria). In the same report, Temple continues:

The economic development of Nigeria, regarded as a whole, has been very great of late years. The returns published by the Government of Southern Nigeria show an increase in exports from £3,000,000 sterling in 1906 to £5,000,000 in 1910; and in imports from £3,000,000 in 1906 to £5,000,000 in 1910. The revenue, 7 per cent., 90 per cent. of which is collected in the form of customs duties, has increased from £1,000,000 to £2,000,000 in the last five years. It is not possible to say to what extent Northern Nigeria has contributed to these increases. The work in the Protectorate connected with administration had been so varied and onerous, and the funds available so scanty, that it has not been possible to furnish the staff necessary to obtain and record trade statistics. The figures published may be set aside as unreliable. ¹⁸⁸

It was not only the English that was interested in taking control of the Northern Part of Nigeria as the Germans, and especially the French, already had territories around the area and were moving towards rapid expansion into the land far away from the coastal regions. What began as a political movement to stop the sales of human beings as slaves, soon took another economic and leadership turn. While all these governments supported Missionaries from their countries who were working among the local people, the primary aim of their occupation was for 'business' and pure commercial opportunities. This was done mainly by trade and later, taxation.

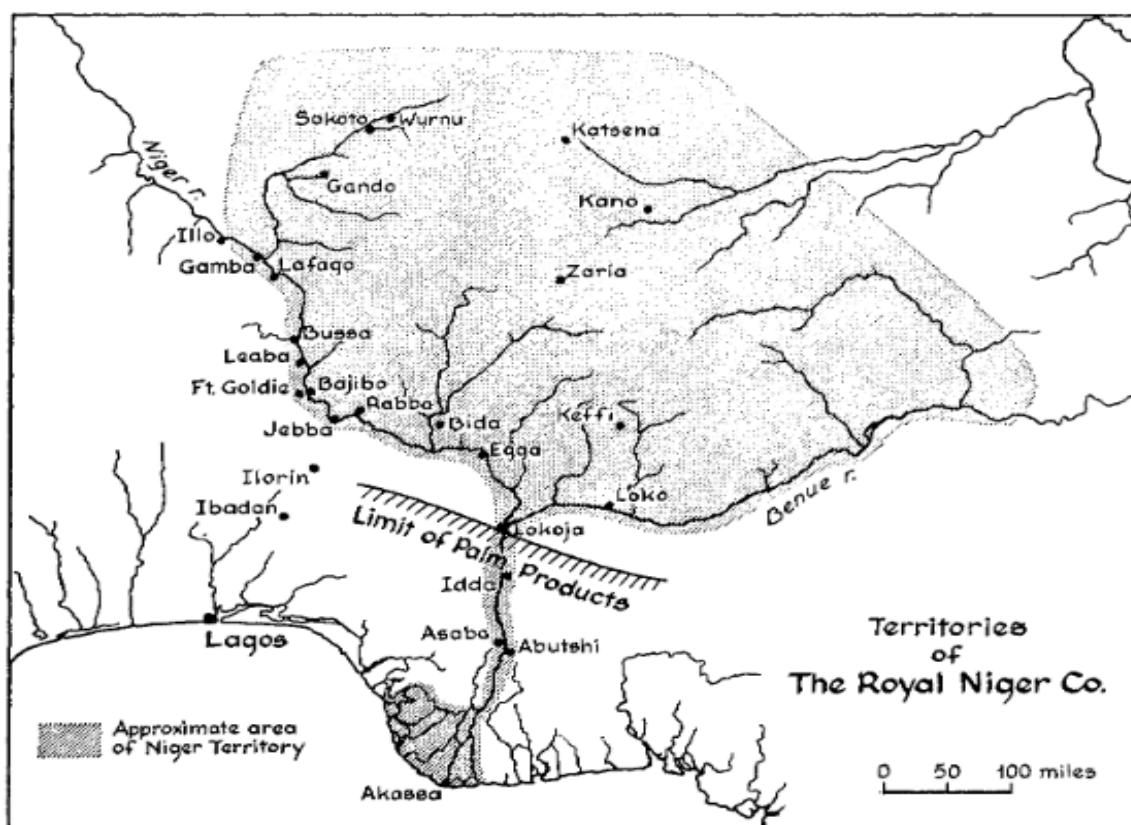
188 Ibid.

The Royal Niger company led by George Goldie (also present at the Berlin conference for the partition of Africa), sought the services of Frederick Lugard¹⁸⁹ to work with them in 1894. The 36 years old military trained administrator combined diplomatic and military strategies to stop the French invasion of the River Niger already gaining grounds by the French signing political agreements with local chiefs in the area by that time. Lugard with previous colonial experience from India and East Africa set up the ‘West African Frontier Force’ of local and British officers in 1897. With this strategy, the Royal Niger company¹⁹⁰ placed themselves under the patronage of the British Government, shared their investments and did not lose their territories to the French or Germans.¹⁹¹

189 After Frederick Lugard was sent to Hong Kong he was replaced by Percy Girouard from 1907-1909 (who pushed for the development of the rail ways). In 1909 Henry Hesketh (former governor of the Ugandan Protectorate) was appointed High Commission of the Northern Protectorate until he was replaced by Charles Lindsay Temple (acting head from 1911-1912). His published writings are useful for historical data from the region. Lugard was sent back in 1912 as governor of both the Southern and Northern Protectorates and he completed the amalgamation into what is now Nigeria in 1914. He was governor of Nigeria (Colony and Protectorate) made up of the Northern and Southern protectorates and the colony of Lagos. In all these political arrangements, Lugard (1858-1945) is the most significant in his appointments as High commissioner of Northern Nigeria Protectorate (1900-1906), Governor of the Southern and Northern Nigeria Protectorates (1912-1914) and first Governor General of Nigeria (1914-1919). As a British soldier and administrator, his focus was more on security, control of the rebelling groups and factions, and economic growth. Though born of a British clergyman (Reverend Fredrick Grueber Lugard) in India, he was brought up and educated in England. Lugard also published and there are archival documents of historical significance attributed to him see: F. D. Lugard, *The dual mandate in British tropical Africa*. (Edinburgh: W. Blackwood and Sons 1923).

190 The Royal Niger Company still received rights to revenues in many parts of the territory for up to 99 years as part of the terms of transfer of their ownership to the British Colonial administration. See. J. M. Carland, *The Colonial office and Nigeria, 1898-1914*. (London: Macmillan 1985). And R. O. Ekundare, *An economic history of Nigeria, 1860-1960*. (New York: Africana Pub. Co. 1973).

191 Cf. Colin Newbury, Accounting for Power in Northern Nigeria. *The Journal of African History*. (2004). 45. 2. 257–277. 10.1017/s0021853704009466). See also Richard Cavendish, (2003). The Fall of Kano. *History Today*, 53(2). Retrieved from <http://www.historytoday.com/richard-cavendish/fall-kano>. Feb. An earlier work mentions the French previous occupation of parts of Northern Nigeria before 1897 when the British took over control of places like Bussa and Borgu. Cf. Seymour Vandeleur, *Campaigning on the upper Nile and Niger*. (London: Methuen & Co., 1898).



Map 13. The territory covered by the Royal Niger Company¹⁹²

The colonial administration in general did not promote formal education significantly. The Christian missionaries established the foundations of formal education in the country. The name 'NIGERIA' is attributed to have been coined by Flora Shaw (1852-1929) the wife of Lugard. Her grandfather Frederick Shaw (1799-1876) was from Dublin, Ireland. She was a journalist and a published writer. Flora suggested that the area should be called NIGERIA explaining in 1897 that: "The name Nigeria applying to no other part of Africa may without offence to any neighbours be accepted as co-extensive with the territories over which the Royal Niger Company has extended British influence, and may serve to differentiate them equally from the

192 Royal Niger company territory cited from Scott R. Pearson, *The economic imperialism of the Royal Niger Company*. (Stanford: Food Research Institute, Stanford University, 1971) 72. Available at <http://ageconsearch.umn.edu/bitstream/135014/2/fris-1971-10-01-278.pdf>. Colin Newbury, (2004). Accounting for Power in Northern Nigeria. *The Journal of African History*, 45(2), 257-277. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4100467>.

colonies of Lagos and the Niger Protectorate on the coast and from the French territories of the Upper Niger."¹⁹³



Map 14. A 1914 map of Nigeria at the time of the Amalgamation of the Northern and Southern protectorates.¹⁹⁴

The chart below gives an outline of the significant steps in the Western colonial control over what is Nigeria today.

193 Flora Shaw, (8 January 1897). "Letter". *The Times of London*. p. 6.pdf at <http://www.hh-bb.com/flora-shaw.pdf>. For similar works of Flora Shaw see Flora Lugard Shaw, *A tropical dependency: An outline of the ancient history of the western Sudan with an account of the modern settlement of northern Nigeria*. (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1965).

194 Notice the River Niger and River Benue flowing down into the Atlantic in a Y shape. The riverine route was the channel of the Royal Niger Company. Map cited from *The Stamp Atlas* by Stuart Rossiter and John Flower. <http://www.dcstamps.com/?p=164>

REGIONAL TRANSITIONS
BRITISH NIGERIA AREA

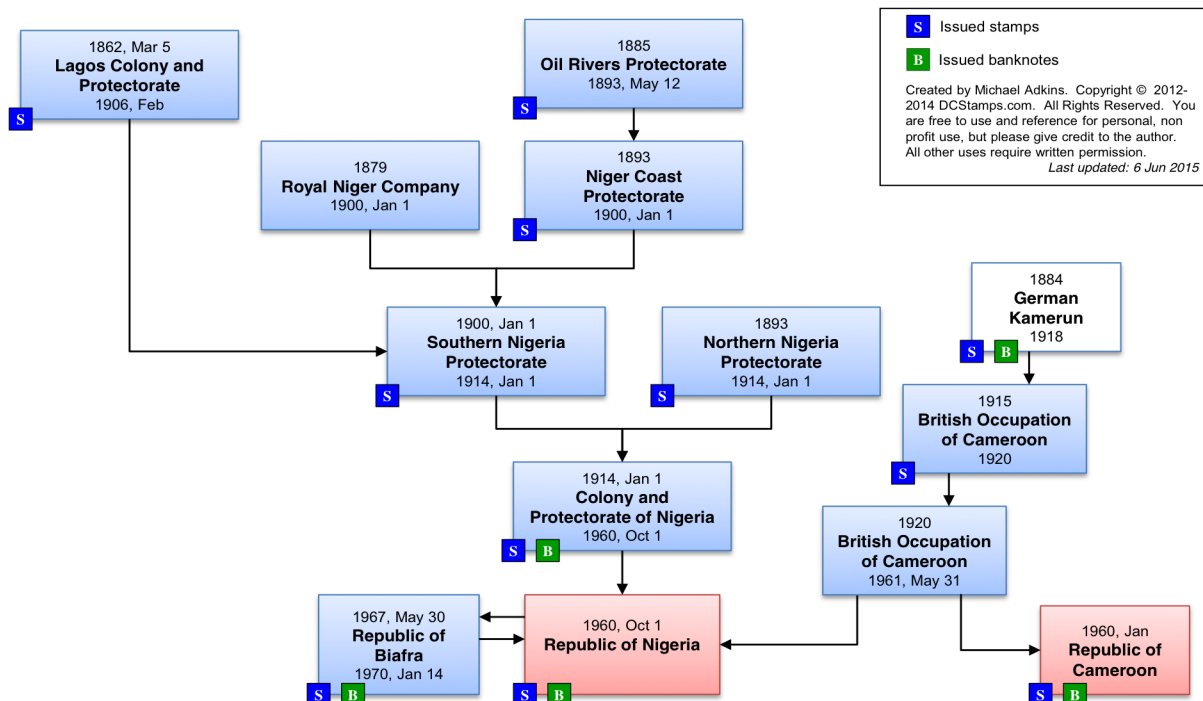


Chart 9. Colonial transition chart of the Royal Niger company and British Nigeria 1862-1960¹⁹⁵

As the Colonial administrators were taking over political control of the land, the English-speaking Protestant missionaries started training the local population in Western Education. The first schools in Nigeria under colonial rule are the Christian Methodist basic (primary) school set up in Badagry (Lagos) by the Church Missionary Society (CMS) and the Wesleyan Methodist Secondary School set up in Olowogbowo also in Lagos in 1843. Olowogbowo was a settlement area in Lagos for many of the returned slaves from Sierra Leone, and the Anglican

¹⁹⁵ Cited from Michael Ladkins, (2013, March). Regional Transitions: British Nigeria area. Retrieved May 31, 2016, from <http://www.dcestamps.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/03/Transitions-British-Nigeria.pdf>

Missionaries began immediate investment in education. By 1869 Ereko Methodist school started in Lagos. The Arrival of two British missionaries Thomas Birch Freeman (1809-1890) a Methodist, and Henry Townsend (1815-1886) of the CMS in Badagry in 1842, was instrumental to this missionary educational development.¹⁹⁶ During the colonial administration, all the senior government positions were given only to white Europeans. There was a clear racial administrative distinction in the colonial administration. The white missionaries had the advantage of associating with the colonial ruling class as fellow countrymen and also had the full autonomy of establishing their Christian missions with direct support from their church leaders and members back at home in Europe. There were developmental plans that would require an ongoing process of education to sustain and develop. These would not be possible without the investment in Education.¹⁹⁷

2.4 Borno Mission Northern Nigeria

While the Christian faith was being established in the South, the Northern part of the country was still mainly Islamic. The first missionary to arrive northern Nigeria was the reverend brother Farde Peter of the Franciscan Missionaries from Belgium. After a mishap that led to his capture at sea, he was sold as a slave to a Muslim in Kano (Agadez in Northern Nigeria) around the year 1688. He eventually converted his master's household to Christianity and with the help of friends was able to escape to Ghana and later to Angola before going back to Europe.¹⁹⁸

196 Toyin Falola, *Yoruba Gurus: Indigenous Production of Knowledge in Africa*. (Trenton NJ: Africa World Press, 1999), 220.

197 The colonial government of Nigeria had two development plans from 1946-1956 (it was terminated in 1954) and from 1955-1960. (This has also been largely classified under a period of 1945-1968). The first post-independence development plan 1962-1968. See Richard Olufemi Ekundare (1971). Nigeria's Second National Development Plan as a Weapon of Social Change. *African Affairs*, 70(279), 146-158. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/719535>. Most of the budget at this time were for structural and investment related prospects.

198 Cf. F. F. Onotu, Milestones in the Growth of the Catholic Church in Northern Nigeria in A. O. Makozi and G. J. Afolabi Ojo eds., *The History of the Catholic Church in Nigeria* (Lagos: Macmillan Nigerian Publishers, 1982), 56. Onotu begins his presentation of the northern missionary work by clarifying the historical decisions that influenced the amalgamation of the southern and northern parts of Nigeria. "Northern Nigeria came into being on January 1 1900 when Sir Frederick Lugard, the first British High commissioner assumed responsibility over the

Propaganda Fide on December 14, 1705 decided to open a mission in Borno at the request of Fr Maurice da Lucca who was the Prefect of the Franciscan mission in Libya (Tripoli); “according to him, there were many freed slaves passing through Tripoli to Northern Nigeria who claimed they were Christians”.¹⁹⁹ The Franciscan Mission in Borno for one year was headed by Fr Damiano da Rivoli who was able to communicate in Arabic and had a background in Medicine. After April 1706, Fr Rivoli was sent back to Italy for health reasons (after only one year of presence) and Fr Carlo Maria di Genova, Fr Severino da Salista came to replace him in Nigeria from Libya after three years in 1710. The following year (1711) both of them had died in Kastina. The catholic mission in the north was revisited much later by another Franciscan Fr Philip Segni who came in 1850 (after 139 years) and was hosted by a Maltese Catholic family that had settled in Borno. The visit was short (for 20 days) and he was well received by the local people. All of these initial Franciscan missions were started from Tripoli. At the same time, the missionaries in the south from 1883 had been slowly moving northwards, after the first SMA mission with the former slaves from Brazil and the West Indies was set up in Lagos in 1868. Geographically, the Lander brothers, John and Richard had successfully explored a new river route to Northern Nigeria,²⁰⁰ making it accessible from the south by travellers and missionaries. Lokoja mission for the Catholics started in 1884.

vast northern area of this country, known as the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria. He undertook to influence the Emirs of Kontagora, Keffi, Kano and Sokoto and all the Fulani and Borno Empires, for ten years. His aim was not to destroy the Islamic civilization which had existed in these Emirates for more than three centuries before the arrival of the first British colonialists, but to introduce a system of Indirect Rule which would make it possible for the British Administrators to rule the people through their traditional leaders. This was the governmental system until the attainment of self-government by Northern Nigeria in 1959”. Onotu, 55.

¹⁹⁹ Onotu, 56.

²⁰⁰ The means of transport by water to the northern part of Nigeria was influenced by the development that took place from 1830-1834. A river exploration by a group of 48 people with 9 survivals at the end. The financial support was given by Macgregor Laird of Liverpool. Two vessels were used and the smaller one was named “Alburkah”. This was an iron vessel 21.3 Meters long, 1.9 meters deep and 3.9 meters beam with a 16 h.p engine. See G T Basden *Niger Ibos* (London: Cass. 1966), 111. This expedition will be followed later in 1841-1842 by the Niger expedition from Britain organised by the ‘Society for the Extinction of the Slave Trade and for the Civilization of Africa after a meeting held in Exeter Hall on June 1, 1840. See Felix Driver, *Geography Militant: Cultures of Exploration and Empire* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999). See also John Whitord, *Trading Life in Western and Central Africa* (London: Cass, 1967).

After various failed missionary agricultural attempts in Topo near Lagos, the SMA Fr. Jules Poirier in charge of the Topo project, moved to the middle-belt region of Nigeria near the Benue and Niger rivers to begin some Agricultural expansion projects. Other missionaries like Fr. Fiorentini, Fr. Voit and later (from January 16 1886) Fr Carlo Zappa from Milan continued the mission as death took some away and needed to be replaced. Fr Zappa, who was also a scientist and astronomer, founded the Prefecture of Western Niger in 1886. He established a community presence for the sisters in Lokoja and though the slave trade was still going on in different quarters, he was able to buy back thirty slave children for three hundred and ten (£310) pounds. These children were later trained and liberated. Historical debates continue on the educational impact such actions by slave traders had on the development of Christian education in Nigeria and signs of the time.

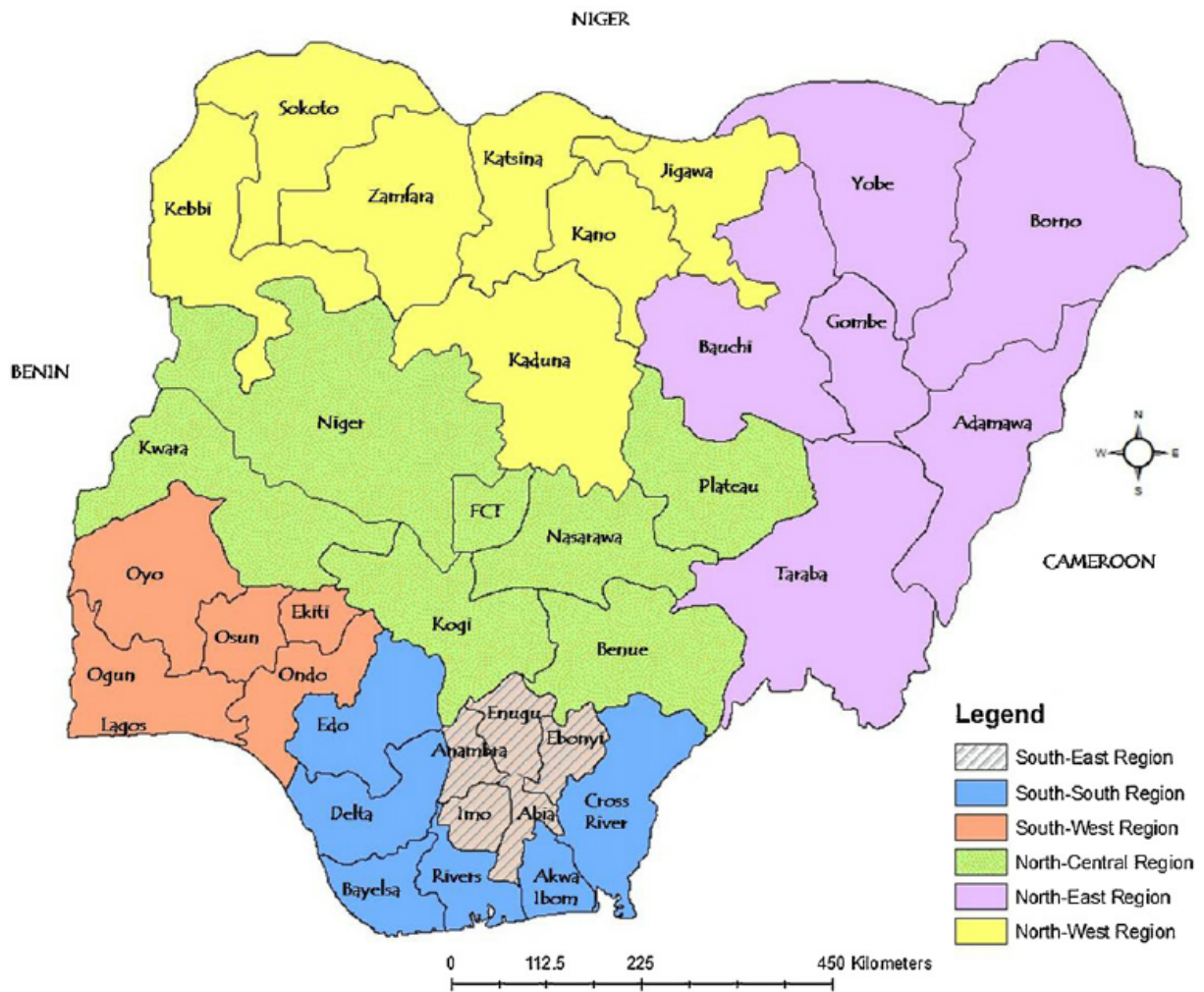
2.5 Collaboration with the Anglicans, the SMA and Irish Missionaries

The Anglicans already had local bishop Samuel Ajayi Crowther in charge of the Anglican Niger Mission. He was a man of integrity and open to collaborative ministry for the propagation of the Christian faith and preaching of the Gospel. Collaboration with CMS in Lokoja took a new face when Bishop Samuel Ajayi Crowther (ordained Anglican Bishop on June 29, 1864 in Canterbury Cathedral) opened his church to be used by both Catholics and Anglicans in what can be seen as a practical sign of ecumenical collaboration and practical ministry.²⁰¹

201 See Duke Akamisoko, *Samuel Ajayi Crowther: his missionary work in the Lokoja area*. (Ibadan: Sefer, 2002). See also Onotu, 57. The adventures of the life of the Anglican Bishop Ajayi Crowther began in 1821-1822 with his capture into slavery. After his release, he began the mission school in 1823 and was converted to Christianity with his baptism in 1825. After his ordination as a church minister in 1843 he rose to become the first black bishop in 1864. A strong advocate for local clergy and translation of the biblical text into local languages, his long years of service faced tremendous challenges. He is famous for his personal integrity, sincerity and simplicity. The administrative infightings, suspicions and controversies under his leadership both from home and abroad with his English superiors were part of the sufferings till his death on December 31, 1891. He was about 89 years old. See E. A. Ayandele, *The missionary impact on modern Nigeria, 1842-1914: A political and social analysis* (New York: Humanities Press, 1967). When Henry Venn was CMS' Secretary General (1841-1873) the three principles of the development of local churches, which was also used in Africa, was self-financing, self-propagating and self-

Some Northern missions were unsuccessful with attempts made by the Holy Ghost Fathers in Ibi. Fr Lejeune from the Prefecture of the Lower Niger (opened in 1889), attempted to open a school for former slaves, but was not welcomed by the local people who did not like the idea of their locality being crowded with former slaves. He made a similar attempt at Dekina, but also did not succeed, as the British colonial forces did not welcome the catholic presence there at that time. A major breakthrough came in 1907, with the SMA setting up a mission in Shendam. With pioneering works of Frs. Oswald Waller, E. Berlin and I. Mouren, the mission was established at the permission of Captain Ruxton of the Muri Province who was the only official that responded to the various requests presented by the SMA missionaries to begin Catholic missions in the area that already had the presence of the Protestant missions and a considerable Islamic influence. The SMA began with Agricultural and food production projects and a little church building. Two year later in 1909 they expanded to Damshi and by 1911 with a petition from the SMA superiors to Rome, the Prefecture of the North of the River Benue was established with Fr Waller as the first Prefect Apostolic and headquarters in Shendem.²⁰²

governing. Ref. The Rev Canon Philip Mounstephen, executive leader of CMS at Canterbury Cathedral during a service of 'thanksgiving and repentance' for the first black Anglican bishop, Samuel Ajayi Crowther. Canterbury Cathedral 29 June 2014 cf. <http://www.cms-uk.org/Whatwedo/Ourstories/Crowther150years/Crowtherstories/TabId/798/ArtMID/4023/ArticleID/2521/Crowther-Talk-Canterbury-Cathedral.aspx>. Cited 23rd October 2015.
202 Cf. Onotu, 59. Fr. Waller, lived till 73 and died at home in France in 1934.



Map 15. The Nigerian six geopolitical zones²⁰³.

The Prefecture of Northern Nigeria was headed by Monsignor Francis O'Rourke and by 1930 (April), Monsignor William Porter was in charge till Thomas Hughes was appointed in 1934. The SMA relocated the headquarters of the Prefecture to Kaduna. The following years saw to an increase of more Irish missionaries, as they seemed to have taken over from the French.

With administrative collaboration of the SMA and CSSp, missions were set up in Markudi (also accessible by train) in 1930, by the Spiritan Fr Charles Heerey from Germany. This was

203 Available from: https://www.researchgate.net/figure/51795009_fig1_Fig.-1.-Map-of-Nigeria-showing-the-six-geopolitical-zones.-For-interpretation-of-the [accessed Nov 27, 2015].

followed by other missions in places like Yola, Gboko, Idah and Oturkpo.²⁰⁴ The German missionaries had to leave Nigeria for political reasons during the Second World War. Some of them were sent to prison in West Indies (Jamaica from 1940-1947) after having a fruitful missionary work as Holy Ghost Missionaries in Nigeria for at least a decade. They were replaced by Irish and Canadian missionaries who rapidly developed the mission schools²⁰⁵ under Fr James Hagan who was later appointed Prefect apostolic of Makurdi. The influx of the Irish missionaries continued to flourish with the arrival of the Irish Augustinians in 1938 in Jos. They were working in the Adamawa Province including Northern Cameroon, following the arrival of the Augustinian priests Patrick. J. Dalton, J. B. Dower and G. Border in Yola via Jos in 1940.²⁰⁶ At the top northern city of Sokoto the Dominicans were also consolidating their mission territories as Fr Edward Lawton OP was appointed the Prefect Apostolic of Sokoto. Sokoto and Kastina were predominantly Muslim territories with Emirates and centres of Islamic civilization and education in Nigeria.²⁰⁷

Politically, the Nigerian constitution was also promulgated in 1954 as final plans were already being tailored for the national independence from Britain. In 1959, the Northern part of the country was already under self-rule with the Nigerian Premier Sir Ahmadu Bello and the following year national independence was granted on the 1st of October 1960.²⁰⁸

204 By 1938, the political administrative headquarters of Gboko, Idah and Oturkpo had Catholic mission presences Cf. Onotu, 60.

205 Like the establishment of Mount St Michael College (secondary school) in Markurdi, in 1953.

206 Others joined the same year and subsequently like Malachy Gullen, Andrew Hanly, Timothy Cotter, and Hugh Garman arrived from Ireland (between 1940 -1943). The success of the mission spread to Adamawa and with the support from Rome, Patrick J. Dalton OSA was appointed the Prefect Apostolic of Yola (which was recently created) in 1950.

207 See F. F. Onotu, Milestones in the Growth of the Catholic Church in Northern Nigeria in A. O. Makozi and G. J. Afolabi Ojo eds., *The History of the Catholic Church in Nigeria* (Lagos: Macmillan Nigerian Publishers, 1982), 60-63.

208 See Onotu, 60-63.

2.6 The Holy Ghost Fathers (CSSp)

They arrived at Onitsha in Eastern Nigeria from the Vicariate of Gabon in December 1885. Fr. Joseph Lutz undertook this missionary journey. In what looked like miraculous acceptance of the Catholic faith, after only four years, the prefecture of the *Lower Niger* was established in 1889 as there was a great acceptance of the faith.

In 1883 Fr. Chausse and Fr Holley SMA visited Onitsha from Lagos and did not establish any mission there until 2 years later in (1885) when Fr Joseph Lutz and Fr Horne together with Br Hermanas and Br Jean-Gotto arrived on the 5th of December. It took them nine days of a tedious journey on the Niger River to arrive at Onitsha. These Spiritans ('Holy Ghost Fathers'), were received by the local king and began their missionary work in a territory that already had the CMS (Anglican missionaries) already well established since they arrived as early as July 26, 1857 led by the famous Samuel Ajayi Crowther and John Christopher Taylor. The Anglicans invested in Education and opened schools and missions in Asaba (1874), Alonso (1877), Abo (1883) and Obosi (1883). With the British traders and political interest in Nigeria at that time, the Anglican missionaries were relatively successful. The Catholic missionaries on the other hand, had to write a formal document with the representative of the Niger British Trading Company that the catholic missionaries would not be involved in commercial activities that might be against the interest of the Niger company. The document was signed by Fr Lutz and Mr Sargent who represented the company on the 7th of December 1885 (barely two days after the arrival of the catholic missionaries). The catholic missionaries prioritised their mission among the slaves, sick and eventually opened schools. The response from the local people was very high.²⁰⁹

209 V.A. Nwosu. 'The growth of the Catholic Church in Onitsha Ecclesiastical province' in A. O. Makozi and G. J. Afolabi Ojo eds., *The History of the Catholic Church in Nigeria* (Lagos: Macmillan Nigerian Publishers, 1982) 39-40. Citing F. K. Ekechi: *Missionary Enterprise and Rivalry in Igboland 1857-1914* (London: Frank Cass, 1972), 72, also See 'Journal of the Fathers' from the original diary made by Fr Joseph Treich, CSSp (Port Harcourt:

By 1905 Joseph Shanahan was the head of the Onitsha mission and the situation of the Province was described like this:

“Into what kind of heritage had he stepped? Well, it was something like this. A handful of missionaries, some twelve in all, were scattered in six or seven stations along a three hundred mile stretch of river- the only ‘highway’ through a vast and unexplored land. Living conditions were not just poor; they were almost unbearable. The impression the missionaries had made on the paganism that enveloped them was less than significant. In one or two of the stations they had practically nothing but runaway or purchased slaves and a few orphans cast out for infringing local taboos. In two others (Onitsha and Calabar) there were some ordinary Christians and many slaves. Good schools were run by two Irish Holy Ghost Brothers, David Doran and Otterran Casey. One station –Auguleri- was run somewhat on the model of the Jesuit ‘reductions’ of Paraguay. The idea was to form a Christian village centered around the church and Father’s house. According as people embraced the true faith they were induced to build a hut for themselves in the village and thus to cut themselves off as far as possible from pagan influences. These influences were certainly considerable, because everything in native life from the cradle to the grave bore the stamp of false worship... the conversion of Southern Nigeria then, up to 1905, might be said to have been attempted in three different ways. There was the charitable way of conducting orphanages for

1947-1950), also “Annual Report of Onitsha Station, 1885 “). See also E. A. Eyandele *The Missionary Impact on Modern Nigeria 1842-1914* (London: Longman, 1971). Joseph Lutz died after ten years (1885-1895) at the age of 43.

slaves and outcasts, the educational way of building and staffing schools, and the enclosure way of the Christian village”.²¹⁰

Bishop Shanahan broadened the scope of the catholic mission schools to embrace not only religious and catechetical formation but also numbers and letters. He was open to a full school system that was opened to the poor and to all irrespective of one’s religious affiliation. He focused on the positive elements of the local culture and won the trust of the local leaders. His vision was for social transformation and not only religious education. Home economics was introduced in catholic schools for girls and the bishop founded a religious congregation of sisters (the Holy Rosary Sisters in 1924) and was able to negotiate with the political rulers to get state funds for running the mission schools that were now open to all. The Government appointed him to be part of the Nigerian Education Board striving for universal education and teachers’ training colleges. He got a co-adjutor bishop Charles Heerey CSSp, also from Ireland who was consecrated in Killesshandra on May 29, 1927. He continued with the methodology of Shanahan who retired in 1932.

2.7 Oshogbo (South West Nigeria) influence of the Baptist mission

A popular education centre in the South West in 1898 was Oshogbo. It was a town that had different Christian missionary groups working together. The Methodists, the Baptists were already there before the catholic mission opened a primary school on July 15, 1915.²¹¹

Of particular significance is the influence of the Baptist missionary movement in Nigeria as one of the Christian groups that introduced Western Education as we come to know it today. Baptist

210 Nwosu, 41. Citing J. P. Jordan (CSSp), *Bishop Shanahan of Southern Nigeria* (Dublin: Clonmore and Reynolds, 1949), 27-28.

211 After the initial missionary works of the 15th -18th century, there was a renewed mission renewal in the modern era in Nigeria with the coming of the Methodists (September 1842), Anglicans (CMS December 1842), the American Baptists (1850) and the Roman Catholics (SMA 1862).

work started in Nigeria in 1850, and for the 150th anniversary of the foundation of the Baptist missionary work, Bamigboye published his book as part of the ‘sesquicentennial celebration literature’. The work shows the origins of the missionary work before and after the arrival of the Southern Baptist Convention missionaries who came from the USA to begin an expansion of the Baptist work in Northern Nigeria in 1947.²¹² “In 1821, Lott Carey and Collin Teague, both African Americans, had gone to Liberia as missionaries under the appointment of the African Baptist Missionary society, an organisation founded six years earlier, primarily by Black Americans in Richmond, Virginia. They were also financially assisted by the Triennial Convention of Baptists. Several other African American Baptist Missionaries followed Carey and Teague over the next few years to Liberia. In 1830 the Triennial Convention’s Board of Foreign Missions, sent for the first time, white missionaries to Africa. They were Rev. and Mrs. Benjamin R. Skinner and their small child. Within a year, as a diary recorded: ‘they all three passed away within ten days of each other, the beginning of that long list of Baptist martyrs who gave their lives for the people of Africa’²¹³.

Some freed slaves in America had a sense of calling to go back to the ‘motherland’ of Africa and evangelise the people there. These included those who were born in America into slavery and were direct descendants of slaves sold from Africa. From the American Baptist historical

212 Ezekiel A Bamigboye, *History of the Baptist work in Northern Nigeria 1901-1975*, (Ibadan: Powerhouse Press and Publishers, 2000) VII. See also Arthur Nortion Cook, *British Enterprise in Nigeria*, (NY: Barves and Noble, Inc., 1965), 149-188; on the creation of ‘Northern Nigeria’ in 1900 with a proclamation of Lord Lugard. See also E.P.T. Crampton, *Christianity in Northern Nigeria*, (London: Geoffery Chapman, 1975). Also, Gordon Robinson and John B. Grimbley, *Church Growth in Central and Southern Nigeria*, (Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1966.), 13. See also E. A. Ayandele, *Nigerian Historical Studies* (London: Frank Cass, 1979), 151-161. Other previous works on the influence of religion in Northern Nigeria include, Thomas Hodgkin *Nigerian Perspectives: An Historical Anthropology* (London: Oxford University Press, 1975), 76.

213 Bamigboye, 16. Citing Travis Collins, *The Baptist Mission of Nigeria, 1850-1993: A History of the Southern Baptist Convention Missionary Work in Nigeria*. (Ibadan: Oduseye Printers, 1993), 2-3. See also Louis Duval M., *Baptist Mission in Nigeria* (Richmond Virginia: Education Department of FMB, S. B. C. 1969). See also See works of C. P. Groves, *The planting of Christianity in Africa*, (London: Lutherworth Press, 1948). See also George W. Sadler. *A Century in Nigeria* (Nashville: Tennessee, Broadman Press, 1950) explaining historical circumstances and events of William Carey and John Wesley’s missionary zeal for reaching out to people in foreign lands.

perspective, Collins is correct to say that: “Baptist work in Nigeria was launched by a group whose beginning is linked to the African slave trade. The Southern Baptist Convention, the corporate body of the Baptists in the United States, which sends and supports missionaries of the Baptist Mission of Nigeria, was born in 1845”²¹⁴ and their interest in missionary work in Africa was productive over the years. However, like the other missionaries from Europe, “West Africa proved particularly hazardous to Caucasians. By 1846 fifteen other white missionaries had been sent by the Triennial Baptist Board but nine of them and two children had died while the rest had returned home due to illness from which some never recovered. Nevertheless, by 1845 there were several Baptist congregations in Liberia, due primarily to the faithful work of African American missionaries”²¹⁵.

One outstanding contribution of the early missionaries was the focus on basic education. It was a common concern for the American Baptists as it was for the Catholics and the Anglicans. Basic education was championed by the Baptists mission in Ogbomoso with the initial work of Bowen and Reid in the 1850s. It soon expanded by the influence of Charles Edwin Smith in 1897 that established the Baptist Training College for teachers and preachers. In 1955, the Western Region Government of Nigeria launched the ‘free primary education’ campaign, but the Baptist schools were all well ahead and in 1960 at independence they had about 40. This increased to 66 schools in 1975 all in the Ogbomoso area, with more than 240 teachers and 6,515 students; including a famous Locket memorial primary school that was dedicated to the children of poor lepers. The American Baptist invested heavily and resolutely in Education in the Ogbomoso mission with post primary education starting at 1912 and a theological seminary

214 Bamigboye, 13. Cf. Travis Collins, *The Baptist Mission of Nigeria, 1850-1993: A History of the Southern Baptist Convention Missionary Work in Nigeria*, (Ibadan: Oduseye Printers, 1993).

215 Bamigboye, 13. Cf. Travis Collins, *The Baptist Mission of Nigeria, 1850-1993: A History of the Southern Baptist Convention Missionary Work in Nigeria*. (Ibadan: Oduseye Printers, 1993), 3. See also E. A. Ayandele, New Introduction to the Second edition of J. T. Bowen’s *Adventures and Missionary Labours in Several Countries in the Interior of Africa from 1849-1856* (London: Frank Cass and Co., 1968).

affiliated to the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, Kentucky in 1939. Ogbomoso with such a vast medical and educational mission presence became the hub of Baptist missionary work in Nigeria.²¹⁶

2.7.1. 1966 statistics of Baptists schools²¹⁷ in Nigeria

Region	Schools	Students	Teachers
Lagos Fed Territory	8	8,874	256
Northern	18	4,551	129
Western	314	49,711	1,646
Eastern	50	13,777	426
Mid-Western	52	12,493	(436?)
Total	442	89,406	(2,893)

Table 7. Baptists Primary/pre-secondary

216 See A. Babs Fafunwa, *A History of Education in Nigeria*, (Plymouth: Clarke, Double and Brendon Ltd., 1975), see also L.M. Duval, *Baptist Mission in Nigeria* (Richmond: F.M.B; SBC 1928). And Ezekiel A Bamigboye, *History of the Baptist work in Northern Nigeria 1901-1975*, (Ibadan: Powerhouse Press and Publishers, 2000), 39-46.

217 Cf. Bamigboye, 162-163 see also Ajayi J. F. Ade, *Christian Mission in Nigeria 1841-1891* (Hong Kong: Commonwealth Press, 1962). Anyandele, E. A. *The Missionary Impact on Modern Nigeria, 1842-1914, A Political and Social Analysis*, (London: Longman, 1974). Conrad Bergendoff, 'The Relationship Between Evangelism and Education in the Mission of the Church'. In National Council of the Churches of Christ in the USA. Div. of Overseas Min., *Christianity and African Education conference* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B Eedmans Publishing Company, 1966). Gordon Robenson, and John B. Grimley, *Church Growth in Central and Southern Nigeria*, (Michigan: Eerdmans, 1966) see also T. M. Collins, *The Baptist Mission of Nigeria, 1850-1993: A history of the Southern Baptist Convention missionary work in Nigeria*. (Ibadan, Nigeria: Y-Books, a division of Associated Book- Makers Nigeria Limited, 1993). And Hans Wilhelm Florin, Phd Thesis. *The Southern Baptist foreign mission enterprise in western Nigeria: An analysis*. (Boston: Boston University, 1960).

Region	Schools	Students	Teachers
Lagos Fed Territory	2	453	26
Northern	2	256	13
Western	11	2,351	108
Eastern	2	400	19
Mid-Western	2	423	20
Total	19	3,883	186

Table 8. Baptists Secondary (grammar schools)

Region	Schools	Students	Teachers
Western (Female)	2	188	12
Western (Male)	2	225	15
Northern	1	262	12
Eastern	1	60	4
Mid-Western	1	59	3
Total	7	824	46

Table 9. Baptists Teachers' training colleges

Schools	Number	Students	Teachers
Modern schools	33	2949	132

Table 10. Other Secondary modern schools

Type	Schools	Students	Teachers
Primary	442	89,406	2,893
Secondary Grammar	19	3883	186
Secondary modern	33	2,949	132
Teachers colleges	7	824	46
Total	501	97,062	3,257

Table 11. Summary

At the same time the Catholic bishop Shanahan tried to improve the level of catholic education using the same method that was popular with the Baptist and Anglican missionaries. The Catholic organisation of the schools was very systematic and “there was a school in practically every town and even every village within the federation of Nigeria. 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, more often than not, served as the Church for liturgical worship on Sundays.”²¹⁸ Mclaughlin noted that while the catholic missionaries were working in Lagos, there were some lay collaborators worthy of mention who played very significant roles in the building up of the schools and missions found in some of the old archives.

218 Imokhai, 12.

<i>Mission Service sector</i>	<i>Names</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Active from</i>
Catechists/teachers	Antonio 'Padre', George Fereira, Borges da Silva, Yaya Johanna (Tokunbo),	Lagos	1838
Mission helper/ community leader	Isidore Ezechiel da Sousa, Raymond G. da Silva (soloist), Manuel Joachim des Reis, Sallust A. Siffre, M. A. Sho- Silva, L. A. Cardoso (warden), E. B. Domingo (president of Catholic Friendly Society). Balthasar des Reis (carpenter)	Lagos	1838
	Miss Louise Rodriguez (Nurse)		

*Table 12. list of lay local missionaries who were prominent in the education and catechetical sectors in Lagos area from the 1830's.*²¹⁹

It is quite clear that the missionaries wanted education to be of significant influence in their work. This is also somehow made Christianity attractive to the local people. The interaction between formal education and local practice in the land will be further discussed in the next chapter.

219 Cf. Maclaughlin, 33-36.

CHAPTER 3

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN RELIGIOUS EDUCATION AND FAITH FORMATION

3.1 Influence of Early Arabic Civilization

For a systematic understanding of the relationship between Religious Education and Faith Formation in the nation's educational system, one needs to take the cultural interactions that took place in the history of Nigeria into cognisance. When the Arabs embarked on their expansion centuries ago, they carried with them a religion and a language; the religion was Islam and the language was Arabic. There was a culture and religion that came to influence, and to a very large extent, conquered the local cultures that they met with. While the focus of this research is not on Islam *per se*, this background will be useful to understand the impact of Western education and Christian theological education that was introduced into the country, when just like their Mid-Eastern counterparts, the Portuguese and later the British invasions came with a language that is now English and religion which is Christianity²²⁰.

It is important to note that records show that the first form of formal Religious Education that was introduced to the country in 9th and 10th century was Islam in the Northern part of Nigeria. The method of education was fundamentally designed towards direct conversion of the local population in those areas to Islam²²¹. Around the year 709, the spread of Islam in North Africa

220 For a more recent work on the Islam-Christian relationship in Northern Nigeria see T. B. Umaru, *Christian-Muslim dialogue in northern Nigeria: A socio-political and theological consideration*. (Philadelphia: Xlibris, 2013).

221 M. A. Mkpa, *Overview of Educational Development: Pre-colonial to Present Day* published online at <http://www.onlinenigeria.com/links/Eduadv.asp> Mkpa argues that the three forms of education (Traditional, Western and Islamic) have been going through periods of success and decline over the past decades due to historical factors. He traces the introduction of Islamic Religious Education to the work of Islamic scholars like Ali Yeji (1349-1385) using the Arabic language. Before now, the Islamic conquest of North Africa had fundamentally reshaped the development of Catholic theology as this 'interrupted' the early spread of Christianity to the African hinterlands (sub-Saharan). The early influence of the Church Fathers and theological works and influence of Saint Augustine from Algeria (354-430) in North Africa shifted to Christian Europe and did not infiltrate Southwards inside the African local communities. In Egypt, the same happened with the previously flourishing communities in Alexandria with the influence of the likes of Saint Cyril of Alesandria (+444) and

had taken stronghold. The conquest was very successful with wars, rapid conversion and the introduction of Arabic education. The political and traditional leadership all became completely Islamic with almost insignificant remnants of what used to be a Catholic past (of the Latin ‘Western Church’). This growth of the Arabic culture spread from Persia to Africa and into parts of Europe till the famous ‘battle of Tours’ in October 732 that saw to the European resistance to the Turks.²²² In Africa, the conquest slowly started to move from the North to the South, apart from a few resistances in some Christian communities that were in Egypt and Ethiopia. These two countries still have strong Christian communities with historical precedents dating to pre-Islamic times. Statistically, there are now more Muslims in Egypt, making about 90% of the population²²³ and in Ethiopia Christianity is about 75%.²²⁴ Some Muslims even consider the fourth most significant Islamic city to be Harar in Ethiopia with about 102 shrines and 82 mosques.²²⁵ Egypt on the other hand traces its Christian roots to Saint Mark the evangelist (first bishop of Alexandria in AD 43)²²⁶ in the first Christian century with monastic

Eusebius Sophronius Hieronymus (also known as Jerome +420), Thascius Caecilius Cyprianus (also known as Cyprian from Tunisia- +258), and Athanasius of Alexandria (+373). These theologians had strong allegiance to Rome (the Latin Church) and began the Pastoral evangelization of the African people. In a letter to Augustine by Jerome in 418 we read: "You are known throughout the world; Catholics honour and esteem you as the one who has established anew the ancient Faith" (conditor antiquae rursum fidei). see. Epistola 195; TeSelle, Eugene (1970). *Augustine the Theologian*. London. 343. ISBN 0-223-97728-4. March 2002 edition: ISBN 1-57910-918-7).

222 David Eggenberger, *An Encyclopedia of Battles: Accounts of Over 1,560 Battles from 1479 B.C. to the Present* (New York: Dover, 1985), see also Henry Coppée, *History of the Conquest of Spain by the Arab-Moors: With a Sketch of the Civilization Which They Achieved, and Imparted to Europe* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2002) and Hussain Monés, *The Dawn of Al-Andalus: A Study of the History of Muslim Spain from the Arab Conquest in 711 A.D. Till 756 A.D* (Cairo: Arabian Society for Printing, Distributing and Pub, 1959).

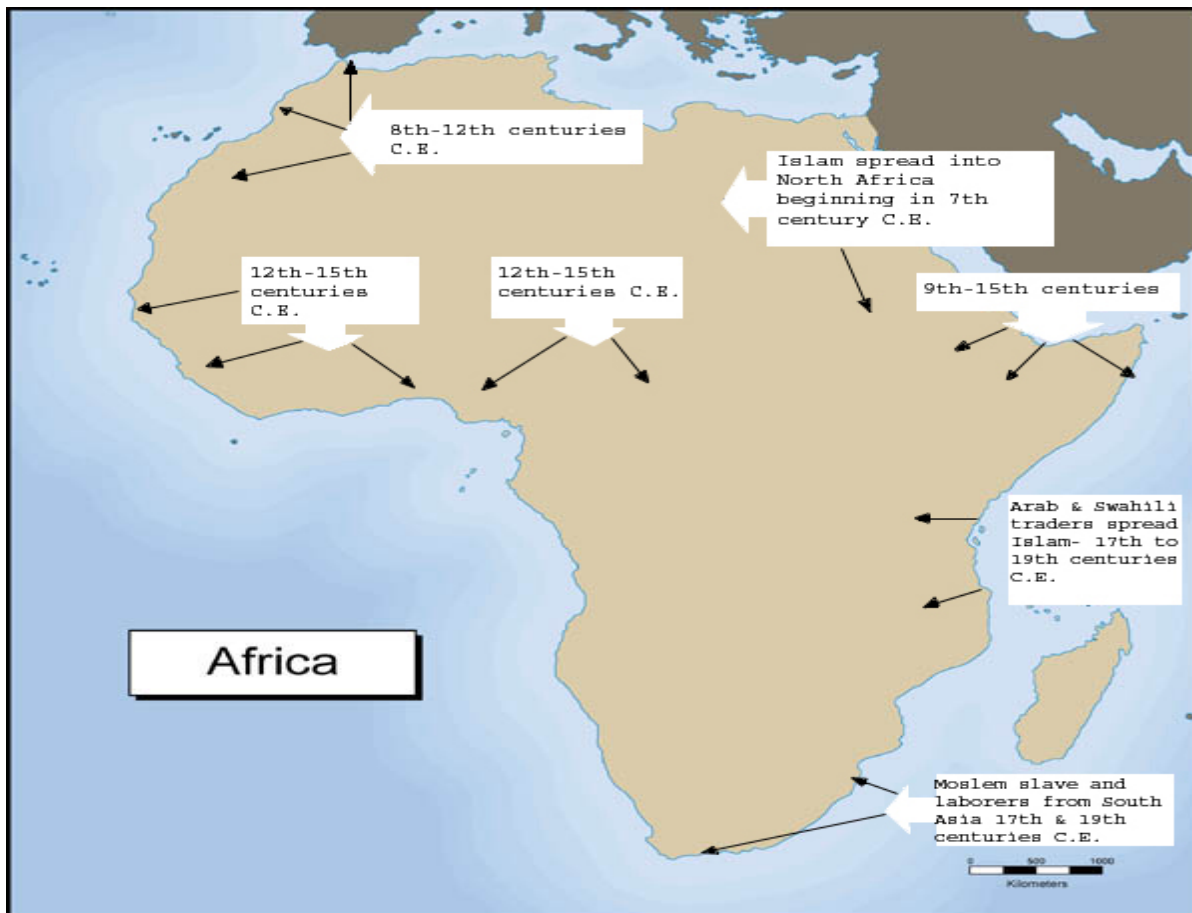
223 Don Wagner. (1997), "Egypt's Coptic Christians: Caught Between Renewal and Persecution". *Washington Report on Middle East Affairs* (October/November 1997). Retrieved June 29, 2016, from <http://www.wrmea.org/1997-october-november/egypt-s-coptic-christians-caught-between-renewal-and-persecution.html>

224 Central Statistical Agency of Ethiopia. (2007). *Ethiopia Population Census Commission, 2007 Population and Housing Census ‘Population by Religion’* (table 3.3) p 114. Retrieved June 29, 2016, from http://www.csa.gov.et/newcsaweb/images/documents/surveys/Population%20and%20Housing%20census/ETH-pop-2007/survey0/data/Doc/Reports/National_Statistical.pdf, for more discussion on the understanding of the Christian community in Egypt see Randall P. Henderson, (2005). *The Egyptian Coptic Christians: the conflict between identity and equality. Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations*, 16(2), 155-166. doi:10.1080/09596410500059664

225 After Mecca, Medina and Jerusalem, all having significant Islamic significance. see Paul B. Henze, *Layers of Time: A History of Ethiopia* (New York: Palgrave, 2000), 43.

226 Otto F. A. Meinardus, (2002). *Two thousand years of Coptic Christianity*. (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 2002), 28. Mentions that Eusebius of Caesarea (ca 260-340) asserts to the fact that Mark was in Alexandria around AD 43. The early Christian theological debates and heresy of Arianism was opposed by Saint

traditions in Alexandria and other Christian communities before the origin of Islam. At that time Egypt was part of the Greek speaking world.²²⁷.



Map16. The historical spread of Islam in Africa beginning from Egypt after the suppression and decline of Coptic Christians²²⁸

Athanasius (ca. 296-373) from Alexandria. This controversy was prominent in the first council of Ephesus in 325. See Jack Finegan, *Handbook of biblical chronology: Principles of time reckoning in the ancient world and problems of chronology in the Bible*. (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson. 1998), 374. And Eusebius, (*Historia Ecclesiastica*) HE 2.16.1 see collection in Eusebius. (1709). *The history of the church, from Our Lord's incarnation, to the twelfth year of the Emperor Mauricius Tiberius, or the year of Christ 594: As it was written in Greek by Eusebius Pamphilus, Bishop of Caesarea in Palestine; Socrates Scholasticus, Native of Constantinople; and Evagrius Scholasticus Born at Epiphania in Syria Secunda. Made English from that edition of these Historians, which Valesius published at Paris in the Years 1659, 1668, and 1673. Also, the Life of Constantine in four books, written by Eusebius Pamphilus; with Constantine's Oration to the Convention of the Saints, and Eusebius's Speech in Praise of Constantine, spoken at his Tricennalia. Valesius's Annotations on these Authors are done into English, and set at their proper Places in the Margin; as likewise a Translation of His Account of their Lives and Writings. With Two indexes; the One, of the Principal Matters that occur in the Text; the Other, of those contained in the Notes (2nd ed.)*. (London: Printed by J.M. for Awtnsham and John Churchill, at the Black Swan in Pater-Noster-Row), 1709.

227 The decline of Catholicism in this region of Africa dates back to AD 647. See C. J. Speel, (1960). *The Disappearance of Christianity from North Africa in the Wake of the Rise of Islam*. *Church History*, 29(04), 379-397. doi:10.2307/3161925

228 Cited from http://exploringafrica.matrix.msu.edu/images/islam_spread.jpg February 12 2015. The African Studies Center and MATRIX digital humanities center at Michigan State University

In northern Nigeria, the *Kanem*²²⁹ ruler, Umme Jilmi (1085-1097) agreed with the acceptance of Islam. By the 13th century there was already a form of school for Islamic religious education in the Northern part of the country.²³⁰ This previous significant historical precedent led to a consistent historical development of formal education in Nigeria.

Education in the northern part of the country was influenced by the spread and practice of Islam. The teaching of Christian Religious Education within such a context was not going to be easy. But as the colonial government began to take a more central role in the political decision of the country, learning and schooling became part of the national agenda from around 1903. Christian parents want their children to be taught about the Bible and Jesus Christ just as the Muslim parents want their children to study the Koran and practice their Islamic faith. The early schools had to find a way to address this serious concern. And as McIntyre puts it: "opening a school will involve notifying the political authorities, including the relevant local officials under the emir and, since Independence, the Ministry of Education. Until 1978, however, most of the day-to-day control was in the hands of the Local Education Authority, formally under the authority of the emir and maintaining close links with the Ministry of Education. The supervision of the Qur'anic schools was not close."²³¹ The Quranic schools were sustained to keep to the Islamic instruction of the children. The teachers are called 'Malams' who sometimes combine this occupation with another job or do it on a full-time basis. Since the primary purpose of the Islamic religious instruction as carried out by these teachers were not designed for job creation

229 The Kanem-Bornu Empire existed in where is now today northern Nigeria and part of Chad Republic. Some historians date its origin to as far back as 600 BC and researchers like the German Heinrich Barth contributed to the scholarly appreciation of these civilizations. The empire was introduced to what is now considered Arabic education (containing Islamic religion) around 1068 AD. See Barth, Heinrich: *Travel and Discoveries in North and Central Africa*, vol. II, New York, 1858, 15–29, 581–602 and Barkindo, Bawuro: "The early States of the Central Sudan: Kanem, Borno and some of their neighbours to c. 1500 AD.", in: J. Ajayi und M. Crowder (ed.), *History of West Africa*, Bd. I, 3rd ed. Harlow 1985, 225–254.

230 A. Babs Fafunwa, *History of Education in Nigeria* (London: HarperCollins Publishers Ltd, 1974), 54.

231 Joe A. McIntyre, (1982). *An Overview of Education in Northern Nigeria: Attempted from the Perspective of Qur'anic Education*. *Africa Spectrum*, 17(1), 28 Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40174051>

but for spiritual formation, it created a vacuum for the setting up and establishing of regular schools with a Western style in the northern communities.²³²

They normally have religious instruction as their main focus rather than other academic discipline that would be typical of the regular fully-fledged school with various subjects and interests. “The curriculum in the first, or elementary level of the school is dominated by learning to read and write the text of the Qur’an. The school in which this is taught is known as the *makarantar allo* which means ‘the school of the writing-board’. In principle, pupils who have attended a *makarantar allo* should be able to read and write the Arabic script well enough to be able to use it in writing their own language.”²³³

The regular school system already developing in the southern part of the country by the Christian missionaries were slightly different from the schools of the Malams in the north. The early schools in the south also focused on Christian Religious instructions but had other subjects included in the curriculum. Literacy and numeracy were important for getting white collar jobs and technical skills were needed for production and labour.

The relationship between the Christian and Islamic religions’ teachers and the colonial government of the British was always in constant negotiation so as not to bring about

232 As for the goals of these schools Santerre’s ideas are highlighted by McIntyre in saying that: “The goals of Qur’anic education are very different to those of the Western school. Among the Hausa, a boy traditionally inherited his father’s occupation and this does not concern the school. It can be said that, in the Qur’anic educational system, there are no built-in occupational goals. This does not exclude personal ambition but the range of occupation directly relevant to Qur’anic education are few, viz. malam, imam and judge. Trading is closely connected to Qur’anic learning but not so directly as the others. The goals of the Qur’anic system are much broader than the future occupation of its pupils: as Renaud Santerre says, ‘the Qur’anic school...aimed to educate rather than instruct, to develop the faith and general knowledge rather than any precise competence in a given sector’”. See J Joe A. McIntyre, (1982). An Overview of Education in Northern Nigeria: Attempted from the Perspective of Qur’anic Education. Africa Spectrum, 17(1), 26 Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40174051>, citing R. Santerre, Pédagogie musulmane d’Afrique noire: l’école coranique peule du Cameroun. (Montréal: Presses de l’Université de Montréal, 1973), 122.

233 Joe A. McIntyre, (1982). An Overview of Education in Northern Nigeria: Attempted from the Perspective of Qur’anic Education. Africa Spectrum, 17(1), 27 Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40174051>

unnecessary social conflict with the local religious leaders in the north and the Christian missionaries in the south. McIntyre adds that “The Fact the relationship between the malam and the authorities is no way comparable (in degree) to that which exists between a Western school and its central organizing body (normally a Ministry of Education) is clear when one realizes that, with or without recognition from the authorities, the Qur’anic school will not survive without the active support and cooperation of the local community: if the people accept the malam as their children’s teacher (and, sometimes, as their own) and as their spiritual and, occasionally, legal helper, the school will flourish”.²³⁴

The Christian missionaries in the northern part of the country were also cautious in their introduction of Christian Religious Education so as not to provoke what was already sensed as a manageable tension of suspicion by the Islamic rulers and elders. That is one of the reasons why McIntyre says that “The history of Western education in Nigeria is, of course, much younger, especially in northern Nigeria. The British colonialists, because of their fears of disturbing an otherwise stable political situation, pushed their policy of Indirect Rule to its logical conclusion and delayed any serious attempts to develop Western education in the north. In the beginning, the only people to receive a Western education were a handful of sons of the nobility (some of the emir’s sent the sons of their slaves), and the few malams who participated in the ‘Zaria Experiment’ (the brainchild of R.S. Miller of the Church Missionary Society), as well as a small number of non-Muslims who attended the school of the Sudan United Mission. These institutions had problems trying to establish themselves and fell victim to the opposition

234 Ibid., 28. McIntyre continues by clarifying some of the qualifications of these malams saying that: “Some malams have only specialised in the Qur’an. It seems however, that nearly all malams have studied the Tafsiri or commentary on the Qur’an and this is an indication of one’s readiness to be a malam. Studying the Tafsiri is normally left until the later part of the studies at the complementary level. Once a man has reached this stage in his education, he is capable of teaching—indeed, he has probably already taught younger pupils informally. He may now open his own school or become a recognised assistant-malam.”. See McIntyre, 27.

of the Residents in the north who convinced the Colonial Office to stop supporting them. In both cases it was fear of the Muslim aristocracy which motivated the Residents”²³⁵

In the context of this early Islamic influence in the Northern part of the country, the development of Christian education has been described by Ayandele as being in three stages. The first stage was from 1870-1888, the second from 1888-1900 and the third from 1900-1918. Ayandele in his work of mentions that:

Missionary enterprise passed through three distinct phases in Northern Nigeria in the period covered by this paper. The first phase, 1870-88, was one of relative success for missions. Their achievement, limited as it was, was owed to their tactics in winning the affection of the traditional rulers and in convincing them that the missions were not the torchbearers of imperialism. Then came the next phase, 1888-1900, when missionary enterprise and British imperialism seemed to the Northern Nigerian rulers as one and the same thing. In those years, for the potentates, missionaries were discredited. In the last phase, 1900-18, the British administration disassociated itself from missionaries and, as time went on, declared opposition to [the] missionary enterprise, not only in the predominantly Muslim areas but in the ‘pagan’ districts as well²³⁶

From around 1857 Samuel Ajayi Crowther was the head of the Niger mission²³⁷ going up to the northern part of the country. Together with James Fedrick Schön they came up with a kind

235 Ibid., 22. Citing Miller and Church Missionary Society, 93. As mentioned in A. F. Ogunsola, *Legislation and Education in Northern Nigeria* (Oxford University Press, Ibadan, 1974), 13.

236 E. A. Ayandele, *Nigerian historical studies*. (London: F. Cass. 1979), 91 see also E. A. Ayandele, "THE MISSIONARY FACTOR IN NORTHERN NIGERIA, 1870-1918." *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria* 3.3 (1966): 503-22.

237 Meaning the River Niger area

of Hausa Language dictionary in their attempt to master the local language and use it as an indigenous tool for education and evangelization. In this regard, Ayandele considers Crowther as one of the significant pioneers in the education and Christian evangelization of the northern peoples in the first phase of 1870-1888 of the modern 'missionary 'enterprise' in Northern Nigeria.

This initial academic work was basic and not very sophisticated in the sense of a high scholarly achievement. This does not take anything away from the intention and pastoral style that led to these writings for the education and theological formation of the people from an indigenous linguistic approach. Another missionary who did a similar thing is C. H. Robinson. He worked on translation of the gospels in Hausa and wrote a dictionary and grammar book on the language at the end of the 19th century.²³⁸

At the same time Islam had taken a strong presence in the northern part of the country. "By 1850 Islam had become for its votaries in Northern Nigeria a heritage in which they had a great deal of pride. It had become for them the source of life, inspiration and of creativeness, to the extent that they exalted it before non-Muslims, African and European. Islam too, had become for them a bond of unity, producing cultural unity to a high degree and a sense of distinctiveness *vis-à-vis* the non-Muslim peoples."²³⁹

The second phase, the local Islamic leaders started suspecting the underlying intention of the Christian missionaries as not only to develop numeracy and literacy but also to evangelise. This

238 Cf. Miller, and Church Missionary Society, 199.

239 Ayandele, 1966, 511-512.

message of preaching about Jesus Christ and conversion away from Islam was not acceptable to the upper ruling class of the people:

the prospects of the Christian mission in Northern Nigeria became dark from 1888 onwards. In that year a German explorer, Staudinger, went to Sokoto and reported to the Sultan that the chief objective of the Royal Niger Company was not trade but the Christianization of Northern Nigeria. In the view of the Emirs events seemed to justify this allegation. In 1890 the company moved its military headquarters to Lokoja and in that year arrived at this confluence of the Niger and Benue, in a single group, twelve missionaries of the CMS known as the Sudan party, under the leadership Graham Wilmot Brooke, a young visionary for whom the evangelization of the Sudan had been an obsession since 1881. These missionaries were dreamers who believed that that in a short time their medical skill and Arabic inscriptions, distributed among caravans, would turn Muslims to Christian. They believed also that their method of evangelization, one of cultural surrender, would appeal to Muslims.²⁴⁰

The reaction was a rejection of Christianity and the foreign missionaries. Consequently, the growth of formal western education was not as successful as in the southern part of the country. It has to be clarified however, that Christianity was never a serious threat to the Islamic communities in the north as their resistance always resulted in a few cases of conversion. In fact, on the other hand, the missionaries at this time, were already expressing their frustrations and looking out to other parts of the country where they could be more fruitful and grow. Before

240 Ayandele, 1979, 93.

1881, most of the local Islamic rulers did not see Christianity as a threat as the local Muslim communities had almost none that was converted to Christianity.

The three Christian missionary groups present in the northern part of the country at that time did not make much progress as far as conversion of the already adherents to Islam was concerned. In general, the local Muslim leaders did not see them as religious threat and instead, were interested in what the local people might benefit from the foreign and local missionaries. The Wesleyan, Catholic and Church Missionary Society had practically the same experience. There was the Catholic SMA mission in Lokoja who after 1888 relocated further South and in 1881 the C.M.S. had a report from Henry Johnson, a local Nigerian Archdeacon that the adherents to Islam in the north were not willing to be converted to Christianity.²⁴¹ “In Bornu in the middle of the nineteenth century Henry Barth was warned that European intruders should not bring two things to the territory the Bible and liquor”²⁴²

During the third stage from 1900 onwards, the British administration in Northern Nigeria gradually started taking over direct leadership control of the government. There were the issues of taxation and especially the lingering issue of slavery to contend with. The Church Missionary Society seems to have had more missionaries in the North at this third stage.²⁴³ After 1906, it was evident that the colonial government was not supporting the missionaries in setting up schools and institutions and they preferred to work directly with the local Emirs and Muslim leaders so as to get their vital cooperation in ruling the people and controlling them as subjects. The decisions were made by the colonial government and the implementation was enforced

241 Cf. Ayandele, 1979.

242 Ayandele, 1966, 511. Citing H. Barth, *Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa*, (London: F. Cass 1965), (Centenary Edition), Vol II, 44.

243 Cf. Ayandele, 1979.

through the local Muslim traditional and religious authorities. This system of ‘indirect-rule’, was found to be favourable.

Missionaries were not getting financial support from the British administration and establishing formal schools was not prioritised.²⁴⁴ Miller made a remark about this situation in the north saying: “I could have done a great deal for the education of the country before the Education Department got into its stride much later on, but this was feared to have elements which would excite the suspicions of the Moslem rulers”.²⁴⁵ He continues to emphasise that the Christian missionaries in the north maintained a peaceful presence among the local people and that could have led to a fruitful coexistence as the years go by. Millar adds: “I believe I am right in saying that during the thirty-five years in which missionary works has been carried on by the C.M.S. in the Hausa States of Northern Nigeria, in spite of all fears and anxieties on the part of the Administration, there has never been a single incident calculated to cause trouble to the Administration that could be attributed in any sense to missionary work.”²⁴⁶ Miller gives a vivid account of his missionary experience in the northern part of the country around 1915 which was cordial and friendly as the Christian missionaries also made deliberate efforts to live in peace with the local people.²⁴⁷ However, Miller uses expressions that suggest that attitude of the

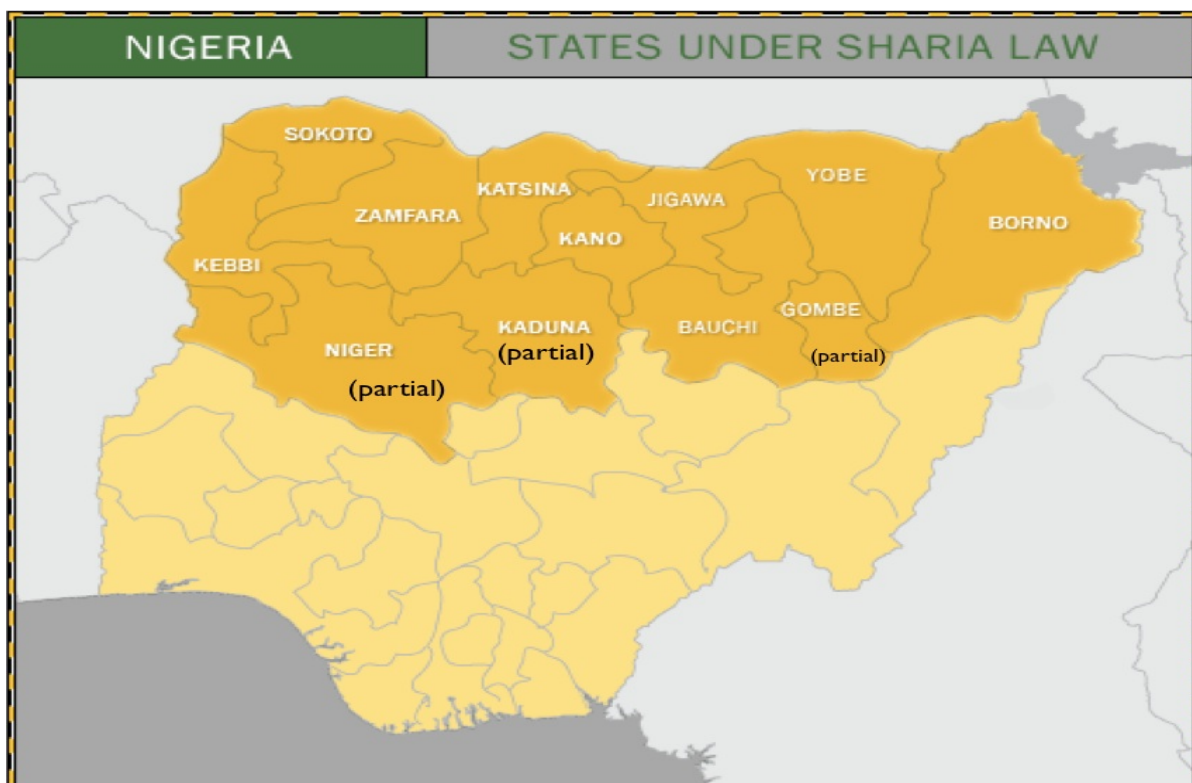
244 Ibid.

245 Miller and Church Missionary Society, 93. As mentioned in A. F. Ogunsoola, *Legislation and Education in Northern Nigeria* (Oxford University Press, Ibadan, 1974), 13.

246 Miller, and Church Missionary Society, 94.

247 In describing the methodology of simplicity of witness and level of friendship and acceptance with the local predominantly Moslem people Miller recounts: “from the very beginning we were clear that our residences should conform as far as possible in type and detail to those of the people among whom we lived. Our huts were built of mud with grass roofs, and a veranda of the same materials. We had then, and until 1915, no storied houses. A mud wall surrounded the compound, and at one point, by an involution of the wall, a porch became part of the compound, forming a room with two door-ways, so that a visitor could come in to this porch without any ceremony, stay and work in it—we had seats made—or take shelter during rain. From the inner doorway he could see all the interior of our compound; but, if he wished to enter, the usual salutation, so well-known in all Moslem lands: ‘Assalam alaiikum,’ was made in a loud voice, to be answered from inside by the word of peace: ‘Alaikum assalam,’ and the visitor was free then to walk into any part of the compound. The ‘triple fence’ of dog, iron palings with wires and staircase to an upper story, which so often form a fatal block to friendship between missionaries and their Moslem acquaintances, we eschewed. We lived among the people, and were easily accessible by day or night. To this, as well as the friendliness of our boys, and our refusal ever to be ‘not at home,’ I attribute to the

missionaries was sometimes that of superiority. The zeal to evangelise and educate the people was expressed in ways that showed that the missionaries had ambitions not only to liberate but also to rule. Miller said he was ‘convinced’ that though missionaries did not have opposition from the local people, he was sure the kings and local chiefs were suspicious of Western civilization, emancipation and education. This according to him, was because their rulers wanted to keep them in under ‘subjection and ignorance’²⁴⁸. This seems to suggest that the local leaders were manipulative of their own people and being aware of the good things that the missionaries were introducing, deliberately tried to prevent them. Whatever the case, there was some level of suspicion on both sides, of the local rulers and the missionaries irrespective of their Christian denomination.



Map 17. showing Moslem North (Sharia Law practicing areas) and Christian South by predominance in Nigeria.²⁴⁹

quite surprising friendship which I had with the people of Zairia.” See W. R. Miller, and Church Missionary Society, *Reflections of a Pioneer*. (London: Church Missionary Society, 1936), 91-92.

248 Cf. Miller, and Church Missionary Society, 94.

249 Martin W. Lewis, *Electoral Politics and Religious Strife in Nigeria*, in *GeoCurrents: The Peoples, Places and Languages Shaping Current Events*. May 5, 2011 (3:36 pm) Sourced from <http://www.geocurrents.info/cultural-geography/electoral-politics-and-religious-strife-in-nigeria>

3.2 Developments of Christian Religious Education in Nigerian Secondary Schools

From a Catholic perspective, the two opposing positions in the missions were not only in the authoritative power control in Europe between Church and States, but also in the consequential style of missionary work. The Propaganda tended to favour training a setting up of local clergy and Church through formal Western education, while the *Padroado* style could be argued to more of territorial conquest. Contributions from Gustav Warneck (1834-1910) of the Protestant tradition favoured the missionary approach of setting up local churches that were independent.²⁵⁰

By 1919 there was an encyclical titled *Maximum Illud* by Pope Benedict XV²⁵¹ that emphasized the education of the local people in the missions. This would be later followed by other papal apostolic letters with similar themes by Pope Pius XI, *Rerum Ecclesiae* 28 Feb 1926; Pope Pius XII, *Evangelii Praecones* 2 June 1951 and *Fidei Donum* 21 April 1957. *Maximum Illud* encouraged missionaries to learn local languages and be in a better position to be integrated with the local people in the missions. Ecclesiastical delegates and leaders of missionary religious orders were encouraged to send more people to the mission lands after the example of previous missionaries who had worked in past generations that saw to the evangelization of Ireland, the Slavs, India and Japan, Australia, the Americas, and the contribution and influence of such figures as Saint Augustine.

250 Ibid., 2. Citing Gustav Warneck *Evangelische Missionslehre*, vol 1-5 (Göttingen, 1892-1903) see also Gustav Warneck, *Modern Missions and Culture* Translated from the German by Thomas Smith. Edinburgh: J. Gemmel, 1883. Also Gustav Warneck, *Outline of a History of Protestant Missions from the Reformation to the Present Time: A Contribution to Modern Church History*. Authorized translation from the seventh German edition by George Robson. (New York: Revell, 1901). See also Gerald H. Anderson et al eds., *Missionary Movement*, (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1994). 373-382. His work on Missiology as an academic discipline is foundational; later followed by Joseph Schmidlin and others (see his book *Die katholische Missionslehre im Grundriss*, (Münster, 1919).

251 Pope Benedict XV, *Maximum Illud* (London: Catholic Truth Society, 1936).

Seminaries were encouraged to open for the formation of local clergy later on with *Evangelii Praecones* (1951). Pope Pius XII supported a direct engagement with political destinies of countries in the mission in the wake of the nationalist movements in Africa:

The youth, especially those of them who have gone through high schools, will control the destiny of their countries in the future. The importance of education at the elementary, secondary, and university levels is generally recognized as deserving of the greatest care. For this reason, therefore, we exhort mission leaders with fatherly endearment to spare no effort or expense in the development of these institutions. The elementary and secondary schools have, in addition, the advantage of creating valuable relationships between the missionaries and the natives. The youth in particular, who are as flexible as wax, can easily be educated to understand, value, and accept Catholic doctrines. The well-educated among them shall one day have leading positions in Government, and the masses shall have them as their leaders and teachers.²⁵²

According to Sir James Marshall who contributed great insights to the Catholic Missions in West Africa, the ‘school’ apostolate was the best way evangelize in Africa²⁵³. While education continues to be the most significant investment of any nation, the early Christian Missionaries (Catholics and Protestants) saw to the early introduction of formal education to Southern Nigeria. With a rather complicated political manoeuvre and tensions between the French, English, and Germans, a conference was held in Berlin in 1885 that saw to the ‘demarcation’

252 Omenka, 5. Citing *Evangelii Praecones Acta Apostolicae Sedis* (AAS), 43 (1951) 514-515

253 J. Marshall, *Reminiscences of West Africa and its Missions*, London: St Anselm’s Society, 1885.

and ‘sharing’ of the African colonies by the dominant European nations that already had their men on the ground as explorers, missionaries, administrators and businessmen.

The year 1885 marks the beginning of the missionary scramble for the souls of Nigerians because after the Berlin Conference of 1884-1885, European nations were required to show evidence of effective occupation for any territory to which they laid claims. Accordingly, soldiers, traders, merchants and missionaries alike were sent afield and used by the various imperial governments to satisfy this clause of the treaty. The result of this scramble was the establishment of unprecedented numbers of schools by the various religious organizations in Nigeria because the schools, unfortunately, became important avenues for proselytization.²⁵⁴

In 1852, Lagos was declared a British protectorate and by 1900 the name ‘Nigeria’ (from the territories in the river Niger area) was introduced after a struggle with the French and the Royal Niger company, to prevent the French from taking control of the area as they expanded their territories in West Africa. The French missionary Congregation like the *Spiritans* sent English-speaking missionaries to Nigeria as the territory was now under the British and this saw to an increase of the Irish missionaries in Southern Nigeria.²⁵⁵

From the beginning of the 19th century, European countries began to lay claims to the African interior. With Britain, France, Germany, Portugal and

254 Magnus O Bassey, *Missionary Rivalry and Educational Expansion in Nigeria, 1885-1945* (Lewiston: E. Mellen Press, 1999), xix.

255 Omenka, 12-15. Citing J. E. Flint. *Sir Goldie and the Making of Nigeria* (London: Oxford University Press, 1960). Archives, Congrégation du Saint-Esprit, Paris (SCE):191/A/IV, “La Question Coloniale au Parlement Allemand”, Berlin, 26 November 1889. See also Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, Documents Diplomatiques, Afrique: Convention entre la France et la Grande Bretagne (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1898). And M. J. Bane, *Catholic Pioneers in West Africa* (Dublin: Conmore and Reynolds, 1956). It should be noted that while all this political strife was going on, the propaganda cautioned the missionaries against getting too involved in colonial politics as was also mentioned in the Papal encyclicals that were published during the eighteenth and nineteenth century.

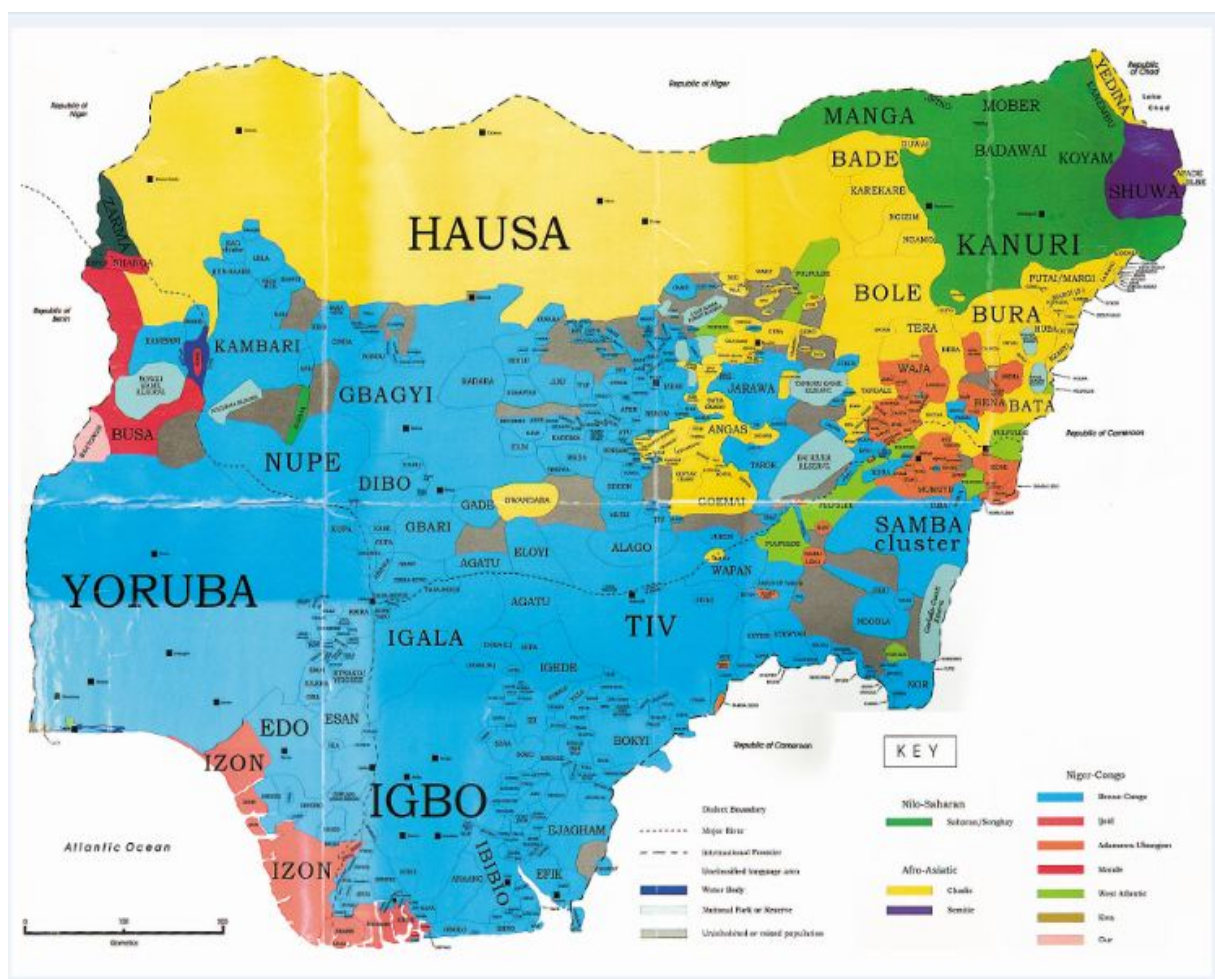
Italy staking out claims to parcels of African land, the scramble for Africa had begun in full force during the second half of the 19th century. Accordingly, these countries met from November 1884-January 1885 under the chairmanship of Prince Otto von Bismarck, the Chancellor Germany, to lay down rules which governed the scramble for Africa. On February 26, 1885 the Berlin Act was signed. The Act stipulated ‘that any power which wanted to claim any territory should notify the other signatory powers in order to enable them, if need be, to make good any claims of their own...’ and that ‘any such annexations should be followed by effective occupation before they became valid...’ [Boahen, 1966, 133]. Although in Berlin, the whole African continent had been vaguely partitioned among the various European powers, each European nation had to stake out its claims with effective occupation before they became valid. Consequently, during and after the Berlin Conference, European powers sent out traders, missionaries and soldiers who through bribery, persuasion or coercion caused African rulers to sign protection agreements in which they ceded their lands and their authority to European powers. In this way, African lands were ceded and parcelled out according to the political wishes of European powers.²⁵⁶

For the sake of visual clarity, it is important to state that with a present estimated Nigerian population of 180 million people (on a ratio of 50.912% male to 49.088% female) and a large number of tribes and cultures, the *World Population Review* and United Nation statistics show²⁵⁷ that academic researches on different aspects of the country would need to be narrowed

256 Bassey, 2-3. Citing A. Boahen, *Topics in West African history*, (London: Longman, 1966), 133.

257 World Population Review, <http://worldpopulationreview.com/countries/nigeria-population/> cited on 10 October 2014.

and specific to get a clear picture. The map below shows the major ethnic groups, which also reflects the type of religious education and theological formation that is being taught in the different parts of the country to the different ethnic groups. As earlier stated, most of the communities (now states) in the south of the country would be educated from a Christian theological background which is as a result of the influence of Western education received by early contact with the Western world. This would be different from those in the north who first came in contact with a Mid-Eastern culture and education.



Map 18. Nigeria: showing major ethnic groups and cultures which were influenced by the theological formation received through the type of formal education that was first introduced.²⁵⁸

258 Jaye Gaskia, These Ethno-Religious Irredentists and Jingoists: Who do they speak for sef? In NigerianCurrent, (Lagos: Current Media Nigeria Limited), <http://www.nigeriancurrent.com/ck89-opinion/these-ethno-religious-irredentists-and-jingoists-who-do-they-speak-for-sef> cited 20th October 2014.

3.3 Challenges of formal schools in African Missions

The effort to educate the local population was not the priority during the time of the very early missionaries. Popular missionary style used by people like Saint Francis Xavier²⁵⁹, who was canonized in 1622, was mainly to establish churches. This model basically focused on teaching basic catechism and preparing people for the sacraments, especially baptism. Other forms of instruction took place in the church premises that would later be developed into mission schools. Also looking at some of the missionary practices in Portuguese Africa like Angola in 1693, their focus was mainly in areas where there were their countrymen or European settlements in the colonies²⁶⁰. It is reasonable to conclude that “this lack of an extensive educational programme is the greatest single factor which distinguishes the missionary endeavours of these (15th-18th) centuries from the labours of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.”²⁶¹

Archival documents from Monteleone to the *propaganda office in Rome*²⁶² also reveal that the understanding of the black Africans and their culture at that time was very limited to the Europeans, who had to speculate and rely on the prevailing anthropological assumptions that pervaded the Western world about Africa (which could be argued has unfortunately lasted till today within some circles). The local traditional practices and fetish lifestyle that was reported from explorers and slave traders (of the English, Dutch, Portuguese and Danes, against the background of the European explorations including those of the Americas like the Voyages of Christopher Columbus -1492, 93, 98 and 1502) became the only authoritative pieces of documents that people back in Europe had to read. It is quite explicable then to a modern reader

259 Francisco de Jasso y Azpilicueta 7th April 1506 – 3rd December 1552.

260 Omenka, 17-18. Citing F. Monteleone to propaganda” Sao Thomé, letter written on 18 November, 1683 soliciting for assistance from 25 missionaries in Angola cited in R. Streit, J. Dindinger, *Bibliotheca Missionum*, XVI, 725).

261 Omenka, 18.

262 Cf. Omenka, 17-18 citing F. Monteleone to propaganda” Sao Thomé, letter written on 18 November, 1683 soliciting for assistance from 25 missionaries in Angola cited in R. Streit, J. Dindinger, *Bibliotheca Missionum*, XVI, 725).

of medieval African missionary history why formal education could not have been a priority at that time.²⁶³

The critique is two sided as later documents (in 1911) would reveal that some of the Missionaries were already suspicious of the effects of modern education (and the sciences) on faith in their own European countries. With the rise of modernism, they did not want that to happen to the local African people, where they had come to propagate an evangelisation they hoped to be pure and uncontaminated. Popular among the evidence that allude to this is the famous letter of the Italian Father Carlo Zappa who was a member of the Society of the African Mission (SMA) stating:

It is well known amongst all my brethren of the Mission at least until recently, that I have not favoured or much encouraged the work of schools, I believe as I still do that in encouraging them to be instructed we are pushing our young people towards the European business house and towards Government employment, and I don't think we ought to be the first to push them in this direction. In such work they are far from the guardianship of their families and the missionaries, and are naturally led into places of corruption where their morals and their faith are practically certain to be lost... For this reason I have always thought the school method involves a misunderstanding of our mission which is simply an apostolic affair; we would virtually be committing a crime against the souls of these children, if we were to be the first means of leading them into this dangerous situation, without being actually forced to do so.²⁶⁴

263 Omenka, 16.

264 Omenka, 9. Citing "C. Zappa to Monsignor Pellet", 12 Feb, 1911. Cited in J. U. Todd, *African Missions* (London: 1962), 121ff.

This is in sharp contrast with catholic educational reformers who in France, Italy, England and Ireland (like Saint John Baptist de La Salle (1651-1719), Saint John Bosco (1815-1888) and John Henry Newman (1801-1890), who represented the official church position on education of the people for social and spiritual emancipation of the poor.

As the missionary work progressed, school, mission and church became very closely knit together. The compound was the Mission, containing the church building and school. Sometimes the same structures were used for praying and later instruction. Other documents also prove that while some individual members of missionary orders in West African Missions were against the school model of evangelisation (or at least advocating for an indigenous model different from their home countries), the official stand of the *Propaganda Fide* and directives of their respective orders were to focus on the school model. An example of this is the method used by Francis Maria Paul Libermann (1802-1852) the founder of the Society of the Immaculate Heart of Mary (founded in 1841) from France.²⁶⁵ Libermann had a vision of a local clergy formation for long-term evangelization and began a long tradition of school formation and evangelisation to prepare the society. The view of supporting the slaves and marginalised to the extent of advocating for local leadership and education was also being engaged in by Saint Daniel Comboni (1831-1881) in the Sudan. Libermann advocated for this in a letter written in the 1846 to *Propaganda* office.²⁶⁶

265 This order was later merged with another order founded by Claude François Poullat de Places called the Holy Ghost Society Also known as the Spiritans or Holy Ghost Fathers

266 See Omenka, . 8. Citing P.F. Moody, “The Growth of Catholic Missions in Western, Central and Eastern Africa”, *Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide Memoria Rerum, 1622-1972*, ed J. Metzler (Freiburg: Herder, 1975) III/1, 204-208. See also L. Dohmen, “Missionsstrategische Gedanken des ehrwürdigen P. Libermann”, *Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft -ZM*, 36 (1952), 153-155 and see also F.M.P. Libermann, “Mémoire à la Propagande”, cited in A. Engel, *Die Missionsmethode der Missionare vom Heiligen Geist auf den Afrikanischen Festland* (Neuß, 1932), 82.

By 1853, another document by Monsignor Aloyse Kobès who was the Pro-vicar of Senegambia to *Propaganda* in favour of Libermann's style of missionary work reads:

We are in complete agreement with Mgr. Barron on following the mission formula proposed by M. Libermann, that schools and central establishment must be started to ensure the formation of a native clergy. The reason is that the unhealthy climate does not allow missionaries to stay long enough to learn the native languages, and so these missions will never be sufficiently cared for by European workers ²⁶⁷

Members of religious orders in the African Mission who were not in favour of education were sanctioned as they were clearly not prioritizing the pastoral understanding and teaching of the Church, irrespective of their cultural or intellectual arguments. It seems there was certain confusion about whether missionaries were 'school teachers' or 'pastoral workers'. A combination of both was to emerge as the official practice. To correct one such error of some missionaries not advocating for education of the local people, Augustin Planque (1826-1907)²⁶⁸ the superior of the Society of African Missions (SMA) wrote a letter seeking for corrective measure against one of his members named James Hennebery:

James Hennebery knows very well that our Mission prospers primarily through the education of children. Yet on arriving at Elmina [Gold Cost], he intends, in his youthful pride, to change everything in the Mission; it would be more appropriate to say that he wants to suppress a Mission which finds it

267 Omenka, 9. Citing P. F. Moody, "The Growth of Catholic Missions in Western, Central and Eastern Africa", *Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide Memoria Rerum, 1622-1972*, ed J. Metzler (Freiburg: Herder, 1975), III/1, 208.

268 Ibid. See also Gerald H Anderson, *Biographical Dictionary of Christian Missions* (Grand Rapids, Mich: W.B. Eerdmans Pub, 1999), 539.

impossible to progress without the youth. It was through the schools that Elmina had more than 300 baptisms in 1884²⁶⁹

3.4 The Parochial School system and the Irish connection

The most successful development of the missionaries in Nigeria was the setting up of the parochial schools. Two predominant methods were used. One was the attempt by Fr Zappa who bought slaves from their masters and got them educated so that they could be later liberated, and the other was by opening schools for all children irrespective of their religious affiliation or political status in the society. Slaves that were bought would belong to the religion of their owners after training. This method was also used by the Islamic traders. It was like a game of buying souls! Some missionaries understood that if the children were not bought, some other religious groups would buy them and take them away to join their religion. Cash was essential for ownership of land, food and people.

Bishop Shanahan who was in the Prefecture of the Lower Niger, channelled his funds to opening mission schools and was not in favour of the 'buying' method. He saw education as the most effective method of evangelization and transformation even though its effect may only be felt in the long term. Others probably wanted a more immediate and direct solution. Both approaches by Zappa and Shanahan were attempts to establish the local church and promote Western education.

Irish nuns already started working in the convent school Lagos as early as 1897. In 1884, brother Doyle also from Ireland was in charge of the boys school and opened St Gregory's Grammar

269 Ibid, 10. Citing M. J. Walsh, "The Catholic Contribution to Education in Western Nigeria, 1861-1926" (unpublished M. A. Thesis, University of London 1951), 115.

School. In 1889, there was Bishop Paul Pallet in Holy Cross Lagos and Mr Beecroft was the headmaster of St John the Evangelist School. Despite the death of one Irish sister, a reverend brother and two priests probably by the yellow fever epidemic (1879-1880), the catholic schools still survived.

On November 15 1889, Inspector Saunders commented in the log book that school was very well kept. The inspection report of November 14 1889 stated: ‘Organization and discipline very good in every respect work done in examination was the best I have yet met in West Africa wonderful smartness in all these subjects (Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, Spelling). Thoroughly good teaching showing very satisfactory results’. The 1890 report signed by H. Carr stated: ‘I am glad once more to record my pleasure to find the children of this school so orderly and well-behaved. Time table strictly adhered to.’ In the following year, the inspector’s report was: ‘Organization and discipline very good indeed. I may fairly say excellent.’ Subsequent reports in the following years were also in glowing terms²⁷⁰

As Prefect of Western Niger in 1896, Fr. Zappa’s priority of putting church membership growth and recruitment was documented in a letter to Rome in 1911 in the SMA achieves reads: “it is well known amongst all my brethren of the mission at least until recently, that I have not favoured or much encouraged the work of schools; I believe, as I still do, that encouraging them to be instructed, we are pushing our young people towards government employment, and I do not think we ought to be the first to push them in this direction. In such work, they are far from the guardianship of their families and missionaries, and are usually led into places of corruption

270 Cf. McLoughlin, 18. Lagos would later become the first capital city of Nigeria after independence and still remains the nation’s top commercial centre. See Kunle Akinsemyin, *Who are the Lagosians?* (Lagos: Nigerian Security Print & Mining Co. 1979).

where their morals and their faith are practically certain to be lost...for this reason I have always thought the school method involves a misunderstanding of our mission which is simply an apostolic affair; we would virtually be committing a crime against the souls of these children, if we were to be the first means of leading them into this dangerous situation, without being actually forced to do so”²⁷¹ However by 1916 schools were already opening in different part of the South West stretching from Lagos, Abeokuta, Oshogbo, Ondo, Ibadan, and Ife, with missionaries moving with boats, bicycles, train and on foot. The CMS (Anglican) churches and schools were also springing up.²⁷²

3.5 Western Education and formation of Local clergy

After the establishment of the *Vicariate Apostolic of Western Nigeria* in 1894 (following the creation of the Prefecture Apostolic of the Niger in 1884), Monsignor Carlo Zappa who was the Prefect Apostolic for Western Nigeria emphasised the training of pastoral workers. A school that was previously opened at Asaba in 1888 was followed by another school in Ibusa which was close by. Seminarians were being prepared to form the first group of local catholic clergy. He did this with the assistance of Fr Frigerio who was interested in the formation of the local clergy. He learnt the local Igbo language and compiled a dictionary in Igbo. French Monsignor Carlo Zappa died on 30th January 1917.²⁷³ In 1917 Bishop Broderick SMA, was appointed to replace Zappa. By 1911, investment in schools (a method that was popularised by the Irish

271 C.A. Imokhai, The evolution of the Catholic Church in Nigeria in A. O. Makozi and G. J. Afolabi Ojo eds., *The History of the Catholic Church in Nigeria* (Lagos: Macmillan Nigerian Publishers, 1982), 12.

272 Cf. P. Mcloughlin, Highlights of the History of the Catholic Church in the Lagos ecclesiastical province in Nigeria in A. O. Makozi and G. J. Afolabi Ojo eds., *The History of the Catholic Church in Nigeria* (Lagos: Macmillan Nigerian Publishers, 1982), 26.

273 He died at 56 (1861-1917), having spent 31 years in the missions. He was buried like many others in the missionary cemetery in Asaba. He was buried by Bishop Shanahan of Onitsha who lived just across the River Niger bordering Asaba. See “origin and Development of the Catholic Church in the present Ecclesiastical Province of Benin City” published by the Society of African Mission SMA website at <http://www.sma.ie/history-of-the-church-in-mid-west-nigeria/> cited on September 14 2015.

missionaries) was already quite advanced and in 1920, Fr Paul Emechete was ordained by Bishop Broderick as the first local Nigerian priest.²⁷⁴

Pastoral activities in Lagos grew with celebration of the Marian year in 1954 with a Marian congress and priestly ordination of Fathers Shomide and B. Elaho. The spread of the Legion of Mary in the 1930s in Lagos was significant in the promotion of the faith. The Mysteries of the Rosary were connected to the fifteen catholic ecclesiastical units in the country. And Fr J. Kilbey who was a friend of Frank Duff was the spiritual director and promoter of the Legionaries. The visit of Cardinal McIntyre from Los Angeles as the first cardinal to visit Nigeria in 1954 as the papal legate, and a commemoration of the apparition of Our Lady of Lourdes all shaped the pastoral animation at that time.²⁷⁵ Previous educational promotion already started with the publication of the Catholic Newspaper from 1925 (The Catholic Herald, which was unfortunately closed down by Archbishop Taylor after about 30 years in 1957). The rapid growth of the school sector will become providential, especially in creating the foundation for the growth of local vocations with the large deportation of about 300 missionaries during the Nigerian civil war (1967-1970).²⁷⁶

In general, the Christian missionaries were training the students in basic life skills and character formation. They also expected that in the process, many bright and promising students would

274 J. Higgins, *Kindling the Fire*, (Ibadan: SMA Regional House, 2003), 37. After the ordination of this first local priest on the 6th of January 1920, other three Yoruba priests in the Western part of the country were ordained in the Cathedral church of Lagos (on August 18, 1929) in the persons of Frs. Julius Adewuyi, Peter Oni and Lawrence Layode, On the 8th of December 1930, John Cross Anyogu was ordained the first Igbo priest in the Eastern part of the country in Onitsha Ecclesiastical province. In 1942 Fr Stephen Umurie was ordained from Warri and from the North Fr Alexius Makozi and Fr Joseph Ohieku were ordained in 1961. They are from Okene. See also M. P. McLoughlin, Highlights of the History of the Catholic Church in the Lagos ecclesiastical province in Nigeria in A. O. Makozi and G. J. Afolabi Ojo eds., *The History of the Catholic Church in Nigeria* (Lagos: Macmillan Nigerian Publishers, 1982) and Nwosu, 43.

275 McLoughlin, 32.

276 Cf. Aniagwu J. Faith and Social Action: perspectives on the Church and Society (Iperu Iremo: Ambassador Publication, 2011), 120.

respond to the call to be leaders and ministers in the church. In the expectations of the Christian schools this was the situation.

While I hold that our mission schools should do all that is possible to induce their scholars to enter the ministry, and other service specially devoted to winning men for Christ, I also feel that these schools should be definitely preparing citizens for various other useful and social services. They should give an education which would enable the boys to become pre-eminent in their own line, and seek to develop such character as shall fit them to be real missionaries among all their fellows. Cramming for examinations should cease or be rigidly controlled.²⁷⁷

After this initial ordination of local catholic priests, the trend continued to grow. In 1937 there was the ordination of William Obelagu, Joseph Nwanegbo and Michael Tansi.²⁷⁸ Later on in 1944, there was the ordination of Mark Unegbu, Moses Emerenini and David Panaki. In 1945 two Igbo priests were also ordained in the persons of Anthony Nwedo and Edward Ahaji. From 1954 to 1960, the number of indigenous catholic priests trained from the missionary catholic schools and seminaries in South-Eastern Nigeria had risen to about thirty. These include Godfrey Okoye and Dominic Ekandem²⁷⁹ (1947), Moses Orakwudo and Edward Nwafor

277 Miller and Church Missionary Society, 192.

278 Michael Iwene Tansi (1903-1964) was beatified by Pope John Paul II in Onitsha, Nigeria on 22 March 1998. In his exhortation the Pope remarked that: "blessed Cyprian Michael Tansi is a prime example of the fruits of holiness which have grown and matured in the Church in Nigeria since the Gospel was first preached in this land. He received the gift of faith through the efforts of missionaries, and taking the Christian way of life as his own he made it truly African and Nigerian". See Homily at the Mass for the Beatification of Father Cyprian Iwene Tansi paragraph 4, in Chidi Denis Isizoh, (1998). Afrikaworld.net. Retrieved July 30, 2016, from <http://www.afrikaworld.net/tansi/recordshomily.htm>, For other works on Tansi see Elizabeth Allo Isichei, *Entirely for God: The Life of Michael Iwene Tansi*, (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1980).

John Paul, (1998). Nigeria: Be reconciled! exhortations of the Holy Father Pope John Paul II on the occasion of his second visit to Nigeria for the beatification of Blessed Cyprian Michael Iwene Tansi (March 21-23, 1998). Lagos, Nigeria: A publication of Catholic Secretariat of Nigeria.

279 Dominic Ignatius Ekandem (1917-1995) later became a cardinal in 1976. A was a native of Cross River State. See Michael I. Edem, (2016). *Dominic Ignatius Ekandem 1917-1995: The Prince Who Became a Cardinal, the Vanguard of Catholicism in Nigeria*. (Bloomington, Indiana: Xlibris Corp. 2016).

(1948). Others before 1960 include Simon Ezeanya and Michael Maduka.²⁸⁰ In other parts of the country, the local catholic priests were also on the gradual increase as can be seen in the chart below. This was part of the fruits of the catholic schools, teaching of Christian Religious Education and the example of the early catholic missionaries. The Protestant missionaries began the training of local clergy before the catholic missionaries. While the Anglican church was investing on overseas training for their local clergy from Nigeria (studying in England and preparing them to come back home and work for their local people), the catholic missionary groups were investing in recruiting vocations from their different countries of origin to come and take up leadership roles in the mission. This was not in accordance with the general animation from Rome that was already advocating for local formation of church leaders, clergy and personnel.²⁸¹

From 1931, there was already the foundations for the formation of local religious congregations for Nigerian women. This began with the sisters of the Holy Handmaids of the Holy Child Jesus. The H.H.C.J. sisters were founded by the Irish sister Mary Charles Magdalen Walker who had been in Nigeria since 1923. She was a Sister of Charity. The first four sisters who began this new congregation were all students from the catholic school in Calabar that were already being prepared by the curriculum of Christian Religious Education at that time. Sister Walker had been invited by the Spiritan Bishop Shanahan; both were Irish.

280 Nkem Hybinus M. V. Chigere, *Foreign missionary background and indigenous evangelization in Igboland*. (Münster: Lit. 2001), 291.

281 Chukwudi A. Njoku, 'The missionary factor in African Christianity' in Ogbu U. Kalu, (Ed.). *African Christianity: An African story*. (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 2007), 254, and Thomas Kiggins, *Maynooth mission to Africa: The story of St. Patrick's, Kiltegan*. (Dublin: Gill and MacMillan, 1991), 221-222. For some pragmatic and pastoral suggestions on this topic, see also Aylward Shorter, and Eugene Kataza, (Eds.), *Missionaries to yourselves: African catechists today*. (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1972). For other discussions on this issue see L. N. Mbefo, and E. M. Ezeogu, *The clergy in Nigeria today: Papers and responses on the occasion of the third SIST Missiology Symposium organized by the Spiritans International School of Theology (SIST), Attakwu-Enugu from November 19-21, 1992*. (1994). Attakwu-Enugu (P.O. Box 9696, Attakwau-Enugu: The School), and A. N. Ekwunife, (1997). Inculturation of the Traditional African Values in Priestly Formation. *African Ecclesial Review*, 39(4).

Year	South	Location	North	No.
1920	Paul Emechete	Asaba Vicariate (from Ezi in Issele-Uku)		1
1929	Julius Adewuyi, Peter Oni and Lawrence Layode	Lagos		3
1930	John Cross Anyogu	Onitsha		1
1931	Sisters of the Holy Handmaids of the Holy Child Jesus	Calabar Prefecture		4
1937	Immaculate Heart of Mary Sisters	Onitsha		2
1937	William Obelagu, Joseph Nwanegbo and Michael Tansi	Onitsha		3
1942	Stephen Umurie	Warri		1
1944	Mark Enegbu, David Panaki and Moses Emerenini			3
1946	Ogunleye Oguntuyi	Ekiti		1
1948	Moses Orakwudo and Edward Nwafor			2
1954	Shomide and B. Elaho	Lagos		2
1954	Matthew Obiukwu	Onitsha		1
1960	Stephen Ogbeide	Benin city		1
1960	Nicholas Tagbo	Onitsha		1
1961		Okene	Alexius Makozi and Fr Joseph Ohieku	2
1961	Daughters of Mary Mother of Mercy	Umuahia		18

Table 13. Summary of some of the early local priestly vocations and indigenous female religious congregations in Nigeria especially before and around independence in 1960. After the civil (Biafra) war (July 6 1967- January 15 1970) there was rapid growth in local vocations as there was already a solid educational foundation.²⁸²

²⁸² These are the most popular of the ordinations and congregations started at that time.

3.6 Samuel Ajayi Crowther and the Church Missionary Society (CMS) Schools

As Bassey clearly stated, “the contribution of European missionaries to the development of education in Nigeria has been well documented (Solaru 1964, Ajayi 1965, Ayandele 1967, Afigbo 1968, Abernethy 1969, Ekechi, 1972).²⁸³ From these previous documentations, one finds the role of Samuel Ajayi Crowther as being very significant. The first Secondary School in Nigeria was run by the Anglican Church Missionary Society (CMS) in Lagos that was founded by Thomas Babington Macaulay on The 6th of June 1859. The Logo of the school has a motto in Latin that reads: *Nisi Dominus Frustra* (without God, we Labour in vain). Thomas Babington got married to Abigail Crowther, the daughter of Samuel Ajayi Crowther, the first Anglican Bishop of Africa who was educated in England and Sierra Leone (after being rescued from the slave trade of the Portuguese Trans-Atlantic traders by the British).²⁸⁴ Before now, in

283 Magnus O Bassey, *Missionary Rivalry and Educational Expansion in Nigeria, 1885-1945* (Lewiston: E. Mellen Press, 1999) referring to the works of J. F. A. Ajayi Christian missions in Nigeria 1841-1891: The making of a new elite (Evanston: Northwestern University University Press) 1965. A. E. Afigbo, The Background to the Southern Nigerian education code of 1903, *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria* 4 (2), 197-225. See also D. B. Abernethy, The political dilemma of popular education: An African case. (Stanford CA: Stanford University Press), 1969. A. E. Ayandele, *The missionary impact on modern Nigeria 1842-1914: A political and social analysis*. (New York: Humanities Press), 1967. F. K. Ekechi, *Missionary enterprise and rivalry in Igboland 1857-1914*, (London: Frank Cass) 1972. And T. T. Solaru, *Teacher training in Nigeria*. (Ibadan: Ibadan University Press) 1964.

284 A Renowned scholar of his time, Bishop Ajayi Crowther (1801-1891) worked extensively as an educator and evangelizer especially in Nigeria. With his gift of languages, he was able to translate significant works into local Nigerian Languages especially the Yoruba Bible. He was consecrated bishop in 1864 by the Archbishop of Canterbury, Charles Longley, at Canterbury Cathedral. Following a series of previous academic studies in England and teaching in Sierra Leone, he was also awarded a Doctorate (DD) by the Oxford University the year he was made a bishop. See Jesse Page Samuel Crowther: *The Slave Boy who Became Bishop of the Niger*. (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1892). See also James Bertin Webster, A. Adu Boahen, Michael Tidy, *The revolutionary years: West Africa since 1800*. (Longman, 1980). It is worth noting at this juncture that there was already an Anglican college (Fourah Bay) in Sierra Leone for updating Missionaries that was established in 1827. The Fourah Bay College was affiliated to Durham University (from 1876-1967) one of the three oldest universities in England established in 1832. Fourah Bay became the centre of Western (English) education for the region as it was a popular place of study bringing together different students from the mission territories and local kingdoms who were more suitable to be prepared as ministers of religion. The Anglican Church Missionary Society (CMS) had this school also as a positive response to rehabilitate those who were liberated from slavery. The students also had opportunities to travel to England to pursue their studies. As the need for preparing of local clergy and administrative staff began to emerge, there was a necessity to have a Secondary School that would serve as preparation for college especially for the locals who had attended secondary school. See also Ralph Ewechue (ed.), *Makers of Modern Africa*, 2nd edition (London: Africa Books, 1991), P. Cyril Foray, *Historical Dictionary of Sierra Leone* (London: Scarecrow Press, 1977) and *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria*, "A Biographical Sketch," (Omu Okwei), (Ibadan : Ibadan University Press): Vol. III No 4, 1967. See also P. Cyril, Foray, *An*

1827, the Anglican Mission had already opened a previous school in Sierra Leone (Anglican Church Mission Society CMS School- Freetown) that served as a prototype for the school in Lagos. This school in Freetown is extremely significant as it was the first school with the English curriculum in West Africa and trained the earliest group of local African leaders in Church and State, (especially in theology and Education).²⁸⁵

However, the CMS did not find the same response in their missions in the north at this time, due to the situation of Islam and the local leaders in those northern areas. This suspicion the local Emirs had of the missionaries as coming to evangelize and politically control the people did not debar the CMS from pursuing their goal of running a school in Zaira. The CMS school in the north was made up of children who were new converts and former slaves. In the account of Miller, we read of one of their first schools:

During one of my earliest visits for this purpose to Zungeru I saw the Freed Slave Home which had been founded by the Governor. Into this home were brought the large number of freed slaves, who in spite of the stringent laws against raiding, were still being caught and enslaved. The Governor was deeply interested in this home, and it was largely through his persistent energy and known determination that many hundreds of children were rescued to select five boys and take them back with me to Zaria, where they, together with the sons of a few leading Zaria Moslems, formed the nucleus of our first school.²⁸⁶

Outline of Fourah Bay College History, 1827-1977 (Freetown: Foray, 1979) ref. <http://www.blackpast.org/gah/fourah-bay-college-1827#sthash.hBACj3BB.dpuf>

285 Jean Herskovits Kopytoff, *A preface to modern Nigeria: the "Sierra Leonians" in Yoruba, 1830-1890*. (University of Wisconsin Press, 1965).

286 Miller and Church Missionary Society, 95-96.

Miller explains that the school was built with voluntary donations and support from people in Nigeria and back in his country in England. The colonial government did not support the school and surprisingly, some of the local traditional leaders who were Muslims gave some moral support.

Within a few years, without outside help, and entirely by personal efforts and the help of other men, African and English, worked with me, a school was built up which was the best in Northern Nigeria; and, as far as I know, not a particle of resentment was ever shown by Moslems against it. In fact, one Christmas, when we were having our terminal break and a distinctly Christian religious service, the Waziri of the province, *i.e.* the highest Moslem officer next to the Emir, responded most kindly to my invitation, came in, and very charmingly addressed the whole school, giving some helpful words of encouragement and advice.²⁸⁷

The mission schools were the primary platform for the missionaries to evangelise the children. The local families continued with their traditional practices and those who were previously converted from their traditional religions to Islam were not very enthusiastic to convert from Islam to Christianity. This is not to take away any credit from these same schools as providing for a broader educational experience for the young people and preparing them for the challenges of life.

3.7 Origins of the Catholic schools in Lagos

The first Catholic school in Lagos was opened in 1869; unlike the Anglican Church Missionary Society (CMS) that was established ten years earlier, it is not clear if the medium of instruction

²⁸⁷ Ibid., 98.

was in English. The predominant influence of the previous evangelizers in the past centuries saw to the usage of Portuguese in the Catholic liturgical services that was not lost even with the French influence that followed. Another reason for this was that some of the slaves that were brought back to Lagos from Brazil had a Portuguese linguistic and liturgical influence that continued till the annexation of Lagos by the British in 1862. Before the (Catholic) Society of African Mission (SMA) officially opened their mission in Lagos in 1872, they were already sending some of their missionaries to work with the Catholic Community in Lagos as early as 1862 after the British occupation in 1861.²⁸⁸ Following the 1807 act of Parliament in England that prohibited dealings in human slavery, the British control saw to the defence of the local people and massive resettlement of slaves that were still within the various trade routes in the countries of West Africa and those from across the Atlantic. They focused their energies on administrative control and getting the local kings and kingdoms to come under the British Empire. The decline of the Portuguese, German and French control of the region saw to an increase in English occupation and education.

The curriculum of the school in Lagos was divided into three major categories of Language, Numeracy and History. The linguistic subjects were English, Greek and Latin; for Numeracy they studied Arithmetic, Logic, for the History of cultures and the Christian faith they studied world history, Bible knowledge and Geography.

288 The usage of Portuguese in the Catholic liturgy and the popular Marian devotion are part of the Brazilian influence of the slave-returnees. See Omenka, 18-19. Citing A. F. C. Ryder, "Portuguese Missions in Western Nigeria" *Tahrik*, 3, No. 31, 1969; and M. J. Walsh, "The Catholic Contribution to Education in Western Nigeria, 1861-1926, (M.A. Thesis University of London, 1951).

Linguistics	Numeracy	History
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> English 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Arithmetic 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> World History
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Latin 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Logic 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Bible Knowledge
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Greek 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Geometry 	

Table 14. 1859 (CMS Grammar school Lagos) subjects in categories ²⁸⁹

One of the earliest textbooks for teaching the Christian Religion from the school years in Sierra Leone was the *Help to the Reading of the Bible* by Benjamin Elliott Nicholls ²⁹⁰

When the Catholic School was opened on 15th of February 1869, it had an almost equal number of boys and girls. According to the SMA records there were fourteen girls and sixteen boys and three years later, influenced by the introduction of English as the medium of learning, a second Catholic School was opened in Lagos so that people could choose to attend either the one with English or Portuguese. At this stage of history (1872), more pupils were enrolled in the Portuguese speaking Catholic school than the English speaking one.²⁹¹ Though the nature and the organisation of the schools were not very steady at the beginning, the English school got a new principal from Ireland in the person of Brother Timothy Doyle, the first Irish missionary to arrive Nigeria in 1878.²⁹² It is significant that the primary task of the Irish missionary was that of Education which was now becoming a more holistic way of contributing to the local culture and evangelisation.

289 Ambassador Dapo Fafowora (June 4, 2009). "150 years of the CMS Grammar School, Lagos". The Nation (Nigeria). Retrieved May 21, 2011. The school in Lagos started with six students in the boarding school and financially supported by benefactors and local donors.

290 Benjamin Elliott Nicholls, *Help to the Reading of the Bible* (London: Society For Promoting Christian Knowledge 1845).

291 Omenka, 19. Citing Society of African Missions SMA"Archives, Société des Missions Africaines, Rome" 17059, 14/80 200, "Father Bouche to Planque", Lagos, 25th February 1869.

292 See Omenka, 20. Brother Timothy Doyle was a member of the SMA Order. The usage of English language with the new British Administration also influenced the outsourcing of missionaries from Ireland.

3.8 Catholic schools in South East Nigeria

A document from Father Shanahan in 1912 states that “On the sandbank before our eye, in Onitsha, slaves were once publicly marketed, and our Fathers redeemed them daily to the extent their meagre resources permitted. Soon hundreds of these unfortunates were living in the Mission, and it was no small task to feed, clothe and house them; no easy task to dress their hideous wounds and gradually to instruct them and change them to a Christian way of life”.²⁹³ Most of the funding for the ransoming of slaves came from support from the *Propaganda* office that was sending between 20,000 to 50,000 Francs annually to the Niger area for supporting the mission projects to assist slaves’ rehabilitation. The recorded amount for redeeming slaves ranged from 25 to 250 Francs depending on the slave in question. Priority was given to little children who were later to become the first pupils in the schools in that area. While the abolition of slavery was gradually coming to an end, the practice took some time to be fully eradicated. By 1892 the records showed that no one was redeemed for a price. By 1899 less than fifteen percent of pupils in the Catholic mission school in Onitsha were ‘redeemed’ slave children as more children from normal homes formed a major part of the 95 students in the two boarding schools, one for boys and the other for girls (53 boys and 33 girls).²⁹⁴

Many educational historians and researchers agree that the introduction of ‘Western’ education to Nigeria dates back to 1842 when Reverend Thomas Birch Freeman of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society began his work at Badagry, located in Lagos state of South-Western Nigeria and historical records show that “by 1860 the big four missionary societies in

293 Omenka, 35. citing “Shanahan to Cardinal Gotti”, 1 September, 1912, quoted in J. Jordan, Bishop Shanahan of Southern Nigeria, (Dublin: Clonmore & Reynolds, 1949), 89.

294 Cf Omenka, 33-35. Citing C. A. Obi, ed., *A Hundred years of the Catholic Church in Eastern Nigeria, 1885-1985*, (Onitsha: African-Fep, 1985). See Archives, Congrégation du Saint-Espirit, Paris (CSE) 192/B/III/ “Lejeun to Superior General”, Onitsha, 20 October, 1903, see also , Congrégation du Saint-Espirit, Paris (CSE) Bulletin, 14 (1887-1888), 454, Archivio di Propaganda Fide, Rome (AP) Nouva Serie (Propaganda Archives) (NS), Rubriche (Propaganda Archives) 141/1899/ Vol 168, “R. Pawlas to Prefect of Propaganda Fide” Onitsha, 8 August 1899.

Nigeria- the Wesleyan Methodist, the Church Missionary Society [CMS], the Baptist and the Roman Catholic- had established stations. Others that followed include the Qua Iboe of Northern Ireland in 1887²⁹⁵ and the Primitive Methodist Society in 1872. The missionary societies founded schools whenever and wherever they established stations. This was the earliest means of proselytising²⁹⁶

Before 1914 when there was the amalgamation of the Northern and Southern regions of Nigeria into one country by the British²⁹⁷, there were various attempts to educate the local people with respect for their religious beliefs. In 1899, there was a government school opened in Lagos to cater for the Muslim children since most of the schools in the region were all mission schools and while numeracy and letters were taught, Christian Religious Education and morality was the *sine qua non*. In an attempt to standardise the intellectual formation of the people, the first Education department was set up in 1903 followed by the establishment of the first government Secondary School called ‘King’s College’ in Lagos in 1909. While the various missions had their primary and secondary schools, there was not a unified system of education between the state schools and the mission schools. Consequently, the content of the materials used for teaching religious instruction were also shaped by the spirituality of the particular missionary group that was running the school. These missionary groups also trained their schoolteachers, as there were not yet government teachers’ colleges at that time. It was easy for one in a Catholic mission school to be a catechist, teaching the faith and at the same time having some additional classes of numeracy and literature.

295 Later known as Mission Africa. It was established in 1887 as an interdenominational missionary group

296 J. U. Aisiku and Onyerisara Ukeje, Education in Nigeria, in A. Babs Fafunwa and J. U Aidiku (eds), *Education in Africa: A Comparative Survey*. (London: George Allen and Unwin Publishers Ltd), 1982. 205.

297 The British had two ‘protectorates’ called the Northern and Southern Protectorates in addition to Lagos ‘Colony’ in their colonial administration of Nigeria from 1900. After 1906 Lagos colony became part of the Southern Protectorate and with Sir Frederick Lugard as governor of the Northern and Southern Protectorates in 1912, both North and South was amalgamated together in 1914 as present day Nigeria, with administrative headquarters in Lagos and supervision from England. Cf. Usman Mohammed, International Political Economy of Nigerian Amalgamation since 1914 in *European Scientific Journal*, October 2013, vol. 9 No. 29, 429-457.

Year	Mission primary schools with Govt. Aid	Colonial Government primary schools	Mission Sec. schools with Govt. Aid in Lagos	Government Sec schools in Lagos	Other private and mission schools
1912	91	59	4	1	No data

Table 15. Some school statistics of 1912 in Southern Nigeria

The estimated population of pupils in the Southern Nigeria as of 1912 was estimated at 36,000 including those in government and mission schools.²⁹⁸ Safiya J. Garba looking at the impact of the educational situation at the time and its theological influence noted that “In the non-Muslim areas the first government school was established in 1929 and the second was established in 1932. These schools were established for the purpose of producing elementary school teachers who after the training would establish elementary schools in their areas. Thus (Turaki 1993) observed that by the early 1930s, there were no elementary schools comparable to those in the Muslim areas. The colonial administration as a policy abandoned the non-Muslim areas to Christian missions who were concerned with the training of pastors, evangelists, teachers and communicants. The focus of education was thus theological and not secular.”²⁹⁹ Bishop Shanahan is said to have declared that “those who hold the school, hold the country, hold its

298 Cf. Ukeje and Aisiku. 206.

299 Safiya J. Garba, "The impact of colonialism on Nigerian education and the need for E-Learning technique for sustainable development." *Journal of Educational and Social Research* (2011), 57. Citing T. Yusuf *The British Colonial Legacy in Northern Nigeria: A Social Ethnical Analysis of the Colonial and Post-Colonial Society and Politics in Nigeria*. (Jos: Challenge Press, Jos, Nigeria). According to Fafunwa, records at this time (from 1913) showed that in the Northern part of the country the Quranic schools had an enrolment of about 143,312 students from 19,073 schools. A Christian school established by the government in Nassarawa in 1909 had about 300 students in 1913. In 1922 the famous Kastina teachers' college was opened in the North and subsequently followed by some training centres for basic school teachers in Kastina and Bauchi. In 1928 a training centre was set up in Toro. In this way some form of Western and Christian type of education and schooling was gradually being introduced in the part of the country that has had centuries of predominantly Islamic pattern of education. A similar characteristic between the Middle Eastern and Western types of education is the fact that both were heavily encapsulated by Islamic and Christian spirituality respectively. The British administrators while respecting the religious preponderances of Islam in the north and Christianity in the south, nevertheless slowly introduced a mixture of both religions in the two regions of the country. They set up a committee on 'Native Education in British Tropical African Dependencies' in 1923. (see Fafunwa, B. A. and Aisiku, U. J. (eds) *Education in Africa, A Comparative Survey*. (London: George Allen and Unwin Publishers Ltd., 1982). 207. And Anthony Ikechukwu Chimaka, *Formal Education: A Catalyst to Nation Building, A case study of Nigeria*. (Frankfurt am Maim: Peter Lang) 2014, 70.

religion, hold its future”.³⁰⁰ Among Catholic missionaries, the Irish focused on education and saw this as a primary way of evangelisation and emancipation. The French missionaries seem to have a different methodology:

The Irish came to Nigeria primarily as school masters, a reality which was sensitively at variance with the missionary ideas of the French. Asked why it was necessary to found a new Irish missionary congregation—the Saint Patrick’s Society—for work in Nigeria, Shanahan once said that the use of French Fathers was not appropriate in a Mission ‘where the school holds such a permanent position as the means of evangelization’. The French for their part, regarded this excessive emphasis on the school as incompatible with a true and effective Christian ministry, when at the beginning of this century the wish was expressed for a Catholic High School run by Irish Fathers, Far Léna supported the idea primarily because of his strong conviction that the Irish were good only for the school.³⁰¹

The end of this chapter concludes the first section of this work. We have seen three parts. The first part consists of the historical foundations of the Catholic theological development in Nigeria. It shows how African Catholic theology is influenced by the missionary works of generations of European and American missionaries. Many gave up their lives for the preaching of the gospel and the education of the poor. They came from a variety of linguistic and cultural backgrounds. They include the Portuguese, Spanish, French, English and Irish missionaries of different Christian denominations. The next session from chapter 4 studies some education implications.

300 Basse, xvii citing David B Abernethy, *The Political Dilemma of Popular Education; An African Case* (Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 1969), 41.

301 Omenka, 202. Citing J. P. Jordan, Bishop Shanahan of Southern Nigeria. (Dublin: Clonmore & Reynolds, 1949), 254.

CHAPTER 4

DEVELOPMENT OF THE SYLLABUS FOR CHRISTIAN RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

This chapter presents the early beginnings of the ‘indigenisation’ process. It includes the origins of formal education and the design of the education curriculum in the history of Nigeria. Formal education from the 1800s included the formation of the local native clergy and African theologians.

4.1 Formal school

In the Southern part of the country Thomas Birch Freeman opened the first formal school in Badagry (Lagos) in 1842. He was a member of the Wesleyan Mission.³⁰² A few years later, a primary school was opened in Calabar by the United Free Church of Scotland (1847), while the Southern Baptist Convention opened the ‘Baptist Academy’ in Lagos on in 1853. All these schools were Christian faith-based schools. These missionary groups were convinced of the importance of Education even if the local people were still coming to terms with what it meant. For the Christian Missionaries Education was immediately recognized as the fundamental tool for multiple formation of the mind and conscience, skills for work, understanding of life, political stability, business prosperity, and human emancipation. The missionary schools had to

302 Early work of the Methodist mission in West Africa, dates back to 1811 and South Africa in 1814. With the passing of time, the Wesleyan Mission merged with two other missionary foundations (the Primitive Methodist Church and the United Methodist Church) on 20th September 1932 in London. This brought together a huge collection and collaboration of missionary work and experience in different parts of Africa, Asia, West Indies and the Americas, dating from 1744 to 1976. This new missionary merger is known as The Methodist Church of Great Britain with all their combined missionary outreach known as the Methodist Missionary Society. More than 2,000 materials of their historical work held in 1,760 boxes are archived in the School of Oriental and African Studies Library of the University of London. See also G. G. Findlay and W. W. Holdsworth, *The History of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society* in Five Volumes (London: Epworth Press, 1921), and Wilbur Fisk Methodist Episcopal Church and David Hough Ela, *First Annual Report of the Executive Committee of the Missionary Education Society in the New England Conference*: Presented at the Annual Meeting, Held in Lynn, June, 1835; with the Constitution and Rules of the Society (Boston: Printed by David H. Ela, no. 19, Washington Street, 1835). See also <http://www.mundus.ac.uk/cats/4/910.htm> cited on Feb 20 2015.

tailor their curriculum to meet all of these needs as they formed close ties with other expatriates in Africa pursuing their own political and economic agenda.³⁰³

Some of the challenges encountered by these schools include the lack of funds and qualified teachers, lack of a synchronised method of the different schools' administration, differences in syllabus and a non-unified system of examination and evaluation. Consequently, the southern part of the country where there were more missionary presences had a relatively higher level of educational standard than other parts of the country, where schools were still beginning to set up gradually. Formal technical and Secondary School education was not promoted at this stage³⁰⁴.

With the colonial rulers looking for local administrative staff to achieve better control and reduce the cost of governance, missionary schools were faced with a practical social economic significance for the school apostolate. They also realized that the school cannot be predominantly a faith formation centre. They had to include secular non-catechetical contents to their school curriculum. Evidences show that a '*rote learning*' system (of memorization) was as highly popular as an instructional method and technique. This method of teaching is normally practiced by systematic repetition. While this was useful and quite successful in teaching religious education to both Christians and Muslims (in the North), other subjects that involved calculations, drawings, calligraphy, reading and documenting, could not be taught by *rote learning*. Books had to be published, writing materials had to be provided, and there was need for more printed instructional materials.

303 I. O. Adelusì, 'General Problems of Educational Development in Nigeria: Economic, Manpower Needs, Responsibility Control, Diversification of the System and Curriculum', in P. A. I. Obanya (ed.), *Education and the Nigerian Society: Papers in Honour of J. Majasan*, (Ibadan: Ibadan University press publishing house), 1981, 19-20.

304 I. O. Osokoya, *History and Policy of Nigerian Education in World Perspective*. (Ibadan: AMD Publishers, 1995).

Although the teaching of the Christian faith and moral formation was quite successful with little or no instructional materials, the same could not be said about early missionary attempts to train craftsmen. It was expensive and more complicated to run schools with equipment for the sciences and other technical skills. The missionaries were not very successful in this type of education as these missions could not afford the high cost of setting up technical schools and find prepared personnel to run them efficiently. It would be much later in the eighties before the Catholic missionaries were able to establish professional technical institutes with imported consignments of equipment and train qualified local staff³⁰⁵.

This early failure to establish technical formation in the country will remain a permanent challenge in the history of Nigeria till the present day. Earlier attempts like the Hope Waddel Institute in Calabar and Blaize Memorial (at Abeokuta)³⁰⁶ soon reverted to ‘regular’ secondary schools without the technical sections after the Scottish missionaries left around the time of independence. It is also significant to mention the attempt by David and Anna Hinderer from 1849 in Ibadan and Abeokuta, which served as foundational impetus for schools for boys and

305 One of the most successful Catholic missionary groups to re-introduce technical education on a modern scale in Nigeria are the Salesians of Don Bosco. Founded in Italy in the nineteenth century, the Order opened technical institutes in progression in different towns of Nigeria (like Ondo, Akure, Ontisha) beginning in the mid-eighties with courses in Auto Mechanics, masonry, computer technology, electrical engineering, mechanical engineering, secretarial studies technical drawing, carpentry and welding. The Salesians stand out among others mainly because of their stability and focus on young boys and girls from challenging backgrounds. They have also received national popularity because of their job placement of these young people with the manufacturing and production companies in Nigeria, especially in automobile, Agriculture and product processing factories in cities like Lagos, Onitsha, Benin and Ibadan. One of the sustainability factors of the Salesian technical secondary schools is the fact that some of the graduating students (with one or more technical skills) do join the congregation as religious brothers and priests, thereby continuing the management of their intuitions with qualified people that are home grown and previously trained by the foreign missionaries at home and abroad.

306 The Hope Waddel Institute was established in 1895 in Calabar. With the influence of Mary Mitchell Slessor from Scotland (1848-1915) who pioneered the stopping of the killing of twins. See P. A. I. Obanya (ed.), *Education and the Nigerian Society: Papers in Honour of J. Majasan*, (Ibadan: Ibadan University press publishing house), 1981, 21. See also A. E. Afigbo and Toyin Falola, *Nigerian History, Politics and Affairs: The Collected Essays of Adiele Afigbo* (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 2005) and William H Taylor, *Mission to Educate: A History of the Educational Work of the Scottish Presbyterian Mission in East Nigeria, 1846-1960* (New York: E.J. Brill, 1996). Godfrey Brown explains that the “Hope –Waddell Institute had established itself as something of a bilateral school, providing both technical and academic education” in Godfrey N. Brown, (1964). *British Educational Policy in West and Central Africa. The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 2(3), 366. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/158646>

girls at a time when the school curriculum was still at its developmental stages.³⁰⁷ By 1848, the school time table looked like this:³⁰⁸

Morning (from 9 am)	Mid-morning -Mid-day (past 9-12 noon)	Afternoon (2-4 pm)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Singing</i> • <i>Bible reading</i> • <i>Morning devotional prayers</i> • <i>Preparation for classes</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Geography</i> • <i>Grammar</i> • <i>Writing</i> • <i>Catechism (on Wednesdays),</i> • <i>Spelling</i> • <i>Tables</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Arithmetic</i> • <i>Dictionary (meaning of words)</i> • <i>Spelling</i>

Table 16. Recommended time table by Thomas Freeman to head teachers in 1848.

4.1.2 Government school Development from 1886-1925

In 1886 the protectorate and colony of Lagos was established and a systemisation of the school sector began with government supporting existing mission schools while gradually opening public schools. With the first schools in the south having a Christian evangelization ethos, the government opened a school for non-Christians with direct opportunity for Muslim families to send their children to school. This school that was catering for Muslim children was opened in Lagos in 1889. This decision informs the modern reader of the possible agitations of those who

307 See J. F. Ajayi, *Christian Missions in Nigeria, 1841-1891* (1965); S. O. Biobaku, *The Egba and Their Neighbours, 1842-1872* (1957); CMS Register of Missionaries, no. 391; A. Hinderer, and R. B. Hone, *Seventeen years in the Yoruba country: memorials of Anna Hinderer: gathered from her journals and letters/with an introduction by Richard B. Hone - 2nd edition.* (London: Seeley, Jackson and Halliday, 1873); Ellen Thorp, *Swelling of Jordan* (1950; a novel based on Anna Hinderer's life).

308 Recommended time table by Thomas Freeman to head teachers in 1848. See I O Adelusi, 'General Problems of Educational Development in Nigeria: Economic, Manpower Needs, Responsibility Control, Diversification of the System and Curriculum', in P. A. I. Obanya (ed.), *Education and the Nigerian Society: Papers in Honour of J. Majasan*, (Ibadan: Ibadan University press publishing house) (Ibadan: Ibadan University press publishing house), 1981, 21.

did not want to attend the mission schools because of the syllabus and curriculum that was enshrined within a very clear Christian *theological framework*. This was followed by the opening of a government elementary school in Benin in 1901. And as the government started expanding their educational structures, funding for schools were now focused on government schools and the missionary schools had to look elsewhere for financial resources to run their schools. Though grants were given from the government to aid some of the mission schools, the support was gradually reduced. With the large numbers of mission schools, the grants were distributed in small amounts.

In 1912, ninety-one mission schools got grants from the government this was already supervised by the department of education, which the government established in 1903.³⁰⁹ At this point in history, the different missionary groups (mainly Protestants and Catholics) were already having their rivalry issues and rapidly opening schools to get more converts in villages and localities. With the colonial government also opening public schools, the competition now involved a third party who were also having their interest to protect. Government was providing scholarship and grants for students to continue to secondary schools and introduced the syllabus that focused on the kind of manpower that was needed for administrative offices and rapid expansions that were taking place in the new political colony. The curriculum in the government schools did not have religious and catechetical instructions as priorities.³¹⁰

309 I O Adelusi, General Problems of Educational Development in Nigeria: Economic, Manpower Needs, Responsibility Control, Diversification of the System and Curriculum, in P. A. I. Obanya (ed.), *Education and the Nigerian Society: Papers in Honour of J. Majasan*, (Ibadan: Ibadan University press publishing house), 1981, 23.
310 L. J Lewis, *Society, Schools and Progress in Nigeria* (Oxford: Pergamon, 1965).

4.1.3 1925-1950 Schools

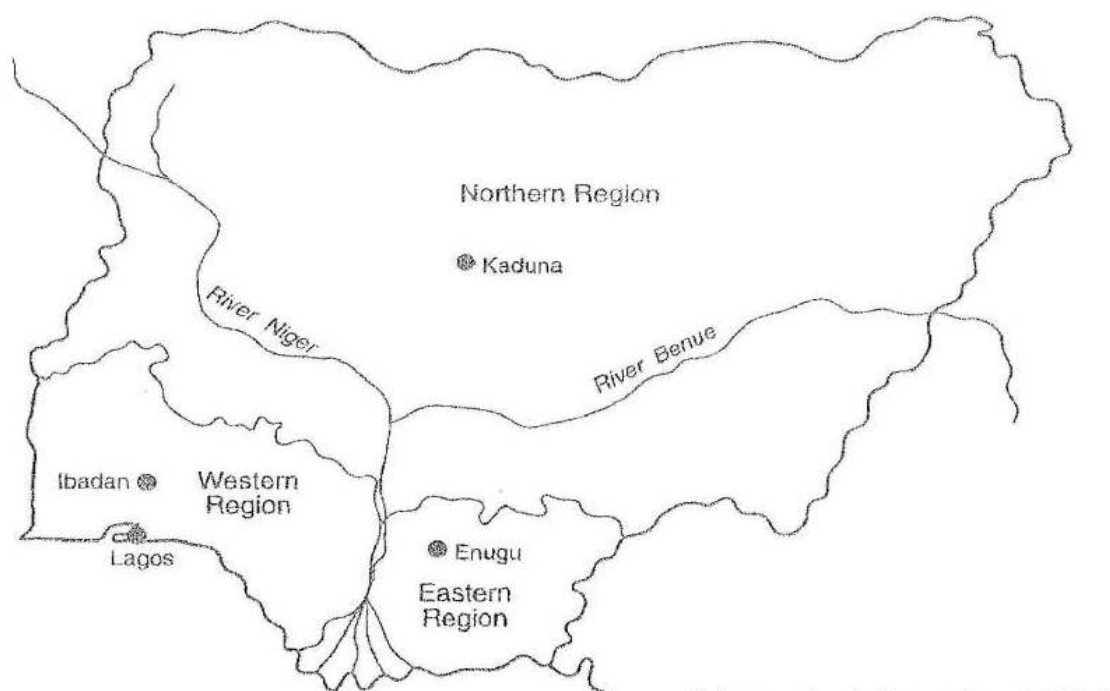
With the publishing of the *Educational Policy in British Tropical Africa* in 1925,³¹¹ a foundational basis was now established for the regulations, principles, standard and content of schools in Nigeria. This memorandum formed the basis for the ten-year education plan of Nigeria after the division of the country into three regions in 1946. The first peak of this rapid educational investment of the Government on education saw to the establishment of the Yaba college in Lagos in 1932 from which the university college of Ibadan was further established in 1948 as a college of the University of London³¹². Official government expenditure and budget for education rose from 28 percent in 1930 to 74 percent in 1950.³¹³ There was a massive educational expansion that practically dislodged the missionary schools and type of syllabus from their previous monopolistic role by the state Department of Education.

311 Great Britain, *Educational Policy in British Tropical Africa: Memorandum Submitted to the Secretary of State for the Colonies* (London: H.M.S.O., 1925).

312 "On November 17, 1948. Arthur Creech Jones, then the British Secretary of State for the Colonies, led the inauguration ceremony of the institution. The university was originally created as an extension of the University of London and was called University College, Ibadan. Its ties to the London campus included the grading of major exams at the British university's home campus. The first significant campus expansion occurred in 1957 with the creation of a College of Medicine that included a 500-bed teaching hospital" cited on March 19, 2014 at <http://www.blackpast.org/gah/university-ibadan-founded-1948> the university has a population of 33,481 in 2013. And still remains one of the most prestigious public federal Universities in Nigeria (among others like the Universities of Lagos UNILAG, 90, 885 students, Benin UNIBEN 56,501 students, Nigeria UNN, 49,436, Abuja, UNIABUJA 62,528). See Damilola Oyedele, UI receives Biggest Allocation in This Day Newspaper (online publication 8 September 2013). Retrieved 19 March 2015 <http://www.thisdaylive.com/articles/ui-receives-biggest-allocation-of-intervention-funds/158465/> As at 2010, a UNESCO presented report shows that the tertiary institutions in Nigeria were 85 colleges of Education, 121 mono and polytechnics, 65 Enterprise and innovative institutions and 104 universities; making a total of 365 institutions. See Jamila Shu'ara (2010), Higher Education Statistics-Nigeria experience in data collection <http://www.uis.unesco.org/StatisticalCapacityBuilding/Workshop%20Documents/Education%20workshop%20d ox/2010%20Windhoek%20->

Regional%20Workshop%20on%20Education%20Statistics%20for%20South%20and%20Eastern%20Africa/NI GERIA-Higher%20education%20statistics-%20National%20experience.pdf (retrieved 15 March 2015). In 2015 there were 60 privately owned universities in the country.

313 Adelusi, 24.



Map 19. Nigeria: The three (Western, Northern and Eastern) regions in 1954.³¹⁴

4.1.4 Education Ordinances of British West African Territories

There are at least three important education policies (also called ordinances) of the colonial administration in West Africa before the 1929 code. These are the 1882, 1887 and 1916 education ordinances.³¹⁵

The 1882 ordinance was promulgated for the West African Anglophone countries (also known as British West African territories) of Gold Coast (now Ghana), Lagos (in Nigeria),³¹⁶ Gambia

314 Map Retrieved from Peter Ekeh (1997) (ed.), Wilberforce Conference on Nigerian Federalism: Historical Maps of Regions and States of Nigeria http://www.waado.org/nigerian_scholars/archive/pubs/wilber1_map1.html

315 Fabunmi gives a chronological sequence of the various education ordinances and codes from 1882-2004 (beginning with the pre-independence educational documents and Laws of 1882, 1887, 1916, 1926, 1948, 1952, 1954, 1955, 1956 and 1957). Some of these were regional laws, based on the three political regions (of Northern, Eastern, Western and Lagos Federal territory). This regional approach of governance was also safeguarded in Nigeria by the 1954 constitution. Examples of Regional Education ordinances are the 1955 (Western Region), 1956 (Northern Region) and 1957 (Lagos). See Martins Fabunmi, (2005). Historical Analysis of Educational Policy Formulation in Nigeria: Implications for Educational Planning and Policy. *International Journal of African and African American Studies*, 4(2), 1-7. Sulaiman states that the British government wanted to take more control of the schools so as to direct the educational goals of the missionaries away from faith formation to a more scientific purpose by preparing a work-force for economic advancement. See D. F. Sulaiman, (2012). Internationalization in Education: The British Colonial Policies on Education in Nigeria 1882 - 1926. *JSR*, 3(2). doi:10.5296/jsr.v3i2.2222

316 This was before the 'creating' or unification of what became Nigeria in 1914. At this time Lagos was with the Gold-Coast colony in the British administration.

and Sierra Leone starting from 1882. The major contribution of the 1882 Education Ordinance was the provision of 'grants' to schools which were basically mission schools. These grants were capitation funds based on the number of students in the schools and also the number of subjects that were being taught. The ordinance introduced certification of teachers. The 1887 Ordinance focused mainly on Nigeria³¹⁷ and built upon the previous ordinance of 1882 with elements like grants to schools, standard for the certification of teachers and regulation of examinations. The 1887 ordinance established an education board.

The next education ordinance of 1916 was influenced by the amalgamation of the Southern and Northern part of Nigeria which took place in 1914. This was influenced by a new philosophy of nation-building. In a previous review, Martins Fabunmi³¹⁸ presented the following summary of the percentages of the grants that were sent to the schools according to certain specified categories:

- Buildings, Sanitation and Equipment -10%,
- Teaching staff (efficiency, adequacy)-20%,
- School organization (Moral instruction, discipline, 'tone' of school)-30%,
- Examination ('progress' of school)-40%.

This naturally called for more empowerment of the education inspection officers, whose recommendations determined the approval of the grants from the colonial office to the schools and had powers to close schools not meeting the stipulated standards. On the other hand, the transfer of funds from the State authorities to mission schools, was a positive contribution to the existing schools already established by the missionaries.

317 In 1886, Gold coast (Ghana) and Lagos (Nigeria) colonies were separated and further legislation was made according to local needs.

318 Martins Fabunmi, (2005). Historical Analysis of Educational Policy Formulation in Nigeria: Implications for Educational Planning and Policy. *International Journal of African and African American Studies*, 4(2), 2-3.

1882	1887	1916
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • For Lagos and Gold Coast • Grants to (Mission) schools • Capitation funds • Certification of teachers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • For Lagos • Certification of teachers • Grants to (Mission) schools • Education Board • Regulations for examination 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Grants to school in percentage of specified categories • Education inspectors • Examination progress • Rural and Urban education

Table 17 Highlights of the 1882, 1887 and 1916 Education Ordinances.

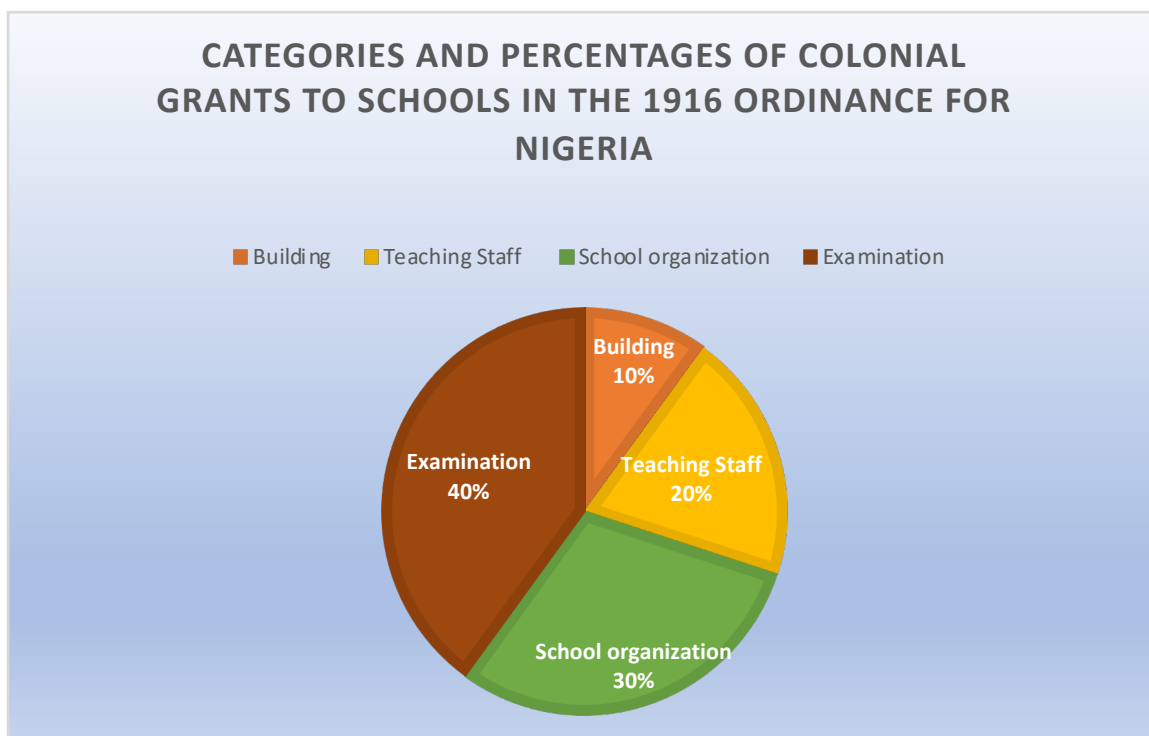


Chart 10. Criteria for the percentage of grants to schools

4.2 The British Educational Policy for Colonial Tropical Africa and The Nigerian Education Code of 1926

The history of the development of the Nigerian Education Code of 1926 could be better understood against the background of what education historians in Nigeria call ‘the beginnings of Modern Education in Nigeria’ (1882-1929).³¹⁹ Politically, it covers the areas of financial investment of the colonial government on education, especially with regards to funds either sent or promised to mission schools in the south. Documents show that “between 1870 and 1876 the colonial government in Lagos made spasmodic attempts to assist some of the missions in their educational work. It earmarked the sum of £300 for the support of missions but failed to pay the grant (apparently for lack of funds). In 1872 it earmarked £1,000, then reduced it to £330 and later to £30. This sum of £30 was distributed among three missions: The C.M.S., the Wesleyan and the Catholic missions operating in the Lagos area. In 1873 the government again voted £300 but failed to redeem its pledge. However, between 1874 and 1876 it made annual grant of £300 and shared it equally among the three missions; and in 1887 it raised the grant to £600 per year.”³²⁰ The mission schools were very organised and were able to set up their own administrative chain of command that interacted with the existing government parastatal. The apparent autonomy of these school administrators led to the setting up of their own ‘management boards’ and codes of conduct for the teachers. It is at this stage that the earliest syllabus for religious education was developed alongside the general school curriculum. “The achievements of the missions during this period of government indifference to education included: translation of the Bible into the local languages, for example Yoruba and Ibo, Efik

319 Babs A. Fafunwa, *History of Education in Nigeria* (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd), 1974, 92. He mentions that that from 1842-1882 various Christian missionary groups set up mission-enterprises in the form of churches, hospitals, schools and food centres. This also included an Industrial School for ‘delinquent children’ in Topo near Badagry opened by one of the Catholic Missionary groups in 1876. There were other trades and vocational schools in the South-East (Onitsha), South-West (Abeokuta) and South-South (Calabar). Trades taught include: Bricklaying, Carpentry, Agriculture and Ginnery.

320 Fafunwa, 93.

and Nupe; introduction of vocational or industrial education, character-training, use of 'vernacular' and English; regulations concerning training, employment, payment of teachers and establishment of a code of conduct for teachers and pupils."³²¹ However, this methodology used by the mission schools was not without flaws. The different missionaries established schools based on their evangelical ethos and most mission schools did not have a fixed curriculum. Before the development of a standardised syllabus for Christian Religious Education in Nigeria, Catholic and Protestant denominations had different curricula and later, the colonial government intervened in the running of the schools to meet the needs of office workers and staff for the pressing administrative establishments in the country. For the colonial rulers, religion was not the priority but commerce.³²²

In 1925, the British government issued an Education Policy in British Tropical Africa. It stated that: "in view of the widely held opinion that the results of education in Africa have not been altogether satisfactory, and with the object of creating a well-defined education policy, common to this group of Dependencies—comprising an area of over 2^{1/2} million square miles with a population of approximately 40 million—the secretary of State decided in 1923 to set up an Advisory Committee on Education in British Tropical Africa"³²³. The document also acknowledges and mentions the existing education pattern and control of the mission schools by stating that: "As a result on the one hand of the economic development of the British African Dependencies, which has placed larger revenues at the disposal of the Administrations, and on

321 Ibid.

322 J. F. Ajayi, (1981). *Christian missions in Nigeria, 1841-1891: The making of a new élite* (6th ed.). (London: Longman, 1981). First Published in 1965.

323 Great Britain. (1925). *Education 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: presented by the Secretary of State for the Colonies to Parliament by Command of His Majesty, march, 1925*. (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1925), 3. The indigenization process of education in Nigeria has continued ever since and at this stage of the research the focus is on the teaching of Christian Religious Education. This research continues to find out the theological indigenization process as could be traced from the curriculum that has been developed over the past years with specific focus on 'content' from the last thirty years (1985-2015).

the other hand of the fuller recognition of the principle that the Controlling Power is responsible as trustee for the moral advancement of the native population, the Governments of these territories are taking an increasing interest and participation in native education, which up to recent years has been largely left to the Mission Societies".³²⁴

This policy of 1925 was a follow up to a professional study led by the an American philanthropic and research foundation that was interested in 'contents of education' in Africa among the natives. The foundation is called the Phelps-Stokes Education Commission.³²⁵

Part of the recommendations made by the Phelps-Stoke Commission included an emphasis on the development of Religious Education among the people. The two key words used to express this proposal were the interpretation of 'Divinity' and education as 'co-working with God'.³²⁶

324 Great Britain, 3. The committee was officially known as Advisory Committee on Native Education in the British Tropical African Dependencies appointed by the Secretary of State for the Colonies on the 24th of November 1923. The terms of Reference was: 'To advise the Secretary of State on any matters of Native Education in the British Colonies and Protectorates in Tropical Africa which he may from time to time refer to them; and to assist him in advancing the progress of education in those Colonies and Protectorates'. The Chairman of the committee was The Honourable W. G. A. Ormsby-Gore and other members included The Right Reverend Bishop of Liverpool, The Right Reverend Bishop M. Bidwell, C. B. E., Major James A. J Church, Sir James Currie, Sir Frederick D Lugard (first governor general of Nigeria-1914-1919), J. H. Oldham, Sir Michael Sadler, C. Strachey and H Vischar (who was the Secretary).

325 The Foundation started in 1911 through the support of Caroline Phelps Stokes (1854-1909) a benefactor of different charities in America, Africa and Asia. She was particularly supportive of mission charities, orphanages and African Americans. See Edward H. Berman, *Education in Africa and America: A history of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, 1911-1945*. (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University 1969). Ed. D. Thesis. Phelps Stoke foundation made a significant study on British Colonies in Africa with reports that formed the content of the 1925 British Policy on education in tropical Africa. The 1920 commission was led by Thomas Jesse Jones and a team of six whose travels included West Africa and visiting Nigerian schools from 4th of November to 16th of December 1920. One of their major recommendations was the indigenization of education. See Thomas. Jesse. Jones, and Phelps-Stokes Fund. *Education in Africa: A study of West, South, and equatorial Africa by the African education commission, under the auspices of the Phelps-Stokes fund and foreign mission societies of North America and Europe*. (New York: Phelps-Stokes Fund, 1922). And Thomas. Jesse. Jones, Phelps-Stokes Fund, & International Education Board. (1925). *Education in East Africa: A study of East, Central and South Africa by the Second African Education Commission under the auspices of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, in cooperation with the International Education Board*. (New York: Phelps-Stokes fund, 1925). A request was made by the American Baptist Foreign Missionary Society in 1919 for an 'African education survey'. This request was presented through the Committee of Reference and Counsel of the Foreign Mission Conference of North America. it was this North American Foreign Mission that approached the Phelps-Stokes fund. The British Colonial office recognized the value and significance of this educational survey and used it. The visit of the team included the Belgian Congo, Camerouns, Nigeria, South Africa, Gold Coast, Sierra Leone, Liberia and Angola. See Edward H. Berman, (1971). *American Influence on African Education: The Role of the Phelps-Stokes Fund's Education Commissions*. *Comparative Education Review*, 15(2), 132-145. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1186725>

326 Thomas. Jesse. Jones, and Phelps-Stokes Fund. *Education in Africa: A study of West, South, and equatorial Africa by the African education commission, under the auspices of the Phelps-Stokes fund and foreign mission societies of North America and Europe*. (New York: Phelps-Stokes Fund, 1922) 18-25.

The proposal for education in Africa was tailored after the same samples that was being used for the blacks in America that were also getting support from the same Commission. It was proposed by Jones that there will be two combined systems of education which are one for the general population and another for the leaders.³²⁷ It was understood that “Education for the African masses—as for the Negro masses—was to be simple, utilitarian, and rooted to a strong agricultural bias. For the native leadership there would be, first, training for teachers and religious workers; second, instruction for those who would specialize in agriculture and industry; and third, training for those who would enter the professions of medicine, theology, engineering, and law. Even for this elite group, however, there would be a strong emphasis on agricultural and simple industrial subjects, hygiene and sanitation, gardening and rural economics before the professional training commenced”³²⁸

One of the major setbacks of this work of Jones and the commission was the fact that there were already local African researchers who had formed an academic body with a collective negotiating platform who were not recognised or consulted. To make matters worse, the British colonial office when accepting this report of Phelps-Stokes did not find it necessary to complement it with the other local intellectual voices that were already in West Africa at that time. One of the reasons for ignoring the local voices was that they were agitating for self-rule and leadership, which was not in the tactical plan of the Colonial officers at that time, as they were solidifying their control of the countries in the region. One of these local academic groups was called the National Congress of British West Africa. This group was considered ‘radical’

327 In the British March 1925 document, they would slightly modify this to be two systems of basic education for children and adult education for the ‘leaders’.

328 Edward H. Berman, (1971). American Influence on African Education: The Role of the Phelps-Stokes Fund's Education Commissions. *Comparative Education Review*, 15(2), 136. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1186725>, citing Thomas Jesse Jones, and Phelps-Stokes Fund: *Education in Africa: A study of West, South, and equatorial Africa by the African education commission, under the auspices of the Phelps-Stokes fund and foreign mission societies of North America and Europe.* (New York: Phelps-Stokes Fund, 1922), 59-71.

and they had made a petition to the King of England for ‘constitutional changes’ in favour of political independence and for the educational upgrading by requesting the setting up of a University in West Africa.³²⁹

Despite this setback, the Phelps-Stokes Commission brought together the American and British interests in tropical Africa and there was a clear focus on local leadership training, prioritization of attention to local cultures, promotion of religious education, food production and health care. With these highlights, the Missionary Societies, political leaders and funding agencies were in one accord. The work of the commission having been so well received naturally motivated the donors to support another similar education review and proposal for Central and Eastern Africa in 1923. With the recommendation and background of the Phelps-Stoke report and findings, the ‘Memorandum on Education Policy in British Tropical Africa’ was released. This 1925 document contains about fourteen major headings.

(I) Encouragement and Control of Voluntary Educational Effort

After an introduction which highlighted the geographical area of British tropical Africa with an estimated population of about 40 million people, the document acknowledged the presence and effort of educational works already being carried out (mainly by Christian missionaries) in the territory and states that: “Government will encourage all voluntary educational effort which conforms to the general policy. But it reserves to itself the general direction of educational policy and the supervision of all Educational Institutions, by inspection and other means.”³³⁰

329 Berman, 136. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1186725>, citing Philip J. Foster, *Education and social change in Ghana*. (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1965). And Godfrey N. Brown, (1964). British Educational Policy in West and Central Africa. *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 2(03), 369. doi:10.1017/s0022278x00004328.

330 Great Britain, 3.

By so doing the colonial government was clearly declaring political control and to some extent, determination of the future programmes to be conducted in all schools in the territory.

(II) Co-Operation

The attitude with which government was going control the schools was clearly stated to be that of mutual cooperation. There was going to be an 'advisory board' that would include all major partners. It reads:

Co-operation between Government and other educational agencies should be promoted in every way. With this object Advisory Boards of Education should be set up in each Dependency upon which such agencies and others who have experience in social welfare should be accorded representation. These Boards would be advisory to the Government, and would include senior officials of the Medical, Agricultural, and Public Works Department, together with missionaries, traders, settlers, and representatives of native opinion, since education is intimately related to all other efforts, whether of Government or of citizens, for the welfare of the community. The Board should be supplemented in the provinces by Educational Committees³³¹

(III) Adaptation to Native life:

This was a key element in the document of March 1925 for the colonies as it became increasingly clear that proper education must come from a healthy interaction between knowledge and lived experience, discovery and reflection, respect and specificity. It was proposed and mandated that: "Education should be adapted to the mentality, aptitudes, occupations and traditions of the various peoples, conserving as far as possible all sound and

331 Great Britain, 3-4.

healthy elements in the fabric of their social life; adapting them where necessary to changed circumstances and progressive ideas, as an agent of natural growth and evolution”³³²This is to be done with the view to advancing the general level of the local community through emphasis on agriculture, growth of native administration and development of health care and industries. Consequently, vocational education and collaboration among different socio-economic sectors called ‘departments’ were to be synergised with the possibilities of establishing universities for further research and study.

(IV) Religion and Character training

One of the major concerns of the missionaries and colonial administrators was the vagueness, seemingly unhealthy and certainly non-Christian religious practices that abounded among the various tribes in the different countries in tropical Africa. Several reports and stories from travellers and explores have made these assertions a matter of educational and pastoral concern. While recognising that good elements could be found in the local religious beliefs and practices, there was a need to understand the local traditions better. This is to be done with prudence and systematically.

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 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...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

332 Ibid., 4.

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.³³³

As can be inferred from above, high relevance was given to religious instruction since the very beginning of formal education in Nigeria, and it has been maintained over the years through the theological content of the syllabus for religious education in schools.

(V) The educational service

One major challenge that the investment and proposals on education were going to have was financial. The memorandum recognised that there will have to be direct investment on education. It also noted that while the economic investments and interest on business may lead to structural ‘prosperity’, it would not be morally sustainable without a corresponding ‘character’ formation and human integrity, which proper education can offer. To attain this, the document proposed that only the best teachers and academic administrators in Britain and Africa should be employed in the Education Department in the colonial British tropical Africa.³³⁴

333 Ibid, 4-5.

334 Cf. Ibid., 5.

(VI) Grants-in-Aid

With many schools with different ownership (missionary, and State) already springing up in different parts of tropical Africa, there was a decision to support those that were most in need. It was also mentioned that the criteria should not be only based on the performances of such schools in terminal examinations but the contribution they bring to their local community. There was support for mission schools though the interest was more on setting up government owned schools. The documents clearly state that:

“The policy of encouragement of voluntary effort in education has as its corollary the establishment of a system of grants-in-aid to schools which conform to the prescribed regulations and attain the necessary standard. Provided that the required standard of educational efficiency is reached, aided schools should be regarded as filling a place in the scheme of education as important as the schools conducted by Government itself.”³³⁵

(VII) Study of Vernaculars, Teaching and Text books

The pedagogical materials and languages used as means of educational instruction was given high importance, especially in the area of collaboration with the missionaries who have mastered some of the local languages. It was a very wise decision to teach in such a way that both local and international contents are combined to provide a wider learning scope. As clearly stated:

The study of the educational use of the vernaculars is of primary importance.

The committee suggests co-operation among scholars, with aid from Government and Missionary Societies, in the preparation of vernacular text-books. The content and method of teaching in all subjects, especially History

335 Ibid., 5.

and Geography, should be adapted to the conditions of Africa. Text-books prepared for use in English schools should be replaced where necessary by others better adapted, the formulations and illustrations being taken from African life and surroundings. Provisions will need to be made for this by setting aside temporarily men possessing the necessary qualifications.³³⁶

(VIII) Native Teaching staff

With regards to the teaching staff there were three overarching considerations. The first was the issue of training and employing local native teachers who know the culture and understand how to pass on knowledge to the students. The second element considered was that of the gender of the teacher. It was strongly unequivocally proposed that there should be more female teachers. The third factor that was considered in this same regard was on the numerical consistency of the local teaching staff.

This recommendation necessarily required a greater investment in the training and employment of native teachers and education of the girl-child. By so doing the platform for the contextualisation of educational materials and pedagogy was created. Similarly, the challenges of the various differences and adaptations to local traditional cultural practices and languages will be properly addressed. These ideas were elucidated in the document by stating that: “The Native Teaching Staff should be adequate in numbers, in qualifications and in character, and should include women. The key to a sound system of education lies in the training of teachers, and this matter should receive primary consideration.”³³⁷

336 Ibid., 6.
337 Ibid.

(IX) Visiting Teachers

As a follow-up to the training and maintaining of good teaching staff, it was also proposed that there will be a special group of trained teachers who could go round especially to rural areas and give support to the local teachers by upgrading their skills and maintaining a general minimum standard of education in the country. This group will do so by providing on-going training for teachers and see to the upgrading of the general standard of the schools. It was also specified that the calibre of such ‘experienced’ or ‘itinerant’ teachers should be high and devoid of tribalistic tendencies. It was also proposed that such teachers “must be qualified to enter sympathetically into the problems of education in rural areas.”³³⁸

(X) Inspection and Supervision

It was also proposed that the group of ‘education inspectors’ and ‘supervisors’ should be well trained and deployed to all schools, including mission schools that already have their own inspectors. This inspection is to be done in an organised and ‘systematic’ manner that will provide an effective way of getting proper reports from the schools and seeing to the implementation of Government’s policies. The document clarified that: “The staff of Government Inspectors must be adequate, and their reports should be based on frequent and unhurried visits and not primarily on the results of examinations”.³³⁹

(XI) Technical Training

Professional training in technical education was cautiously differentiated from other forms of ‘vocational training’ or skills acquisition. The document specifically refers to ‘technical training’ in the context of industrialisation and advancement in technology. For this reason,

338 Ibid.

339 Ibid., 7.

basic numeracy and literary skills were made necessary prerequisites for those to be trained in this field of education. “The skilled artisan must have a fair knowledge of English and Arithmetic before beginning his apprenticeship in order that he may benefit by instruction and be able to work to dimensional plans. Instruction in village crafts must be clearly differentiated from training of the skilled mechanic”.³⁴⁰

(XII) Vocational Training

Apart from promoting the continuous heritage of vocational training and learning as apprentices as valid and recognisable forms of education, the document made two significant clarifications on vocational training. One was to make it mandatory for all ‘government departments’ to have learners who are being trained as apprentices on the job. This will create an alternative route for those who have not had a formal education (general or technical) to have the opportunity of learning and being gainfully employed in government. The second was to recognise the qualification attained through vocational training in such a way that those who choose that path of learning and are successful, would not be considered less qualified:

Apprentices and ‘learners’ in vocations other than industrial should be attached to every Government department, *e.g.*, Medical, Agricultural, Forestry, Veterinary, Survey, Post Office (telegraphy), etc., and should, as a general rule, sign a bond to complete the prescribed course of instruction together, if so required, with a prescribed period of subsequent service. It should be the aim of the educational system to instil into pupils the view that vocational (especially the industrial and manual) careers are no less honourable than the clerical, and of Governments to

340 Ibid.

make them at least as attractive—and thus to counteract the tendency to look down on manual labour.³⁴¹

(XIII) Education of Girls and Women

Unfortunately, the radical proposal (at that time) for the education of girls and women (which was also strongly recommended by the Phelps-Stoke commission) was mentioned in this 1925 document with a bit of caution. Historically, this may be justifiable as the social understanding and some cultural beliefs about females, made it difficult to have a situation of a proportionate number of girls and women getting education in comparison with their male counterparts. The issue of female education was considered ‘delicate’ even though ‘urgent’. It was generally understood that one clear way forward would be by the training of more female teachers. With the experience of different ‘experiments’ from different colonies on this matter, it was discovered that overzealousness or lack of sufficient sensitivity to local customs led to more harm than good. “But the real difficulty lies in imparting any kind of education which has not a disintegrating and unsettling effect upon the people of the country. The hope of grappling with this difficulty lies in the personality and outlook of the teachers. Female education is not an isolated problem but is an integral part of the whole question and cannot be separated from other aspects of it.”³⁴²

341 Ibid.

342 Ibid., 8.

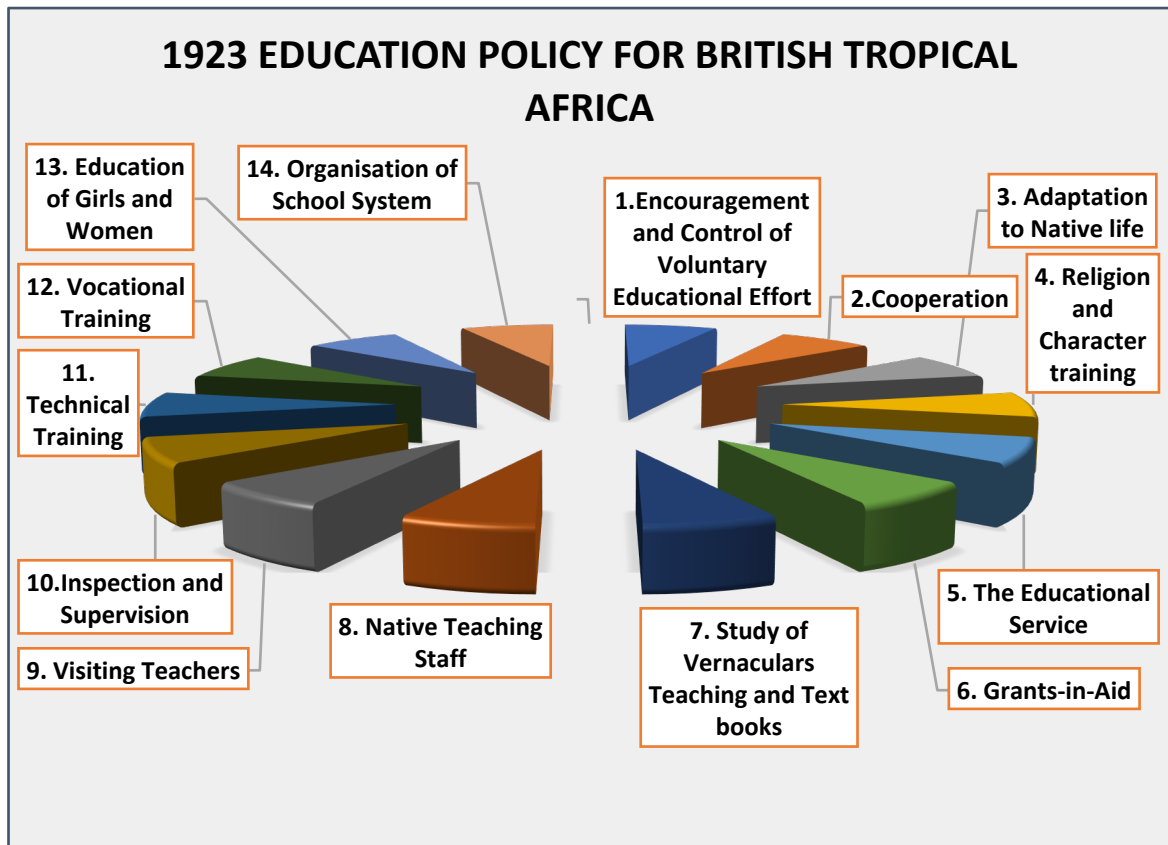


Chart 11. 1923 Education policy for British tropical Africa

(XIV) Organisation of School System

One of the most significant contributions of this document was in the clear proposal of an organised and centralised school system. This system which was basically tailored after the British system became the foundation of formal education in Nigeria. Subsequent major degrees and policies on education structure, curriculum and qualification is based on this pattern in the country today.

It is suggested that when completed a school system would embody the following educational opportunities so far as the conditions prevalent in the Colony or District allow: (a) Elementary education for both boys and girls, beginning with the education of young children. (b) Secondary or intermediate education, including more than one type of school and several types of

curricula. (c) technical and vocational schools. (d) Institutions, some of which may hereafter reach University rank and many of which may include in their curriculum some branches of professional or vocational training, *e.g.*, training of teachers, training in medicine, training in agriculture. (e) Adult Education. This, which is still in an experimental stage, will vary according to local need. But it is recommended that those responsible for the administration of each Colony should keep adult education constantly in view in relation to the education of children and young people. The education of the whole community should advance *pari passu*, in order to avoid, as far as possible, a breach in good tribal traditions by interesting the older people in the education of their children for the welfare of the community. *March, 1925.*³⁴³

The implementation of the British Education Policy for Tropical Africa in Nigeria was very straightforward and immediate. The appointed head of colonial Government took up the responsibility of ensuring that the 1925 directives were followed to the letter.³⁴⁴ This is what is known as the ‘The Education code of 1926’³⁴⁵ It is also generally agreed among Nigerian education historians that Sir Hugh Clifford wanted to improve the quality of education and the general standard of schools. These two general goals (of standard of schools by funding and

343 Ibid. See also University of Witwatersrand. (2013). South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR), 1892-1974. Collections of the Atlantic Philanthropies Foundation. Retrieved May 18, 2016, from http://www.historicalpapers.wits.ac.za/inventories/inv_pdfo/AD1715/AD1715-19-27-001-jpeg.pdf Johannesburg: Historical Papers Research Archive.

344 At this time the Governor of Nigeria (from 1919-1925) was Sir Hugh Clifford (1886-1941) who is perhaps more renowned for his work and love for the Malayan people [see Hugh Charles Clifford, *In Court and Kampong: Being tales and sketches of native life in the Malay peninsula*. (London: G. Richards, 1897). Hugh Clifford was quick to see to the effective implementation of the British Education Policy in Nigeria where he promulgated The Education (Colony and Southern Provinces) Ordinance, No. 15 of May 26th 1926. This was followed by a ‘Regulation’ of the same which took effect from September 1927. For the Northern part of the country there was another ‘Ordinance’ No. 14 of 1926 to specifically address the Muslim parts of the country. Though Catholic, he and other Christian colonial leaders did not impose Christianity on areas already Islamised. Nevertheless, the fundamental approach to the directives was all in view of upgrading the educational standard and clarifying colonial Government control of education in the country. See Cornelius Olaleye Taiwo, *The Nigerian education system: Past, present and future*, (Lagos: Nelson Nigeria, 1980).

345 Also referred to as the ‘1926 Education Ordinance’.

quality of content) can be considered the goals that the 1926 education code was set to achieve. In a previous analysis of the 1926 Education code, Folasade Sulaiman in his publication titled “Internationalization in Education: The British Colonial Policies on Education in Nigeria 1882-1926” highlighted the six major areas of the directives. These six points are already contained in the 1925 British Education policy for tropical Africa and were basically reiterated with emphasis on national implementation in Nigeria through the instrumentality of the Governor general. These six points of the 1926 code are:

- (a). Registration of Teachers (compulsory in Southern Nigeria),
- (b). Consolidating the Board of Education and cooperation with mission schools (the education director and assistant together with ten representatives including delegates of mission schools),
- (c). Directives for opening new schools (has to be approved by the Director of education and Education Board),
- (d) Directives for closing schools (not meeting set conditions and in conflict with local communities had to be closed),
- (e). Salary regulations for teachers (setting a minimum wage for teachers including those teaching in no-government assisted schools),
- (f) Supervision (roles and duties of education supervisors in mission and government schools were specified).³⁴⁶

The 1926 Education code can be said to be one of the major determining ordinances of education in the country today. This is because it did not only provide a definite implementation of the Colonial education policy for tropical Africa (which in turn was based on the Phelps-

346 D. F. Sulaiman, (2012). Internationalization in Education: The British Colonial Policies on Education in Nigeria 1882 - 1926. JSR, 3(2). doi:10.5296/jsr.v3i2.2222. See also I.O Osokoya, *History and Policy of Nigerian Education in World Perspective*, (Ibadan: AMD Publishers 1995). And Fabunmi, M. *Social and Political Context of Educational Planning and Administration*, (Ibadan: Distance Learning Centre, University of Ibadan, 2003).

Stokes research and report), but also shaped the future collaboration between Church and State, Private and Public, and Local customs and Western education in Nigeria.

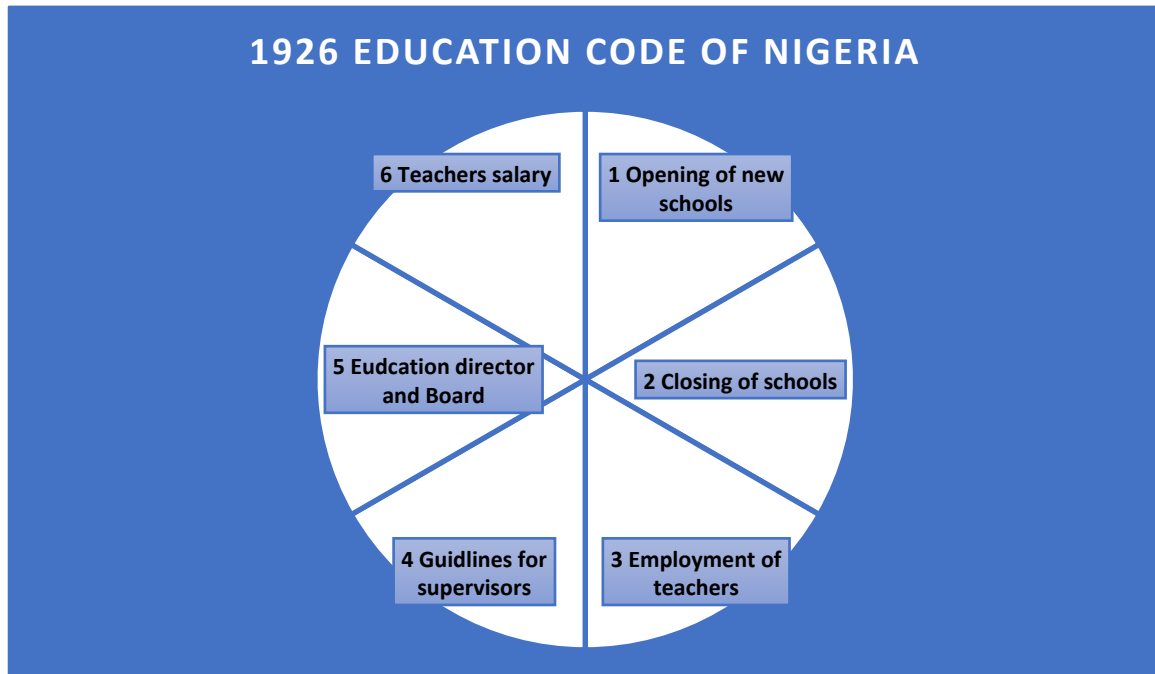


Chart 12. Six aspects of the 1926 education code.

The Colonial Reports for Nigeria 1926 (No. 1335) contains some historical details of the major events of the year including the summary of the overall educational situation in the country that year which is summarised below³⁴⁷

347 Great Britain Colonial Office. *Colonial Reports—Annual: Nigeria Report for 1926 (1335)*. (London: His Majesty's Stationery office, 1927). http://libsysdigi.library.illinois.edu/ilharvest/Africana/Books2011-05/3064634/3064634_1926/3064634_1926_opt.pdf. There is a full collection of the Colonial annual report for Nigeria from 1897-1937 Published in Washington by the Library of Congress. See Great Britain Colonial Office. *Annual reports on the colonies, Nigeria 1897-98-1938*. (Washington: Library of Congress Photoduplication Service for Andronicus Pub. Co., 1971). <https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/100697177>

For this research and field work included specific access and review of the 1926 report. It contains among other significant information, the political and economic situation of 1926. "The population of Nigeria according to the latest returns in 18,502,322 (Southern Provinces and Colony, 8,461,671; Northern Provinces, 10,040,651), larger than that of any British Dependency except India. There are about 4,000 Europeans temporarily resident in Nigeria, chiefly in the employ of the Government, and of mercantile and mining companies. The country is not suited for European settlement. Of the native inhabitants the greater number are of [a] pure negro race, but in the north there are Berber and negroid tribes. Of the former the Yorubas, Ibos, and Benis are the most important, and of the latter the Fulani, the Kanuri, and the Hausa-speaking tribes, generally called Hausas. The Yorubas occupy the south-west corner of Nigeria and from an early date possessed an organised government. The Benis are now a comparatively small tribe". Great Britain Colonial Office. *Colonial Reports—Annual: Nigeria Report for 1926 (1335)*, (London: His Majesty's Stationery office, 1927), 3. Article No 3 [For a reason why the Benis are now

With particular reference to education, the colonial annual report for the 1926 clearly expressed a shortage of 'supply', as the demand for education had already soared and the government was not able to meet the need. The primary reason given for this problem was due to the lack of sufficient numbers of qualified teachers who at that time were mainly Europeans. And to avoid unnecessary proliferation of poor-quality schools, measures had to be taken to prevent school owners from opening schools that are sub-standard. Even though about twelve new schools were officially opened that year, the government continued to "follow the policy of refusing to open schools to which adequate supervision by European officers of the Department cannot be given."³⁴⁸

Consequently, the colonial government opened a Teachers' Training college in the North with a view to addressing the problem of the shortage of qualified teachers and increased the numbers of female teachers. The articles 111 and 117 of the report mention that: "The problem of supplying an adequate staff of native teachers is being dealt with effectively, if slowly, at Katsina. At the Training College for Mohammedan teachers there, fifty-seven students are in residence"³⁴⁹ and "Teachers are being trained at three Government and thirteen mission schools

'comparatively small' read James D. Graham, (1965). *The Slave Trade, Depopulation and Human Sacrifice in Benin History. Cahiers d'études africaines*, vol. 5, n°18, 1965. pp. 317-334; d, 5(18), 317-334. 10.3406/cea.1965.3035 http://www.persee.fr/doc/cea_0008-0055_1965_num_5_18_3035]. This document also confirms some of the previously explained explorations in earlier chapter of this research by stating that: "By the exertions of Mungo Park (1796-1805), Captain Clapperton (1822-26), Richard Lander (1826-30), Doctor Bath (1850-1855) and numerous other explorers, most of whom lost their lives in the country, the course of the Niger and the existence of the Fulani kingdoms in the interior became known, and an attempt was made by Mr. Macgregor Laird and others to open up the interior to trade. In spite of the efforts of these pioneers, who were supported to a certain extent by the British Government, and philanthropists eager to strangle the slave trade by legitimate traffic, the early efforts were not successful, owing to the heavy mortality among the European crews of vessels ascending the river. A better knowledge of conditions, and the use of quinine as a prophylactic against malaria, made later operations more successful and before 1860, trade was established along the banks of Rivers Niger and Benue. In 1879, the various British firms trading on these rivers were amalgamated, and in 1887 a charter was granted to the amalgamated companies which became known as the Royal Niger Company, Chartered and Limited" Great Britain Colonial Office. *Colonial Reports–Annual: Nigeria Report for 1926 (1335)*. (London: His Majesty's Stationery office, 1927), 4. Article No. 5

348 Great Britain Colonial Office. *Colonial Reports–Annual: Nigeria Report for 1926 (1335)*. (London: His Majesty's Stationery office, 1927), 22. No 110.

349 Ibid., No 111.

and institutions, two of the latter being for women. The mission training institutions are for the residential students and are under the direction of European principals”.³⁵⁰

The challenge of quantity versus quality was also addressed. There were many schools that were of low quality and could not be considered proper schools. The proprietorship of these ‘valueless’ schools is not mentioned in the document specifically but one can infer that some of them were ‘home schools’ and ‘private schools’ that were opened without any formal approval or understanding of how to run a school by ambitious school owners:

In the Southern Provinces, elementary education is given in forty-eight Government schools and twelve Native Administration schools, all of which are in the Cameroons Province, but the vast majority of elementary schools have been established by the missions. Of the latter 216 have attained a standard which entitles them to financial assistance from Government funds. The remaining school, over 3,000 in number, are not assisted and until the enactment of the Ordinance (No. 15 of 1926) they were not subject to Government inspection. In a large number of these schools, the standard of education is so low that it is practically valueless.³⁵¹

The 1926 Education Code also stipulated ways to increase female education in Nigeria. While there was direct encouragement and support for female education, the repeated most common challenge was the lack of sufficient female teachers. This seems to imply that that without the presence of real role models, females were not as many as males that were in schools. This does not mean that the girl-child was not interested in learning or going to school, but perhaps the

350 Great Britain Colonial Office. *Colonial Reports–Annual: Nigeria Report for 1926* (1335). (London: His Majesty’s Stationery office, 1927), 23. No 117.

351 Ibid., No 118.

issue was more of getting educated women to take the lead as the men were not successful enough to bring in more girls and women to the classroom. There was also the situation of many girls who had to drop out of school because of marriage, the colonial annual report mentions that: “Although progress has been made in recent years in the matter of female education, there is still a great shortage of girls’ schools. The chief difficulty which has to be faced in developing female education is the lack of women who offer to be trained as teachers. Of those who enter the teaching profession the great majority leave it when they marry”.³⁵²

In addition to female formal education, technical education was also considered very low in its structure and number of students. This concern was also mentioned in the annual colonial report of Nigeria for the year 1926 stating that: “In government schools little has yet been done to develop any form of vocational training, except that in a number (end of p23) of given schools some instruction in carpentry and in school-gardening is given. Of the non-Government schools, the Hope Waddell Institute, Calabar, under the management of the United Free Church Mission, has departments in which carpentry, printing, and tailoring are taught. There are also several mission girls’ schools where vocational training is given.”³⁵³ Here one can clearly see the implementation of the 1925 document with direct and immediate action for the education of women and upgrading of teachers as well as a clear collaboration with mission schools. There seems to be a slight attention and preference given to schools that are headed by white European missionaries or staff.³⁵⁴

352 Great Britain Colonial Office. *Colonial Reports–Annual: Nigeria Report for 1926 (1335)*. (London: His Majesty’s Stationery office, 1927), 24. No 120.

353 Great Britain Colonial Office. *Colonial Reports–Annual: Nigeria Report for 1926 (1335)*. (London: His Majesty’s Stationery office, 1927), 23-24. No 119.

354 The document also mentions what was then the only government Secondary School called ‘King’s College’ which was established around 1909. The college had boarding facilities and by 1926 the colonial administration strengthened its European teaching staff in the school. See Great Britain Colonial Office. *Colonial Reports–Annual: Nigeria Report for 1926 (1335)*. (London: His Majesty’s Stationery office, 1927), 24. No 121. Other aspects of the Annual Colonial report from Nigeria for 1926 that presented the educational situation of the country (contained in No. 110-121) include: Education in the north with the focus on 12 new schools, emphasis on the role of the director of education, ongoing registration of teachers, the legislative academic board, school inspection,

This significant Education code of 1926 took about one year (September 1927) to be practically applied with other regulations. And with the government setting up ‘Government colleges’ in Ibadan, Umuahia and Kaduna, there were now secondary schools in the northern, South-Eastern and South-Western parts of the country that were state owned.³⁵⁵

4.3 The General Education Board and Inspectorate

One of the major aspects of the ordinances was to set up the ‘General Education Board,’³⁵⁶ which in turn created other ‘Local Education boards’ in specific places around the colonies in West Africa. There was also an ‘inspectorate’ created by this ordinance with local inspectors heading specific colonies. While there was joint effort by both the missionaries and government authorities to give a more structured and foundational stability to the educational sector, grants and financial support was also high on the agenda³⁵⁷. For example, based on the British Education Act of 1844, the 1882 ordinance in West Africa had special grants for schools with high discipline, high pass rate in examinations and what was known as ‘capitation’ grants for

collaboration with Christian missionaries by training of teachers in 14 mission schools and the recognition of the Hope Waddell technical institute as the most viable vocational school at that time. As part of the Colonial government’s attempt to promote female education, there was the establishment of Queen’s college for girls in Lagos in 1927 which was previously named ‘Government Secondary School for Girls’. See Queen’s College Lagos, (2016). *Queens College Lagos: Our History*. Retrieved September 8, 2016, from <http://queenscollegelagos.com/index.php/page/about>

355 Today the number of Federal Government Colleges in Nigeria have grown up to about 104 as this idea of having schools that can bring together the diverse mixture of citizens from all parts of the country was sustained by subsequent governments. They are also called ‘Unity schools’. There are some states with more than one Federal Government College and most of these secondary schools are co-eds (mixture of boys and girls- also called ‘mixed schools’), while many are girls only. Of these, about 37 are girls only and there are two boys only of such schools in Lagos and Abuja.

356 This ‘general’ education board members was made up of “the governor, the members of the executive council and not more than four other nominated members” See A. B. Fafunwa, *History of Education in Nigeria* 1974, 93-95. The board naturally had a coordinating role and supervisory duty with regards to government funding of schools. A big task was the examination and certification of both students and teachers.

357 Her Majesty’s Inspector of schools as it was called then was the Reverend Metcalfe Sunter for the West African Colonies in 1882. In 1886 when Lagos was separated from the Gold-Coast and became the protectorate of Lagos, there was a new Nigerian ordinance for education and the grants were specifically detailed to the different school categories of pre-school, primary, secondary and vocational schools (called industrial schools). Dr Henry Carr (1863-1945) was the first African to be appointed a local inspector of schools for the colony and rose to become the Chief inspector of Schools for Southern Nigeria and ‘Resident’ for the colony of Lagos till 1924 (cf. Fafunwa *History of Education*, 95).

passes per subjects. There were also grants to motivate more students to attend school, so that schools with a large number of students got more aid.

4.4. Christian Education and Theology in the North

Fafunwa notes that “there was no Christian missionary station in Northern Nigeria before 1900”.³⁵⁸ If this was the case, one may see why most of the Christian education and theologically based foundations were all set up in the south with what could be considered a clearly documented government support as we have seen so far.

However, Ayandele opposes this opinion as there have been evidences of missionary presence in Northern Nigeria in 1708. “It is recorded, there were not less than 100,000 Christian adherents in the kingdom of Kororofa³⁵⁹ and a sixty-bed hospital had been built by the Roman Catholic priests. About this time, too, Rome attempted to introduce Christianity into Bornu and one Father Carlo de Genova was appointed prefect of the projected Mission. But although these early efforts to Christianize Northern Nigeria were feeble, and in the long run unrewarding, Christian missions did not withdraw attention from this vast territory, a third the size of India, when they revived their propaganda on the Atlantic seaboard about the middle of the nineteenth century”³⁶⁰

358 Fafunwa *History of Education*, 101.

359 Kororofa (also called Kwararafa) was prominent in 1500 and was the capital of the Jukon Kingdom (1720-1815). Located in North central Nigeria, they are people that have interested historians. See E. C. Duggan, (1970). *Notes on the Munshi ("Tivi") tribe of northern Nigeria*. New Haven, CT: Human Relations Area Files. And H. J. Fisher, H. J. (1975). The Sahara and the Central Sudan. In Richard Gray, J. D. Fage, and Roland Anthony Oliver (Eds.), *The Cambridge history of Africa from C. 1600-C.1790* (pp. 134-136). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. For a more recent work see, Ayuba Y. Mshelia, *The Story of the Origins of the Bura/Pabir People of Northeast Nigeria: Language, Migrations, the Myth of Yamta-ra-wala, Social Organization and Culture*. (Bloomington, Indiana: Authorhouse, 2014). In March 2006, the Kwararafa University Waukari was opened with a license from the National Universities Commission of Nigeria (issued in in 2005) as a ‘community owned University’. It was previously known as Wukari Jubilee University of Nigeria. Located in Taraba State, it offers degree and diploma courses in Natural and applied sciences, Education, Business, Agriculture, Communication, and Management. See Kwararafa University. (2015). *Kwararafa University - Home*. Retrieved from <http://www.kwararafauniversity.edu.ng/home/index.php/en/>

360 E. A. Ayandele, (1966). The Missionary Factor in Northern Nigeria, 1870-1918. *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria*, 3(3), 503. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41856710>. Citing Vatican Archives,

Some possible reasons have been presented for the interest of the missionaries in setting up schools in the northern part of the country, as can be found in the documents of different missionary societies of various Christian denominations. Ayandele explains that many missionaries saw the Northern part of the country as a place where Christianity could thrive despite the centuries of Islam, which they probably thought was superficial. In contrast, the natives in the South were considered quite barbaric and very attached to their traditional beliefs. The difficult coastal climate and reports of death from previous missionaries and navigators from tropical diseases did not make matters easy either.

Why, it might be asked, did so many missionary bodies regard Northern Nigeria as the most potentially promising area in the Sudan for the spread of Christianity? One reason was that missionaries accepted too readily and with eagerness the idyllic picture of the racial characteristics of the Hausa people and the Hausa country painted by many explorers, the Hausa Association and Sir George Goldie. It came to be believed by Europeans that in intelligence, physiognomy, material culture and literary achievement the Hausa were not only superior to the Southern Nigerian, peoples but surpassed the Chinese; that Hausa civilization could stand comparison with European [civilization]. This racial and cultural superiority, it was contended, would make the Hausa perceive the metaphysical truths of such a high religion as Christianity, which many missionaries had begun to feel was beyond the understanding of the supposedly inferior coastal peoples. So far was the Wesleyan Missionary

Rome Acta 77 cont. f. 1707 f.296. n.26, also f. 52 n. 21 22/II/1707, Acta 78 f. 5. n. 79/I/1708, Acta 83. f.113. n. 17 13/III/1713

Society prepared to carry its imagination that by 1899 it had come to believe that the Hausa would be a providential instrument for the Christianization of even ‘the less healthy and less enlightened parts of the (African) continent’. Perhaps more attractive was the belief held by many observers, apart from credulous missionaries, that the Hausa were the least bigoted of the Muslim inhabitants of the Sudan, that Islam sat lightly on them and that its tenets had been forced upon them by the Fulani jihadists. Common to all the missionary bodies was the desire of the white missionaries for healthy highlands, beyond the reach of ‘fever’ and the pestilential climate of the coastal areas. Hence in 1879 John Milum, Chairman of the Wesleyan Mission in Nigeria, recommended to the Foreign Mission Board that all the white missionaries should withdraw into the highlands between Ilorin and Shonga on the Niger. Twelve years later a missionary of the Southern American Baptist Mission made a similar recommendation to the Foreign Board in Richmond, Virginia³⁶¹

Historically, these missionary attempts to evangelize the Northern part of Nigeria did not lead to many people converting to Christianity. This was partly due to the strong connection between

361 E. A. Ayandele, (1966). The Missionary factor in Northern Nigeria, 1870-1918. *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria*, 3(3), 504. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41856710> Citing G. T. Goldie, ‘The Future of Nigeria’ *The Independent*, May 5, 1899 and Methodist Mission Archives, “Report of committee for consideration of establishing Missions in Housaland” February 15, 1899, and A. F. Mockler-Ferryman, *British West Africa* (London: The Imperial Press, 1898), 399. American Baptist Mission, *The Foreign Mission Journal*, July 1893, 355, and Methodist Mission Archives Milum to John Kilner October 11, 1879. This is not to completely rule out the fact that other missionaries also expressed some level of difficult healthy conditions in the northern part of the country as can be found in the writings of Miller: “Cerebro-spinal meningitis, influenza and what is usually known as ‘the plague’ have come into the protectorate and caused great mortality among Africans. Smallpox also is always with us. An influenza epidemic in 198-19 had particularly malignant effect upon the people, who had never before been attacked by this almost universal scourge. It seemed as if whole populations would be wiped out. No house was exempt, and the onset was so sudden that it defied treatment. Practically every member of our little church and school was struck down for three weeks. Thompson and I nursed our boys and other members of the church in our big schoolroom, where they lay in rows, some unconscious, some dangerously ill, others, like myself, just able to move about. In the end, every member of our church and school recovered. This seemed miraculous, for throughout the city there was scarcely a house without its dead, and in some houses almost all succumbed”. Miller and Church Missionary Society. 144-145.

Faith and Education, as there was already a strong Islamic adherence before the arrival of the Christian missionaries. So the education was well received, but the Christian faith was not. Theologically speaking therefore, one can say that the pastoral methodology of introducing Christological concepts and belief in the incarnation and paschal mysteries were not readily accepted by the Islamic community in the northern part of the country.

This methodology included the direct preaching of the word of God in the local church compound of the missionaries and also within the walls of the mission schools, especially during the Christian Religious Education classes. From the previous and present low number of conversions to Christianity in those parts of the country one can infer that this method was not pragmatically successful. In contrast to the southern part of the country, where the Christian religion became the official religion in most of the local communities with very high numbers of conversion. Consequently, the future local leadership of most of the Christian missionary groups came from the southern parts of the country. The same could be said for the rapid growth of mission owned schools and institutions like hospitals and charitable organisations in the southern part of the country

Though the mission schools were also set up in the north, there was a different kind of response to Christianity. This is partly because of the fact that prior to the 1926 Nigerian education code

there were about 25,000 Quaranic schools in Northern Nigeria³⁶² having about 218,618 pupils³⁶³ by 1914.

A description of the school in the north is given by Miller in his work *Reflections of a pioneer*. He is generally very optimistic in his writing about how the Christian faith eventually spread among the Moslems. But since his publication in 1936, this has not yet happened. However, his description of the mission school and initiatives to educate girls in the North is very insightful.

This is one of the compact mission fields in which results are obvious. There seems little reason to doubt that within this generation we may expect the plateau to have a solid Christian population. Certainly the day of Paganism is vanishing, and Islam, in the face of such a strong body of Christian men and thought, is after the first early days of difficulty in subduing wild tribes who lived largely in the mountains, has given real help and encouragement. At a later stage in the development of the country considerable independence was

362 Fafunwa explains this clearly when he says that: “The protectorate of Northern Nigeria was proclaimed on 27 December 1899 and Sir (later Lord) Frederick Lugard was appointed High Commissioner. On 1 January 1900 at 7.20 a.m. the Union Jack replaced the flag of the Royal Niger Company at Lakoja where both the Christian mission and the Royal Niger Company had established themselves. Thus, the ‘three civilising agents, Christianity, Commerce and Colonialism’, formed an alliance (often an uneasy one) at Lakoja to open up the northern territories. Although the proclamation of the Northern Protectorates took effect as of 1900, effective occupation of the northern emirates was not completed until 1903. Lugard launched an 800-mile military campaign (deceptively described in official circles as pacifications of the north) against Kano, Kastina and Sokoto and brought these emirates by force of arms under the authority of the British government. Lugard’s declared policy on northern education in 1902 was that the Christian missions should direct their attention to the non-Muslim areas in the north. He was anxious that the Muslims should not regard missionaries and government officials as fellow agents of administration. At Lokoja where it had its foothold, the C.M.S. established churches and schools but was unable to penetrate the northern interior for quite some time. In 1898 Bishop Tugwell of the same mission sought and received Lugard’s permission to penetrate Hausaland. Lugard also gave permission to the Sudan Interior Mission about the same time. The C.M.S. established the Hausa mission in Zaria and then proceeded to Kano but was ordered out by the Emir. The mission retreated to Zaria. The type of school that were initially introduced were called ‘Home Schools’, as they were for ex-slaves and children of ex-slaves. In 1903 a British schoolmaster was appointed to take charge of the Lakoja school with the aid of a Nigerian assistant”. Fafunwa, *History of Education*, 101-102.

363 Fafunwa, *History of Education*, 100. In a later work this figure is moderately estimated to be at 19,073 Quaranic schools with 143,312 pupils as at 1913 see J. U. Aisiku and Onyerisara Ukeje, ‘Education in Nigeria’, in A. Babs Fafunwa and J. U. Aidiku (eds), *Education in Africa: A Comparative Survey*, (London: George Allen and Unwin Publishers Ltd., 1982), 208.

granted to the pagan peoples, and some of their own chiefs were entrusted with government and the maintenance of law; only the paramount Moslem emir was retained. A very interesting experiment has been made by Eric Mort of the Government Education Department, and now Acting Director in Kaduna. He has started a training college for selected young Pagans, many of them married, where they will get [a] good education and become able leaders, even rulers of their own peoples. Men of different tribes are living and studying together, and three of my old boys from Zaria are acting under the Education Department as head master and assistant masters in the college.³⁶⁴

It was not only Miller who had this optimistic and rapid expectation of the changes that mission schools in the north would bring about especially with the conversion of Moslems to Christianity. Brown had similar ideas for the Islamic parts of West and Central Africa, but insisted on the formation of leaders. For Brown, the education of local Africans was going to the foundation of local leadership with a western style.³⁶⁵

One of the early attempts on the education of girls in the north was made possible because of female married missionaries of the Church Missionary Society including the sister of Miller stating: in 1907 that: “accordingly an experiment was made in 1907, and with the permission of the Administration three married women, Dr. Wakefield, Miss Fox, and my sister were brought up to Zaria by Bishop and Mrs. Tugwell, who remained for some months to initiate the work. Some little girls came from the Free Slave Home and one or two Moslem parents were

364 Miller and Church Missionary Society. *Reflections of a pioneer*. (London: Church Missionary Society, 1936) 97-98.

365 The quest for the education for leadership led to the growth in the African emancipation movements. See G. N. Brown, (1964). British Educational Policy in West and Central Africa. *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 2(03), 369. doi:10.1017/s0022278x00004328

introduced to bring their children; and so a beginning was made. These English women were pioneers in a very difficult piece of work. Many of their early girls are now married, and as trained women and mothers of children have contributed untold stability and blessing to our Hausa Church, making it far more easy to have a community life in which alone is it possible for the mission among Moslems to grow.”³⁶⁶ This school for the girls later developed to having a ‘girls’ hostel’ that was able to train a considerable number of girls some of whom became members of the Church.

However, the major challenge for the teaching of Christian Religious Education in the mission schools will be in the pastoral dialogue that must take place between faith and culture. In this context it was in two levels; one was within the new Christian community and the second was the reaction from the Moslem leadership in the area. This pastoral dilemma was expressed with regards to the new converts by Miller as follows:

Is it not a matter of urgency that while our young churches in Nigeria are in their spiritual infancy; before methods become stereotyped and static; before more thinking men and women and boys are alienated, there may be a willingness on the part of our leaders to rethink the whole position? As an old retired missionary, I would plead that more opportunity be given to the younger clergy and laymen to express themselves; especially those working in Moslem districts in the north of Nigeria, where the Church is hard pressed to hold its own against very different standards in Islam and Paganism. I would plead also that the anthropologist and sociologist may be listened to; that even other systems and religions may be reviewed. By such means we may arrive at something which, without lowering our *ultimate* ideal, or abating the detail of

366 Miller and Church Missionary Society, 99.

Christ's *authentic* teaching on marriage will draw men and women to Him and to His Church, and not expel them from it.³⁶⁷

The reaction of the Moslem community could be more clearly interpreted from the 1971 speech of Alhaji Junaidu, the Waziri of Sokoto during a convocation ceremony in the Ahmadu Bello University when he is quoted to have said: "I must state that your university...is a cultural transplant whose roots lie in another tradition...I agree all cultures are in a certain sense right, and seek to do the same things and have the same fundamental ideas. But it is the nuances that make the difference and it is the loss of these nuances which kills societies. It is little wonder why our so-called modern élite find it easy to violate the very laws and principles which they themselves create. When your own world has been put aside, you feel no respect for any other. Our universities should arrest the process of endorsing our personality out of our lives, education and up-bringing."³⁶⁸

The obvious dichotomy in the speech of the Waziri Junaidu in 1971 was between the influence of western culture with Christianity and Islamic culture among the local people. One seems to be trying to edge out the other. This could be traced to the historical coterminous interests between the Christian missionary and the Islamic Educators, as far as both sides were seeking to convert the local people to a religious adherence and affiliation. The colonial government was careful not to destabilise the traditional culture of the local people in the North who for centuries had linked up their monarchical structures and practices in line with Islamic teachings and practices. In fact, the Islamic schools and religion were so firmly rooted with the local

367 Miller and Church Missionary Society, 168-169.

368 J. A. McIntyre, (1982). An Overview of Education in Northern Nigeria: Attempted from the Perspective of Qur'anic Education. *Africa Spectrum*, 17(1), 23. First published in *New Nigerian* 9th December 1971. G. M. Brown, and M. Hiskett, *Conflict and Harmony in Education in Tropical Africa*, (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1975), 467-471.

people that the Christian missionaries were not able to succeed in the evangelisation as they did in the South.

The theological approach of the Christian missionaries in the north was enshrined within the curriculum of the C.M.S mission school, and according to Sonia F. Graham it included daily instructions in Christian Religious Education and the reading of the Bible.³⁶⁹ The schools in the North had similar regulations and rules to those that were already in use in the mission schools in the South at that time. These rules were adaptations of clear Christian Moral theology that was based on Pauline teachings to the early Christian communities on issues related to marriage (monogamy), weekly fellowship in a church or houses of members, and a public profession of faith in Jesus Christ beginning with instruction and the initiation sacrament of Baptism. This was not easy in predominantly Moslem society where their sacred scripture (Qur'an), teachings on marriage (including polygamy), method of education and place of worship (Mosque) were all different.

However, the Christian missionaries in the Northern part of Nigeria were prepared with the sensitivity of culture and traditional differences of the local reality, especially by learning the Hausa language. They believed that their positive contributions to the native people could grow with the introduction of formal education. This was expected to bring about progress in agriculture, health, literacy and religion. This aspiration of the Christian missionaries was further corroborated by the distinguished intellectual and social success of some Nigerians who

369 Sonia F. Graham, *Government and Mission Education in Northern Nigeria 1900-1919* (Ibadan University Press, 1966), 24. Sonia's work reveals that the population of the Northern area was estimated at nine million people in an area of 258,000 square miles and it is important to note that it took about ten years for the administrators to eventually set up an official policy of education in the region. Sir Hanns Vischer who was a C.M.S. missionary was saddled with this responsibility. Originally Swiss, this missionary naturalised as an English who entered the Colonial Service and had a house in Kano. See also *The Beginnings of Western Education in the Northern Nigeria Government and Mission Education in Northern Nigeria, 1900-1919*, with special reference to the work of Hanns Vischer. By Sonia F. Graham. Ibadan University Press, 1966. xxvii + 192, maps, illustrations in, *Journal of African History* vol. 8, no. 03, 1967.

had been previously trained in western education and were doing well in adapting it to local situations.

To us who bring another faith, another culture, another literature, and vastly different methods of education, this partial failure of Islam is a real warning. We have to give [of] our best. There must be no doubt either in our minds or in those of the people of the country that we are pledged to this. Nothing like the argument, which some advance, of the inferiority of the Negro, and the sufficiency of an elementary education for the masses, with perhaps something better for the privileged few, must be entertained. It would be rank treason to our own history and past; it is an un-Christian attitude to the people for whom the time God has made us responsible. To educate partially is to make a nation of miserable pundits and discontented, literate nondescripts.

We cannot have men too well trained for this work of education now. It is not vocational teaching that is needed, but such complete and true education that every vocation will claim and get its fully equipped and educated servants. Whether from a government or missionary point of view it is folly to be content with anything less than the best. We do not want uneducated farmers, illiterate traders, expert but rude mechanics; or worse, converts to Christianity whose minds remain in their infancy, however advanced their faith. This way lies failure everywhere. There is grand material in Nigeria; the land that has produced a Crowther, an Oluwole, a Sheikh Othman, a Henry Carr, and many other men of first-class ability, must be given its opportunity to the full by us who have received so richly from Greece, Rome, and Judæa.³⁷⁰

370 Miller and Church Missionary Society 202-203.

Before 1920, the impact of Western education in Northern Nigeria was very low. This brought about a considerable disparity between the growth of schools in the South and in the North. This also had a socio-political impact for government workers and administrative workers. The Nigerians in the south who were government workers in 1908 were about 2,187 and most of them received their education from the Mission schools in the south (about 18 secondary schools and teachers' colleges). Due to the lack of similar schools in the north, there were no qualified people in the North for government clerical jobs that required a form of western education. The private companies in the country in the same period employed about 621 local staff, and also had the same academic requirements for their officers.³⁷¹

Not everyone was particularly convinced that Western education will be well integrated with local culture and this sentiment was expressed by the Governor, Sir Hugh Clifford who felt that in the North some people regarded western education "with some 'uneasiness and suspicion'".³⁷² It was also noted later on in 1961 that in northern areas like Sokoto, Katsina,

371 See E. A. Ayandele, *Nigerian historical studies*. (London: F. Cass, 1979). The Colonial Government kept to an educational standard for their clerical staff and officials. The only way for locals to aspire to such positions was through western education and qualification, which the mission schools provided before the government started building their own schools. The recruitment of government staff from England or other parts of the British colony like India, would change when local Nigerians started getting the required qualification for the Jobs. In the North, this would prove a bit difficult before 1920 since the Mission schools were mainly in the South. See also A. F. Ogunsola, *Legislation and Education in Northern Nigeria* (Oxford University Press, Ibadan, 1974), and Sonia. F. Graham, *Government and Mission Education in Northern Nigeria, 1900-1919, with special reference to the work of Hanns Vischer* (Ibadan: University Press 1966). Though Islamic Education was popular in the North, it did not provide the academic and political aptitude for the political system of the British colonies and as W.R. Miller says: "Islam has done much for Africa, of good and evil. It has had a vast influence, religious, social, and through the family. But in its failure to educate the masses it lost its chance". In W. R. Miller, & Church Missionary Society, *Reflections of a pioneer*. (London: Church Missionary Society, 1936), 202.

372 McIntyre explains this further by saying that: "The history of the teaching of the Qur'an and Islamic knowledge in northern Nigeria is probably almost as old as the history of Islam in northern Nigeria. It is possible that Islam penetrated West Africa as early as the 8th century and it is probable that Muslim traders had treaded in Kano long before the Emir Muhammmad Rumfa (1469-99) became the first in an unbroken line of Muslim emirs in Kano. The history of Western education in Nigeria is, of course, much younger, especially in northern Nigeria. The British colonialists, because of their fears of disturbing an otherwise stale political situation, pushed their policy on Indirect Rule to its logical conclusion and delayed any serious attempts to develop Western education in the north. In the beginning, the only people to receive a Western education were a handful of sons of the nobility (some of the emirs sent the sons of the slaves), and the few malams who participated in the 'Zaira Experiment' (the brainchild of R. S. Miller of the Church Missionary Society), as well as a small number of no-Muslims who attended the school of the Sudan United Mission. These institutions had problems trying to establish themselves and fell victim to the opposition of the Residents in the north who convinced the Colonial Office to stop supporting

Kano and Bornu where the number of children in Quranic schools were high, there was a relative low enrolment in primary schools.

Year	Qur'anic pupils	Malams (teachers)	Voluntary schools	Government schools
1919	250,000	25,000	N/A	N/A
1938	N/A	N/A	383	216
1953	N/A	N/A	1,033	744
1961	N/A	N/A	2,500	216
1964	500,000	N/A	N/A	N/A

Table 18. Schools in Northern Nigeria 1919-1964.³⁷³

Year and Percentage	Malams (teachers)	Qur'anic students	Ilm (advanced) students
1963-1964	12,000	422,954	36,419
Percentage of schools in the Northern Region located in Kano Province only		18.9% of Qur'anic schools	34.1% of the advanced Ilm schools

Table 19. Expansion in Kano Province from 1963-1964³⁷⁴

them. In both cases it was fear of the Muslim aristocracy which motivated the Residents. This situation changed slowly. After the First World War, the Governor, Sir High Clifford said: 'In the Northern Provinces there has been until recently a certain tendency to regard the education of the local population with some uneasiness and suspicion, as a process likely to exert a disintegrating and demoralising effect upon the character of those who are subjected to it. By 1938, the situation had evolved and there were 744 government schools (now called 'Native Authority' schools) and 1,033 voluntary agency schools. Over the next eight years this increased to almost 2,500 primary schools. Qu'ranic schools also expanded during this time: a government report of 1919 estimated that there were 25,000 malams and a quarter of a million pupils in northern Nigeria as a whole. It is probable that this figure had at least doubled by 1964', in J. A. McIntyre, (1982). An Overview of Education in Northern Nigeria: Attempted from the Perspective of Qur'anic Education. *Africa Spectrum*, 17(1), 22. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40174051>. Citing A. F. Ogunola, *Legislation and Education in Northern Nigeria* (Oxford University Press, Ibadan, 1974), 28. And J. N. Eastmond, and H. Adamu, "The Place of Koranic Schools in the Immediate and Long-Range Planning of Northern Nigeria", Unpublished paper, Ministry of Education, Kaduna, 1965. See also Great Britain, His Majesty's Stationary Office (HMSO). *Northern Nigeria Annual Report*. (London: HMSO, 1920) cited in J. N. Paden, *Religion and political culture in Kano*. (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1973).

373 See J. N. Paden, *Religion and political culture in Kano*. (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1973), 58. Citing Great Britain, His Majesty's Stationary Office (HMSO). *Northern Nigeria Annual Report*. (London: His Majesty's Stationary Office 1920). In this report, the number of Qur'anic pupils was approximated at 500,000 in 1964). See also J. N. Eastmond, and H. Adamu, *The Place of Koranic Schools in the Immediate and Long Range Planning of Northern Nigeria*. (Kaduna: Ministry of Education, 1965).

374 J. A. McIntyre, (1982). An Overview of Education in Northern Nigeria: Attempted from the Perspective of Qur'anic Education. *Africa Spectrum*, 17(1), 23. The 4 provinces with high Qur'anic enrolment: (Kastina, Sokoto, Bornu and Kano) also had the lowest primary enrolment in Government schools.

Most of these schools only needed the consent of the local chief or Emir, to be established and their faith-based nature easily made it a venture anyone in support of the growth of the Islamic faith would give instant approval for. This started changing around the time of independence in 1960 with the setting up of the Ministry of Education. McIntyre mentions that the integration of both the British System and the Islamic (also in this context considered the ‘local’) system took a while to take place. In the 1965 study and report of Eastmond and Adamu it is mentioned that: “one system became the official system and conformed to British standards. This system has had considerable impact on northern Nigeria...and has done much to prepare the country for industrial development and economic and social advancement. The other system of education has been the traditional one. While it existed prior to the British coming and flourished during the colonial period, it has been almost completely unrecognized as an acceptable system of education’. ‘And this despite the ...open fact that up till this day there are people who prefer to send their children to the indigenous Koranic and Ilm schools”³⁷⁵

4.5 Other education ordinances and policies from 1946-1960

In a period of seventy-three years (from 1859, the first Secondary School was established by the Christian Missionaries in Lagos to 1932, when the first tertiary college was established) there process has been one marked with significant reforms through polices and ordinances by the colonial government. The influence of the Second World War (1939-1945) was felt in the missionary endeavours in Nigeria, especially with the expulsion of the German missionaries. In 1943, the British had a memorandum on ‘mass education in Africa’ which highlighted three major issues:

- (1) A better standard of living condition and health for the African people.

375 McIntyre, 23. Citing J. N. Eastmond, and H. Adamu, *The Place of Koranic Schools in the Immediate and Long Range Planning of Northern Nigeria*. (Kaduna: Ministry of Education, 1965).

(2) Focus on social and economic development

(3) Preparation of political institutions in view of self determination

This was followed by a ‘Mass Literacy Campaign’ in Nigeria in 1946 with emphasis on literacy and numeracy, especially for the adult population who had not been to formal western schools as their children were now attending.³⁷⁶

Nevertheless, from 1946 to the year of independence of Nigeria from the British in 1960, the education policies always had a space for Christian Religious education not only because of the active presence of Christian missionaries, but also because of the cultural identity of the Nigerian people to Religious practices and beliefs of any kind. Parents and different ethnic communities were actively involved in the practice of Islam (mainly in the north), Christianity (mainly in the south) and traditional religion. The educational curriculum for the training of teachers and students felt the need to safeguard the essential role of Religious education within the school subjects and also to regulate how it is to be taught in partnership with the relevant stakeholders who in the case of Christian Religious education were the Missionaries. They did the same with the Islamic leaders, but African traditional religion was left to private practice as there were no strong and defined body of representatives for it. The multiplicity and diversity of African traditional religion, probably made it an unrealistic venture at that time. Islam and Christianity were both against it in principle and it only continued to survive privately, though very strongly, among adherents and patronisers. The post second world war influence in Nigeria was that of political agitation for self-rule and emancipation. This clamour for self-governance

376 See M. S. Jayeola-Omoyeni, and J. O. Omoyeni, (2014). Contribution of Western Education to the Making of Modern Nigeria during and after the First World War. *European Scientific Journal*, 10(31), 268-279. Citing C. O. Taiwo, *The Nigerian education system: Past, present and future*, (Lagos: Nelson Nigeria, 1980).

stimulated the quest for more formal education. “Thus from 1944 to independence in 1960 was a period of self-determination and educational expansion in Nigeria”³⁷⁷

4.5.1 The 1946 ordinance

This ordinance is reflected in the 1946 constitution of Nigeria³⁷⁸ under the leadership of Sir Arthur Richards (1885-1978) who was governor of colonial Nigeria from 1943-1948. It contains some clear directions for education. This constitution also known as the Richards Constitution like others, was influenced and approved by the legislation in Westminster. Its main focus was on national unity and integration of the north and south of Nigeria with particular interest on education and recognition of the ‘house of chiefs’ in the north. It also gave limited participation in the decision making on national issues to the local people through their various regional representations which will later lead to decolonisation. Also by this constitution Nigeria was officially grouped into three political regions (North, East and West) with local leadership who took the advantage to promote education. Consequently, education law was passed in the north two years after independence in 1962. However, this was preceded in the East by the Universal Primary Education which was proposed by Nnamdi Azikiwe (1904-1996) with legislation in 1953 which was implemented from 1957. In the West, Obafemi Awolowo (1909-1987) began the Free Universal and Compulsory Primary Education (UPE) in 1955. This colonial education policy lasted practically till 1977 when a Unified National Policy on Education (NPE) was introduced.³⁷⁹

377 Hauwa Imam, (2012), Educational Policy in Nigeria from the Colonial Era to the Post-Independence Period. *Italian Journal of Sociology of Education*, 4(1), 184.

378 There were five constitutions in the Colonial era from 1914-1960 (1913 –effected from January 1, 1914, 1922, 1946, 1951 and 1954).

379 Cf. Grace Oluremilekun Akanbi, (2013). Privatization and the ‘international schools’: the need to maintain standard. *Italian Journal of Sociology of Education*, 5(1), 119-133. Citing I. Osokoya, *6-3-3-4 Education in Nigeria history, strategies, issues and problems*, (Lagos: Bisinaike Educational Publishers, 1987).

4.5.2 1948 Education Ordinance

This ordinance has been described as the “first comprehensive publication of an educational policy and practice in Nigeria. The primary purpose of this Ordinance was designed to put the country into three regional and administrative units. The Ordinance decentralized educational administration by classifying education as a regional service in order for all the regions to be fully involved in the expansion of education and to foster mass education in each of the regions”³⁸⁰

The framework for the 1948 Education Ordinance is contained within general design of the ten-year colonial development plan from 1946 -1955.³⁸¹ The move towards internal self-governance got some attention because the “new Labour-controlled parliament of Clement Attlee in the United Kingdom, in power 1945-1951, was far more sympathetic to the agenda of the nationalists than previous administrations had been”³⁸².

This plan for education was influenced by the second world war. Part of the aim was to provide more assistance to mission schools, voluntary organisations and support of more local participation in education.³⁸³ Moreover, according to Fabunmi, “the report of the Director of Education who was appointed in 1944 to review the ten years plan and that of Sir Sidney Phillipson on the procedure for assessing grants-in-aid for 1948 was the basis for the

380 M. S. Jayeola-Omoyeni, and J. O. Omoyeni, (2014). Contribution of Western Education to the Making of Modern Nigeria during and after the First World War. *European Scientific Journal*, 10(31), 275.

381 This ten-year plan was revised from 1951-1955 and later extended to 1962 forming the background of the post-independence Economic development plans especially from its budgetary aspects.

382 Toyin Falola, and Matthew M. Heaton, *A history of Nigeria*. (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 146. In 1943, the Sir Walter Elliot’s commission made up of 14 people was set up to follow up some aspects of education. The 14-man committee included K.A. Korsah from Ghana, E.H. Taylor from Sierra Leone and Reverend I. O. Ransome-Kuti from Nigeria. Three of them represented the West African colonies. Together with another commission (made up of 11 people and headed by Justice Cyril Asquith in the same 1943, there was a lot of interest in university education to complete the primary and secondary level studies in the colonies. These two commissions submitted their reports in 1945. See University College Hospital Ibadan. (2015). Brief History of UCH, Ibadan. Retrieved from <http://uch-ibadan.org.ng/content/brief-history>

383 See S. Adesina Planning and educational development in Nigeria. (Lagos, Nigeria: Educational Industries Limited 1977).

promulgation of the 1948 Education Ordinance.”³⁸⁴ Some of the main goals of this were to provide:

- A type of education more suitable for the needs of the country;
- Better conditions of service for teachers employed by missions and other voluntary bodies, in order to provide a better-trained and more contented staff;
- More adequate financial assistance to mission and other voluntary educational bodies;
- Financial assistance to native administrations to maintain an efficient staff of teachers and expand education in their areas;
- Controlled expansion within financial limits.³⁸⁵

The 1945 ten-year colonial development plan was financially budgeted in different categories including education. These were all part of the post second world war economic recovery initiatives. Below are some of the major focuses of the ten-year plan.³⁸⁶

Sector	British Pounds	Note
Communication	11.3 million	Focus on infrastructure
Research and Development	4.2 million	Including Agriculture and local crafts
Education facilities	7.7 million	Under social services
Medicine and Healthcare	10.4 million	Training and facilities
Water	8 million	Basic amenity

Table 20. Budget allocation for the National development of the 1945 ten-year development plan

384 M. Fabunmi (2005). Historical Analysis of Educational Policy Formulation in Nigeria: Implications for Educational Planning and Policy. *International Journal of African and African American Studies*, 4(2), 4.

385 Cf. Ukeje, O. and Aisiku, J. U. (1982) “Education in Nigeria” in A. Babs Fafunwa and J. U. Aisiku (Eds.), *Education in Africa: A Comparative Survey* (London: George Allen & Unwin Publishers Ltd.) For more studies on the Nigerian education plan within the context of post war impact and response to global education, see Roy Lowe, (2012). *Education and the Second World War: Studies in schooling and social change*. (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2012), 155.

386 For more details on the budget see Toyin Falola, and Matthew M. Heaton, *A history of Nigeria*. (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 146-148.

The focus on the professional teachers' training, expansion of structures and enrolment of students was possible because of this plan. From 1937, primary schools grew from 3,500 (with 288,000 students) to 6,500 primary schools in 1960 with 1.4 million students. Secondary schools also expanded from 100 schools in 1947 to about 740 in 1960. The number of appointments of qualified Nigerians (mainly those who had studied in mission schools and in England) into top government positions also increased after this time. The number rose from 23 senior native government officials in 1939 to 182 in 1947, 786 in 1955 to more than 2,600 in 1960³⁸⁷.

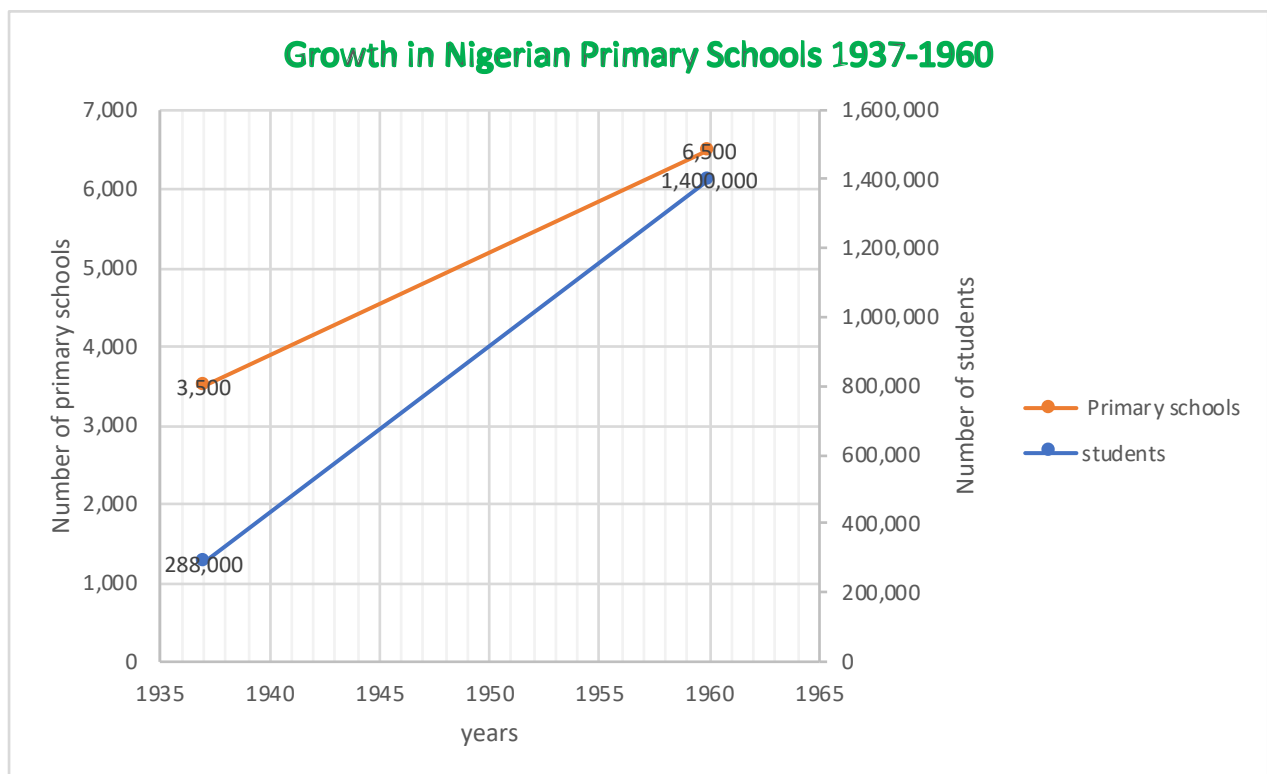


Chart 13. Growth in Nigerian primary schools 1937-1960

387 Ibid.

Other aspects of the 1948 Education ordinance were:

- Decentralisation of education administration,
- Creation of the Central Board of Education,
- Creation of regional Boards (for the 4 regions of West, East, North and Lagos),
- Establishment of Local Education Authorities and Local Education,
- Appointments of a National director and Deputy regional directors,
- Establishment of ‘Native Authority and Government Schools’,
- Registration of teachers,
- Regulations for Grants-in-Aids,
- Tuition Fees.³⁸⁸

4.5.3 1952 Education Ordinance

Another important mile stone in the education history of Nigeria is the 1952 Education Ordinance. It “was introduced so as to enable each of the three newly created (Eastern, Western, and Northern) regions to develop its educational policies and systems. The ordinance became an education law for the country”.³⁸⁹ As the different geo-political regions were expanding³⁹⁰, there was the need to solidify the central regulatory body by having regional boards and adequate representation from the different regions. Another aim of the 1952 education ordinance was to abolish the colonial board and introduce a more indigenous board. As funding and budgeting was becoming more central in the administration of education, the demands of

388 Cf. Fabunmi, (2005), 4. See also Jayeola-Omoyeni, M. S., and Omoyeni, J. O. (2014). Contribution of Western Education to the Making of Modern Nigeria during and after the First World War. *European Scientific Journal*, 10(31), 275.

389 Fabunmi, (2005), 4.

390 The political atmosphere in Nigeria at this time was for self-governance and between 1951 and 1954 there were two ‘Constitutional Conferences’ during which the Nigerian nationalists were in official dialogue with the colonial government towards the making of a national constitution for the country. This constitution of 1954 established the federal character of Nigeria together with the three regions of North, East and West. Lagos was the federal capital. see Hauwa Imam. (2012). Educational Policy in Nigeria from the Colonial Era to the Post-Independence Period. *Italian Journal of Sociology of Education*, 4(1), 185 citing Dike, K. O. 100 Years of British Rule in Nigeria, 1851-1957. In I. Obaro (Ed.), *Groundwork of Nigerian History*. (Ibadan: Heinemann 1980).

proper inspections and supervision of schools also increased. This supervision was done for both mission and government schools³⁹¹ by the regional director and the inspector general of education. ³⁹²One major advantage of the 1952 education ordinance was that it created a platform for each the three regions to develop their own educational policies and stimulated a high interest in basic education across the country. The attention to the role of teachers in the different local regions was also emphasised.³⁹³

4.5.4 1959 Ashby Report

After the national development plan from 1946-1955, another development plan was introduced for twenty years. This was done by the Federal Government of Nigeria setting up the Eric Ashby Commission in 1959. The commission was to look at human resources development and consequently, the educational needs of the country. It focused on professional and third level education. By so doing, a critical project was outlined for the future of the primary, secondary, vocational and university education in Nigeria.

Looking towards the next twenty years (1960-1980), this committee led by Sir Eric Ashby was made up of three Nigerians, three British and three Americans. The focus on education was timely as there was the need to educate the masses and prepare future leaders. “The Ashby Report also prescribed that education was indeed the tool for achieving national economic expansion and social emancipation of the individual. It also, gave Nigerians [the] opportunity for participation in the deliberations that culminated in the report”.³⁹⁴ The report mentions the

391 Sometimes classified as ‘private and public schools’. However, the general understanding of ‘private schools’ would include non-mission owned private schools.

392 Cf. Fabunmi, (2005), 4.

393 Nigeria, (1953). *The education ordinance, 1952: (no. 17 of 1952), with amendments up to 16th October, 1952, public notices up to 31st December, 1952, regulations up to 31st July, 1953, together with Rules for the award of retiring allowances and gratuities to non-government teachers, and index.* (Nigeria: Government Printer).

394 Imam, 186.

need to have more qualified teachers as the bedrock for establishing and growing the education sector and the entire society at large. Some of the recommendations include the expansion of primary and secondary schools, establishment of the Nigerian University Commission, and the opening of three regional universities in Nsukka (east), Ife (west) and Zaria (north). The University college of Ibadan was to be made a ‘full-fledged’ university.³⁹⁵

The impact of the regional investment in basic education has been described as an ‘evolution’ since 1955. This is because in the Western Region, the Premier, Chief Obafemi Awolowo had a rather successful free and compulsory education policy, which saw to an increase from 457,000 students in fee paying school in 1954, to about 811,000 in January 1955. During this same period, the number of primary school teachers increased from 17,000 to 27,000. This growth was also made possible by the financial investment from 2.2 million pounds to 5.4 million pounds that year.³⁹⁶ A similar determination was also employed in the Eastern region of the country from 1957,³⁹⁷ though not as successful as it was in the Western region. This was partly because there was no financial stability to see it survive for more than one year. Taiwo suggests that another major reason for this difficulty to sustain the Universal Primary Education agenda was because of a rushed and inadequate planning approach that was used. Nevertheless, a remarkable element of this entire engagement with education was that an estimated 90% of the total budget on education was marked for primary basic education.³⁹⁸

395 Fabunmi, (2005), 4-5.

396 Cf. Labo-Popoola, S. O., Bello, A. A., and Atanda, F. A. (2009). Universal basic education in Nigeria: Challenges and way forward. *Social Sciences*, 4(6), 636-643. Citing Babs A. Fafunwa, *History of Education in Nigeria* (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1974), and Joshua O. Oni, *The administration of the Nigerian primary and secondary education systems*. (Abeokuta: Gbemi Sodipo Press Limited, 2006).

397 An 8-year Universal Primary Education (UPE) plan for the Eastern Region was started on February 1957. Most of the materials were not ready and much progress was not made. See Joshua O. Oni, (2008). Universality of Primary Education in Nigeria: Trends and Issues. *International Journal of African and African American Studies*, 7(1), 23-30.

398 Cf. C. O. Taiwo, *The Nigerian education system: Past, present and future*. (Lagos: Nelson Nigeria, 1980).

Unfortunately, the Northern Region at this time did not join the basic education bandwagon that the Western and Eastern Regions had jumped onto. The previous 300 years of Islamic civilization had shaped learning of any form of knowledge within the background of Islamic Religious Education. This meant that while faith formation took the central space for basic education of the population, other academic disciplines are studied based on the Islamic religious ethos and background. Consequently, the Christian missionaries in the north embarked on western education, using a ‘catechetical methodology’. So that just as the Islamic schools mainly studied the Qur’an, the ‘curriculum’ of the Christian schools was mainly on the study of the old and new testaments of the Bible. This made it difficult for Christian children to attend Muslim schools and Muslim families were suspicious of their children attending Christian schools in case they could become converted.³⁹⁹ In Nigeria today education still carries the logo of a religious ethos. The teachers, subjects and curriculum are influenced by the predominant religious belief of their regions. Funding of many private schools mainly come from those with the same religious ethos.

year	Students	teachers	Budget
1954	457,000	17,000	2.2 million pounds
1955	811,000	27,000	5.4 million pounds

Table 21. Basic (primary school) Education investment and growth in the Western Region led by Obafemi Awolowo from 1954-1955 also known as the 1955 ‘evolution’.

4.6 National Education policy 1960-1977

There was a clear road map for education as Nigeria became an officially independent country on October 1, 1960. Some of the goals for education are based on the Ashby report of 1959 and

399 S. O. Labo-Popoola, A. A. Bello and F. A. Atanda, (2009). Universal basic education in Nigeria: Challenges and way forward. *Social Sciences*, 4(6), 636-643.

were enshrined within the framework of the national constitution. Similarly, emphasis from this historical moment will gradually begin to change from the aspiration to have buildings, to more substantial issues like curricula, system, philosophy and indigenisation. The motion for Nigeria's independence was first unsuccessfully moved by Anthony Eromosele Enahoro (1923-2010) in 1953. This motion was revisited by Samuel Ladoke Akintola (1910-1966) in 1957 and again in August 1958 by Remi Fani-Kayode before it was eventually approved by the British. Sir Tafawa Balewa (1912-1966), made a further motion in parliament in 1959 which saw to the change of date for independence from April 1 (as proposed by Remi Fani-Kayode), to October 1, 1960...⁴⁰⁰

During the period of 1960-1977 there were some significant education policies which came about through the influence of the creation of 12 states in 1967,⁴⁰¹ and the influence of the Nigerian civil (Biafran) war (July 6, 1967- January 15, 1970).⁴⁰² The political climate was volatile and regional factions were pulling the country on the one hand while religious and social cohesion of the 'one nation' slogan was on the other. It was not difficult to understand that an urgent emphasis on a mass literacy campaign and strong formal education would be a major platform upon which the present and future generations of Nigerians could build a sustainable future. A major goal of the education policy at independence was to produce what

400 For earlier works on the political history of Nigerian leaders see Richard. L. Sklar, *Nigerian political parties: Power in an emergent African nation*. (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1963).

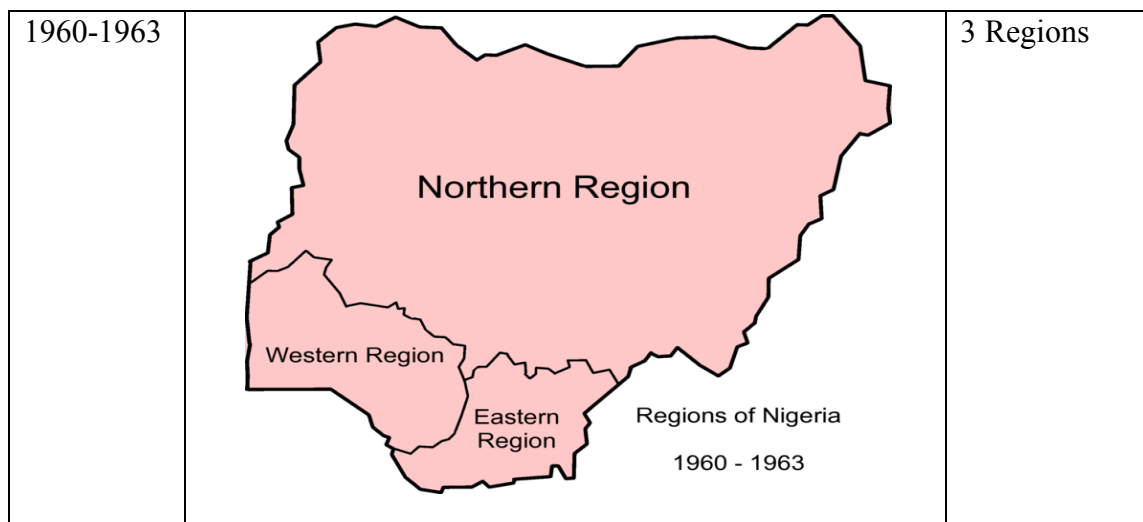
401 12 states were created by the Military government of Nigeria by the Decree 14 of 1967.

402 Six years after independence, (January 15th 1966), there was the first military coup in Nigeria which saw to the overthrow of Alhaji Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa (1912-1966), the Prime Minister of Nigeria. The new Military head of state became Major General Johnson Auiyi-Ironsi, who in turn was murdered in another military coup in July 1966. Tafawa Balewa was a teacher who studied in London University Institute of Education from 1944. He was one of the inspectors of schools after his studies during the colonial government. He later became the minister of Transport and also served as the minister of works before being appointed as 'Chief Minister' in 1957. When Nigeria became independent in 1960 he continued as Prime Minister of Nigeria till 1966 (having been re-elected in 1964). He was murdered and overthrown by the Military Coup of 15 January 1966. During this time Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe was Governor general of Nigeria (1960-1963) and later became the first president of Nigeria from 1963-1966 before the coup. From the beginning of the military era in 1966, only the Presidential system continued without the office of the Prime Minister. See B. I. C. Ijomah, *The Enigma of Nigerian Nationalism*. (Ekpoma: Edo State University Publishing House, 1996). Historically, there were therefore three military coups from 1960-1977.

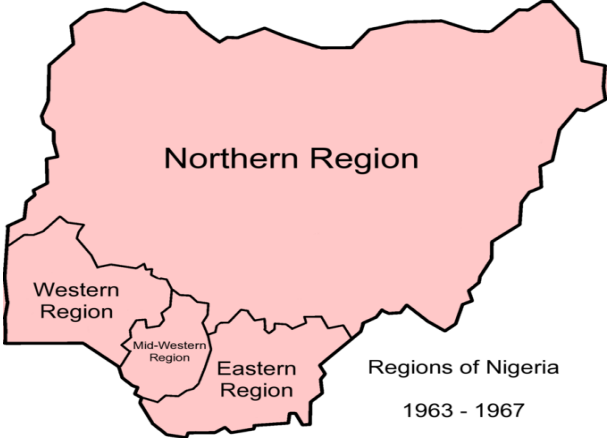
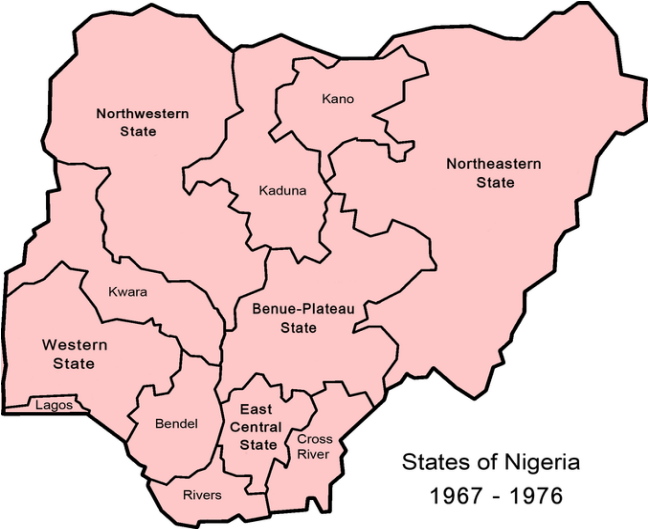
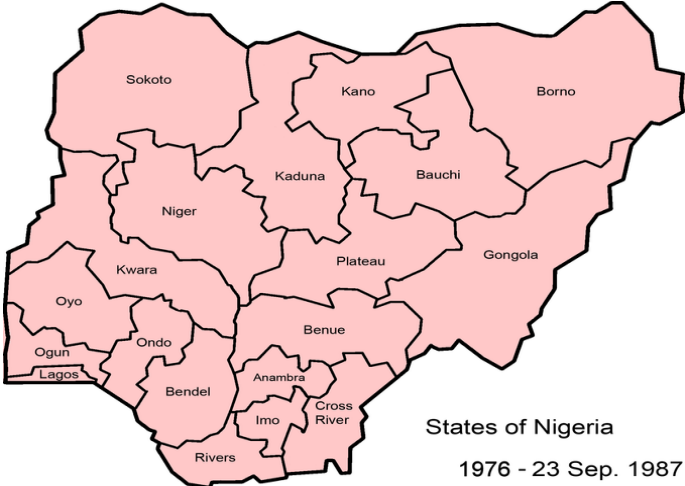
Hauwa calls the “Africanisation of the civil service”.⁴⁰³ This will later lead to a review and adaptation of the previous curriculum and system from the colonial years (including duration of studies). The new military federal government and states began to promulgate new education laws and legislation and some of the major documents at this time include the following:

- (i) Lagos State education law 1970,
- (ii) Eastern Central State public education edict 1970,
- (iii) South Eastern State education edict 1971,
- (iv) Mid-Western State education edict 1973,
- (v) The National Policy on Education 1977 (with emphasis on national unity and socio-economic development).

“All the edicts had common features, such as state take-over of schools from individuals and voluntary agencies, establishment of school management boards and a unified teaching service”⁴⁰⁴



403 Imam, 187. Citing D. C. Woolman, (2001). Educational Reconstruction and Post-Colonial Curriculum Development: A Comparative Study of Four African Countries. *International Education Journal*, 2(5), 27-46.
 404 Fabunmi, (2005), 5.

1963-1967	 <p style="text-align: center;">Regions of Nigeria 1963 - 1967</p>	4 Regions
1967	 <p style="text-align: center;">States of Nigeria 1967 - 1976</p>	12 states
1976	 <p style="text-align: center;">States of Nigeria 1976 - 23 Sep. 1987</p>	19 states

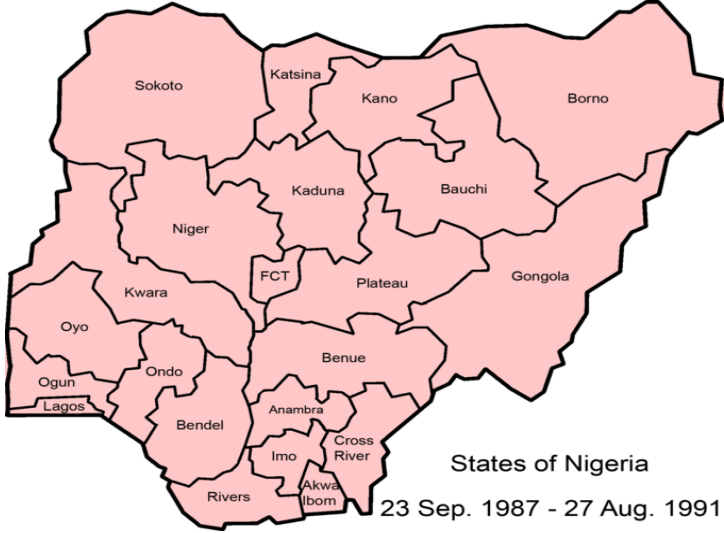
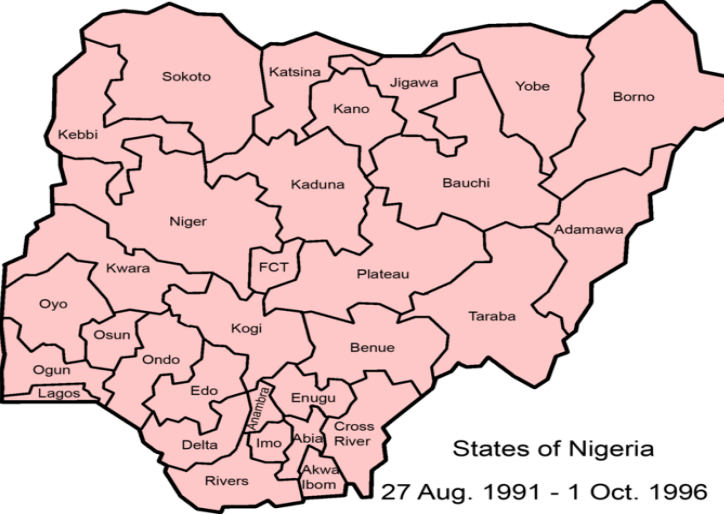
<p>23 Sept 1987 and 27 Aug 1991</p>	 <p style="text-align: center;">States of Nigeria 23 Sep. 1987 - 27 Aug. 1991</p>	<p>21 States and (1) Federal capital territory</p>
<p>1996</p>	 <p style="text-align: center;">States of Nigeria 27 Aug. 1991 - 1 Oct. 1996</p>	<p>36 states and (1) Federal capital territory</p>

Table 22. The progressive development of the political and structural groupings in Nigeria which influenced the policies and growth of education from 1960.⁴⁰⁵

4.7 The 1969 Curriculum Conference

The principles of setting up an academic curriculum are based on the National Education Policy, which is in turn influenced by the national economic goals in an ever-increasing global village. The school setting is the normal ambience for the implementation of these goals, and the curriculum is the breakdown of the methods by which this knowledge is thought in a learning process. This process of learning with its content is arranged in syllabi for progressive

405 Maps are from: States of Nigeria - Wikipedia. (2016). Retrieved October 21, 2016, from https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/States_of_Nigeria, last modified on 27 May 2016.

assimilation and pedagogical experience. The triadic educational components of the students, the teacher, and the learning material form the basic understanding of the science of education. “The curriculum planner must therefore study his society and its values and relate this to his planning before any change in curriculum can take place”.⁴⁰⁶

The 1969 curriculum conference was the first major indigenous attempt to critically evaluate the Nigerian school system.⁴⁰⁷ The mandate of this conference was to review the Nigerian education system and to examine the developmental goals as future road maps for education in the country. It was felt that more emphasis had to be based on ‘content’. The ‘borrowed’ curricula from the colonial administration from Britain was felt to be somewhat inadequate within a new context of an independent country that was taking it upon itself to design new pathways for the intellectual and cultural formation of its citizens. Apart from the need of the insertion of local content, there were also issues about the differences between the curriculum of the mission schools and the non-mission schools.⁴⁰⁸ With the government taking over schools, there was a need to have a national standard of education based on a similar curriculum. This reform led to another seminar in 1973 that was designed to produce a National Policy on Education. The members included professionals from different stakeholders including the members of the Christian and Muslim religions in Nigeria, since Religion has always remained a ‘distinctive’ element in the political and social education process of the country. This is partly based on the historical foundation of education in the country as we have seen and also on the

406 I O Adelus, General Problems of Educational Development in Nigeria: Economic, Manpower Needs, Responsibility Control, Diversification of the System and Curriculum, in P. A. I. Obanya (ed.), *Education and the Nigerian Society: Papers in Honour of J. Majasan*, (Ibadan: Ibadan University press publishing house) (Ibadan: Ibadan University press publishing house), 1981, 30.

407 Adeniji Adaralegbe, (Ed.). *A philosophy for Nigerian education: Proceedings of the Nigeria National Curriculum Conference, 8-12 September, 1969*. (Ibadan: Heinemann Educational, 1972).

408 Nigerian Educational Research Council (NERDC). *A Philosophy for Nigerian Education*. (Ibadan: Heinemann Educational Books, 1972).

cultural context that has involved over generations of always having the religious aspect of the local community explicitly expressed and safeguarded in the education process.

Religion and Education became the two pillars upon which national unity and development could be built upon. Any political leader who does not show that there will be a respect for God as the creator of all things, will not be accepted by the people. In fact, in the speech of the first military coup in 1966, all forms of privileges were suppressed except freedom of religious worship. Even the military leaders avoided abusing the religious freedom of the people. In his take over radio broadcast Major Patrick Chukwuma Kaduna Nzeogwu is quoted to have read that: “The Constitution is suspended and the regional government and elected assemblies are hereby dissolved. All political, cultural, tribal and trade union activities, together with all demonstrations and unauthorized gatherings, excluding religious worship, are banned until further notice”.⁴⁰⁹ While the main content of the speech was more on the decision to take over power, it is significant to note that even at such a critical moment when the 1966 coup d’état was going on, the explicit permission for religious gatherings was granted. One can imagine therefore, the atmosphere in September of 1969 as the civil (Biafran) war was coming to an end (on January 15 1970).⁴¹⁰ The mandate for the curriculum conference included the following

- The economic and social needs to restructure the Nigerian society for development;
- A clear pathway for the young people in Nigeria especially through the instrumentality of formal education and the option of the same for adult education;
- A new and integrated curriculum to achieve these goals by looking at the content, subjects and structure of the process of learning.

These three aspects will later determine the ‘national philosophy’ of education in Nigeria and

409 Segun Toyin Dawodu, (1998), *Nzeogwu's Declaration of Martial Law* - January 15, 1966. Retrieved from <https://dawodu.com/nzeogwu2.htm> Compiled by Nowa Omoigui.

410 The official calculation for the Biafran war is from 6th July 1967 to 15th January 1970-2 years, 6 months, 1 week and 2 days.

the curriculum will be designed to meet the national goals and values.⁴¹¹

The participants in the conference included academicians from the different levels of education, youth representatives, politicians, delegates from religious bodies, the business community, parents and members of international agencies interested in education.

The organisation of the 1969 Education Curriculum conference was designed in such a way that there were two sessions. One session dealt with the 'purpose' of education in Nigeria and the other session was more focused on practical lines of action and implementation strategies to create a sustainable and viable roadmap. The three levels of education of Primary, Secondary and Tertiary were evaluated.

Other relevant aspects of education like the training and ongoing formation of teachers, improvement of female education, and use of technology in education were also covered. Challenges of funding and collaboration with supervisory agencies also featured among the issues discussed at the conference. With this conference, Nigeria's education received clearly defined objectives and structure. With the situation of the civil war in Nigeria, no serious action would be taken from the recommendation of this conference till the launching of the 'Universal Primary Education' (UPE) policy in September 1976. Another structural influence is the introduction of the six years of primary education, three years of junior secondary education, three years of senior secondary education and a minimum of four years of university education. This structure of the Nigerian education upon which the syllabus and curriculum would be based in the future is called the 6-3-3-4 system.⁴¹² This policy which was one on which the

411 Cf. Adeniji Adaralegbe, (Ed.). (1972). *A philosophy for Nigerian education: Proceedings of the Nigeria National Curriculum Conference, 8-12 September, 1969*. (Ibadan: Heinemann Educational), XIII.

412 During this period, Alphonse identifies some other education policies which contributed to the curriculum and indigenisation of contents in the Nigerian syllabus. These include the Dike commission report (1959), the Ashby commission report (1959), the Nigerian independence constitution (1960), Banjo commission (1960), Old man commission (1960), Ikoku Report (1962), Education Regulations (1964), Somade report (1969), Taiwo commission (1969), Education Symposium for National Mobilization (1970), Udoji Report (1974) and the National Policy on education (1977). See Alphonsus Azike A. (2013). *Historical Analysis of Constitutional Provision for Education in Nigeria (1976-2011): Implication for Educational Administration*. SAVAP International

curriculum was based was highly unsustainable due to shortage of qualified teachers, insufficient funding and lack of practical capacity to handle the very high number of people rushing to the schools, which was more than 400% in some parts of the country with millions of children without adequate teachers, structures and learning materials. In addition to that, the population of female students was still about one to four boys before 1980 and in some states female teachers were as low as eight percent. Csapo explains the situation of this ambitious education reform and its difficult implementation as follows:

Nigerian education administrators find themselves engulfed by a tidal wave of swiftly swelling pupil enrolment. The rapid rate of growth poses the challenging question of how much time is left for solutions. Niger State is one example. In April 1976, 244 primary schools offered instruction to 15,796 pupils. Four months later, the state needed 931 primary schools or an additional 63,384 pupils: a growth rate of almost 400 percent. In 1978 there were 1,091 primary schools to serve 179,861 children. This amounted to a real growth of over 1000 percent in two years. This experience was repeated across a number of states, the comparison of enrollment in the first year of primary school between 1975/76 and 1976/77 school years, for example, shows a percentage increase of 557 percent in Niger, 491 percent in Kaduna, 263 percent in Benue.

(Society for the Advancement of Education through Visionary Academicians/Researchers for Peaceful Globe, 4(3), 371-378. The 6-3-3-4 system will begin to take effect only after about ten years (1979) after the conference. In-between this period, a seminar of education experts was held in 1973 to work on the proposal of the 1969 conference. This led to the publishing of the National Policy on Education in Nigeria in 1977. A more widespread implementation of the 6-3-3-4 system began in 1983. And Marg Csapo, (1983). Universal Primary Education in Nigeria: Its Problems and Implications. African Studies Review, 26(1), 91-106. doi:10.2307/524612. Before the introduction of the 6-3-3-4 system, Hauwa explains that the previous curriculum was based on the system that had the "7-5-2-3 education policy: 7 years of primary education, 5 years of secondary school, 2 years of Higher School Certificate Levels, and 3 years of university education. This replaced 8-5-2-3 educational policy: 8 years of primary education, 5 years of secondary school, 2 years of Higher School Certificate Levels, and 3 years of university education. At terminal stages, candidates sat for examinations and were certified based on their performances". Hauwa Imam. (2012). Educational Policy in Nigeria from the Colonial Era to the Post-Independence Period. Italian Journal of Sociology of Education, 4(1). 189. The 1977 policy has been revised subsequently in 1981, 1998, 2004, 2007 and 2013. In the 6th revised edition in 2013, there is the curriculum for a system of 10 years of 'Basic' education made up of 1-year pre-primary, 6-year primary, and 3-year junior secondary. This is followed by a 3-year Senior Secondary Education curriculum and a 4-year tertiary programme.

The smallest increase was 11 percent in Gongola State. Parallel to the pupil enrollment was the percentage increase of the number of primary schools between 1975/76 and 1976/77, 301.3 percent in Niger, 227.1 percent in Kano, 196.4 percent in Kaduna, 142.9 percent in Benue. The smallest increase reported was in Imo State, 1.5 percent.

This recent explosion in Nigeria primary school enrollment was the direct result of the Universal Primary Education (UPE) scheme launched in September 1976. It marked the dawn of an educational revolution with pervasive social and economic implications. The political expectations were that universal free primary education would enable the nation to overcome the hurdles caused by unbalanced educational and economic development, which resulted in southern dominance and educational imbalances of urban opportunities over the rural, and the preponderance of male over female enrollment in schools.

The federal Government of Nigeria looked upon education as the instrument par excellence for realizing rapid national development, for achieving social change, and for forging together a nation split by civil war. The world's fourth largest democracy with over eighty million people with a diverse ethnic, linguistic, and religious cultures needed an integrating force and placed strong faith in education's unifying potential.⁴¹³

The long-term ripple effect of this curriculum conference and national policy of the Nigerian education system spread across the entire school sectors of primary, secondary and tertiary.

413 Marg Csapo, (1983). Universal Primary Education in Nigeria: Its Problems and Implications. *African Studies Review*, 26(1), 91-106. doi:10.2307/524612, citing Mark Bray, *Universal primary education in Nigeria: A study of Kano State*. (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul. 1981).

Presently with a population of about 186,987.563 million, a median age of 18 and fertility rate of 5.67,⁴¹⁴ the challenges of 1983 (with about 80 million people) are still very much the same. According to Hauwa, “the most significant changes of the period was the takeover of schools from the missionaries by the government resulting in a unified educational system”.⁴¹⁵

414 Ref. Live counter algorithm from the United Nations Population Division showing the population of Nigeria from 1950-2016 cited from Worldometers.info (2016, October 17). Nigeria Population (2016) - Worldometers. Retrieved from <http://www.worldometers.info/world-population/nigeria-population/>
Dover, Delaware, U.S.A.

415 Imam, 189.



Chart 14. The major ordinances and commissions that influenced and shaped the present curriculum of the Nigerian education system highlighting the influence of the 1882, 1959 and 1969 documents.⁴¹⁶

416 See A. Alphonsus Azike (2013). Historical Analysis of Constitutional Provision for Education in Nigeria (1976-2011): Implication for Educational Administration. *SAVAP International (Society for the Advancement of Education through Visionary Academicians/Researchers for Peaceful Globe)*, 4(3), 371-378. And Amakievi Okien Ijeoma Gabriel One Hundred years of Education in Nigeria: Early childhood care and development Education in the Colonial and Post-Colonial Periods *Scholarly Journal of Education* Vol. 4(1), 6-12, February 2015 Available online at <http://www.scholarly-journals.com/SJE> ISSN 2315-6155 © 2015.

CHAPTER 5

INDIGENIZATION AND LOCAL PUBLICATIONS

This part presents the structure of the Nigerian Education Research and Development Council (NERDC) against the background of the pedagogical methods for teaching Religious Studies in Nigeria. It also contains a systematic analysis of the fruits of indigenous textbooks that show the theological understanding and trend over the past fifty years. The criteria for the writing and publication of these local instructional materials are also contained in this chapter.

5.1 Solidification of Educational Structures and Reforms

The conceptual framework for the curriculum of education in Nigeria could be considered structurally designed after the publication of the National Policy on Education. This was safeguarded by the establishment of the Nigerian Educational Research Council in 1972.

5.1.1 The Nigerian ‘indigenisation’ policy and Education

The indigenisation policy of Nigeria was highly promulgated in 1972 and 1977. During this time, there was a collective political will to promote the local economic and structural policies.

Some of the goals and purposes of the indigenization policy include:

- 1 The development of the Nigerian capital market
2. The promotion of an increase in the participation of local businessmen in international and local business,
3. The transfer of stewardship (partly or completely) of international firms to indigenous competent people,
4. Giving more opportunities for the local companies to have access and leverage on financial activities within the country,

5. Stimulation of growth in the local education sector by short and long-term preparation of skilled and qualified labour force.⁴¹⁷

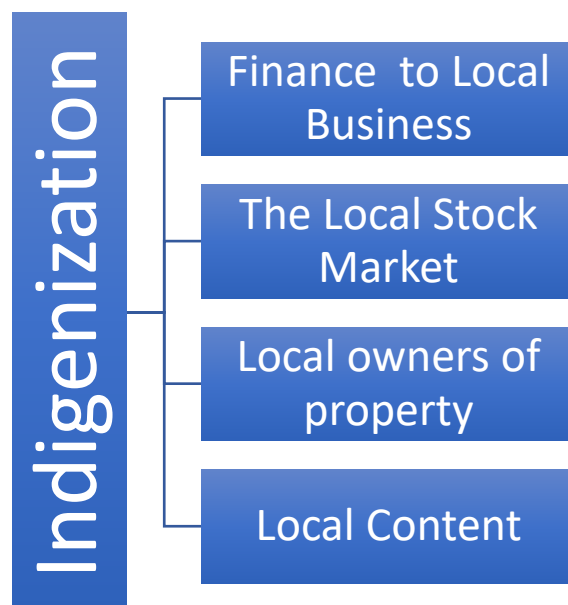


Chart 15. Indigenization

According to Alabi Ahmad, 1946 was the year when the formal process of indigenisation started in Nigeria by the establishment of the Nigerian Local Development Board (NLDB) by the colonial British government. The main focus of this development board was to provide financial loans as a form of assistance to small companies owned by the local people. Ten years later in 1956, there was the establishment of the National committee on ‘Nigerianization of Business Enterprises’ and part of their aim was to promote local trade and reduce the monopoly of the foreign companies.

417 To ensure the effective implementation of the decree, there was the setup of The Nigerian Enterprises Promotion Board. See The promulgation of the Decree which started from March 31 1974. See Nicholas Balabkins, (1982). *Indigenization and economic development: The Nigerian experience*. Greenwich, (CT: JAI Press, 1982). See also N. W. Balabkins, (1980). Indigenisation—the Nigerian experience. *Africa Insight*, 10(1), 21-26. Retrieved from http://reference.sabinet.co.za/webx/access/journal_archive/02562804/7.pdf, citing P. Collins, (1977). Public Policy and the Development of Indigenous Capitalism: The Nigerian Experience. *Journal of Commonwealth and Comparative Politics*, 15(2), 134-137. See also G Williams, “Nigeria: The Neo-Colonial Political Economy,” in D. L. Cohen and J. Daniel eds., *Political Economy of Africa*, (Harlow, Essex: Longman, 1981).

A major concern that was common to other African countries, especially after their independence was that of a threat that direct economic and professional leadership of the countries, were still in the hands of foreigners. With this threat of continued domination perceived by the proponents of indigenisation, there was the response to achieve ‘complete’ or ‘full’ independence which would bring to a complete halt, all the historical effects of slavery. There were ideas like ‘renationalisation’ and nations going through a process of complete rebirth.⁴¹⁸ Alabi Ahmad sees the climax of this process in Nigeria in the 1972 and 1977 ‘Nigerian Enterprise Decrees aimed at eradicating the heavy and ‘complex’ domination of foreigners in the local market. There were three categories of specific lists of business enterprises such as those that were:

- a. only for local entrepreneurs (like media and beverage companies),
- b. those jointly owned by locals and foreigners (like financial institutions, mainly banks, locals having up to 60%)
- c. those open to all (which were mainly owned by foreigners with locals having up to 40%, like agro chemicals and petrochemicals, breweries).

The overall expectation was that there would be a reduction of foreign domination, more local job creation, an increase in the economic standard of living, and stimulation of education and professionalism at all academic levels.⁴¹⁹ Most of these ideas have not been realised to date as the process of indigenisation without a very formidable labour force and proper education could not be sustained. For example, the idea of providing loans to promote local Nigerians in engaging in economic activities was not very successful in areas of agriculture, as most farmers were not able to service their loans. However, “between 1950 and 1965, over £4m. was loaned

418 T. J. Biersteker, Indigenization in Nigeria: Renationalization or Denationalization. In I. W. Zartman (Ed.), *The Political Economy of Nigeria* (New York: Praeger, 1983), 193-202.

419 Alabi Ahmad, (2014, May 16). A Critical Assessment of Nigeria indigenization programs of 1972 and 1977. Retrieved from <http://www.articlesbase.com/history-articles/a-critical-assessment-of-nigeria-indigenization-programs-of-1972-and-1977-7000669.html>., See also Toyin Falola, *Development planning and decolonization in Nigeria*. (Gainesville, Florida: University Press of Florida, 1996).

to Nigerian entrepreneurs by government agencies. This lending has been on a long-term basis for the purpose of the borrowers acquiring additional productive capacity—an activity which private banking has found too risky to engage in”.⁴²⁰

Education suffered tremendously at the expense of financial and commercial expansions in Nigeria. To avoid this malady, it was necessary to emphasise formal education for technology and other sciences which in general were not the strong emphasis of the majority of the Catholic mission schools. The book publishing sector also embarked on the process of adaptation of their educational materials, as one of the effects of this process was also the promotion of the local content and policy on education.⁴²¹ Part of the ways to achieve this was to localize the publishing and academic book production industry. From 1978, foreign publishing companies in Nigeria had to sell sixty percent of their equity to Nigerians and many of them changed or modified their names to have a Nigerian brand. For example, the Oxford University Press Nigeria founded in 1949 during the colonial administration was renamed University Press

420 Peter Kilby, *Industrialization in an open economy: Nigeria, 1945-1966*. (London: Cambridge U.P., 1969), 321. Kilby continues by stating that: “Nigeria’s first public lending agency was the Nigerian Local Development Board set up in 1946. As implied by its name the Development Board was given wide jurisdiction ‘...making grants and loans to Native Administrations, Co-operative Societies and such other public bodies as may be approved by the Governor-in-Council for prescribed development purpose’. In 1949 this single Board was dissolved, its functions passing to the newly formed Northern, Eastern and Western Regional Development Boards and the Colony Development Board. The latter was responsible for Lagos and the adjacent Colony Province. Although the ordinance establishing the Colony Development Board enumerated, *inter alia*, experimental undertakings and welfare projects as proper fields of endeavour, the new Board determined to follow the comparatively cautious policy laid down by its predecessor of confining itself to industrial and agricultural loans for commercially viable projects”. Peter Kilby, *Industrialization in an open economy: Nigeria, 1945-1966*. (London: Cambridge U.P., 1969) 321, citing Nigerian Local Development Board. (1947). *Annual Report of the Nigerian Local Development Board*. (Lagos: Government Printer), and Nigeria, (1952). *Annual Report of the Colony Development Board 1951-2*. (Lagos: Government Printer).

421 In 1972 there was an ‘Enterprises Promotion Decree’ which was later updated in 1977. The focus was mainly on public private investment and shares and equity between indigenous and foreign businesses in Nigeria. With the discovering and exploration of crude oil, there was a lot of financial interest especially in that sector from international companies. The expectation at that time was that it would lead to rapid growth in industrialisation and with the participation of the local people through a process of indigenisation, such a social transformation would be made permanent in the system. This was to be made possible by different means including the contents and adaptation of the British system of Education to a Nigerian model. After all, it was clear that local people would have to be educated with the right technological and social skills to be able to sustain a post-colonial democracy, which at this time was just recovering from a civil war and under military leadership. There were about 3,112 companies that had filed for indigenisation with the Nigerian Enterprise Promotion Committee (NEPB) at that time and most of them were in construction and manufacturing.

Limited in 1978. Similarly, Evans Brothers, Longman and Macmillan were indigenised as Evans Brothers Nigeria Publishers, Longman Nigeria Plc and Macmillan Nigeria Publishers respectively. This Nigerian ‘Enterprise Promotion Decree’ created more room for participation of local Nigerians in the printing and publishing sector of the economy. One significant consequence of this is the fact that the national curriculum of the schools had to be developed into modules which are later published in academic textbooks for teachers and students. Most local and international publishing houses invested a lot on production of school books especially in the primary and secondary level. Publishing school books that are consumed annually in large quantities was good for the business prospects of the publishers. Another significance of this process was that the services of local writers, technicians, theologians, social scientists, historians and educationists were needed in order to translate the Nigerian national goals of Education into practical terms for students of all ages with the instrumentality of the National Education Development and Research Centre (NEDRC).

The promotion of local publication houses also saw to the growth of the private sector in the publishing industry in Nigeria. This sector has always been dominated by private companies more than government publishers. For Christian Religious Education, one major influence in the publication of the Bible is the British and Foreign Bible Society (BFBS)⁴²². Since 1807 they have been influential in Nigeria. After independence, the Bible Society of Nigeria was established on the 8th of February 1966 with the contributions of Ross J. Manning of the British and Foreign Bible Society, who was the first secretary general of the Bible society of Nigeria.

422 Also known as the ‘Bible Society’, the British Foreign Bible Society was established in 1804. (This is not to be confused with a previous bible society which was established in 1779 in Britain now known as the Naval Military and Air Force Bible Society. They are also involved in distributing Christian literature to the uniformed services). See Naval Military and Air Force Bible Society. (2013). What We Do. Retrieved on November 14, 2016 from www.nmafbs.org

The society is made up different Christian denominations in Nigeria and have published widely in the area of Biblical translations in indigenous languages. Celebrating fifty years of the Bible Society of Nigeria in 2016, the society has translated the Bible New Testament into about 60 local Nigerian languages (with another 16 ongoing New Testament translations). They have also published other Christian books in 98 local languages.⁴²³

With such interest in Christian education and literature, there have been different numbers of publications available for the study of Christian Religious Education in secondary schools. In addition to the other private publishing houses, different Christian missionary groups also had their own publishing houses for their literatures. For example, the Hope Waddell Press of the Scottish Presbyterian mission began publishing religious and other non-religious academic books from 1846 in Calabar. Others include the Church Missionary Society (CMS) who opened their Nigerian book publication in Abeokuta in 1854. Later, there was the beginning of the publication of a newspaper in the local language from 1859. This newspaper (called *Iwe Orohin*) had been described as been social and religious at the time. The missionaries had early insight on the effective use of the means of social communication to spread the gospel, and even when they took on other political or social educational issues, they always maintained a clear ethos of the Christian moral and biblical teachings in the background.⁴²⁴

423 Bible Society of Nigeria. (2016). Our History. Retrieved from <http://biblesociety-nigeria.org/about-us/our-history/> on November 14 2016. See also G. O. West, and S. M. Dube, *The Bible in Africa: Transactions, trajectories, and trends*. (Leiden: Brill, 2000). The average cost for an indigenous translation of the Bible New testament is about 150 thousand US Dollars while the cost for a full bible translation in local African languages goes as high as 500 thousand US Dollars. The major challenge for publication of Christian Education books and especially in translating the bible into local languages has been funding. However, lots of progress has been made with hundreds of local translations due to the contributions of professional, local and international volunteers. See Ghana Institute of Linguistic, Literacy and Bible Translation (GILLBT). (2012). 1962-2012 Golden Jubilee–Celebrating a triple heritage. Retrieved from <http://www.gillbt.org/translation>

424 S. Alabi, (2003) “Development of Indigenous Language Publications in Nigeria”. In R. A. Akinfeleye, and I. E. Okoye, (eds.) *Issues in Nigerian Media History: 1900 – 2000 AD*, (Lagos: Malthouse Press Ltd.).

Within these publications there were theological trends that have developed over the past 170 years (since 1846), as can be hermeneutically studied from the contents of some of the materials used for teaching Christian Religious Education which was the main focus of the missionary press. Other early missionary publishing ventures include ‘*the Gleaner*’, by the Church Missionary Society in Lagos from 1887; the Yoruba bi-weekly ‘*Iwe Eko*’, by the Anglican Communion from 1891; there was also ‘*Leisure Hours*’, which started in 1910; ‘*War Cry*’, by the Salvation Army which started publication in 1925, and the ‘*Nigerian Catholic Herald*’ established in July 1924. Other indigenous (also called ‘local African churches’) also had publications with the print media like the United Native African Church (UNA) whose members published ‘*The Standard*’ and the ‘*African Hope*’ around 1918. Similar publications around that time from the local African Protestant churches include newspapers and journals like: *Chronicles*, *Eko Igbehin*, *Daily Telegraph*, *Eko Akete* and *Eletì Ofe*. Most of these churches used these materials in addition to the Bible to instruct their members at large and the students in the mission schools about moral conduct, church history and church perspective on the national life of the country.⁴²⁵

Name and mission	Year	Main publications
British and Foreign Bible Society (BFBS)	1807	Bible translations
Hope Waddell Press of the Scottish Presbyterian mission, Calabar	1846	Books
Church Missionary Society (CMS)	1854	Books
<i>Iwe Orohin</i> Anglican Mission	1859	Newspaper

425 Esiri Johnson Michael, and Oloyede David Binta. (2013). The Nexus Between Mass Communication And Religion. *International Journal of Innovative Research and Development*, 2(11), 353-360. Citing F. I. A. Omu, *Press and Politics in Nigeria 1880 – 1937*. (London: Longman, 1978), and O. Ajibade, (2003) “Contributions of the religious publications to the development of Nigerian journalism: the past, present and future”. In Akinfeleye, R.A and Okoye, I.E. (eds.) *Issues in Nigerian Media History: 1900 – 2000 AD*. Lagos: Malthouse Press Ltd.

' <i>the Gleaner</i> ', by the Church Missionary Society in Lagos from 1887	1887	Mission Periodical
' <i>Iwe Eko</i> ', the Anglican Communion	1891	Mission Periodical
' <i>Leisure Hours</i> '	1910	Periodical
' <i>The Standard</i> ' and the ' <i>African Hope</i> ' United Native African Church (UNA)	1918	Mission Periodical
' <i>Nigerian Catholic Herald</i> '	1924	Mission Periodical
' <i>War Cry</i> ', the Salvation Army	1925	Mission Periodical
Bible Society of Nigeria	1966	Bible translations

Table 23. Early Christian missionary publishing houses in Nigeria for Bible translations, periodicals, newspapers and catechesis.

5.1.2 On national book policy (NBP) of Nigeria

One of the ways to sustain the indigenization process with regards to education was the setting up of a committee to work on the National Book Policy of Nigeria (NBP). This was useful to create a philosophical conversation on the indigenization process which was not only in terms of economic ownership of businesses, but in the intellectual emancipation of the people through local and original thoughts. Education as a sector and process of learning was saddled with the biggest responsibility to see to the long-term sustainability of the indigenization (or nationalization) agenda. And according to Wafawarowa, “a national book policy is the only tool that can ensure desired book development in a country and the various parts of the sectors, no matter how divergent their interests may be, are able to pursue the common and most important goal of enhancing access to books”.⁴²⁶ With the situation of abject poverty, basic needs like food, water, shelter, clothing, sanitation and healthcare are still very difficult for

426 Gciniwe N. Nsibande, (2006). *Strategies for National Book Development in Anglophone Africa: A case study of Kenya and Nigeria* (Master's thesis, University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa), 28. Citing B. Wafawarowa (2001). Book Policies and Book Development in Africa. *Cape Librarian*, 45(3), 13.

many Nigerian families. Consequently, affordability of school books could also be a serious challenge in implementing any national book policy. That is why “the main object of a national book policy is to ensure that book provision is sustainable and that books are both available and affordable”.⁴²⁷

The Book Development Centre (of the National Education and Development Council NERDC) has set up a National Book Policy with the purpose of promoting books in the country. One of their objectives is to ensure that there is a legal framework on book production and development in Nigeria. This was subsequently approved by the National Council on Education (NEC). This is in line with the suggestion of Wafawarowa:

There is no doubt that the African book sector needs national book policies to coordinate and legislate book development. Perhaps what we should talk about is what ‘type’ of book policies is required. The type of policies created has to be suitable in terms of context in the various African countries and their environments in order for the policies to make a positive impact. The type of policies required is an important aspect to consider when creating book policies, because the policies have to suit the environment, meaning the county as a whole, which is controlled or led by the government.⁴²⁸

Therefore, with the historical religious precedence and culture of Nigeria, doing theology in context would be very important. Not only in the significance of the cultures within which Christian religious education is to be taught to young people in schools, but also in the way the books that are published for the same are contextualized. One of the challenges the teachers

427 Nsibande, 29. Citing Coly Gaston-Pierre, (2001). The Government Role in Reading Promotion. *African Publishing Review*, 10(6), 5.

428 Nsibande, 30. Citing B. Wafawarowa (2001). Book Policies and Book Development in Africa. *Cape Librarian*, 45(3), 10.

and those safeguarding the teaching the Christian Religious Education are facing in Nigeria today is how to systematically preserve the missionary heritage and the theological history that has developed thereof over the years in the school curriculum. This will be the primary way that an authentic African pastoral theology can have a reliable and consistent foundation for present and future praxis and practice. It is therefore correct to say that such educational studies have to be preserved in the book culture and academia of the country on the one hand, and also on the growing theological trends on the other. From books, preservation of the development of knowledge can be sustained. Good books are therefore important in shaping the minds and consciences of the entire population. The social and cultural significance of the retention of 'ideas' in literature and published materials, is fundamental in uplifting the educational standard of a nation.⁴²⁹

Despite myriads of challenges in the book publishing sector, one can trace a sustained and systematic attempt by the Nigerian government to stabilise the production of local books and promote indigenisation from an educational perspective. Some of these efforts are listed by Okwilagwe:

For the past thirty years or more, Nigeria has made concerted efforts at solving problems of the book industry. There is evidence to show that Nigeria has not been left out or left behind in the quest to solve the book problems of the developing nations by international agencies. For instance, according to (Okwilagwe, 1999), between 1968-1998 Nigeria participated in various international fora and had experimented with some policies and strategies towards solving the problems facing the book industry as follows:

1968: UNESCO Meeting of Experts in Accra;

429 Cf. Andrew Oshiotse Okwilagwe, Patterns of Information Utilization in the Book Industry in Nigeria In Joseph O. Obemeata, Samuel O. Ayodele, M A Araromi, & E Ayotunde Yolooye (Eds.), *Evaluation in Africa in Honour of E. A. Yolooye* (Ibadan, Nigeria: Stirling-Horden Publishers 1999), 318-331. Retrieved from <http://oshiotseandrewokwilagwe.com/images/cor/11.pdf> 1-14.

1970: First Indigenous Copyright Act: Decree No 61 of 1970;

1972: UNESCO International Book Year (IBY);

1973: The Ile-Ife International Conference on Publishing and Book Development;

1974: Establishment of Nigerian Book Development Council (NBDC);

1975: Commonwealth African Book Development Seminar in Ibadan;

1983: First Nigerian National Congress on Books in Lagos;

1984: Task force on the Scarcity of Books and stationary;

1987: Panel Book Policy for Nigeria;

1988: Copyright Decree No 47 was promulgated;

1992: National Book Policy (Final Draft);

1993: Review Workshop on Proffered Recommendations for Solving Problems of the Nigerian Book Industry and Formulation of Implementation Strategies in Lagos;

1996: Nigerian Copyright Council was upgraded to the Nigerian Copyright Commission;

1997/98: Petroleum Trust Fund (PTF) and Textbook Provision Project;

and

1999: Copyright Decree No 47 was amended.

In spite of these steps taken by the Federal Government of Nigeria, the problems of the book industry persist and the nation is still faced with acute shortage of books. This is why it has become pertinent to approach the problems from other directions through which, hopefully, solutions could be found. This calls for research at macro levels of the industry with the aim of

determining the factors responsible for the low performance of the book industry...⁴³⁰

5.1.3 The Nigerian Educational Research and Development Council (NERDC)

The establishment of the Nigerian Educational Research and Development Council in 1988 was the conclusion of the structural growth of indigenous educational reform especially after independence (in 1960).⁴³¹ As a matter of fact, four educational bodies were merged together to design the present structure of the Nigerian Educational Research and Development Council.⁴³² These four organisations that were merged are:

- a. Nigerian Language Centre
- b. Nigerian Book Development Council
- c. Nigerian Educational Research Council
- d. Comparative Education Study and Adaptation Centre.

430 Andrew Oshiotse Okwilagwe, (1999). Patterns of Information Utilization in the Book Industry in Nigeria. In Joseph O. Obemeata, Samuel O. Ayodele, M A Araromi, & E Ayotunde Yoloye (Eds.), *Evaluation in Africa in Honour of E. A. Yoloye* (318-331). Ibadan, Nigeria: Stirling-Horden Publishers. Retrieved from <http://oshiotseandrewokwilagwe.com/images/cor/11.pdf>, 2-3. Citing Andrew Oshiotse Okwilagwe, *Book Publishing in Nigeria*. (Ibadan: Stirling-Hordes Publishers (Nig.) Ltd. 1999). For further reading on production of indigenous text books in Nigeria see M. B. Edem., & A. O. Okwilagwe, (2012). Acquisition and Use of Locally Published Law Textbooks as Correlates of Textbook Publishing in Nigeria. *Library Philosophy and Practice (e-journal) Paper 694*, 1-14. Retrieved from <http://digitalcommons.unl.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1768&context=libphilprac>

University of Nebraska – Lincoln. For other works on the relation between cultural advancement and indigenisation of education see Roseline Emeh Uyanga, (2011). The Indigenization Policy and Educational Advancement in Nigeria. *The International Journal of Diversity in Organizations, Communities, and Nations: Annual Review*, 10(6), 199-212. doi:10.18848/1447-9532/cgp/v10i06/3 8913.

431 For example, according to Okediji, a provision for the NERDC was already established by a Decree 31, of 31st August 1973 for the coordination of education research at all levels. This is before the full autonomy in 1988. See Hannah Adebola Aderonke Okediji, (2015). The Transmission of the Nigerian Culture Through Education at the Primary School Level, 1960 to Date. *History Research*, 5(4), 239-254. Retrieved from <http://www.davidpublisher.org/Public/uploads/Contribute/56b1644ccfbab.pdf>, doi: 10.17265/2159-550X/2015.04.004

432 The Nigerian Educational Research and Development Council was established by a Decree No 53 (now ACT No.53) in Nigeria in 1988. See Nigerian Educational Research and Development council (NERDC). (2014). About NERDC. Retrieved from <http://nerdc.ng/about-nerdc>

The Nigerian Education Research and Development Centre was a strategic place for the sourcing of the primary content of the present curriculum for Christian Religious Education that is used in this research. They coordinate educational research, book development, indigenous language study and adaptation with other global educational practices in Nigeria.

As at the time of this research field work in August 2015, the research centre was arriving at a set deadline to achieve its ‘core objective’ which is: “To become a Regional Centre of Excellence in Educational Research and Development in Africa and expand to an International status by 2015”.⁴³³ The Vision of the Centre is “To build and sustain a culture of strategic educational research and development that will inform the formulation and effective implementation of policies in education as well as in other related sectors of the economy.”⁴³⁴

The policies that are being referred to here are rooted in five main objectives of the Nigerian National Philosophy on Education. These five objectives are:

- 1) A free and democratic Society,
- 2) A just and egalitarian society,
- 3) A united, strong and self-reliant nation,
- 4) A great and dynamic economy,
- 5) A land of bright and full opportunities for all citizens.⁴³⁵

433 Nigerian Educational Research and Development council (NERDC). (2014). About NERDC. Retrieved from <http://nerdc.ng/about-nerdc>

434 Ibid.

435 Federal Republic of Nigeria, *National Policy on Education (Revised)*, (Lagos, Yaba: NERC Press, 1981), 7.

Principles of Nigerian Philosophy of Education

- Great and Dynamic Economy
- Land of full opportunities
- United strong and self-reliant
- Free and Democratic
- Just and Egalitarian

Chart 16. Five major principles of the Nigerian Philosophy of Education

According to Atoyebi the Philosophy of Education in Nigeria was a product of some of these various organisations that were later merged together to form the Nigerian Education Research and Development Centre. Citing Osokoya, he explains that the findings of different educational commissions in Nigeria, together with the contributions of a number of Nigerian academics and educationists highlighted the weaknesses of the old educational system. It was seen as being too academic, theoretical, inadequate and unsuitable for providing an overall development of Nigerians. Hence, there was agitation for a re-evaluation of the old system and a desire or dire need for a national policy on education. It was an attempt to meet this demand and the 1979 Constitution which brought presidential systems of government that gave birth to 1981 revised edition of the National policy on Education.”⁴³⁶ Prominent among these organisations is the Nigerian Education Research Council (NERC).⁴³⁷

436 J Adebare Atoyebi, (2003). *A Critique of the Five Main Objectives of the Philosophy of Nigerian Education in the Contemporary Socio-economic and Political trends in the Country*. Retrieved from <https://www.unilorin.edu.ng/publications/atoyebi/J.A.%20ATOYEBI.htm>, citing O. I. Osokoya, (1987) *6-3-3-4 Education in Nigeria History, Strategies Issues and Problems*, (Lagos: Bisinaike Educational Publishers and Printers, 1987), 19.

437 “established in 1965, the National Educational Research Council (NERC) as it was then called, was charged with the ‘promotion of the improvement of education in the country through:
the identification of all existing research studies concerned with education in Nigeria;
the identification of educational problems which most need research in Nigerian and, in consultation with other international bodies, co-operate in, and carry out, as and when required, the design and conduct of research project of sound basis;
the giving of advice based on research findings to the education authorities in Nigeria

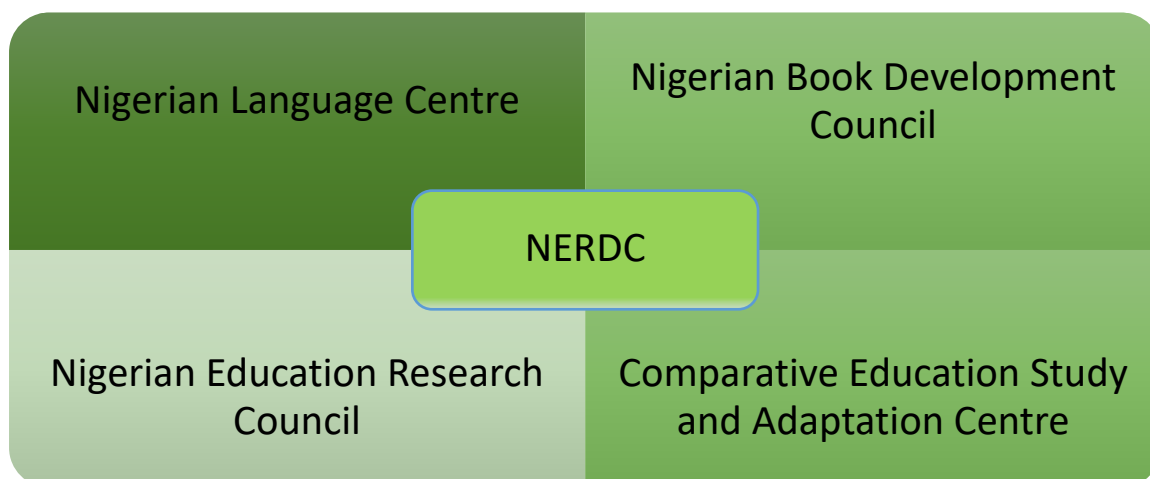


Chart 17. Four main institutions that make up the Nigerian Educational Research and Development Council (NERDC)

In the Mission Statement of the NERDC it is clearly stated that its stands to “create the enabling environment in which educational research and development activities will thrive and in the process not only encourage collaboration with international development partners but also foster public private partnership in our bid to render educational research and development efforts sustainable and needs driven.”⁴³⁸

This ‘mission’ has been a very challenging one for different subjects of education in the Nigerian school system and especially for Christian Religious Education because of the very sensitive issue of Islamic Religious fundamentalist terrorist activities in recent years. The ‘needs’ that are being perceived are more of inter-religious harmony and dialogue. There have been strong external influences as well from the ‘international development partners’ like the

The first major activity of the council was to have been, in 1966, a curriculum conference which would cover every aspect of education with participants and financial support from all over the world. The Nigerian civil wars thwarted this effort but, in 1969, a conference did take place” Michael Ade Ogunyemi, (1974). *Primary School Curriculum Reform in the Western State of Nigeria, HEP Occasional Papers No. 34*. (Paris: UNESCO: International Institute for Educational Planning), 17. <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0007/000756/075620eo.pdf>.
 438 Nigerian Educational Research and Development council (NERDC), 2014.

International Bureau of Education. This organ of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) is an Institute that focuses on curriculum and learning. In view of the 2030 global sustainable development goals the International Bureau of Education has been investing in development and urging poor countries to adjust and modify their academic curricula so as to meet some of these set goals. Some of these set global aspirations include (17 goals and 169 specific targets as set up in the United Nations Resolution A/RESS/70/1 on September 25 2015). Some of the fundamental areas are on Education, Health, Poverty, Food (hunger) and Climate change.⁴³⁹ The Nigerian Educational Research and Development council (NERDC) is influenced in curriculum and research planning by the policies and proposals of the International Bureau of Education of UNESCO. One of the major changes in the Nigerian Education system in recent years is the adaptation of the national basic Education curricula from the previous 6 years to 9 years. This means that after 6 years of primary education, the next 3 years of (Junior) secondary education is joined structurally to the basic 6 years of primary making a total of 9 years of 'basic education'. An adjustment of this kind reflects the influence of the international policies of the United Nations like the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), part of which is to increase the access to basic education and increase its duration.

However, introduction of new subjects and themes into the primary and Secondary School curricula has been received with mixed feelings in Nigeria. For example, the introduction of a subject called Religion and National Values (RNV) to be taught in the 'basic education' 9-year

439 See United Nations. (2015). *Transforming our world: the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development*. Retrieved from United Nations website: http://www.un.org/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/RES/70/1&Lang=E, And Jennifer A. Elliott, *An introduction to sustainable development* (4th ed.). (London: Routledge, 2013). See also T. Bigg, International Institute for Environment and Development, Northern Alliance for Sustainability, & World Summit on Sustainable Development. *Survival for a small planet: The sustainable development agenda*. (London: Earthscan Publications, 2004).

circle (primary 1-6 and Junior Secondary 1-3) was interpreted by concerned parents and stakeholders in Religious education as a ‘calculated’ move to get rid of the teaching of Christian Religious Education -CRE (previously known as Bible Knowledge –BK) and Islamic studies.⁴⁴⁰ This is what those seeking clarification of the role of the new subject of ‘Religion and National Values’ wanted to be clarified. The content of the subject on Religion and National Values Education is a combination of Christian Religious Studies (CRS), Islamic Religious Studies (IRS), Social Studies (SS), Civic Education (CE) and Security Studies/education (SE). The content of Civic Education also contains Disaster Risk Reduction Education (DRRE) and Peace and Conflict Resolution (PCR). With so many sublets, one can imagine that it would be impractical to have any in-depth study on any of these. The idea of combining all together has been described as belonging to a new syllabus category called ‘super subjects’.⁴⁴¹

440 Nigerian Education Research and Development Council (NERDC), & Ismail Junaidu. (2016). *NERDC and the 9-year Basic Education Curriculum*. Retrieved from Nigerian Education Research and Development Council (NERDC) website: <http://nerdc.ng/news-details/NERDC%20AND%20THE%209%20YEAR%20BASIC%20EDUCATION%20CURRICULUM>. See full text on appendix 12. The basic concern was when Religious Education (Christian and Moslem) was proposed to be taught together within a homogeneous syllabus in the form of ‘comparative religion’ and with some advocacy for ‘inclusivity’ by introducing elements of African traditional religions. The practice has now added one more subject to the already independent subjects of Christian Religious Education and Islamic Studies.

441 Tosanwumi Otokunefor, (2016, May 12). Religion and national values curriculum not working. *National Mirror* [Lagos]. Retrieved from <http://nationalmirroronline.net/new/religion-and-national-values-curriculum-not-working/> Other subjects that are grouped together in the curriculum that is also called ‘super’ are Basic Science, Pre-vocational studies and Technology. The initial idea of reducing the number of subjects from 20 to 10 has led to the mass combination of multiple subjects into one. This coalescing of different subjects is what has led to the reaction that some see as being detrimental to the teaching of Christian Religious Studies (also referred to as Bible knowledge or Christian Religious Education).

Religion and National Values Education				
Christian Religious Studies (CRS)	Islamic Religious Studies (IRS)	Social Studies (SS)	Civic Education (CE) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Disaster Risk Reduction Education (DRRE) • Peace and Conflict Resolution (PCR). 	Security Education (SE).

Table 24. Religion and National Values Education

Among the achievements of the NERDC, the progress made on publications of educational materials in different local languages and increase in the use of technology in learning is very laudable. For example, they have prepared dictionaries in 5 Nigerian languages.

Other responsibilities of the NERDC include coordination of research on Education in Nigeria, financing educational research, investigating matters related to educational development, publishing findings from educational research and developing archival data base by its library informatics centre. Consequently, the council has some main departments to achieve this academic goal. These departments are the ‘Book Development’, ‘Emerging Issues in Education’, ‘Education Research’, ‘Curriculum Development’, ‘Library Informatics’, ‘Language Development’, and ‘Special Programme’.

Departments of the (‘Core Services’) of the Nigerian Educational Research and Development Centre

- Book Development,

- Education Research
- Curriculum Development
- Library and Informatics
- Language Development
- Special Programme
- Emerging Issues in Education

In particular, the ‘Special Programme’ department caters for educational content in issues such as HIV, Albinism, Natural medicine (also called traditional medicine), Sign Language, Computer and Technological studies. These areas of academic interest are influenced by current (relevant) socio-cultural and technological realities of our time. In a process of indigenisation, the local experts in these areas try to find out the best ways to integrate these issues into the school curricula. They do this with the influence of the local customs, religious affiliation and historical foundation of the country. For example, due to the rising crimes of human trafficking, Islamic terrorism, and financial-kidnapping⁴⁴² in the country, topics linked with security studies/education, trafficking in persons, illicit drug trading, community policing and mobile technology have been added to the school curriculum. Some of the agencies that cooperates with the education research centre to develop these contents include: The Nigerian Drug Law Enforcement Agency (NDLEA), National Agency for Food, and Drug Administration Control (NAFDAC), The Albino Foundation (TAF), the National Agency for the Prohibition of Trafficking in Persons (NAPTIP), the Consumer Protection Council (CPC) and the Federal Road Safety Corp (FRSC).⁴⁴³ Before introducing these issues into the basic school curriculum,

442 *Financial-Kidnapping* here refers to the spates of criminals who kidnap people (purportedly linked with financial resources) and ask for a relatively large amount of money as ransom for their release. They expect their targets to get the money for their ransom through their personal, family or institutional wealth.

443 Ref. Nigerian Educational Research and Development council (NERDC). (2014).

the NERDC follows the four popular stages in curriculum development. These are: planning, writing, critique and editorial.



Chart 18. Four stages of curriculum development of the Nigeria Educational Research and Development Council ⁴⁴⁴

At the end of the process, the primary stakeholders in the Nigerian Education system have to give the final approval of the curriculum. These organisations include the National Council on Education (NEC) and the Joint Consultative Council in Education (JCCE). As a methodology, all planned curricula include the subjects’ materials, additional aids for students and teachers’. While these research and curricula activities have gradually started to influence the classroom experience of teachers and students, some policies and strategic planning on national level have also been put in place. For example, materials on girl-child education and adult learning have been produced and translated into about 13 local languages. ⁴⁴⁵

444 Nigerian Educational Research and Development Council (NERDC). (2014). Curriculum Development Centre. Retrieved from <http://nerdc.ng/academic-centres/curriculum-development-centre>

445 These include projects done in collaboration with UNICEF on ‘The National Policy for the Integrated Early Childhood Development in Nigeria’, ‘National Early Childhood Curriculum’ for children below 5 years of age, ‘Albinism Education in Nigeria’, ‘Drug Abuse Education’, ‘Developed Family Life and ‘Developed National Sexuality Education Curriculum’. The latter being heavily influenced by the HIV/AIDS Education. Though there are many languages in Nigeria, some of the completed translations of materials in some of these topics include those in Yoruba, Igbo, Gwari, Efik, Edo, Urhobo, Tiv, Hausa, Izon, Fulfulde, Idoma, Ibibio and Kanuri. These would be from the different six geopolitical zones of the country, as more research and translations continue with collaboration and funding in other languages in an ongoing process. See Nigerian Educational Research and Development Council (NERDC). (2014). Our Achievements. Retrieved from <http://nerdc.ng/our-achievements>

Some major challenges of the NEDRC include the implementation of some of these laudable research findings and ideas. The increasing demands of the education of people with special needs also poses a huge task ahead of the centre with the high number of people who are physically or mentally challenged. The development of about three thousand sign languages for the ‘hearing impaired’ needs to be continued as part of the implementation strategy for the Basic Education Curriculum (BEC). One other area that would need more creativity and research would be the preparation and adaptation of instructional materials for teaching Christian Religious Education to people who have special needs. There is also need to review the examination methodology for Christian Religious Education especially in its application to daily civil life. This means that there could be more room for experimenting the ‘practical’ aspect of some of the values taught in Christian Religious education in secondary schools in other ‘out of school’ settings like social work, voluntary service and peer to peer group work. This responsibility could be considered by the Curriculum Development Centre since in addition to creating curriculum for all levels of education in the country, they are also responsible for the development of “new techniques and approaches to curriculum development; produce syllabuses and instructional materials”.⁴⁴⁶

After the Curriculum Development Centre has set the templates for the subjects, the ‘Book Development Centre’ can now follow up on the publication and distribution. Within our context of indigenisation, it is the role of the Book Development Centre to ‘promote book production by local authors’. They are also to promote the growth of the local ‘printing and publishing companies in the country’ thereby growing local original initiatives in education and scholarly works.⁴⁴⁷ Therefore, if the growth of African pastoral theology is going to survive

446 Nigerian Educational Research and Development Council (NERDC). (2014). Curriculum Development Centre. Retrieved from <http://nerdc.ng/academic-centres/curriculum-development-centre>

447 Ibid., Book Development. Retrieved from <http://nerdc.ng/what-we-do/book-development>

within the existing structure of the educational research and planning in Nigeria, these two centres (of Curriculum Development and Book Development) within the overall structure of the National Educational Research and Development Centre needs to engage the services of qualified Christian theologians. These theologians would be actively involved in in the research and structuring process of the content and style of production of the materials for teaching Christian Religious Studies in the schools.

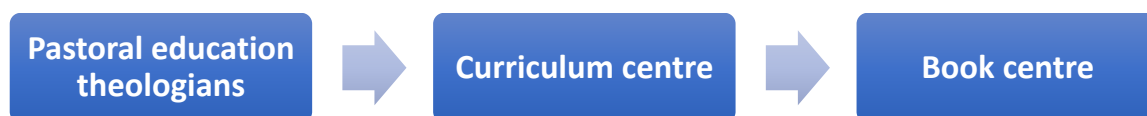


Chart 19. Proposed process for content of Christian Religious Education in School Syllabus.

With regards to the publishing of books, the ‘Book Centre’ which is one of the core institutions of the NERDC plans to ‘review’ books and instructional materials in collaboration with local writers and publishing houses. Paramount here is the process of adaptation of the curriculum into class room text books. They organise annual ‘Book Fairs’ during which different academic publishing houses display their publications of various textbooks for different primary and Secondary School classes. During the field work of this research in August 2015 one of these book fairs was visited in Abuja, the Federal Capital Territory (FCT) of Nigeria. It was noticed during this research work that many private publishers also give their own ‘style’ of interpreting the content of the approved syllabus in the publishing of their school text books. They use different styles of graphics, pictures and colours to enhance the fundamental content of the subjects for easy learning and assimilation both by teachers and students. The most competitive part of this book fair for the publishers is that the government office usually recommends some authors or publishers which gives them more marketing opportunities over other textbooks writers that may not have any specific recommendation. One of the major challenges of the book centre is to supervise the ‘quality’ of the school textbooks both in content, design and cost.



Picture 1. Section of various stands of different school books on display at the Abuja book fair, August 2015.



Picture 2. Section of various stands of different school publishing houses at the Abuja book fair, August 2015.

In 2007, the National book centre prepared a proposal for a ‘National Book Policy’ with guidelines and legal framework for publishing in Nigeria.⁴⁴⁸

448 Ibid., Retrieved from [http://nerdc.ng/our-achievements/review-of-the-national-book-policy-\(nbp\)](http://nerdc.ng/our-achievements/review-of-the-national-book-policy-(nbp))

THE ORGANOGRAM OF NERDC

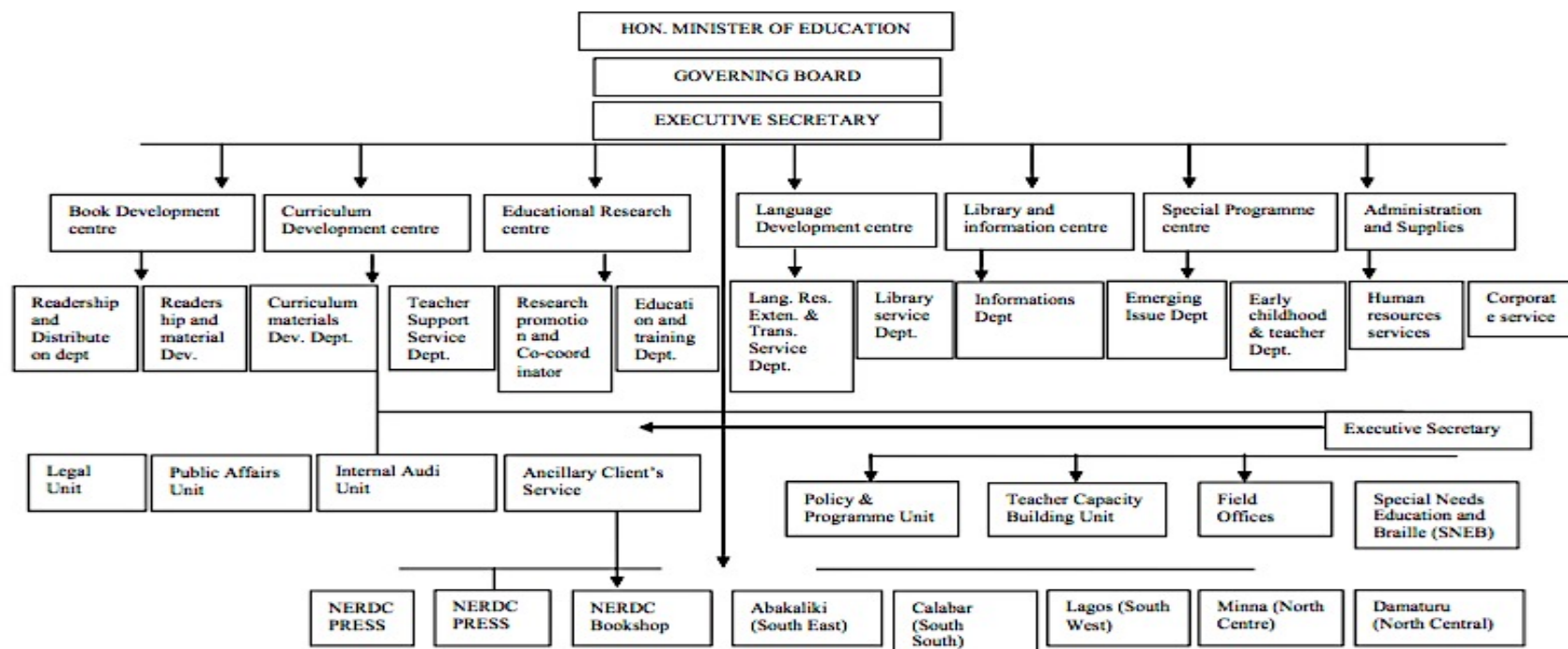


Chart 20. Organogram of the NERDC⁴⁴⁹

449 Retrieved from Hannah Adebola Aderonke Okediji, (2015). 'The Transmission of the Nigerian Culture Through Education at the Primary School Level, 1960 till date'. *History Research*, 5(4), 239-254. Retrieved from <http://www.davidpublisher.org/Public/uploads/Contribute/56b1644ccfbab.pdf>, doi: 10.17265/2159-550X/2015.04.004, See also <http://nerdc.ng/organogram>, showing BDC- Book Development Centre, CDC- Curriculum Development Centre, ERC- Education Research Centre, LDC- Language Development Centre, LIC- Library and Informatics Centre, SPC- Special Programme Centre. On further readings on the NERDC See also Hannah Adebola Aderonke Okediji. (2011). The Role of the Nigerian Educational Research and Development Council (NERDC) in the formulation of education policy in Nigeria. *KIU Journal of Education*, 4, 99-105.

5.2 Philosophy of Catholic Schools

The 1983 code of canon law gives some directives on ‘Catholic Education’ in a perspective that is broader than a formation process taking place only within a ‘catholic school’ environment. This suggests that catholic education can take place anywhere in which the principles that defines it are applied (within or outside a school setting). Education comes under the section three (also called ‘Book 3’) of the code that gives directives on the ‘Teaching Office of the Church’ in Canons 793-821. The understanding of catholic education encompasses both teaching in the catholic schools and providing catholic educational services outside a formal school setting. Canon 798 states that “Parents are to send their children to those schools which provide for their Catholic education. If they cannot do this, they are bound to ensure the proper Catholic education of their children outside the school.”⁴⁵⁰ This canon presupposes that there would be at least two possible avenues for the teaching of catholic education which parents (who are responsible for the religious education of their children) can avail of. These are either ‘within’ or ‘outside’ the catholic school.

However, what is most significant is the understanding of a ‘true education’ as defined by canon 795 which states that “Since true education must strive for complete formation of the human person that looks to his or her final end as well as to the common good of societies, children and youth are to be nurtured in such a way that they are able to develop their physical, moral, and intellectual talents harmoniously, acquire a more perfect sense of responsibility and right use of freedom, and are formed to participate actively in social life.”⁴⁵¹ Another important

450 Catholic Church. (1983). BOOK III. The Teaching Function of The Church Liber Iii. De Ecclesiae Munere Docendi Title Iii. Catholic Education (canon. 793 - 821). Retrieved from http://www.vatican.va/archive/ENG1104/_P2M.HTM see also Catholic Church, Canon Law Society of Great Britain and Ireland, Canon Law Society of Australia and New Zealand, & Canadian Canon Law Society. (1983). *The code of canon law: In English translation*. London: Collins.

451 Ibid., (Canon. 795). Retrieved from Http://Www.Vatican.Va/Archive/Eng1104/_P2m.Htm

teaching on the philosophy of catholic schools could be found in the document *Divini Illius Magistri* of Pope Pius XI in December 31, 1929. The core concept of Christian Education aims at human formation on three levels of 'intellectual', 'spiritual' and 'physical'. These three levels can be found within the contexts of the family (primarily), the society (the state) and the Church. *Divini Illius Magistri* teaches that:

The proper and immediate end of Christian education is to cooperate with divine grace in forming the true and perfect Christian, that is, to form Christ Himself in those regenerated by Baptism, according to the emphatic expression of the Apostle: 'My little children, of whom I am in labor again, until Christ be formed in you.' [Gal. 4:19] For the true Christian must live a supernatural life in Christ: 'Christ who is your life,' [Col. 3:4] and display it in all his actions: 'That the life also of Jesus may be made manifest in our mortal flesh.' [2 Cor. 4:11] For precisely this reason, Christian education takes in the whole aggregate of human life, physical and spiritual, intellectual and moral, individual, domestic and social, not with a view of reducing it in any way, but in order to elevate, regulate and perfect it, in accordance with the example and teaching of Christ. Hence the true Christian, product of Christian education, is the supernatural man who thinks, judges and acts constantly and consistently in accordance with right reason illumined by the supernatural light of the example and teaching of Christ; in other words, to use the current term, the true and finished man of character. For, it is not every kind of consistency and firmness of conduct based on subjective principles that makes true character, but only constancy in following the eternal principles of justice, as is admitted even by the pagan poet when he praises as one and the same 'the man who is just and firm of purpose.' [*Iustum et tenacem*

propositi virum, in Horat., Od., 1, III, od. 3, v. 1:] And on the other hand, there cannot be full justice except in giving to God what is due to God, as the true Christian does. The scope and aim of Christian education as here described, appears to the worldly as an abstraction, or rather as something that cannot be attained without the suppression or dwarfing of the natural faculties, and without a renunciation of the activities of the present life, and hence inimical to social life and temporal prosperity, and contrary to all progress in letters, arts and sciences, and all the other elements of civilization. To a like objection raised by the ignorance and the prejudice of even cultured pagans of a former day, and repeated with greater frequency and insistence in modern times, Tertullian has replied as follows: We are not strangers to life. We are fully aware of the gratitude we owe to God, our Lord and Creator. We reject none of the fruits of His handiwork; we only abstain from their immoderate or unlawful use. We are living in the world with you; we do not shun your forum, your markets, your baths, your shops, your factories, your stables, your places of business and traffic. We take shop with you and we serve in your armies; we are farmers and merchants with you; we interchange skilled labor and display our works in public for your service. How we can seem unprofitable to you with whom we live and of whom we are, I know not.⁴⁵²

452 Pope Pius XI. (1929). *Divini Illius Magistri* ('That Divine Teacher'-On Christian Education). Nos.94-97 Retrieved from http://w2.vatican.va/content/pius-xi/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_p-xi_enc_31121929_divini-illius-magistri.html, Libreria Editrice Vaticana. Citing Tertullian, Reeves, W., Collier, J., & Marcus, A. (1900). *The apology of Tertullian*. London: Griffith Farran, and Tertullian. (1999). Apology. In *Tertullian 145-220* (S. Thelwall, Trans.). Retrieved from www.logoslibrary.org/taertullian/apology/42.html, Chapter 42. '*Non sumus exules vitae. Meminimus gratiam nos debere Deo Domino Creatori; nullum fructum operum eius repudiamus; plane vitam, ne ultra modum aut perperam utamur. Itaque non sine foro, non sine macello, non sine balneis, tabernis, officinis, stabulis, nundinis vestris, caeterisque commerciis cohabitamus in hoc saeculo. Navigamus et nos vobiscum et militamus et rusticamur, et mercamur, proinde miscemus artes, operas nostras publicamus usui vestro. Quomodo infructuosi videamur negotiis vestris, cum quibus et de quibus vivimus, non scio.*' And Quintus Horatius Flaccus. (23 BC). HORATI FLACCI CARMINVM LIBER TERTIVS. In *HORATIVS FLACCVS* (65 –

In the second Vatican Council, the document *Gravissimum Educationis* (Declaration on Christian Education)⁴⁵³ takes similar ideas from *Divini Illius Magistri* and its quite clear on the current teaching and understanding of the philosophy of Catholic Education today. The document clarifies in its introduction that the principles of Christian Education remain the same, to achieve physical and spiritual enlightenment for a holistic human wellbeing. Education to develop the world and universe, and education of the spiritual faculties of human person to understand the mystery of God revealed in the person of Jesus Christ. This openness to the “heavenly calling”⁴⁵⁴ in Christian understanding of education means that any form of learning that is opposed to, or not leading to the ultimate mystery of God in the ‘economy of salvation’, cannot be said to be Christian in its philosophical outlook. This means that teaching people to deliberately ignore the Christian message of salvation or preventing people from having the opportunity to learn about the Christian message would be fundamentally opposed to the philosophy of Christian Education.⁴⁵⁵ Perhaps that is why *Gravissimum Educationis* begins

8 B.C.), III, 1. Retrieved from <http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/horace/carm3.shtml>. See also James Lonsdale, and Samuel Lee, *The Works of Horace Rendered into English Prose*. (London: Macmillan and Co. 1883).

453 This Vatican II document on education takes a lot of similar ideas and has a sense of continuity from *Divini Illius Magistri* (That Divine Teacher) document of December 31, 1929. *Gravissimum Educationis* was promulgated on October 28, 1965 at the Second Vatican Council by Pope Paul VI. The title in English is *Extremely Important Education* (Declaration on Christian Education).

454 Introduction to *Gravissimum Educationis*, citing John XXIII's encyclical letter, *Mater et Magistra*, May 15, 1961: Official Acts of the Holy See (*Acta Apostolicae Sedis*) A.A.S. 53 (1961) 402. Cf. Second Vatican Council's *Dogmatic Constitution on the Church*, no. 17: A.A.S. 57 (1965) p. 21, and schema on the *Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World*, 1965. Retrieved from http://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_cons_19651207_gaudium-et-spes_en.html

455 On education, not open to the supernatural, No. 60 and 62 of *Divini Illius Magistri* states: “Hence every form of pedagogic naturalism which in any way excludes or weakens supernatural Christian formation in the teaching of youth, is false. Every method of education founded, wholly or in part, on the denial or forgetfulness of original sin and of grace, and relying on the sole powers of human nature, is unsound. Such, generally speaking, are those modern systems bearing various names which appeal to a pretended self-government and unrestrained freedom on the part of the child, and which diminish or even suppress the teacher's authority and action, attributing to the child an exclusive primacy of initiative, and an activity independent of any higher law, natural or divine, in the work of his education... But alas! it is clear from the obvious meaning of the words and from experience, that what is intended by not a few, is the withdrawal of education from every sort of dependence on the divine law.

with a statement that the access to Christian education is a fundamental right enshrined within the very notion of the 'Universal Right to an Education'.

This right is open to all and can lead to world peace.

All men of every race, condition and age, since they enjoy the dignity of a human being, have an inalienable right to an education that is in keeping with their ultimate goal, their ability, their sex, and the culture and tradition of their country, and also in harmony with their fraternal association with other peoples in the fostering of true unity and peace on earth. For a true education aims at the formation of the human person in the pursuit of his ultimate end and of the good of the societies of which, as man, he is a member, and in whose obligations, as an adult, he will share.⁴⁵⁶

However, Christian education also includes the education in the practice of the faith by active response to issues of justice, peace, reconciliation and expression of faith in liturgical ceremonies. A Christian education that does not lead to some form of practice would therefore be ineffective in achieving the essential goal of the learning process. Christian education is not learning about Christianity (which could be called Christian-Information), but

So today we see, strange sight indeed, educators and philosophers who spend their lives in searching for a universal moral code of education, as if there existed no decalogue, no gospel law, no law even of nature stamped by God on the heart of man, promulgated by right reason, and codified in positive revelation by God Himself in the ten commandments. These innovators are wont to refer contemptuously to Christian education as "heteronomous," "passive", "obsolete," because founded upon the authority of God and His holy law." Pope Pius XI. (1929). *Divini Illius Magistri* ('That Divine Teacher'-On Christian Education). Nos.60 and 62 Retrieved from http://w2.vatican.va/content/pius-xi/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_p-xi_enc_31121929_divini-illius-magistri.html, Libreria Editrice Vaticana

456 Pope Paul VI. (1965). *Gravissimum Educationis*, 1. Citing Pius XI's encyclical letter, *Divini Illius Magistri*, Dec. 31, 1929: A.A.S. 22 (1930) 50 ff. Retrieved from http://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_decl_19651028_gravissimum-educationis_en.html

growing in the knowledge of the faith that comes from the sacramental life of the church by virtue of being ‘a new creature’:

Since all Christians have become by rebirth of water and the Holy Spirit a new creature so that they should be called and should be children of God, they have a right to a Christian education. A Christian education does not merely strive for the maturing of a human person as just now described, but has as its principal purpose this goal: that the baptized, while they are gradually introduced [to] the knowledge of the mystery of salvation, become ever more aware of the gift of Faith they have received, and that they learn in addition how to worship God the Father in spirit and truth (cf. John 4:23) especially in liturgical action, and be conformed in their personal lives according to the new man created in justice and holiness of truth (Eph. 4:22-24); also that they develop into perfect manhood, to the mature measure of the fullness of Christ (cf. Eph. 4:13) and strive for the growth of the Mystical Body; moreover, that aware of their calling, they learn not only how to bear witness to the hope that is in them (cf. Peter 3:15) but also how to help in the Christian formation of the world that takes place when natural powers viewed in the full consideration of man redeemed by Christ contribute to the good of the whole society. Wherefore this sacred synod recalls to pastors of souls their most serious obligation to see to it that all the faithful, but especially the youth who are the hope of the Church, enjoy this Christian education ⁴⁵⁷

The Church has the responsibility of providing academic aids in Christian education to the schools in carrying out the divine injunction to teach. By so doing, support is given to Christian

457 Ibid., 2. Retrieved from http://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_decl_19651028_gravissimum-educationis_en.html, citing Pius XI's encyclical letter, *Divini Illius Magistri* 1, p. 83 and Vatican Council II, *Dogmatic Constitution on the Church*, no. 36: *A.A.S.* 57 (1965), 41ff.

parents who also have a right to demand and receive such an education for their children as part of their holistic human formation which is not in contradiction with natural law or in conflict with advocating peace and solidarity in human society. Some of these aids include ‘catechetical instruction’, ‘access to participation in the liturgy’, ‘social media’, animation of ‘youth associations’ and works of charity.⁴⁵⁸ While all these can take place in different structural settings like the parish church, homes, youth centres and medical facilities; the school environment has been one of the first establishments of the Church since the monastic era of carrying out Christian education. The catholic missionaries who went to Africa also introduced this holistic style of education that included knowledge in temporal and spiritual matters. This was integrated in the curriculum of the Christian schools. The importance of the school as a place for Christian education is unique in the historical development of Western Education and Christian missionary education in Africa.

Among all educational instruments the school has a special importance. It is designed not only to develop with special care the intellectual faculties but also to form the ability to judge rightly, to hand on the cultural legacy of previous generations, to foster a sense of values, to prepare for professional life. Between pupils of different talents and backgrounds it promotes friendly relations and fosters a spirit of mutual understanding; and it establishes as it were a center whose work and progress must be shared together by families, teachers, associations of various types that foster cultural, civic, and religious life, as well as by civil society and the entire human community. Beautiful indeed and of great importance is the vocation of all those who aid parents in fulfilling their duties and who, as representatives of the human community,

458 Ibid., 4. Retrieved from http://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_decl_19651028_gravissimum-educationis_en.html,

undertake the task of education in schools. This vocation demands special qualities of mind and heart, very careful preparation, and continuing readiness to renew and to adapt.⁴⁵⁹

The philosophy of Christian Education contains the notion that it has no borders. It can take place in the home, the school, the church compound and anywhere people gather together. The document also makes some specific references to ‘Catholic Schools’. These are schools ‘dependent on church though open to non-Catholics’. These include primary, secondary, technical or vocational schools, schools for the those with special needs, catholic universities and colleges.⁴⁶⁰ They also include schools and academic institutions which may not be directly owned by the Church but by others who apply the same principles and ethos of Catholic education based on their belief as members of the Church. The responsibilities of Catholic teachers are specified in achieving the philosophical objectives of Catholic education:

But let teachers recognize that the Catholic school depends upon them almost entirely for the accomplishment of its goals and programs. They should therefore be very carefully prepared so that both in secular and religious knowledge they are equipped with suitable qualifications and also with a pedagogical skill that is in keeping with the findings of the contemporary world. Intimately linked in charity to one another and to their students and endowed with an apostolic spirit, may teachers by their life as much as by their instruction bear witness to Christ, the unique Teacher. Let them work as partners with parents and together with them in every phase of education give due consideration to the difference of sex and the proper ends Divine

459 Ibid., 5. Citing Pius XI's encyclical letter, *Divini Illius Magistri*, 1, p. 76; Pius XII's allocution to Bavarian Association of Catholic Teachers, Dec, 31 1956 Retrieved from http://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_decl_19651028_gravissimum-educationis_en.html,

460 Ibid., 9. Retrieved from http://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_decl_19651028_gravissimum-educationis_en.html,

Providence assigns to each sex in the family and in society. Let them do all they can to stimulate their students to act for themselves and even after graduation to continue to assist them with advice, friendship and by establishing special associations imbued with the true spirit of the Church. The work of these teachers, this sacred synod declares, is in the real sense of the word an apostolate most suited to and necessary for our times and at once a true service offered to society. The Council also reminds Catholic parents of the duty of entrusting their children to Catholic schools wherever and whenever it is possible and of supporting these schools to the best of their ability and of cooperating with them for the education of their children.⁴⁶¹

In addition to the roles of the parents and teachers in realising the objectives of Catholic education, the duty of the theological and pastoral adaptations of the philosophy of Catholic Schools need the active participation of the various episcopal conferences in different countries and continents of the world. In Nigeria two recent documents have been produced on Catholic Education in Nigeria by the Education unit of the Catholic Secretariat of Nigeria (CSN) of the Catholic Bishops Conference of Nigeria (CBCN). The 2006 summit of Catholic Education in Nigeria is particularly significant to this research especially since was the first summit on Catholic Education in the country (published in 2014). It brought together more than 400 delegates nationwide comprising of various local theologians, historians, parents, heads of catholic institutions, government representatives and academicians. This summit could be

461 Ibid., 8. Citing Pius XI's encyclical letter, *Divini Illius Magistri*, 1 p. 80 ff.; Pius XII's allocution to the Catholic Association of Italian Teachers in Secondary Schools, Jan. 5, 1954: *Discourses and Radio Messages*, 15, pp. 551-55B; John XXIII's allocution to the 6th Congress of the Associations of Italian Catholic Teachers Sept. 5, 1959: *Discourses, Messages, Conversations*, 1, Rome, 1960, pp. 427-431 and Pius XII's allocution to the Catholic Association of Italian Teachers in Secondary Schools, Jan. 5, 1954, 1, p. 555) retrieved from http://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_decl_19651028_gravissimum-educationis_en.html

described as the beginning of a professional evaluation of the relevance and prospects of Catholic education in Nigeria in the modern world.⁴⁶²

In 2005, the Catholic Bishops' Conference of Nigeria published a document clarifying some basic understanding of the pastoral adaption of the philosophy of Catholic education in the country. Emphasis is placed on the role of catholic teachers as primary catalysts in sustaining the realisation of education. This is in line with the reflections of Pope Paul VI and Pope Pius XI. The Bishops of Nigeria are promoting the irreplaceable role of Catholic parents and teachers in the ongoing process of developing indigenous Catholic education in the country. They are to be 'educators who are of proven professional and spiritual competence. Which means that have to be scientifically and theologically open to the realities of the modern world and the authentic teachings of the Church. This is particularly necessary for school leadership and administration.'⁴⁶³ Present discourse on the philosophy of Catholic Education in Nigeria today can be categorised under four main headings.⁴⁶⁴

462 By 2015, there have been two major national summits on Catholic Education in Nigeria. The first was in 2006 and the second in 2014. Both were coordinated by the Catholic Secretariat of Nigeria under the Catholic Bishops Conference of Nigeria (CBCN).

463 See. John Jude Chimezie Ugochukwu, (2008). *Developing relationships in Catholic nursery/primary schools in Anambra, Nigeria: Partnerships of family, community, school, church, and state*. New York: Fordham University, Graduate School of Education DigitalResearch@Fordham. PhD Dissertation, UMI Number 3303096, citing Catholic Bishop Conference of Nigeria (CBCN), *The Catholic Church policy on education in Nigeria* (Lagos, Nigeria: A publication of the education committee, 2005).

464 During the field work of this research edited conference materials from about 17 specialists in education and theology were collected from the archives of the Catholic Secretariat of Nigeria located in Abuja, the country's capital. The materials include research and presentations from the 2006 (published in 2014) and 2014 (published 2015) summits. 2014 contributors include Mrs Stella Maris Egwim (PhD) *Building on our heritage, rediscovering the essentials of Catholic Education in Nigeria*, Mrs Adenike Emeke (PhD) *Setting and maintaining standards in education system: strength and Weakness in Catholic School Administration in Nigeria*, Alloy S. Ihua (PhD) *The Preferential option for the poor and concern for the physically challenged in Catholic education in Nigeria*, Fr. Peter Tanko (PhD) *Formation of proper human character and appropriate values through the retooling of religious and moral education in Nigeria*, Professor Michael Ogunu *Church –state relations in education in different parts of the world and the lessons for Nigeria*, Professor Gerald C. Eheduru *Achieving desirable outcomes in maximizing the potentials of the Information and Communication Technology*. 2006 contributors include Professor Placid C. Njoku *Catholic Educaiton in Nigeria*, Professor Joseph Sunday Aliyu *A Review of the Catholic Nursery and Primary Schools*, Dr Rose N. Amadi *The Nature of the Secondary School and Vocational Curriculum*, Professor U.M.O Ivowi *Corporate Challenge to Nurturing and Sustaining Catholic Tertiary Education*, Professor Anthony A Akinwale (O.P) *The Place of Religious, Priestly and Theological Formation in Catholic Education*, Professor Theresa Abang (HHCJ) *Special Education: A Key Catholic Apostolate*, Chris Uwaje *The Role of Information Technology in Catholic Education*, Professor Julius O. Onah *Managing*,

1. Christocentric approach in pedagogical methods
2. Missiological dimension of the relevance and meaning of Education
3. Social relevance of education within a Church-State relationship
4. Fundamentals of school structure and curriculum design.

5.2.1 Christocentric approach in pedagogical methods

Keeping with the teachings of the Church and guidelines on Catholic education⁴⁶⁵, the pedagogical method of Catholic education in Nigeria is focused on teaching the students to become adults who have a clear understanding of the person of Jesus Christ as the only begotten Son of God who came as man to show us the way to the Father (John 14:6)⁴⁶⁶. Christ, is understood as the Lord of history and therefore, the fullness of Christian virtues like peace, solidarity, justice, protection of the weak, care of the sick, emancipation of the poor, forgiveness and tolerance are perfected in him. This approach does not agree with the notion of learning for purely academic reasons. There is no distinction between being a very brilliant mathematician and not being interested in supporting the poor around the community. To do that would be considered ‘contradictory’ in a Christocentric pedagogical method of teaching. Jesus taught in words and action. By his own life and ‘body’ he communicated the teachings

Supervising and Funding Catholic Schools, Professor Segun Anthony Ogunsaju *The Catholic Ethos in Nigerian Public Schools*, Sir Moses A Braimah (KSM) *Church-State Partnership in Education in Nigeria*. The experts presented all these different issues on Nigerian Catholic Education mainly from an indigenous perspective thereby providing a pastoral and pedagogical framework on the structure and content of Catholic Education in Nigeria. For the future, one can imagine that issues on church-state relationship, curriculum and use of technology will become increasingly relevant in the sustenance of Catholic Education in the country. Used with permission from the Catholic Secretariat of Nigeria.

465 As can be found in canons 793-831, *Gravissimum Educationis* and *Divini Illius Magistri*.

466 *Jesus said to him, "I am the way, and the truth, and the life. No one comes to the Father except through me"*. New Revised Standard Version Bible, copyright © 1989 the Division of Christian Education of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States of America. See Metzger, B. M., & National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States of America. *The Holy Bible: Containing the Old and New Testaments*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989). For other works on the Christocentric focus See also, C. Farey, W. Linnig, and M. J. Paruch, *The pedagogy of God: Its centrality in Catechesis and Catechist Formation*. (Steubenville, OH: Emmaus Road Pub., 2011).

of the Kingdom of God.⁴⁶⁷ In this method, all academic disciplines and subjects help the students as well as teachers in any academic institution to create a society that liberates the human person from pain, suffering, poverty, sin and divisions. This idea of a Christocentric pedagogy is similar to the notion of the ‘Divine pedagogy’⁴⁶⁸ which is a gradual process in coming to know the person of Christ as one matures in human knowledge and wisdom. “The primary characteristic of divine pedagogy is that it is progressive. As the *Catechism* states: ‘God communicates himself to man gradually. He prepares him to welcome by stages the supernatural Revelation that is to culminate in the person and mission of the incarnate Word, Jesus Christ’”.⁴⁶⁹

Catechesis in Nigeria has always followed the pattern of Divine pedagogy that is basically Christocentric with some cultural pastoral adaptations. These adaptations mainly come from using local practical examples in presenting the expression of Christian charity that should flow from the input learned in school about the faith. Paramount among examples of local adaptations is

467 For Theology of the body which is related to Christian Philosophical Anthropology and Theological Anthropology, See Pope John Paul II, *Man and Woman He Created Them: A Theology of the Body*. (Boston, MA: Pauline Books and Media, 2006) and Christopher West, *Theology of the body explained: A commentary on John Paul II's "gospel of the body"*. (Boston, MA: Pauline Books & Media, 2003).

468 For works on Catholic education in the context of Divine Pedagogy see Judith Dunlap, *When you teach in a Catholic school*. (Cincinnati, OH: St. Anthony Messenger Press, 2004). See also Judith Dunlap (200). *Divine Pedagogy and Methodologies*. Retrieved from http://www.21stcenturycatholic-evangelization.org/uploads/5/1/6/4/5164069/article_7_-_divine_pedagogy.pdf National Conference for Catechetical Leaders. This article is part of a series of 12 articles that were promoted by the NCCL when reflecting on various themes from the General Directory for Catecheses in 2000. For the full sets of 12 articles see Evangelization Committee of the National Conference of Catechetical Leadership. (2015). 21st Century Catholic Evangelization - Home. Retrieved January 9, 2017, from <http://www.21stcenturycatholic-evangelization.org/>. And Petroc Willey, (2011). An original pedagogy for catechesis. In C. Farey, W. Linnig, and M. J. Paruch (Eds.), *The Pedagogy of God, Its centrality in Catechesis and Catechist Formation*. (Steubenville, OH: Emmaus Road Publishing, 2011).

469 Caroline Farey, Waltraud Linnig, and M. Johanna Paruch, (Eds.), *The pedagogy of God: Its centrality in Catechesis and Catechist Formation*. (Steubenville, OH: Emmaus Road Pub. 2011), 4., citing CCC 53 which states that “The divine plan of Revelation is realized simultaneously “by deeds and words which are intrinsically bound up with each other” and shed light on each another. It involves a specific divine pedagogy: God communicates himself to man gradually. He prepares him to welcome by stages the supernatural Revelation that is to culminate in the person and mission of the incarnate Word, Jesus Christ...” Cf. Catholic Church, *Catechism of the Catholic Church*. (Liguori, MO: Liguori Publications 1994). Citing St. Irenaeus, Adv. haeres. 3, 20, 2: PG 7/1, 944; cf. 3, 17, 1; 4, 12, 4; 4, 21, 3. See Saint Irenaeus, Dominic J. Unger, and John J. Dillon, *St. Irenaeus of Lyons against the heresies*. (New York, NY: Paulist Press, 1992). Adversus Haereses (Against the Heresies) with notes and explanations in 3 volumes.

the teaching on traditional family values and the sense of Church as a community. Consequently, the role of parents and leaders as primary models of the ideal Christian living is emphasised. In the curriculum, the examples of the kings and prophets; poor and liberated; and divine authority in human affairs are studied alongside the political and traditional leadership style of the local cultures. However, these have not been without challenges as Rose Amadi noted by stating that “Today, some mothers have abandoned their duties and responsibilities in the home, which constitutes the child’s first schooling environment. Most teachers lack the patience and commitment to groom students, unless the price is right. Students regurgitate facts and are afraid to think for themselves or challenge the ideas of others”.⁴⁷⁰

5.2.2 Missiological dimension of the relevance and meaning of Education

In this aspect of the philosophical principles of Catholic education in Nigeria, the catholic schools have maintained a tradition of not separating the sacramental life of the church from the teaching and learning environment of the school. In addition to preparing the children for sacraments in boarding schools as well as in parish churches, there has been in recent years a strong emphasis on the ‘holy-childhood’ association. This association is part of the ‘Pontifical Mission Societies’. They focus on early childhood education with a peer to peer support and interaction. Giving children and young people the opportunity to be involved in supporting the missionary enterprise of the Church. Many religious congregations in Nigeria today are involved in education of the young especially in the pre-school (where the government has no clear programme), primary and Secondary School levels. Since many of these congregations are international, the large numbers of their student and staff population are consistently immersed into an understanding of catholic education that has international and missionary

470 Rose N. Amadi, (2014). The Nature of the Secondary School and Vocational Curriculum in Catholic Education in Nigeria. In *Catholic Education in Nigeria: proceedings of the first summit on Catholic Education in Nigeria*, (Abuja: Catholic Secretariat of Nigeria), 30.

dimensions. This has also partly led to a sustainable number of young men and women who make the option of becoming missionaries themselves later on in life. The missionary dimension of Catholic education involves serious attention to ‘character building’ and academic discipline, which has made some state governments in Southern Nigeria decide to return schools back to the missionaries while getting financial and regulatory support from the government. The number of Catholic schools identified in Anambra state to benefit from this decision was 453.

In 2011, the governor of Anambra State, Mr Peter Obi, handed over 1,040 back to mainly catholic and Anglican missionaries that were the original owners. This move was attributed to the falling standard of primary and secondary education which the governor stated was as a result of the government taking over the schools from missionaries since the 1970s. A financial commitment of up to six billion naira was also made to support these schools. In his speech, it was clear that direction of the state government was to have an educational system in Anambra state that is guided by sense of moral conduct and national quality, which was introduced by the Christian missionaries. This philosophy of Christian education has been found to be useful for the growth of local educational standards in comparison with the other available models.⁴⁷¹

Similarly, in nearby Delta State, the government has also decided to hand over 40 schools to missionaries with a view to regaining the previous human, spiritual and academic qualities they had lost since the missionary ethos were removed from the schools, of these, 27 are Catholic,

471 5Nigeria Masterweb Citizen news. (2011, November 24). Address by Governor Obi at the Formal Handover of Schools To Original Church Owners. Retrieved from <http://nigeriamasterweb.com/blog/index.php/2011/11/24/nigeria-address-by-governor-obi-at-formal-handover-of-schools-to-original-church-owners> see also Vincent Ujumadu. (2011, November 22). Obi hands over 1,040 schools to original owners. *Vanguard Nigeria* [Lagos]. Retrieved from <http://www.vanguardngr.com/2011/11/obi-hands-over-1040-schools-to-original-owners/> For full text of the speech see appendix 13.

8 are Anglican, 4 are Baptist and 1 to an African church. As in 2011 the amount for support from the Anambra state government for the schools was equivalent to 24 million British pounds. There are also similar initiatives from other states like Abia that has handed back about 19 schools to the missionaries a few years ago. In May 2016, Governor Samuel Ortom of Benue also announced the decision of the state to give back the running of missionary schools to the missionaries. Also in June 2016, Oyo State also mentioned the handing over of 30 schools to the missionaries. All of this may not be unconnected with the highly positive results from Anambra State that had recorded the following academic achievement barely four years after the schools were handed back to the missionaries as recorded in a state government report in 2015.⁴⁷²

472 Anambra State Government Ministry of Education. (2016). Governor Obiano's Achievement in Education. Retrieved from <https://anambrastate.gov.ng/ministry-of-education/>

S/N	Year and School Event	Level and Ranking
1	West African Examination Council (WAEC) and Nigeria National Examination Council (NECO) for three consecutive years	1 st position level
2	2014 Presidential Junior Debate to mark 50 th Anniversary of Nigeria	1 st position national level
3	2015 All Nigeria Confederation of Principals of Secondary School (ANCOPSS) National Quiz competition	1 st position national level winning for the 3 rd consecutive time
4	2014 National School Sports festival in Markudi	2 nd position national level
6	2015 Presidents School Debate Competition and represented Nigeria in the World Schools Debate Competition held in Singapore	1 st position national level
7	2015 National Science Project Exhibition Competition and represented Nigeria at the International Science Project Exhibition Competition in Mexico in November, 2015	1 st national level, national representation
8	2015 The Anambra State Junior Debate team won the ticket to represent Nigeria in 2015 Winter Holiday Open School Debate in Croatia	1 st national level and national representation
9	2015 Best Junior Secondary School in Nigeria (Queen of the Rosary College, Onitsha)	National level
10	2015 Best Junior Secondary School in Nigeria (Loretto Special Science School, Adazi)	National level
11	2015 Best Primary School in Nigeria (Sancta Maria Primary School, Onitsha).	National level

Table 25. Anambra State examination rankings

Despite these obvious positive results from the mission schools uplifting the quality of schools in Anambra state, there have been some criticism and concerns from those opposed to the missionary approach to education. In Stellenbosch Theological Journal, Miracle Ajah states that:

Most government teachers have refused employment in the returned schools, protesting that church operators were too strict and profit-oriented. The National Union of Teachers (NUT) faulted the decision of states government to return public schools to missionaries, threatening to go on strike if the decision was not reversed. The union described the decision by the governors as a violation of the Compulsory Free Universal Basic Education Act 2004, and a total disservice to the nation. They argued that in an era when most governments in the world are progressively moving towards mass education through public funding, the Nigerian states governments are all out at returning education to [an] elitist project, undeserving for the children of the poor masses. This view believes that the recourse to handing over primary schools is an attempt at commercializing universal basic education, which is dangerous to national development. So the NUT opposed the decision of returning public schools to the missions on the premise that it would subject parents and teachers to the whims and caprices of the missionaries. This stand was supported by the Nigeria Labour Congress - NLC⁴⁷³

For the 2015 May/June WAEC national results, the top three students from the secondary schools in the country were all from mission schools.⁴⁷⁴

473 Miracle Ajah, (2015). Religious education and nation-building in Nigeria. *Stellenbosch Theological Journal*, 1(2), 271-72. Retrieved from <http://ojs.reformedjournals.co.za/index.php/stj/article/view/1260>, Citing Osuagwu U. (2012). "The Return of mission schools: The gains, pains", 8. Retrieved from <http://economyng.com/news162.html>, Accessed: 12/5/13.

474 As announced in the 54th Annual Meeting of the Nigeria National Committee of the West African Examination Council WAEC. The top three students were from the Baptist Model school, Ibadan, Oyo State, Our Lady and Saint Francis Catholic College, Osogbo, Osun State and Loyola Jesuit Catholic College Abuja, Federal Capital Territory). See Dayo Adesulu. (2016, December 8). 'Return schools to Missionaries', As mission schools bag WAEC NDM Awards. *Nigerian Vanguard* [Lagos]. Retrieved from <http://www.vanguardngr.com/2016/12/return-schools-missionaries/>

5.2.3 Social relevance of education within a Church-State relationship

Perhaps with the result coming from mission schools that have been handed back to missionaries with State support, it will become easier for the stakeholders in Secondary School education in Nigeria to support the idea of returning all missionary schools back to the missionaries. As a matter of fact, other schools should adopt the Catholic education approach which seems to be bringing about the desired result especially with the radical changes that have taken place in the past few years where some State governments have handed schools back to the Church. The government should ensure their role that teachers' salaries and benefits are paid and other financial supports are provided so that the burden of cost of quality education which the mission schools provide will not be too expensive for the poor to afford. This will reduce the number of young people and families who can benefit from good quality education. In the absence of any other equally successful model, the government does not have any choice if there is the goodwill to improve the educational standard of the country. This aspect of the of Church-State was prominent in the presentations at the education summits organized by the Catholic secretariat of Nigeria.⁴⁷⁵

From 1887-1969, private agencies especially the Christian missionaries had full access and control of their educational institutions in Nigeria. However, from the first military control of 1966-1979, the State took over the control of the schools from the missionaries. This historical decision and its impact on the educational development of Nigeria is one that many regret today. (East Central State Edict No. 2 of 1971 para 2 taking over all primary and post primary schools "to secure central control and an integrated system of education which will guarantee

475 As can be found in most of the lectures especially those of Professor Segun Anthony Ogunsaju on *The Catholic Ethos in Nigerian Public Schools*, Professor Julius O. Onah on *Managing Supervising and Funding Catholic Schools*, Moses A. Braimah on *Church-State Partnership in Education in Nigeria (2014)*, and Professor Michael Ogunu on *Church-State relations in education in different parts of the world and the lesson for Nigeria (2015)*.

uniform standards, fair distribution of educational facilities and reduce the cost of running of schools”-was the official reason given). The same was the case in in the North-Central state in 1972 in the edict No. 1 of 1972 on the ‘Transfer of Post-Primary Schools’. These were done by state laws and a suppression of all voluntary (especially) Christian missionary Schools. It soon took a national shape in 1977 with “the schools takeover (validation) decree No.48 of 1977”. With the military regime, it was not prudent to repudiate such dictatorial decisions by legal means even though the Catholic Church in Lagos and some private individuals did give it a try and won.⁴⁷⁶

This struggle continued with the 1979, 1990 and 1999 constitutions of Nigeria which allowed for some private ownership of mainly primary and secondary schools and later, tertiary in 1999. The challenge being the effects of the military rule from 1966-1979 and 1984-199. From 1979-1999 during a democratic regime there were permissions granted for 26 private universities with a ruling from the supreme Court.⁴⁷⁷ Though private organizations were allowed to own schools, the previous mission schools that were previously converted to government schools, are now only recently being returned back after many missionary groups have had to construct new institutions in both primary, secondary and tertiary levels. Professor Michael Ogunu continues by comparing the different types of challenges that other countries have faced in recent years in Church-State relationship on education and how Nigeria could learn from some of the outcomes. In Europe, the examples of England, Wales and France were seen as the Church getting substantial financial support from the State especially with regards to payment

476 For example, the cases of see Archbishop Okegie and 2 others VS the Attorney-General of Lagos State-1981, and Dr Basil Ukaegbu VS The Attorney-General of Imo State-1983. See Michael Ogunu, (2015). Church-State relations in education in different parts of the world and the lessons for Nigeria. In *Catholic Education in Nigeria: Proceedings of the Second Summit on Catholic Education in Nigeria* (115). Abuja: Catholic Secretariat of Nigeria.

477 Michael Ogunu, (2015). Church-State relations in education in different parts of the world and the lessons for Nigeria. In *Catholic Education in Nigeria: Proceedings of the Second Summit on Catholic Education in Nigeria* (102-148). Abuja: Catholic Secretariat of Nigeria. See also Isaac N. Obasi. (2007). Analysis of the Emergence and Development of Private Universities in Nigeria (1999–2006). *Journal of Higher Education in Africa JHEA/RESA*, 5(2), 39-66).

of teachers. On the other hand, the Christian religious content and ethos of the schools remain a constant challenge to implement against a secularist government orientation and policies. The same is quite applicable for Australia. The situation is slightly different in India where Christians are considered a minority religion protected by law. Most Catholic schools are independent and some get some financial support from State or Central government. In Africa, the situation of Catholic schools in South Africa and Zambia show that while the Church always seeks more autonomy from government control, financial constraints, and issues of ownership of property always have to be carefully monitored with changing government policies. For example, in South Africa the School Act of 1996 has a category of Public Schools in Private Property (PSPP) and Church schools would have full private ownership of some (usually fee paying) schools and also there would also be some ‘public schools in Church property’ whereby the facility is owned by the Church or Religious congregation and the financial support and admission is open to the government influence and regulations. In government evaluation of the situation in the United States of America, there is a general protection of ‘Religious Freedom’ and a right to private property including schools and places of worship. For public schools, however, there are restrictions on the roles of teachers in promoting their own religious beliefs, but students are free to express theirs alone or among themselves. Fundamentally, ownership does not seem to be a problem when it comes to Church and state relationship as much as ‘content’ and curriculum do.⁴⁷⁸

Moses A. Braimah sees the Catholic Church as a primary stakeholder in helping the Nigerian State realise its education goals. This includes a Christian understanding of the human person as a ‘spiritual being’. His argument is based on the quality of the standard of mission schools over the years in Nigeria, and the fact that the Catholic ethos and religious practice in Catholic

478 Cf. Ogunu, 102-148.

schools somehow contribute to other factors that make for a good quality of education. The pioneering work in the history of modern Western education in Nigeria is historically traced to the foundations laid by the Christian missionaries like the Anglican Church Mission Society CMS (1842), Methodist (1842), Church of Scotland/Presbyterian Church of Nigeria (1846), American Baptist Church (1850), Roman Catholic Mission (1868), the Qua Iboe –United Evangelical Mission from Belfast QIM (1887), who promoted both intellectual and spiritual formation in the school curriculum. They specifically emphasised the need for different Christian denominations to form a joint coalition in dealing with the State in promoting and preserving the Christian education heritage of the country.⁴⁷⁹

Professor Julius Onah, is of the strong opinion that the management of Catholic schools should be done by practising Catholics in good standing with the Church, and also highly qualified in education and school management with the required standard of the laws of the country. This will provide for quality in the understanding and implementation of Catholic principles as well the proficient academic standard of the school. In addition, financial assistance should be jointly sourced by parents, voluntary organisations and in particular, the government who should see the contribution of the Catholic schools as a support rather than a competition with the State.⁴⁸⁰

The limit of a Catholic philosophy of education is not only a Church to be found in owned schools but also in public schools where the qualities of good Catholic education can be utilised. This is most useful in the Nigerian context where many of the mission schools are

479 Cf. Moses A. Braimah, (2014). Church-State Partnership in Education in Nigeria. In *Catholic Education in Nigeria: Proceedings of the First Summit on Catholic Education in Nigeria* (Abuja: Catholic Secretariat of Nigeria), 108-122.

480 Cf. Julius O. Onah, (2014). Managing, Supervising and Funding Catholic Schools. In *Catholic Education in Nigeria: Proceedings of the First Summit on Catholic Education in Nigeria* (Abuja: Catholic Secretariat of Nigeria), 95-101.

usually more well organised than the public schools. The sharing of available resources both human and material should be part of the expression of Christian charity for the benefit of the poor and a sign of generous collaboration with the government in the challenging tasks of educating the masses. Parishes and Dioceses should not be too exclusive in showing support and solidarity with other public schools in their locality. The Catholic Church also has the right to provide instructions and pastoral care (on the faith) to children of Catholic families in public schools with mutual understanding with the State, the parents and teachers of the local community and the school authorities.⁴⁸¹

5.2.4 Fundamentals of school structure and curriculum design

Catholic Education in Nigeria has been consistent in the content of the syllabus and curriculum in teaching religious education. This is largely due to the constant dialogue between the local Bishops and theologians on the one hand, and the Catholic educators and teachers on the other. The curriculum for Christian Religious Education has been revised a few times and the nucleus which is fundamentally Christologically based on biblical theology, has always remained the same. The content of the syllabus is made up of different themes of Christian doctrine and Biblical theology. These themes are structured with the different classes of the Secondary School circle so that, in six years, a systematic understanding of the Bible would have been taught.

The teaching of Christian Religious Knowledge is also open to the vocational schools where the students focus mainly on technical subjects and skills acquisition. Nmadi believes that the “current problem in Nigeria’s education sector is largely attributable to a structural and functional disconnect, ‘betweenity’, or lack of congruence between the transplanted, former

481 Cf. Segun Anthony Ogunsaju, (2014). The Catholic Ethos in Nigerian Public Schools. In *Catholic Education in Nigeria: Proceedings of the First Summit on Catholic Education in Nigeria* (Abuja: Catholic Secretariat of Nigeria), 102-107.

system and the informal institutions and norms rooted in Nigeria's history, culture and tradition. It is this missing link between the old and the new that accounts for the current weaknesses in the education sector"⁴⁸². To remedy the situation, she suggests that teachers of sciences and arts subjects in secondary and vocational schools should be equipped with technical and spiritual competence to influence their students in a holistic way. This is true as the quality of life of the teachers infiltrates into the school and classroom: *nemo dat quod non habet* (you cannot give what you don't have). Basing her arguments on the historical model (of comparing the quality of Education in Nigeria in the past of the missionary Christian style with those of the present, she described the overemphasis on certificates as 'diploma disease'. This disease can be cured by instilling elements of Christian faith and values in the curriculum of the education process.⁴⁸³

The standard of the Catholic schools in Nigeria is also influenced by the administrative capacity to implement the curriculum which Adenike Emeke explains by distinguishing between 'education' as a lifelong process and 'schooling' which can be considered as relatively new in the understanding of human history. Schooling as we have it today, is a method of education which can trace its origins to the formal style of learning in the Catholic 'monastic' and 'cathedral' traditions.⁴⁸⁴ In the Nigerian context, Professor Adenike Emeke is of the opinion that the structure of any school is influenced by the 'standard' it wants to attain. This standard is set by the worldview and sense of quality of the those responsible for setting it. Therefore, the calibre of those in charge of setting the standard of education will influence their set goals. Citing Archbishop Michael Muller, she outlined five qualities that are to be involved in the

482 Amadi, 38.

483 Ibid., 36.

484 Nicholas Orme, *Medieval schools: From Roman Britain to Renaissance England*. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2006).

setting up of a catholic standard of education which should be reflected in the school system and syllabus.

- Founded on Christian Anthropology of the human and spiritual understanding of the person
- Open to the Gospel witness of the mystery of salvation
- Inspired by a world view that is supernatural
- Following a method of education that accommodates the integration of ethical and moral values
- Having an ecclesial and community dimension of unity and solidarity of faith and culture.⁴⁸⁵

One may wonder why there is an increasing interest in the Pastoral theology in Africa in the twenty first century. The answer could be because of the growing participation of African theologians in the missionary mandate of the Church. This has been recently encouraged by the two Synods for Africa in 1994 (10 April -8 May -*Ecclesia in Africa*) and 2009 (4-25 October -*The Church in Africa in Service to Reconciliation, Justice and Peace*). Both came at a time when global economics and climate change issues were also looking at Africa from a business and natural resources perspective. The Catholic church focused on the resources of Africa from a faith perspective.

Catholic Education that is inculturated is increasingly on the demand as Catholic families in Nigeria seek for sustainable way to live out their Christian faith in a changing world. Part of the task of the Catholic theologian is to present an 'authentic' model of Catholic education that

485 Elizabeth Adenike Emeke, (2015). Setting and Maintaining standards in education system: strengthen and weaknesses in Catholic School Administration in Nigeria. In *Catholic Education in Nigeria: Proceedings of the Second Summit on Catholic Education in Nigeria* (Abuja: Catholic Secretariat of Nigeria), 21-42. Citing J. Michael Miller, *The Holy See's teaching on Catholic schools*. (Manchester, NH: Sophia Institute Press, 2016).

is truly African. This is why the pastoral conversation on Christian Religious Education has to be seriously considered in the process of designing the syllabus for teaching the subject in Nigerian schools. This is in line with suggestion made by Bishop Jude Arogundade about the philosophy of Catholic Education in an African context emphasizing that “the catholic school is guided by a philosophy of education that seeks to develop the whole person, not only intellectually, physically, socially and emotionally, but also spiritually. The national authorities, through its policies have continued to adapt and contextualize the African worldview and culture at schools to make them authentically African. The Catholic school has to do a better job of utilizing the wealth of research that Catholic theologians and scholars have done in inculturation to wane the Catholic school from its overtly westernizing tendencies without losing its Catholic character. Such balancing will be important to the goal and mission of the Catholic school as it educates its students to be truly African Christians in their responsibilities as citizens and as members of the Church”.⁴⁸⁶

The Nigerian theologian has a role to play by bringing in the contributions of pastoral and systematic reflections, as well as finding what best suit the growth of the Catholic faith within the local context. However, there are some educationists who would prefer a non-confessional model of teaching Religious Education in Nigeria⁴⁸⁷ and clearly oppose the model advocated by the Catholic Church. Such proponents tend to argue from an Atheistic background or base their argument on clearly secularist ideologies which contradict the Christian understanding of the human person and to a large extent, the basic African worldview.

486 Jude Arogundade, (2015). Keynote Address. In *Catholic Education in Nigeria: Proceedings of the Second Summit on Catholic Education in Nigeria* (Abuja: Catholic Secretariat of Nigeria), 5.

487 They tend to disagree with the inclusion of Religious Education of any kind in the school curriculum for example see Oduntan Jawoniyi, (2009). Rethinking the Religious Education Curricula in Nigerian Schools. *Journal for the Study of Religion*, 22(2), 63-86. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/24764319>

5.3 Text books for Christian Religious Education

In the educational system of Nigeria, the national curriculum is the same and all publishers in the country base all their publications on the syllabus in the curriculum. This means that academic books for learning Christian Religious Education in secondary schools would tend to explain the exact topics already designed in the syllabus. However, each publication may use a different style in presentation and syntax so as to make their 'version' more attractive and competitive for the parents to buy for their children. Similarly, a lot of lobbying and research take place during the process of designing the textbooks, so as to be selected among the few that are 'recommended' by the ministry of Education. To be 'recommended' increases the possibility of higher sales as schools, libraries and students may patronise such a publication more in the market.

5.3.1 Types of textbooks

There are mainly three categories of textbooks for teaching Christian Religious Education that are used in this research. These three categories include the materials used for the school in Fourah Bay College (1827) in Sierra Leone, some of the books during the colonial period and more recent publications in post independent Nigeria. The significance of the Anglican missionary school established in February 1827 in Freetown (Fourah Bay) is based on the fact that the early Christian missionaries brought together different ex-slaves from West Africa and provided them with a western education. One can trace the origin of the textbooks for teaching Christian Religious Education in Nigeria to this historical institution as it is believed that one of the textbooks used then was the *Help to the Reading of the Bible* by Benjamin Elliott Nicholls (the edition used for this research was published in 1845). The book was promoted by the 'Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge' (established in 1698). The purpose of the school was to educate the local people and also prepare local religious leaders through formal

education. These local teachers later continued a second phase of the inculturation of the Gospel with their own people. This second phase includes the adaptation of western formal education by the local Africans in dialogue with their traditional culture and leadership style especially within the Church and school settings. This goal of inculturation of the gospel was already envisaged by the missionaries, who established the school right from the time of sourcing for funds to set up the school. “The committee of the Church Missionary Society have long felt the importance of training African youths in Sierra Leone for employment as religious teachers of their countrymen. Experience has fully proved that the European constitution cannot long bear up against the insalubrity of the climate of West Africa. It is therefore plain, that, for the extensive diffusion of the Gospel in that country, a native agency must be resorted to. It is not less plain, that, in order to the efficiency of such an agency, hopeful youths must be duly educated for Religious Teachers. These views led the committee to form an educational establishment at Fourah Bay, near Freetown, Sierra Leone, for that purpose, designated the Fourah-Bay Institution”⁴⁸⁸

This same report of 1842 also contains the syllabus of the school at that time, from which one may infer the kind of books that were used. Students who were educated in this school were brought from different West African countries in the region like Samuel Ajayi Crowther who

488 James Frederick Schön, (1842). *Journals of James Frederick Schön and Samuel Crowther, who, with the sanction of Her Majesty's government, accompanied the expedition up the Niger in 1841, on behalf of the Church Missionary Society*. (London: Hatchard, 1842). 387. This session of the book is part of the appendix that shows original materials that were used as ‘mission appeals’ to get people in England contribute to the ‘Building Fund of the Fourah Bay School. See digital materials of the same here: http://books.googleusercontent.com/books/content?req=AKW5Qad1N7NWryYWwD82HMXC1kMQu5464WsVFUtop99YDu6Fte_UmDTsWYeCrlyX6TRgVtZ7cRBPv9As2bQ1rRQ-ZYV7bk2fWG5VLfG8IH4XGTfafqBwhd1lnD_oHA_xLJO4f96-BV9OcjaojFvx4CeARGyOIPptc7skCBQJID0dRXBBcV3qYhxFx3-hYu2rIRJsi_HXW28qGGwz07VeMQOSpPTHbCS025cBsJBYghM_XGSifHXgFksiVQnG2-KWGC-z1kgZkohLXrHoNqsbGp3WZv51yFtv8gz5Qhn5Sz0mRcMTA0IDAXs

was from Nigeria. The aims of the Fourah Bay institution were to provide ‘a good general education, sound theological training and moral personal growth especially for the youth’.⁴⁸⁹

No.	Proposed Subjects in Fourah Bay
1	English Composition
2	History
3	Geography
4	Arithmetic
5	Euclid
6	Algebra
7	Trigonometry
8	Natural Philosophy
9	Latin
10	Greek
11	Some West African ‘Considered’ Native Languages
12	Music
13	Drawing and Perspective
14	Holy Scripture
15	Church History
16	Methods of Communication
17	Gardening and Agriculture
18	Mechanical Arts
19	Ecclesiastical history with Governments (especially in England)

Table 26. Proposed Subjects in Fourah Bay

489 James Frederick Schön, (1842). *Journals of James Frederick Schön and Samuel Crowther, who, with the sanction of Her Majesty's government, accompanied the expedition up the Niger in 1841, on behalf of the Church Missionary Society*. (London: Hatchard, 1842). 391. This session of the book is part of the appendix that shows original materials that were used as ‘mission appeals’ to get people in England contribute to the ‘Building Fund of the Fourah Bay School. This 1827 school needed two thousand pounds for expansion and reconstruction due to increasing number of students and prospects for sustainability of the mission. See digital materials of the same here:

http://books.googleusercontent.com/books/content?req=AKW5Qad1N7NWrYWwD82HMXC1kMQu5464WsVFUtop99YDu6Fte_UmDTsWYeCr1yX6TRgVtZ7cRBPv9As2bQ1rRQ-ZYV7bk2fWG5VLfG8IH4XGTfafaBwhd1lnD_oHA_xLJO4f96-BV9OcjaojFxx4CeARGyOIPptc7skCBQJID0dRXBBcV3qYhxFx3-hYu2rlRJsi_HXW28qGGwz07VeMQOSpPTHbCS025cBsjBYghM_XGSifHXgFksiVQnG2-KWGC-z1kgZkohLXrHoNqsbGp3WZv51yFtv8gz5Qhn5Sz0mRcMTA0IDAXs, according to Godfrey Brown: “A guide

to the capacity of the African colonies in secondary education is given by the dates of the foundations of the first institutions of higher education. Fourah Bay College in Sierra Leone, established in 1827, became affiliated to Durham in 1876; small though it was, it served the whole West African coast. Ghana and Nigeria founded their first University colleges in 1948. The University College in Salisbury was established in 1955, but had very few African students—only 74 out of the College’s 330 full-time students, as late as 1961, when the University College of Ibadan [Nigeria] had 1,255” Godfrey Brown, (1964). *British Educational Policy in West and Central Africa. The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 2(03), 374. doi:10.1017/s0022278x00004328 citing Association of Universities of the British Commonwealth. *Commonwealth Universities yearbook 1963: A directory to the universities of the British Commonwealth and the handbook of their Association*. (London: Association of Universities of the British Commonwealth, 1963).

From the above, it can be understood that the school was set to train the youth for leadership and teaching. The structure of the book for teaching ‘Holy Scripture’ by Benjamin Elliott Nicolls also contains a combination of Geography, Government, History, Revelation, Patrology and Spirituality. The second type of text books for teaching Religious education that is studied in this research belong to a category that could be classified as ‘Catechetical’. These books were used in the mission schools to teach the Bible and Pastoral theology.⁴⁹⁰ They were written in such a way that elements and themes of the faith were presented to the students in the syllabus in a combined method of doctrine and pedagogy. For example, H. V. Morton’s book titled *In the Steps of St Paul*⁴⁹¹ contains a detailed tailoring of the ‘footsteps’ of St Paul. It is of tremendous academic help to students in mission countries in providing historical and some exegetical information which helps in understanding the New Testament. Similarly, for Catholic doctrine, there was a 1932 catechism publication which was very detailed and incorporated different didactic methods already employed by different ecclesiastical communities in other parts of the world. The structure and content of these books, influenced the theological and pedagogical methods that indigenous publishers and theologians use today.

490 During the fieldwork of this research two samples of such books were found in one of the schools in Anambra State of South Eastern Nigeria. Bubendorff memorial Grammar School (established in 1959) is located in Adazi-Nnukwu with the pioneering work of Rev. Fr. D. O’Mahony, who was principal from 1959-1961. The school was built by the support of the local community and run by the Catholic missionaries. These books are no longer in use but are fortunately still kept among the old collection of materials in the school library archives. With very little or no resources to preserve and collect old academic materials in Nigeria, it was a huge academic delight to find these samples after visiting several towns and schools around the country in search of research materials. The two publications are ‘The Catholic Catechism’ of 1932 drawn up by Peter Cardinal Gasparri (published by Longman) and ‘In the Steps of St Paul’ by H. V. Morton, (originally published in 1936 by Methuen and Co. Limited). The quality of these materials is still intact and they remain tangible evidences of historical textbooks used for teaching Christian Religious Education before independence. There is a 2002 edition of ‘In the Steps of St Paul’ after the 1936 edition found in Bubendorff School.

491 H. V. Morton, *In the steps of St. Paul*. (London: Methuen, 1936).

No.	Main Content	Location: <i>add the bible passages in Acts</i>
1	Introduction to the Holy Land	Jerusalem, Gate of Saint Stephen, Solomon's Temple
2	Journey of Saint Paul	Damascus, Tarsus, (Turkey and Syria)
3	First Gentile churches	Aleppo, Antioch –Syria 'where believers were first called <i>Christians</i> ', Port of Seleucia used by Paul, Mark and Barnabas to travel to Cyprus
4	Paul in Cyprus	The ruins of 'Paphos' meeting place of Paul and the Roman Governor
5	Exploring Turkey	Visit to Iconium (Konya)
6	Key towns	Pisidia (Antioch), Lystra and Derbe
7	Coast of Macedonia	(Paul stepping into Europe), Philippi, (stream of the baptism of Lydia) Salonica, Bercae (now Verria)
8	Athens	The Acropolis and the Areopagus
9	Corinth	Exploring Corinth Acts xviii. 11, xx.31
10	Towards Ephesus	Temple of Diana (silversmiths challenge Paul), visit to Palestine, Caesarea and ship to Malta, Naples, Rome and tomb of Saint Paul

Table 27. Some of the themes in *In the Steps of St Paul* originally published in 1936⁴⁹²

The Catholic catechism book of 1932, was also very well structured with themes and topics in broad categories like 'The Little-children's Catechism', 'For Children' and 'for Adult'.

492 Ibid., Morton, IX and X and 417-421.

1932 Catechetical Instruction Publication Structure ⁴⁹³			
	Little Children	Children	Adults
	In accordance with the decree <i>quam sigulari</i> of Pope Pius X Sign of the Cross The Lord's prayer The Hail Mary Apostles' Creed Hail Holy Queen Glory Be Prayer to Guardian Angel Prayer to the Holy Souls Principal Mysteries of Faith The Decalogue The Sacraments Act of Faith Act of Hope Act of Charity Act of Contrition The Rosary	The Sign of the Cross The Apostles' Creed The Decalogue The precepts of the Church Grace Prayer The Sacraments The virtues Actual or Personal Sins The Last things	The Sign of the Cross Divine Revelation The Apostles' Creed The Decalogue The Precepts of the Church The Evangelical Counsels Grace Prayer The Sacraments The Virtues Actual or Personal Sins The Last things

Table 28. 1932 Catechetical Instruction Publication Structure

The third category of textbooks are the ones published mainly by indigenous authors especially in post-independence era. Some of the publishing houses are international while others are local. A distinctive factor of this third category of textbooks sampled in this research is that most of their authors are indigenous. Their style and methodology are influenced by the

493 Peter Gasparri, *The Catholic Catechism. Drawn up by Peter Cardinal Gasparri. (Second impression. English translation by the Dominican Fathers, Blackfriars, Oxford).* (Toronto: Longmans, Green and Co., 1932). In an English translation of the 1992 *Catechism of the Catholic Church*, one finds the same content as that of this 1932 edition under review. However, the arrangements are slightly different as the categorisation of age groups (of 'Little Children', 'Children' and Adult') are not used. The main contents of faith are subdivided into four parts (1. The Profession of Faith, 2. Celebration of the Christian Mystery, 3. Life in Christ, 4. Christian Prayer) with detailed analysis focussing on the theological themes of the four parts. Part 1 includes the mystery of divine revelation, Scripture and creed. Part 2. Focuses on the workings of the Spirit, Sacraments and Liturgy in general. Part 3 Is on Christian Anthropology, Human mystery, moral theology, social justice, the Decalogue and issues on conscience and virtue. Part 4 is mainly on prayer and details on the Lord's prayer. One can see a shift from 'prescriptive' teaching of stating rules in the old catechism to a more pedagogical and reflective method in a combination of faith and reason. The contents have always remained the same even if the teaching methods slightly differ. The references to Scriptures and other sacred writings of the saints are consistent. See Catholic Church, *Catechism of the Catholic Church: With modifications from the editio typica.* (New York: Doubleday, 1997).

previous types of publications that were used to train them when they were in secondary schools. Samples of textbooks from this category are also randomly selected from the years after independence to the present.

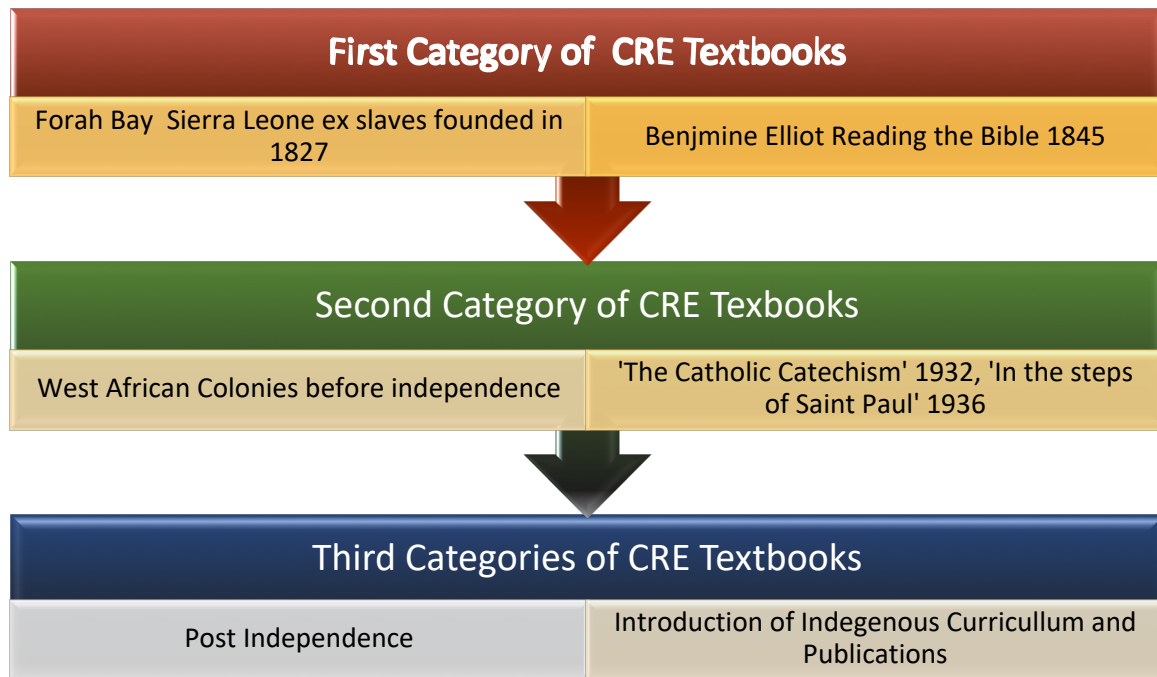


Chart 21. The three stages of the evolution of the Christian Religious Education textbooks in Nigeria

5.3.2 Influence and structure of Benjamin Elliott Nicholls *Help to the Reading of the Bible* (1845)

In a previous work,⁴⁹⁴ it was mentioned that the book *Help to the Reading of the Bible* was used in teaching Christian Religious Education to the liberated slaves in Sierra Leone.⁴⁹⁵ A further study of the contents of this book is elaborated below. This will help to understand the influence it had on subsequent publications from theological, pedagogical and structural perspectives. The book is divided into three parts. The first part has four chapters and the

494 Daniel J. Paracka, *The Athens of West Africa: A history of international education at Fourah Bay College, Freetown, Sierra Leone*. (New York: Routledge, 2003), 42.
 495 Benjamine Elliott Nicholls, *Help to the reading of the Bible*. (London: Gilbert and Rivington printers, 1845).

second part has three chapters. Part three which is the longest has eight chapters. All fifteen chapters of the book are well arranged for teaching and instructional purposes. The first part of the book (made up of four chapters) contains elements of Christian Biblical Theology. It focuses on the 'divine authority of the bible' upon which it has a moral relevance. It also explains that the text is considered sacred and as such, the 'word of God'. The writers are inspired by the working of the Holy Spirit. The fulfilment of the prophecies and sense of 'agreement' of the various parts of the Bible all provide didactical tools to help the students understand the significance of the word of God. The first chapter of the first part introduces the students to the basics of Biblical Redaction Criticism⁴⁹⁶ stating that: "The Bible was not written by one person, but by many, of different stations, abilities, and education".⁴⁹⁷

In the second chapter of the first part, the students are presented with a perspective of Christian philosophical anthropology. This is done by reflecting on the situation of a possible world before the writing of the biblical texts. It uses the tools of the Historical Critical Method⁴⁹⁸ to study the history of the Jewish patriarchs and insights from the ancient near eastern communities. This provides the tools useful for understanding heathen spiritualities and practices of polytheism at the Abrahamic period of the origins of the Jewish religion. This chapter also talks about the theology of creation and with the influence of Christian Theodicy attempts to give an understanding of some of the main stories in the book of Genesis like Creation of the universe, the Garden of Eden-Adam and Eve, the flood and Noah, the tower of

496 Redaction Critical Method of studying the scriptures has been used in exegetical studies for many years but became popular as a 'term' from the 1950s explaining how interpret scripture by 'the technique of writing' the text and the periods they were written in history. It was initially applied in New Testament Studies and later also used in Old Testament see J. H. Hayes, and C. R. Holladay, *Biblical exegesis: A beginner's handbook* (3rd ed.). (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2008).

497 Nicholls, 12.

498 The historical critical method of Biblical exegetical studies attempts to interpret the text by expounding the meaning of the text within its original 'historical context' and evaluating the possible differences and similarities between the 'literal' meaning of the text and 'meaning behind the text' see Edgar Krantz. *The Historical-Critical Method*. Eugene, (Oregon: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 2002).

Babel (Gen. 11:1-9). This first part of the book already introduces the students to other theological themes like ‘fall’ and ‘salvation’, ‘heaven and hell’, ‘good and evil’, ‘body and soul’, ‘prophecy and blessings’; and ‘creator and saviour’.

The third chapter of the first part continues with salient theological themes like ‘models of divine revelation’. How is God perceived when there is a divine revelation with people? How does such revelations inform us about the possible nature of God? These are some of the ideas that students were reflecting upon in the Freetown Forah Bay school when using this text book. Some of the attributes of God that can be understood from studying the Bible include God’s ‘power’, ‘justice’, love, authority, ‘goodness’, freedom and ‘wisdom’.⁴⁹⁹ The students are therefore not simply reading the biblical texts but are using the text as the primary tool to engage in theological reflection to find meaning in their personal and community life. The preparation for civil and ecclesiastical leadership of these students would have been greatly influenced by the study of this course. This could be imagined from a critical understanding of the principles of cause and effect, free will and moral responsibility, as well as having a definite sense of and objective purpose of life. It prepares one to answer the fundamental catechetical and philosophical questions of: who made you? And why did God make you?

The last chapter of the first part contains elements of biblical hermeneutics and biblical exegesis. It introduces the students to the science and skill of scriptural interpretation. Focusing on understanding various genre and illustrations as well as precepts. This fourth chapter of part one presents interpretation under some specific headings including the following:

- Precepts of Scriptures (commandments and laws)

499 Cf. Nicholls, 51.

- Prophecy (oracles and prophetic language, divination, messages, calling and persecution)
- Types (various biblical typologies of persons, situations, allusions and places. Especially on messianic figures and ‘prefiguring’. Especially as it relates to the prophets and patriarchs being all in the same divine plan towards the coming of the messiah)
- On the different senses in which words are used like: Blood, Covenant, Grace, Faith, Flesh, Journey, Law, Voice and Music
- Comparison between parables of the Old and New testaments
- The significance of Chronicling
- The different topographical areas in the geography of the Holy Land and their influence in Biblical studies especially specifically named mountains, rivers, seas, plains, valleys and the generic elements of wind, water, fire and the seasons.
- Values of history and travels
- Domestic traditional practices of the local people in biblical times
- Some challenges in biblical translations
- Some difficulties in reading scripture (especially in some seemingly contradictory passages).⁵⁰⁰

The second part of the work of Elliott is refers specifically to topics concerning the Jewish people and customs. This is helpful in preparing the students to contextualise their study of the Bible but also helps them to *inculturate* the messages of the scriptures to their own present situation. The first chapter of this second part looks at the political situation of the Jews and

500 Cf. Nicholls, 67-154.

their system of leadership. The second chapter (of part two) focuses on the Jewish liturgy and spirituality, while the third and final chapter of part two presents some key groups that make up the civil and religious leadership of the Jewish people like the Sadducees, Essenes, Publican, Nazarites, Levites, Pharisees, Herodians, Galileans, Samaritan, Stoics, Epicureans, Tax collectors, Lawyers and Doctors.⁵⁰¹

In part one (made of four chapters) and part two (made up of three chapters) the students are presented with foundational tools and academic materials in the contents of the syllabus to be able to engage with the biblical studies as well as Christian Religious studies. The third part of the book focuses on a methodical study of the different sections of the books of the Bible under clearly defined topics. This third part of eight chapters is described in the table below:

Part 3 in 8 chapters of Nicholls' methodology⁵⁰²	
Chapters	Headings and Contents
1	Pentateuch/Law: Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, and 'Miracles of Moses'
2	Historical Books: Joshua, Judges, Ruth, 1 Samuel, 2 Samuel, 1 Kings, 2 Kings, 'Two Books of Chronicles', Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther.
3	Poetical Books: Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Solomon,
4	Prophets:

501 Cf. Nicholls, 157-190.

502 Cf. Nicholls, 157-367.

	Isaiah, Jeremiah, Lamentations of Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel, Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, Jonah, Micah, Nahum, Zephaniah, Habakkuk, Haggai, Zachariah, Malachi, 'History of the Jewish people between the Old and New Testament'
5	Gospels: Matthew, Mark, Luke, John, the person of Jesus (Character, Resurrection and Miracles)
6	Acts of the Apostles: Continuation of Luke, Divinity of Jesus, Divinity and 'Office' of the Holy Spirit ('Ghost'),
7	The Epistles: General remarks on Paul and the Epistles, Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, 1 and 2 Thessalonians, 1 and 2 Timothy, Titus, Philemon, Hebrews, 'the 7 Catholic Epistles' (James, 1 and 2 Peter, 1, 2 and 3 John, and Jude),
8	The Revelation of John (with emphasis on the 'letters to the seven churches' (Rev. 2:1-3:22)

Table 29. Part 3 in 8 chapters of Nicholls' methodology

The pattern of this book has become the model for other textbooks published for teaching Christian Religious education in Nigeria today.

Structure of Elliot's books

<i>Help to the reading of the Bible</i>		
Part 1	Part 2	Part 3
Chapters 1-4	Chapter 1-3	Chapter 1-8

Table 30. Chapter layout of *Help to Reading the Bible*

The structure of Benjamin Elliott Nicholl's, *Help to the reading of the Bible* Each part begins with a renumbering of the chapters. The most significant influence of the book of Benjamin Elliott (*Help to the Reading of the Bible*) is in its theological content. This 1845 model of teaching Christian Religious Education mainly in the format of 'Biblical theology' has characterised how CRE is taught in Nigeria today. Students who study Christian Religion in Nigeria are educated to know the sacred scriptures. The curriculum is largely designed to study the 72 books of the Bible, to be familiar with them and understand them as the living word of God. This influence can be traced back to the book of Benjamin Elliott.

A second broad influence of the book is on its structure. While familiarising students with the different books of the Bible, Elliott used a thematic structure whereby specific themes of the Christian faith are studied with a view to applying them to good Christian daily living. This pattern has also been followed by the present curriculum that is in use today. Further adaptations of relevant themes have been identified over time by the Ministry of Education and the local theologians who bring in their theological contributions from the growth of their various ecclesiastical communities. For example, some of the theological changes from the Council of Trent to the Second Vatican Council have been modified in the Catechism of the Catholic Church. These changes are also reflected in the thoughts of the local Catholic theologians when they make their contributions in the shaping of the local text books for CRE. The direct translation from Latin to English or any of the local Nigerian Languages is now done with further adaptation by the local Church. This now gives room for cultural adaptations of defined doctrinal teachings and using of local examples both in liturgy and leadership.

A third local situation that has developed especially since after independence is the rapid growth of African Independent Churches. These communities of believers are Nigerians who

have successfully established their 'Independent' Churches and have their own hierarchy completely autonomous from the Old Missionary Church groups that existed before (Catholic, Anglican, Baptist and Presbyterian). A major source of strength for the popular Independent Churches is their numerical strength. Some of the very successful ones have millions of members and have built many churches and schools primarily for evangelization. There is now a post-independence generation of Nigerians that have only associated with African Independent Churches. Their contribution to the teaching of Christian Religious Education in Nigeria today is very significant as they promote regular study of the Bible in schools and their churches. Teachers from African Independent Churches are also usually committed in promoting the study of the Bible in public schools. With a combination of the Catholic and other missionary groups on the one hand, and the influence of the large number of African Independent Churches on the other, the curriculum for CRE in Nigerian secondary schools have always maintained the strong emphasis on studying the Bible as a primary element in the syllabus just as can be traced to Benjamin Elliott's textbook of 1842.

5.3.3 Influence of the Ashby Report on Post School Certificate and Higher Education (1959)

On the eve of the independence of Nigeria an education report from the commission headed by Eric Ashby prepared the way for the future of indigenisation. This 1959 report contains elements of what can be considered a local and original outlook to the education model of what became Nigeria after independence in 1960. The commission worked from May 1959-September 1960.

In one of the early academic reviews of the Ashby report, Davidson Nicol who was a former principal of Fourah Bay college of Sierra Leone, explains that one of the key focuses of the

report was to design an educational system that is structured to produce local man-power.⁵⁰³ This human development issue is clearly articulated in the Ashby report. “Professor Harbison was among the five experts appointed by the Ashby Commission to prepare papers on some aspects of the work of the Commission. His report was on ‘high-level manpower for Nigeria’s future’. The first problem he observed and commented on was that Nigeria as an emerging state was faced with the task of not only maintaining its economic growth but also of accelerating it. He also warned, ‘modern dams, power stations, textile factories or still mills can be constructed within a few years; but it takes between ten to fifteen years to develop the managers, the administrators and the engineers to operate them. Schools and college buildings can be created in a matter of months; but it requires decades to develop high-level teachers and professors.’ Harbison predicted, sadly but correctly, that services of the expatriates would still be needed though they were supposed to hand over everything to the Nigerians.”⁵⁰⁴

Although the focus was on university education, the interest here is more on the design of the platform upon which the development was to be achieved, and that platform was with the indigenous people. This belief in the capacity of the local people influenced the development of the Secondary School curriculum that was the immediate stage of educational preparation for the universities, colleges of education and polytechnics. The interest in building up the contents of the Secondary School curriculum in all subjects with local contents was highly influenced by this report. One can still decry the lack of sufficient technological advancement in the Nigerian education system today which was one of the expected outcomes of the report. There was hope for innovation, creativity, originality and productivity from the investment in

503 Davidson Nicol, (1961). The Realities of Ashby's Vision. *Higher Education Quarterly*, 15(4), 373-380. doi:10.1111/j.1468-2273.1961.tb00199.x, see also A. I. Asiwaju, (1972). Ashby Revisited: A Review of Nigeria's Educational Growth, 1961-1971. *African Studies Review*, 15(1), 1-16.

504 J. C. S. Musaazi. *Planning and development in education: African perspectives*. (Oxfordshire, England; New York: Routledge, 2014), 59. See also Federal Government of Nigeria. *Investment in education*. (Lagos: Federal Ministry of Education, 1960).

education. This is still expected from the philosophical and empirical sciences. The syllabus for Christian Religious Education for students completing their secondary education and going into universities have consistently demanded students' capacity to demonstrate sufficient knowledge of the Biblical texts. Questions often include Old Testament and New Testament books with emphasis on the message of the Patriarchs, Prophets, Judges, Kings, and kingdoms. They also query the students on the life of Christ, the mission of the Apostles and the moral codes and messages of the Pauline letters and Jewish biblical laws and practices.

5.3.4 Influence of the Western Nigeria Education Review Commission (1960)

Among the various commissions and teams that reviewed the prospects of the future of education in Nigeria, the Banjo commission is significant. This commission was set up in 1960 to review the fundamentals of primary and secondary education in the Western Region. Consequently, its findings are useful in understanding the paths travelled in the journey of developing the education curriculum in the country. The areas covered by this commission included the following:

- The training and quality of teachers
- The structure and content of the Nigerian Education System in the Western Region
- Synchronising the primary and Secondary School curriculum⁵⁰⁵

The syllabus of the various subjects being taught in schools was evaluated with the recommendation to meet up with the five goals of primary education (from the Cambridge Conference on African Education) from around 1954 which included the following:

505 Cf. Michael Ade Ogunyemi, Primary School Curriculum Reform in the Western State of Nigeria, HEP Occasional Papers No. 34, UNESCO: International Institute for Educational Planning <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0007/000756/075620eo.pdf> printed by the International Institute for Educational Planning Paris, July 1974. see also Federal Government of Nigeria. (1961). *Report of the Commission Appointed to Review the Educational System of Western Nigeria, Dec. 1960 to Jan. 1961 (Banjo Commission)*. Lagos: Government Printer.

- a. To create a desire for learning,
- b. Skill acquisition and preparation for manual work,
- c. Permanent Literacy,
- d. Understanding of the community (and local) values
- e. Training on good moral behaviour and standard ⁵⁰⁶

The Western Nigeria Education review commission of 1960 was established to find ways of improving on the lofty ideals of basic education that was proving difficult to be realised. Paramount among the problems facing education at this period of a desired rapid expansion of schools and enrolment was the lack of sufficient and qualified teachers. “A new training institution was, therefore, created to offer a two-year post-primary modern school course leading to the award of Grade III teacher certificates. By January 1960, 8,694 teachers of this cadre were already in the system in addition to 5,623 Grade II, 328 Grade I and 26,000 untrained teachers (pupil-teachers). By 1961, there was already a consensus of opinion that the Grade III teachers were no more needed or useful in the system. The Banjo Commission which reviewed the educational system of the region in 1961, said: ‘Evidence is conclusive that the products of the Grade III college are not of a high quality as is educationally desirable, and so there is no need to prolong unduly a course which has outlived its usefulness’” ⁵⁰⁷

The Banjo Commission also proposed other reforms and suggestions for improving the standard of education especially at the primary and foundational level, so that the Secondary School level would be better managed. One of these was in the attention to details and expansion of the school curriculum. It was not enough to make a list of the contents of the

506 The Cambridge Conference on African Education took place in September 1952. See Alan Peshkin, (1965). Educational Reform in Colonial and Independent Africa. *African Affairs*, 64(256), 210-216. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/719708>

507 Michael Ade Ogunyemi, (1974). *Primary School Curriculum Reform in the Western State of Nigeria*, HEP Occasional Papers No. 34. (Paris: UNESCO: International Institute for Educational Planning), 12. <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0007/000756/075620eo.pdf>

various subjects, but to produce local textbooks and teaching aids to enable both students and teachers to produce a better quality of the learning experience. For example, one weakness of Religious Education at this time was that “Five periods were allocated to this subject, but the syllabus was completely silent on what was to be taught and how to teach it. It was, therefore, left to the initiative of the poorly equipped teachers and their visiting priests to arrange optimum use of the five periods, most of which was spent on the teacher’s private studies”.⁵⁰⁸ For a subject that has as its objective “the development of sound standards of individual conduct and behaviour”,⁵⁰⁹ the Christian community and local theologians as well as educators were challenged to develop a more professional textbook for Christian Religious Education especially in the Primary and Secondary schools.

This led to the creation of a new ‘Syllabus Review Committee’ in 1971. They focused on specific subjects in the syllabus and tried to resolve the problems of not having adequate books are culturally suitable for teaching especially in the primary schools. “The committees were expected to proceed after the outline syllabuses: (i) to draw up Teachers’ Manuals to be used with each syllabus; (ii) to recommend suitable books and teaching aids for the effective teaching of the subject; (iii) to examine and recommend appropriate teaching approaches suitable for each subject; and (iv) to encourage writes and authors to produce appropriate texts for primary schools through induction courses and workshops on the scope and content of the curriculum.”⁵¹⁰

508 Michael Ade Ogunyemi, (1974). *Primary School Curriculum Reform in the Western State of Nigeria*, HEP Occasional Papers No. 34. (Paris: UNESCO: International Institute for Educational Planning), 14. <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0007/000756/075620eo.pdf>

509 Ibid.

510 Ibid., 16.

Most of these trainings and workshops were facilitated by the academic professionals from the University of Ife and the University of Ibadan that were situated in the Western Region and provided technical support to the entire process of standardising the curriculum for the basic schools. The National syllabus for the different subjects were structured into units and modules. These were taken from the already established philosophy of Nigerian Education and then packaged into specific academic subjects (sometimes with the introduction of a new name). For example, Christian Religious Education as a subject in secondary schools have had its name changed at different periods in the development of the syllabus to achieve a more precise and evolving meaning. The same subject has been called 'Bible Knowledge' (BK), 'Christian Religious Knowledge' (CRK), 'Christian Religious Studies' (CRS) and 'Christian Religious Education' (CRE). In this ongoing process of curriculum development, the basic principles of having a pedagogical method that is systematic has always been the goal. These principles have been shaped by the influences of socio-economic factors that have marked the history of the country especially slavery, colonisation, civil wars and poverty. This influence also comes from external situations that are noticed from other countries especially those that are within the same African continent or region. For example, in the study of languages in schools, the multi ethnic situation of the country and historical ties to previous ancient local kingdoms means that different local languages have to be introduced to the school curriculum. And local teachers needed to be trained to teach them and books have to be produced. Similarly, the introduction of the French language in the curriculum could be attributed to the fact that many neighbouring countries to Nigeria are Francophone. Some subjects with previous names in the primary schools during the colonial era were also changed. For example, 'History' and 'Geography', were combined into a subject called 'Social Studies'. But in the Secondary School programme, 'History' and 'Geography' stand alone as separate subjects. These kinds

of arrangements and structuring were part of the indigenisation and creative contribution that the new country was designing at that time.

As can be imagined, new textbooks with local contents would have to be created to meet the needs of the new curriculum, and this created opportunities and challenges for the teachers and writers who are experts on the various subjects. African theologians who relied on foreign books on the Catechism and Bible Knowledge also had to engage in the local process of producing textbooks for different classes. These were based on doctrinal, theological, philosophical and pastoral themes that meet the national goals of education and holistic formation of the students. These books would have very clear ‘Goals’, ‘Learning Objectives’, ‘Materials to be used’, ‘Facts and Principles to be grasped’, ‘Values and Behavioural skills to be achieved’ and ‘Evaluation and Verification at the end of the process’.

The Banjo Commission’s emphasis on structural reform has helped the nation to have a professional outlook to the educational sector of the country. This structure is what makes it possible for constant dialogue and reflection to take place within the different academic disciplines in the Universities as they map out strategic plans for the technological and cultural development of the country with specific reference to the primary and secondary schools. With the success of these early commissions, the interest in formal education became very high not only in the Western Region but all over the country. Many people who were not interested in education or could not afford it, got new opportunities to go to primary school. The numbers became so high that there was too much demand for secondary schools and as a spill over, it was the same for the demands for tertiary institutions. In all three levels of primary, secondary and tertiary, there was a population explosion that could not be contained by the managerial, financial and technological capacity of the government. “The commission’s report, which

could be applied verbatim to many developing countries faced with the problem of developing a modern educational structure, was accepted by the government. The commission made several recommendations for the improvement of education in the region. It recommended, for example, that: (a) untrained teachers should gradually be eliminated from schools; (b) the improvement of teachers' conditions of service and the promotion of efficient teachers to the highest professional grades be made; (c) reduction of lower classes to 40 pupils per class be implemented; (d) compulsory registration of births by local authorities be carried out; and (e) better means and ways of checking school accounts be found."⁵¹¹

A critique of the Banjo Commission noted that some of the proposals are still yet to be achieved because they were too expensive to be implemented. Other reasons include the complex challenges of steps needed to train and equip the educational sector to meet the recommended standard take time and consistency to be realised.⁵¹² Subsequent commissions like the Taiwo commission of 1967⁵¹³, will build upon the recommendations of the Banjo commission especially in the aspect of curriculum and local textbook design and production. Similarly, publishers of Christian Education textbooks were also influenced by this report.

The Catholic schools that had trained many of the early students also found these students leaving the Catholic church and using the same structural style to establish new Independent

511 John C. S. Musaazi, *Planning and development in education: African perspectives*. (Oxfordshire, England; New York: Routledge, 2014), 67.

512 Gaudencio V. Aquino. *Curriculum Planning for Better Schools* (2nd ed.). Manila: Rex Books (1998), 627. For the effect of the numerical growth as a result of the influence of the various education commissions and ideas for expansion of the sector see John C. S. Musaazi, *Planning and development in education: African perspectives*. (Oxfordshire, England; New York: Routledge, 2014), 69-82.

513 The Taiwo commission was set up in October 1967 made up of 20 people. They reviewed the education development in the Western Region with a view to 'raising' the moral and scientific standards. They recommended a more detailed investment on the Syllabi and Curriculum, structural construction and management of schools, upgrading teachers, investment on library and books for the students and merging of weaker schools. See John C. S. Musaazi, *Planning and development in education: African perspectives*. (Oxfordshire, England; New York: Routledge, 2014), 67-68.

African Churches and ordained their own bishops and clergy, and developed their doctrines from a theological understanding of the bible that they had read and understood. The rise of local churches and Christian religious sects in Nigeria took its roots from the era of the proliferation of education.

5.3.5 Structure of the Nigerian Educational system

5.3.5.1 Numerical and yearly arrangements

One of the recommendations of the Ashby Report was the restructuring of the school curriculum and the introduction of a four-year (instead of three) university programme. This is to be preceded by a gradual termination of the sixth form of the secondary school. Before 1950 the system was 8-year primary, 5-year secondary, 2-year higher school and 3-year for university. When the regional government started taking over schools from the missionaries an attempt was made to unify all the various systems within the structure and a 7-year primary, 5-year Secondary, 2-year higher Secondary (A level) and 3-year University was introduced especially in the Western Region around 1953.

With the 1977 National Policy on Education based on various past education commissions, the 6-year primary, 3-year Junior Secondary and 3-year Senior Secondary system was adopted. Universities remained a 4-year minimum programme. The provision for what is considered 'basic education' was extended (in 1992) till the end of the Junior Secondary School. This means that the Nigerian child should be able to have at least 9 years of (basic) education from (6-year) primary to (3-year) junior secondary school.

Before 1950	
8 yrs.	Primary
5 yrs.	Secondary
2 yrs.	Higher School Certificate HSC
3 yrs.	Tertiary-College/University

Table 31. Structure of the Nigerian Educational system before 1950

1977 National Policy	
7 yrs.	Primary
5 yrs.	Secondary
2 yrs.	Higher School Certificate HSC
4 yrs.	Tertiary- College/University

Table 33. Structure of the Nigerian Educational system 1977

From 1953 (starting from the Western Region)	
7 yrs.	Primary
5 yrs.	Secondary
2 yrs.	Higher School Certificate HSC
4 yrs.	Tertiary- College/University

Table 32. Structure of the Nigerian Educational 1953

1992 Basic Education extended from 6-9 years	
9 yrs.	Basic 1-6 (primary) Basic 7-9 (Junior Secondary)
3 yrs.	Higher School Certificate HSC
4 yrs.	Tertiary-College/University

Table 34. Structure of the Nigerian Educational system 1992

5.3.5.2 Components' Structure

In addition to the numerical structure of duration for the years of study, the Nigerian school system in general also has the common principles of the 'components' of any effective educational organisation. It looks at the core triad factors of the Teacher-Student-Material; the productive design of the Curriculum-Methodology-Assessment; and the qualitative output of Social-Moral-Economic.

Components' Structure		
<i>Basic Elements</i>	<i>The Productive Design</i>	<i>The Qualitative Output</i>
Teacher-Student-Material	Curriculum-Methodology-Assessment	Social-Moral-Economic

Table 35. Education process with 3 major Components of Basic Elements, Design and Quality.

In the case of Christian Religious Education, the 'Teacher' would normally be one who not only has knowledge about the Christian faith but also believes and practices it.⁵¹⁴ The 'Students' are usually from Christian homes or open to learning about the Christian faith with a view to arrive at a point of conversion at some stage in life. They affirm this by also being open to liturgical and pastoral services that are involved in the practical aspect of learning the subject. The subject is made up the sacred scripture, catechetical and spiritual literature that help to get a clear and localised understanding of the Christian religion as a way of life.

514 It is questionable to teach without practicing the faith just like other professional academic disciplines that involves practice (like medicine and engineering). Other questions are what are the materials used for teaching CRE, who prepares them, who certifies them from the ministry of education or the academic body of Christian religious education teachers or from the Christian association of Nigeria or from the different Christian theological associations? In the methodology one may question where the practical aspects of the faith get expressed in the learning process with regards to liturgy, sacrament and social justice? What is the value of the academic certificate which at the moment does no prepare the students for ministry? And morally, one may ask how the CRE education process contributes to national issues of peace, security, protection of the environment, poverty and economic growth? All of these affect the shaping of the contents of curriculum.

In the design of Curriculum, detailed breakdown of substantive themes of the Christian religion are distributed over a period of the duration of the Secondary School years. This breakdown is what forms the specific syllabus for each year (class) and helps the teachers and school management to create the weekly scheme of work. The methodology for teaching and learning depends on the system of learning obtainable in the country. In the case of Nigeria, most teaching is done in the classroom by direct communication between students and teachers using the prescribed text books. For some few wealthy schools, there have been the introduction of modern technological devices for media and illustrative inputs. The curriculum design which is broken down in the class syllabi is evaluated annually by different types academic tests and examinations. The most common form is the written exam of multiple-choice questions in essay format or short precise answers. The validation of the assessment is done by the subject teacher by awarding marks (either as a continuous accumulative assessment) or grades to indicate the level of progress made (in the case of a final Secondary School leaving certificate exam).

The third and perhaps the most difficult part of the components structure of the teaching CRE is the qualitative. This is where one may argue about the impact of religious education in the school curriculum. Socially it asks if there is an atmosphere of peace, mutual respect and ethnic tolerance among the staff and students in the school. For example, the capacity for them to celebrate the Eucharistic meal together in a Catholic school with sufficient spiritual preparation, should reflect in the non-discriminative style of the school administration and interaction among the students. There should not be tensions among staff members about the appropriate response the school management should have with assisting poor and physically challenged students, since they are guided by the principles of the social teachings of the Church. The 'Moral' compass of the school should not be a matter of debate as it is based on

bible principles and the ease of instilling adequate discipline in the school should confirm the effectiveness of CRE in the lives of the students. In a Nigerian setting where prayers are said at home, in the school and in church; young people live with daily spiritual awareness of the acceptable Christian ethics. They can also identify situations where such moral understandings are lacking. The top performance in national exams of students in Christian schools in all subjects make them national ‘economic’ assets in improving the technological and financial standards of the country. Many non-Christian families have allowed their children to acquire a Catholic education because of this advantage. As far as reputation is concerned, it is common knowledge that the discipline level in mission schools have been rated higher than other schools at least within the school premises.

5.3.5.3 Structure in type of Secondary schools

The structure of education in Nigeria has evolved over the last few decades since independence in 1960. The Secondary School curriculum has also been designed in different ways to meet with the changing educational system of the country. The absorption of the various systems used by the missionary and colonial methods of education in the past, resulted in a situation whereby different options of schooling are now available, especially at the secondary level. Over the years there have been different types of secondary schools with emphasis on the following:

- (a) Grammar,
- (b) Technical,
- (c) Teacher training,
- (d) Commercial/business,
- (e) Science/academic,
- (f) Craft.

There were different secondary schools located in specific towns or villages that focused on any one of these aspects. That is why today we find different post primary schools having various prefixes like ‘college’, ‘grammar’, ‘technical’, ‘commercial’, ‘high’, ‘demonstration’, or simply ‘secondary’. All of these schools in the South taught Christian Religious Education in addition to the scientific, linguistic or artistic slant they had when they were established.

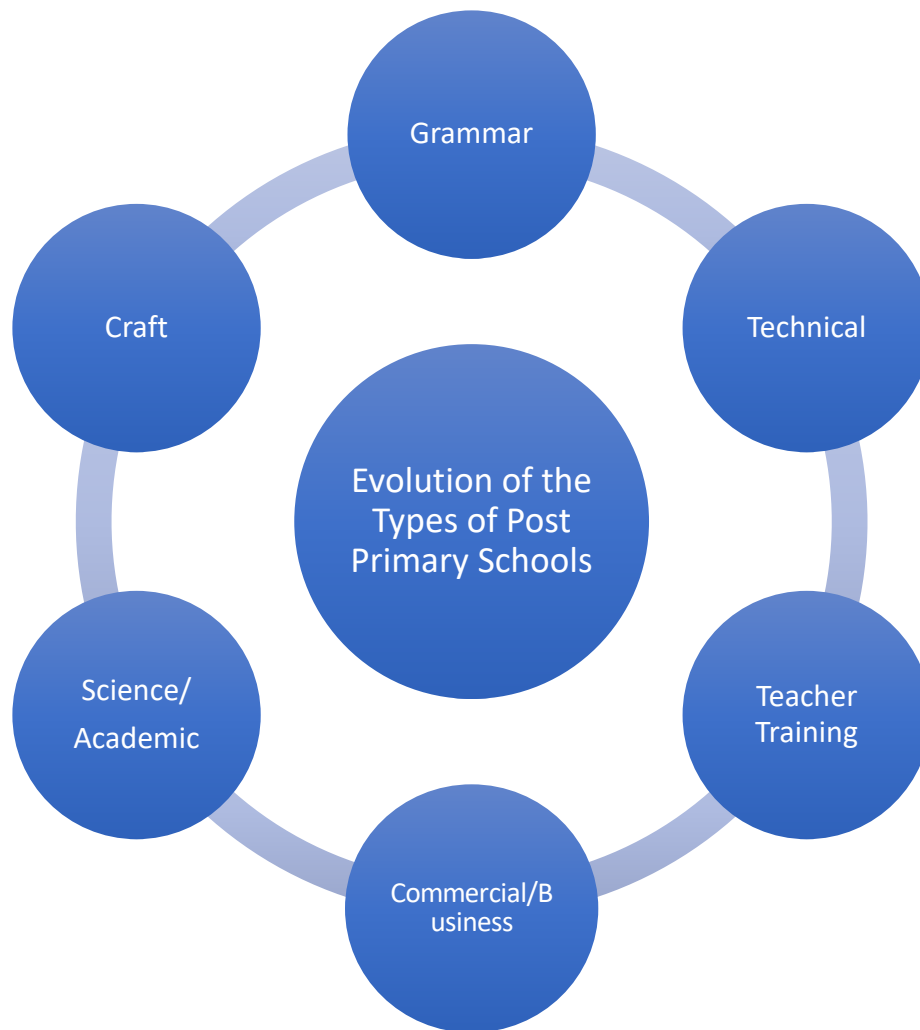


Chart 22. Post Primary (Secondary) Schools

This could be attributed to the legacy of their foundations, the parental interest in Religious Education and the influence of Christian missionaries. The goals of secondary education to be achieved by the structure included the following:

- I. To develop scientific knowledge
- II. Skill acquisition

- III. Improve dignity of labour
- IV. Development of critical and practical thinking
- V. Effective communication
- VI. Self-care in health and personal hygiene
- VII. Contribute to the growth of the local community
- VIII. Citizenship and cultural awareness
- IX. Economic and financial competence
- X. Clear sense of human ethical and moral standards
- XI. Awareness of global knowledge and cultures
- XII. Personal emotional and psychological growth
- XIII. Value for recreation, leisure and sports
- XIV. Sense of family and livelihood
- XV. Sense of personal responsibility ⁵¹⁵

The constant challenges of population; quality, infrastructure, human and technological resources have caused these structures not to be effectively utilised.

5.4 Publications and early Publishers of indigenous textbooks for Christian Religious Education in Nigeria

From 1846, the Hope Waddel Press in Calabar introduced printing of Christian religious materials in Nigeria. This was soon followed in 1854 by Henry Townsend in the South-Western part of the country and, later, he began the publishing of the first local newspaper in Abeokuta. Though the mission press of Townsend ended in 1867, the foundation of indigenous publications was already laid by Christian missionaries in the Southern part of the country

515 Cf. Fafunwa, 190-204.

(Calabar and Lagos areas).⁵¹⁶ Others local printing houses include those established by Robert Cambell (1862), and Richard Blaize (1875 Caxton Press). Around 1910 there was already a good printing business with more than five local printing houses in the Lagos area both for Christian missionary Education publications and especially for the newspaper business.⁵¹⁷

After the missionaries, the colonial government established a government press in Lagos in 1914 and other private and missionary groups established more publishing houses like the Tika-Tore Press of Mr Adeshigbin in 1910, the Christian Missionary Society (CMS) in 1913, Awoboh Press by Pearce Samuel in 1920, Hope Rising Press by Mr Ajibade in 1923 and the Nigerian Printing and Publishing Company in 1925. In the 1920s, there were also some accounts of the growth of book publishing in the northern part of the country as recorded by Miller:

Anyone who has visited Lagos and seen the magnificent pile of buildings belonging to the C.M.S. Bookshop will not be surprised that this enterprising agency turned its eyes to the Northern Provinces. Mr. C. W. Wakeman, whose business capacity and great faith had already made him a power in all kinds of good works in Lagos, saw to the possibility of extending it up-country. With the permission of the Administration and on the basis of certain definite conditions, branch bookshops were started at Kano, Zaria, and Kaduna. The Rev. and Mrs. J. F. Cotton came up in 1921 to start the shops, and laid the foundation of a very useful work. The business has grown, especially in Kano,

516 See Abdul-Rasheed Afolabi, (2015, February 8). A Brief History of Printing in Nigeria. *The Nigerian Voice*. Retrieved from <https://www.thenigerianvoice.com/news/169311/a-brief-history-of-printing-in-nigeria.html>, citing Daramola Ifedayo, History and development of mass media in Nigeria. (Lagos: Rothan Press Ltd., 2006), 11.

517 Cf. Ibid., citing Daramola Ifedayo, History and development of mass media in Nigeria. (Lagos: Rothan Press Ltd., 2006), 11, and M. Echeruo, (1976). 'History of the Nigerian press'. In The Story of the Daily Times 1926-1976. Lagos: Daily Times of Nigeria Ltd., 7.

and the premises there have been most useful for visitors. The main purpose, however, from the first has been to secure good literature, for the colony and protectorate, and to circulate all publications of religious and other healthy literature, whether translations into the various languages or works in English which were suited to the education of the country⁵¹⁸

The Nigerian Printing and Publishing Company as well as other privately-owned printing presses by people like Washington Osilaja (Ife Olu Press), Thomas P. C. (Ekabo Press) and Tanimola Press owned by Mr Babamuboni were all engaged in the growing Newspaper business. By 1933 the 'Printing Press Regulation Ordinance' was promulgated to regulate the sector especially with the expansion of the government press to other parts of the country and to that Cameroons. This increased the number of both missionary, private and government publishing houses to more than 30 by 1930. Some of this expansion and supply of machinery was made possible by the influence of some publishing houses in Britain like the Daily Mirror of London. This boosted the local publishing sector till the time of independence in 1960.⁵¹⁹ From 1940, there was the phenomenon of the publication of non-academic booklets and romance literature known as the 'Onitsha Market Literature' that was influenced by Cyprian Ekwensi (1921-2007) in the South and later in the North, known as the 'Kano Market Literature'.⁵²⁰ The Kano Market literature represents the simple 'love stories' (hence the name

518 Miller and Church Missionary Society, 1936, 143.

519 Cf Afolabi, citing M. Echeruo, (1976). *History of the Nigerian Press*, in *The Story of the Daily Times 1926-1976*. Lagos: Daily Times of Nigeria Ltd., 7.

520 The 'Kano Market Literature' which is more recent dates back to the 80s while the Onitsha Market Literature can be traced back to the early writing of Cyprian Ekwensi like *Ikolo The Wrestler and other Ibo Tales* and *When Love Whispers* in 1947. These were followed by many others. He represents the other writers of the 'Onitsha Market Publishers' at that time who were publishing simple easy reading materials before independence. For previous works on the 'Onitsha and Kano Markets Publications' see Donatus Ibe Nwoga, (1965). *Onitsha Market Literature*. *Transition*, (19), 26-33. doi:10.2307/2934655. See also Emmanuel Obiechina, (2008). *Market literature in Nigeria*. *Kunapipi*, 30(2). Retrieved from <http://ro.uow.edu.au/kunapipi/vol30/iss2/11/> and also Emmanuel N. Obiechina, *Onitsha Market Literature* (London: Heinemann Educational), 1972. For a previous historical review of the Kano Market Literature especially as it affects the present print and media scenario of Nigeria today see Yusuf M. Adamu, (2002). *Between the word and the screen: A historical perspective on the*

‘Soyayya books’) and other domestic writings often in the local Hausa language from indigenous authors around the Kano area and beyond.

Among the top European publishers that came to be established and promoted the local literature in Nigeria are Oxford University Press (1948), Evans Brother (1956), Heinemann Educational Books (1961), Longman Nigeria Plc. (1961) and Macmillan Nigeria Publishers (1963). Today there are more than 100 publishing houses all over the country both small and big. A large number of them are involved in printing local textbooks for primary and Secondary School education.

Adimorah explains that publishing was still underdeveloped in Nigeria in 1983, stating that the ‘indexing’ of books by publishers still needed improvement. The early indigenous publishers he mentioned were Onibonoje Publishers, Nwamife Publishers and New Africa Publishers. Other local publishers were university publishers like the University of Ife Press, University of Nigeria Press, Univeristy of Ibadan Press and Ahmadu Bello University Press.⁵²¹

The choice of the publishing in English language was not as direct in the North as it was in the South. This was because of the Arabic and Islamic influence in some of the northern communities, and the sensitivity of the colonial government to the local custom of the people. From the writings of some of the missionaries we read about the challenges of choosing the language and script to publish the educational books:

During the first years of the British occupation an important literary question had to be settled. In what script should he literature which would be produced

Hausa Literary Movement and the home video invasion. *Journal of African Cultural Studies*, 15(2). 203-213. Retrieved from <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/1369681022000042655>
521 E. N. O. Adimora, (1983). Indexing and publishers in Nigeria: a plea. *The Indexer*, 13(4), 246-247. Retrieved from http://www.theindexer.org/files/13-4/13-4_246.pdf. Onibonoje Publishers began in 1958 see G. O. Onibonoje, (2016). Brief History of Onibonoje Publishers. Retrieved from <http://www.goonibonoje.com/about-us/>

be written: in Arabic, in Aljami, or in Roman? Scholars generally, a good many of the senior members of the administration notably Major Burdon, afterward Governor of Barbados and all those who for one reason or another felt that the connexion between Hausa and the East, that is Islam, should be maintained, wished for the retention of Arabic. To me this was a vital decision. There were many and obvious reasons why Arabic should be chosen: it had already been used in the Moslem schools of the country; it was the vehicle through which the literature that did exist in the country had been written; and, of far more weight, it was the one script which is venerated by all Moslems as being of heavenly origin, the character in which the 'holy' Koran had been written. To adopt another would be to fly in the face of all these powerful reasons and religious prejudices, for the Hausa people are strong Moslems. And yet I set myself, with my whole mind convinced, to go against the tide and fight for the introduction of the Roman character. It was far more easily learnt by children than the Arabic. But what urged me to unceasing endeavour to prevail on those who would ultimately decide this matter was the conviction that an intelligent nation of potential scholars would thus be drawn one day towards the great wealth and endless [end of page 200] storehouses of western literature, and come into the priceless heritage of Christian thought, rather than to the somewhat sterile Moslem literature and the religion of Islam

I am no bigot, and am far from depreciating some of the truly wonderful works written by the followers of the Prophet, specially those of the Sufi mystics. But I do not suppose there are many thinkers of our own race and

spiritual instincts who would compare the two literatures, or the effect which each has had on the human race.

Almost entirely through the weight of the influence of His Excellency the Governor (Sir Frederick Lugard) the matter was decided in the way for which I had striven. I think there are few, if any, now who would go back on this decision.

The popularity of the new writings, its easy adaptation to the Hausa language, and the rapidly-growing desire now among all the young people of the country for the English language and English books have confirmed the early decision made. In all the government and mission schools now throughout Nigeria the Roman script is used, and thus the north is united in a common writing and a common literature with the once pagan, and now partly Christian, partly Moslem, peoples of Southern Nigeria.⁵²²

The Nigerian Publishers Association was established in 1965 and during the indigenisation process they were faced with practical challenges of producing academic textbooks for schools. Prior to this time, the missionaries were the main publishers in the country and their legacy and contribution remain today in the publication of text books for Christian Religious Education. As Okojie mentions: “The Nigerian Publishers Association which was established in 1965 is ‘the only professional body and rallying point for book publishers in the country, which among other activities seeks to promote and protect the interest of the publishing industry in all fronts; promoting the development of a good reading culture in the country thereby enhancing book output and sales; developing better relationship between publishers and government agencies and parastatals concerned with book development; fighting in collaboration with the NCC

522 Miller and Church Missionary Society, 200-201.

against piracy; working closely with the various Ministries of Education on book reviews and curriculum in each state of the Federation’ - among other activities. The Association has about 100 members with major professional Associations in its fold”.⁵²³As more privately-owned publishing houses continue to expand in the 80s and 90s, the use of digital technology was introduced in the writing, editing and printing of books.

From the late 60’s onwards many local writers trained with the background of Western Education started producing locally made textbooks for the teaching of Christian religious education. Some samples are presented here for different decades from 1966 to the present. From the samplings of these indigenous writers one also notices the local publishing houses that were involved in the production of indigenous textbooks for the subject especially at the post primary level.

Some of the early schools are listed below from a previous research by Magnus Bassey, who explained that the process of developing an African (Nigerian) theology, was influenced by a rivalry between the different Christian missionary groups. They opened different schools to train the local people not only to gain general education but also for membership and future leadership and influence in their churches and in society.

523 Julius A. Okojie, The Nigerian Book Industry, Government policies and National Development in the Guardian 24 November 2014 <http://allafrica.com/stories/201411241409.html> This was part of a presentation at the conference of the Nigerian Publishers Association annual meeting at Ibadan. The meeting was held from 20-21 November 2014 at the Kakanfo Inn and Conference Centre. Professor Okojie was speaking in his capacity as the Secretary of the National Universities Commission of Nigeria, a position he held from 2006-2016.

Year	Name of School	Mission	Location
1859	CMS grammar school	C.M.S.	Lagos
1876	St Gregory's College	Catholic	Lagos
1878	Methodist Boys' high school	Methodist	Lagos
1879	Methodist girls' high school	Methodist	Lagos
1885	Baptist boys' high school	Baptist	Lagos
1895	Hope Waddell training Institute	C.S.M.	Calabar
1896	St Andrew's college	CMS	Oyo
1897	Baptist training College	Baptist	Ogbomosho
1904	St Paul's training College	CMS	Awka
1905	Oron Training Institute	Prim. Meth.	Oron
1905	Wesleyan Training Institute	Methodist	Ibadan
1908	Abeokuta Grammar school	CMS	Abeokuta
1909	King's college	Government	Lagos
1913	Eko Boy's high school	Private	Lagos
1913	Ibadan grammar school	CMS	Ibadan
1913	Ijebu-Ode grammar school	CMS	Ijebu-Ode
1919	Duke Town Secondary school	C.S.M.	Calabar
1919	Ondo Boys' High school	CMS	Ondo
1923	Ibo Boys' Institute	Prim. Meth.	Uzuakoli
1923	Baptist Boys' High school	Baptist	Abeokuta
1928	Dennis Memorial Grammar school	CMS	Onitsha
1928	United Missionary College	CMS-Meth	Ibadan
1928	St Thomas College	Catholic	Asaba
1929	St Charles' Training College	Catholic	Onitsha
1929	Government College	Government	Umuahia
1929	Government College	Government	Ibadan

Table 36. Post Primary school sector (Secondary and basic teacher training) by Christian missionaries⁵²⁴

524 Bassey, 79. Citing David B. Abernethy, *The Political Dilemma of Popular Education*, (Stanford, CA, 1969), 36.

5.5 Some Sampled publications in the 1970s

In 1973 *A Commentary on the Gospel According to St. Luke and Acts of the Apostles*⁵²⁵ was one of the books used for preparing students for the General Certificate of Education (G.C.E.) as well as the West African Examination Council examination on Bible Knowledge as the subject was called at that time. In addition to the biblical themes covered in the study of Luke-Acts, this textbook also contains a historical background of the Roman, Greek, Barbarian and Jewish cultures that need to be understood as one reads the texts of the Bible. Local African pictures and examples are adapted into the lessons to indigenise the contextual framework of the learning environment of the students. For example, mention is made of the famous book ‘Things Fall Apart’ (first published in 1958) by Chinua Achebe in the illustrations given in the book.

The first part of the Gospel of Luke contains the story of the persecution of Christians around AD 64 in Rome by the emperor Nero with a ‘superstitious’ accusation that the Christians were responsible for evils in the land by not worshipping the Roman gods.

⁵²⁵ J. J. Coutts and P. E. S. Thompson, *How the Christian Faith Began: A Commentary on the Gospel according to St. Luke and the Acts of the Apostles* (London: Longman 1973).

How the Christian Faith Began: A Commentary on the Gospel according to St. Luke and the Acts of the Apostles	
Part one Gospel according to Luke	Part two Acts of the Apostles
1. A deadly superstition	9. The mission field of Acts
2. Romans, Greeks, Barbarians and Jews	10. How Luke wrote the Acts of the Apostles
3. Palestine-Its rulers and its people	11. The church in Jerusalem-the promise of power
4. Introduction to Luke	12. Steps towards freedom
5. The birth and boyhood of Jesus	13. ‘The Great Leap Forward’- Peter on tour
6. The good news of the kingdom: the ministry in Galilee	14. Paul and Barnabas on tour-the ‘first missionary journey’
7. The road to Jerusalem	15. The council of Jerusalem
8. In Jerusalem	16. Paul and Silas on tour-the ‘second missionary journey’
	17. Paul on tour- the ‘third missionary journey’
	18. An ambassador in chains
	19. Journey to Rome

Table 37. Outline of contents of the 1973 Text book covering the sections of Luke and Acts of the Apostles⁵²⁶

The pattern of the is book especially in its adaption of local concepts and is what is also found in other textbooks that came up later on, for example, in a local publication of 1972 by

526 Coutts and Thompson, IV.

Akinyele, on the same part of the syllabus (Luke-Acts). Akinyele's textbook prepared Secondary School students for the aspects of Luke-Acts in the West African School Certificate (WASC) examination. It covers both books (Luke and Acts of the Apostles) by the same author (St. Luke) in two sections. One for the Gospel according to Luke and the other for the Acts of the Apostles. It is detailed in specific names of particular places and attempts to present the biblical context in a simplified way to the students in Nigeria. The overall method is in the usage of scriptural quotations and passages and by so doing keeping to the African interest in hermeneutics and pneumatology especially in Acts of the Apostles.⁵²⁷

John Nelson's *The Church: The People of God*⁵²⁸ was one of the books found in the archives of Bubendorff school in Anambra state. It presents a Catholic theological and catechetical explanation of the bible stories and, as a tool for pastoral instruction, was useful for the preparation for the sacraments and liturgical life of the students in the South Easter part of Nigeria. The emphasis of this text book is more theological and doctrinal. it was donated by the 'oversea' book centre from Montreal, Canada. At a time when the local books for teaching Christian Education in the country were still in their infancy, books like this were useful for teachers and students alike in addition to the Bible, as instructional materials. In the classification of this research it belongs to the materials published around 1970. Though the book was donated, the theological contents are consistent with the teachings of the early Christian missionaries who adapted such books in making the transition to local publications and preparations for local exams and reception of sacraments in the Church. In contains units in Reason and Faith, Fundamental Revelation (mystery of God), Church Fathers, the Reformation and the council of Trent.

527 J. I. Akinyele, A Textbook on Luke and Acts, (Ado-Ekiti: Omolayo Standard Press and Bookshops Co. Nigeria Limited, 1972).

528 John S. Nelson, *The Church: The People of God*, (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston Inc. 1966).

From the mid 70's some authors started focusing more on the examination question patterns in preparing the text books for the senior secondary school. Students were taught to answer 'context questions' whereby a passage from the syllabus is quoted at random and the student is expected to know who said what, to whom and at what occasion. This method of learning focused more on students memorizing key passages of scriptures so that the message of the text hopefully remains with them. It was similar to what students would also do when studying poems, prose, novels and plays in English literature. These books also had units for 'Essays' where students are taught to be able to read and comprehend a bible story or passage and then write them down using their own words. A third part is called the 'notes' session which basically involves short sentences and answers that are expected to be precise and succinct. One of such textbooks sampled in this research is *The Gospel According to St Matthew* by Quarcoopome. The contents include the birth stories, baptism and temptation, sermon on the mount, call and mission of the disciples, John the Baptist life and death, Sabbath controversy, parables, transfiguration, rich young man, Jesus in Jerusalem, the passion, death and resurrection.⁵²⁹

Quarcoopome, also published direct question and answer textbooks for examination preparation, targeting the students preparing for their final Secondary School exams in Bible Knowledge in the 70s. Like his contemporaries, he focused on specific parts of the syllabus thus having different publications for different sections of the same course. With the same format of Essays, Short Notes and Context Questions, this text book helps students to be familiar with the Gospel according to Saint Luke and Saint Matthew by explaining the life,

529 Cf. T. N. O. Quarcoopome, *The Gospel According to St. Matthew*, (Lagos: African University Press, 1976), 4. These themes will be all combined and reviewed in the making of the 1985 syllabus for Nigeria.

teachings and passion of Christ. It also prepares students to know how to answer questions during the ‘Bible Knowledge’ examinations. the emphasis is on knowing the biblical text and events.⁵³⁰

Another book published in Akure city in south Western Nigeria in 1978 for the use of Secondary School students was written by F. Marshall. This book focuses on the Acts of the Apostles. It contains illustrative notes, charts and maps on the geography, politics and authorship of Acts of the Apostles. The text book follows a method of outlining the full text of Acts with side notes and explanation in a full bible study style.⁵³¹

As can be noticed, most of these locally published textbooks for Bible Knowledge were designed to follow the contents of the syllabus and prepare the students for examinations. These exam-focused types of publications are influenced by the general perception of Secondary School education at time, when it was considered to be a stage of learning mainly for ‘certification’.⁵³²

In 1974 Liberia joined the West African Examination Council which was initially established in 1952 with the English-speaking countries of The Gambia, Nigeria, Ghana and Sierra Leone.

530 T. N. O. Quarcoopome, *The Gospel of St Luke: Questions and Answers for School Certificate and GCE ‘O’ Level Examinations*, (Ibadan: African Universities Press and Pilgrim Books Limited, 1975) and T. N. O. Quarcoopome, *The Gospel According to Matthew: Questions and Answers for School Certificate and GCE ‘O’ Level Examinations* (Ibadan: African Universities Press and Pilgrim Books Limited, 1976). It contains themes on the Gospel of Saint Matthew and presented in essays, explanatory notes and context questions.

531 F. Marshall, *The Acts of the Apostles*, Revised edition, (Akure: Olaiya Fagbamigbe Limited, 1978).

532 S. A. Adejunmobi, Some Thoughts on a History Syllabus in Western Nigeria Grammar Schools, *The High School Journal* (57)8 May 1974, 335-350. At that same period the 6-volume series of Robert Horton was also available for learning and though it was published in London, some copies were found during the field work for this research in Nigeria. The six volumes contain broad themes of Christian theology which did not focus mainly on preparations for exams and was useful for giving additional knowledge on the subject in the 1970s. The 6 volumes are 1. Stories of God’s People, 2. Stories of Jesus and His Teaching, 3. Early Bible Stories and Stories of the Prophets, 4. Stories of the Early Church, 5. What the Bible is and How it was Written, 6. Men who gave us our Faith and our Bible. See Robert H. Horton, *An introduction to the Bible* Vol. 1-6, (London: Edward Arnold, 1967).

The primary aim of this regional examination body was to maintain the standard of certification in school education as was previously conducted by the London and Cambridge universities for the region. In Nigeria, WAEC conducts the West African Senior School Certificate Examination (WASSCE). With a WAEC syllabus of Bible Knowledge of 1966, Onibonoje publishers of Ibadan produced a book for the subject by Oyetunji in 1971. This publication avoided theological interpretations and emphasised ‘history’ and ‘familiarization’ with the text. There was no direct linking of the biblical themes to local situations or adaptation at this time, though the writer and publisher were locals.⁵³³

5.6 Some sampled publications in the 1980s

In the following decade, the text books for Christian Religious Knowledge became more aligned with the Junior Secondary and Senior Secondary curriculum of the 6 3 3 4 System and the contents were more uniform. In 1982, Evans Publishers published a book combining Christian Religious Education and Moral instruction for Junior Secondary schools with an accompanying sequence of the same for teachers. Like many of the CRK publications, the books are written by multiple authors of different Christian denominations bringing together the theological and biblical experience of the different traditions.⁵³⁴

Arubalueze, Anyaegbu and Okeke wrote *Religious and Moral Instruction for Junior Secondary School* in three series for JSS 1-3 students. These authors are from Catholic and Protestant

533 N. O. Oyetunji, *Old Testament History and Religion book 2: Monarchy to Fall of Samaria*, (Ibadan: Onibonoje Press Publishers, 1971). This is in contrast to a similar book by John Nelson also used in Nigeria during the same period that focused on doctrine, social adaption and economic life. This book followed a ‘programme for the year’ like a syllabus. There are sub-teams for applied theology like ‘marriage and family’, ‘Development and Culture’, ‘Work, Economic and Social life’, relationship between the ‘Church and State’, ‘Light and Darkness’ John S. Nelson, *The Church: The People of God*, (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston Inc. 1966).
534 J. O. Awoalu, T. E. Ahunanya and P. A. Dopamu. *Religious and Moral Instruction for Junior Secondary Schools: Students book 3*, (Ibadan: Evans Brothers Nigeria Publishers Limited, 1982).

traditions. Every topic had a session of moral lessons with revision and test. This publication used illustrations and drawings from the Children's Bible by Hamlyn Publishing in 1978.⁵³⁵

1981, a book that focused on Religious Education with direct application to the local culture was written by Sonny Chijoke. This approach was a bit different from the other text books since it used themes of moral education. Some of the topics include: Corrupt or Bad Company, Lies and Truth, Boasting, Disobedience, Satisfaction/Contentment, Stealing, Humility/Meekness, Cheating/Trick/Fraud, Pride, Kindness, Suffering for Others/Sacrifice, Forgiveness, Gratitude/Show of Appreciation, Justice/Fair Play, Patience, Good-Name/Honour, Christian Concern for others, temptation, respect for Law and Authority.⁵³⁶

Another local author who used a different pattern in his publication is Adedope Adefolarin. In his book on the Old Testament, he developed 50 themes of the old testament that cover the Senior Secondary School curriculum and the Senior Secondary School Certificate Examination. The pattern goes from the creation story in Genesis to the Prophets and the fall of Jerusalem in Jeremiah chapter 37.⁵³⁷

The National Association of Bible Knowledge Teachers of Nigeria (NABKTN) in Anambra State published three textbooks for the three classes of Junior Secondary Schools. The project was put together after series of academic meetings and conferences. A group of 16 local experts selected from Catholic and Protestant traditions were involved in the publication. It follows the 6.3.3.4. curriculum. The format followed includes the outline of the topics as: 'Objectives', 'Presentation', 'Units' 'Application', 'Teaching Aids' and 'Evaluation'. For example, some of the themes of the JSS3 class include:

535 R. I. Arubaluaeze, J. O. Anyaegbu and E. L. Okeke Christian Religious Knowledge for Junior Secondary Schools year 2 (Aba: Standard Press Limited, 1987).

536 Sonny Chijioke, Moral and Religious Instruction for schools (Enugu: Sokar Publishing Company, 1981).

537 Adedope Adefolarin, Christian Religious Knowledge: Old Testament for Senior Secondary Schools (Lagos: Landmark Publications Limited, 1988).

- The promise of the Holy Spirit
- Early days of the Church
- Early life of Saint Paul
- Spreading of the Church outside Palestine
- Controversies among the early Christian believers
- Further spread of the Church.

In the moral sections of these biblical themes, examples are made with the local situations of conflicts, unity, joyful celebrations and challenges. For example, in the section on the ‘Further spread of the Church’ mentioned is made of the missionary mandate of Jesus Christ (like Matt 16:18, Mark 16:15-18, Matt 28:19-20) and the influence of the Pauline missionary expansions in the early Church (like Acts 1-12-from Jerusalem to Samaria, Acts. 9-12- in Palestine, Acts 13-15- to Asia Minor, Acts 16-28 to Rome and Europe).⁵³⁸

The examples of the early missionaries in Nigeria are also taught, like the influence of the ‘Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith from 1622. The history and contribution of the early Christian missionaries are also taught. These include the Roman Catholic Mission (RCM) with different missionary Orders, the Methodist Mission (in Abeokuta from 1842), the Church Missionary Society (C.M.S.) from 1845, the Church of Scotland Mission from 1847 in Calabar. The localisation of the biblical themes extends to such issues as new indigenous churches called ‘religious movements’ and the effect of the rapid growth of local church leaders through seminary formation, and sending of local missionaries from Nigeria to other countries from within and outside the continent. The proliferation of churches and religious freedom is also contained in the text of this book citing the legal provision of religious freedom in section

538 National Association of Bible Knowledge Teachers of Nigeria (NABKTN). (1989). *Christian Religious Education for Junior Secondary Schools books 1, 2, 3*. O. P. Achebe, E. N. Aghaegbhuna, E. I. Alutu, and L. N. Okonkwo (Eds.), (Onitsha, Nigeria: Jet Publishers Nigeria Limited). 88-89.

35 paragraph 1 of the Nigerian Constitution which states that: “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 either in public or in private) to manifest and propagate his religion or belief in worship, teaching, practice and observance”.⁵³⁹

In the preface to 3 Junior Secondary Schools textbooks published in the early 80s, the influence of the Bible Knowledge Teachers Association is mentioned, as they were actively involved in the development of the contents. This 1983 publication “follows closely the syllabus drawn up by the National Association of Bible Knowledge Teachers of Nigeria and is being developed by the Nigerian Education Research Council, and is based on those passages of the Revised Standard Version of the Bible which have been selected for study. Book 2 is a continuation of Book 1, and Book 3 a continuation of Book 2: for this reason, the three books should be regarded as one”⁵⁴⁰ The outline of the 3 books includes (a), the Bible texts to be studied, (b), Morals from the passage, (c) Class activity and (d) Home Work. All this with a view of teaching the Christian ethos from a Biblical perspective in accordance to the provision of the laws of the country. It is also expected that the teacher would add their own personal experience to deepen the understanding of scriptures with the aid of the textbook to promote Christian ethics and knowledge of the Bible. This implies that the teacher is expected to be in support of the promotion of Christian biblical values and belief.

539 National Association of Bible Knowledge Teachers of Nigeria (NABKTN). (1989). *Christian Religious Education for Junior Secondary Schools books 1, 2, 3*. O. P. Achebe, E. N. Aghaegbhuna, E. I. Alutu, and L. N. Okonkwo (Eds.). (Onitsha, Nigeria: Jet Publishers Nigeria Limited), 103. Citing Federal Military Government of Nigeria. *The Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria*. (Lagos: Ministry of Information, Printing Division, 1979). Section 35 paragraph 1 of the Nigerian Constitution.

540 F. Adugbo, E. N. Aghaegbhuna, R. H. Horton, and J. A. Ilori, (Eds.). (1983). *Christian Religious knowledge: Bible studies and moral Instruction for Junior Secondary Schools Book 1, 2, 3*. (Ibadan: African University Press, and London: Edward Arnold Publishers. In association with the National Association of Bible Knowledge Teachers of Nigeria, 1983).

For example, In Book 1, the textbook devotes the first chapter to exploring the ‘Ideas of God in Nigeria’ by emphasising inculturation and studying in the local context. It presents the traditional understanding of the supernatural before the coming of the Islamic and Christian religions into the country. Concepts of the supernatural, sense of the sacred, traditional practices and customs, totems and taboos that is based on a certain understanding of nature and use of reason. “For people who farm, hunt and fish to feed themselves, natural things- the changing seasons, sun and moon, night and day, vegetation and crops, hills and valleys, life itself may easily become awe-inspiring. It is also natural also for people to ask how the world came into being, and why the world is as it is, and to suppose that the answer to these questions is to be found in the existence of a Supernatural Being. Traditionally, then, Nigerians believe that a Supreme Being is in complete control of the universe and watches over the spiritual as well as the physical world. In some traditional religions, in Nigeria as elsewhere, people worship a number of other gods or spirits as well as a Supreme Being, but the Supreme Being is in charge of these lesser spiritual beings. Thus there is a belief in only one God who is all powerful, all knowing and ever present”⁵⁴¹

The students with a background of this kind are immediately introduced into the vast arena of world religions, and from a local perspective are able to see the diversity of religions in other parts of Africa and the rest of the world. More significantly for biblical studies, they are also prepared to understand the relationship the people of Israel had when dealing with other gods and traditions around them. The journey from polytheism to monotheism in Judaism is also understood with this background.

541 Ibid., 1.

Tribe	Local name for God	Translation
Edo	<i>Osa-nobua</i> <i>Osa-Nakpame</i> <i>Osa-Nudazi</i>	Source and sustainer of all The great moulder, ‘artist’, maker The impregnable, mysterious
Birom	<i>Dagwi</i>	Father of the sun
Yoruba	<i>Olodumare</i> <i>Olorun</i> <i>Olorun Alaye</i> <i>Olorun Alanu</i> <i>Olorun Olore</i>	Supreme, Almighty Heavenly Lord The Living one Merciful God Beneficent God
Igbo	<i>Chineke</i> <i>Chukwu</i>	Creator God Spirit in Heaven
Ibibio	<i>Abasi</i>	Heavenly God director of the universe
Tiv	<i>Anodos</i>	Sustainer God
Urhobo	<i>Oghene</i> <i>Orhorwara</i>	God The feared awesome one

Table 38. Some samples of names of God in some Nigerian local languages illustrated ⁵⁴²

The understanding of God as Creator, Almighty, Supreme, a benefactor and Spirit is part of the worldview of the local people who are being prepared to the engage with Biblical studies.

542 Ibid., 3.

Outline of contents		
Book 1	Book 2	Book 3
<p>Ideas of God in Nigeria</p> <p>The knowledge of the books of the Bible</p> <p>The account of the Creation</p> <p>The fall of man and its consequence</p> <p>Abraham</p> <p>Jacob</p> <p>Joseph</p> <p>Israel freed from Slavery (Moses)</p> <p>Wilderness experiences</p> <p>God's Covenant with Israel</p> <p>Joshua assumes leadership</p> <p>Judges</p> <p>Ruth</p> <p>Israel asks for a King (Eli, Samuel, Saul)</p> <p>David</p> <p>Solomon</p>	<p>Prophets (9 units) [Who were the prophets? God's care for Elijah at Cherith and Zarepheth, Elijah and the prophets of Baal, Elijah and Naboth's vineyard, The last days of Elijah, Amos, Sins of Israel's neighbours, Sins of Israel, God's plan for Israel: a ray of hope]</p> <p>The Southern Kingdom and the exile (8 units) [Hezekiah and Isaiah, Josiah, Jeremiah, Fall of Jerusalem, Exile and Daniel, Fiery furnace, Daniel and the Lions, Return from exile]</p> <p>John the Baptist (Birth and mission, death in prison)</p> <p>The coming of Christ (Birth, wise men, childhood of Jesus)</p>	<p>Some people Jesus met (the rich young man; Mary, Martha, Lazarus and Zacchaeus)</p> <p>The Jewish authorities (leaders) (Sabbath controversies of the cornfield and healing of the man with a withered hand...)</p> <p>Entry to Jerusalem</p> <p>The early Church</p> <p>Missionary Journeys of Paul</p>

	<p>Baptism and early ministry of Jesus (Baptism and temptation, Nicodemus, Samaritan woman, call of the disciples)</p> <p>The public ministry of Jesus (God as a loving Father, forgiving Father, Beatitudes, fasting and prayer, material wealth and worries, condemning and Judging others)</p> <p>Parables and miracles (kingdom of heaven, properties, second coming of Christ, Healing miracles,</p> <p>Jesus and his disciples (Instruction to the 12, Peter's Confession at Caesarea Philippi, Transfiguration)</p>	
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Table 39. Samples in contents of books 1, 2 and 3

Towards the end of the 80s, the African University press at Ibadan published the textbooks for Christian Religious Education and Moral Instruction for Junior Secondary Schools. All authors are Africans and their contributions to the teaching of the subject follow the themes in the

national syllabus. For the Junior Year 2, all the themes can be considered a basic introduction to Christology as can be seen from the sample below.

Term	Theme	Unit
First term	The Early Life of Jesus	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. preparation for the coming of Jesus Christ 2. the birth of Jesus Christ 3. the childhood of Jesus Christ
	Jesus prepares for his ministry	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The Baptism of Jesus Christ 2. The Temptation of Jesus Christ 3. Jesus calls his disciples
	Jesus welcomes all people	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Jesus and the elite: Nicodemus 2. Jesus and rejected: Samaritan woman 3. Jesus and sinners: Adulterous woman

Table 40. Sample of the first term Christological content of a Second Year of Junior Secondary School textbook of 1988⁵⁴³

The same year (1988), Alutu and Okonkwo, also published a book on ‘Revision Questions and Answers’ for Christian Religious Education for Junior Secondary Schools by a local publishing company at Onitsha city in south eastern part of Nigeria. Local books of this kind are attractive to students who are preparing for examination as they focus specifically on the CRE examination.⁵⁴⁴

Most of the publications that were made by local writers for the teaching of Bible Knowledge from 1985 followed the syllabus that was prepared by the federal government after previous

543 A. Ilori, M. Daudu, T. N. Quarcoopome, and A. J. Obinna, *Christian Religious Education and Moral Instruction for Junior 2*. (Ibadan: African University press, 1998).

544 Cf. E. I. Alutu and L.N. Okonkwo, *Christian Religious Education for Junior Secondary Schools: Revision questions and answers* (Onitsha: Jet Publishers Nigeria Limited, 1988).

reviews and studies. Ilesanmi Press was one of the local publishers that promoted the local writers by publishing their school textbooks including those of Christina Religious Studies.⁵⁴⁵

5.7 Some sampled publications in the 1990s

Ilesanmi publishers continued the promotion of local authors of Christian Religious Education into the 1990s. It is important to note how the name of the subject in the books published in the 70's was called *Bible Knowledge* –B.K. and now in 1990 called *Christian Religious Studies* –CRS). For the three years of Senior Secondary School (SSS), the contents followed strictly the 6.3.3.4 syllabus, which is designed in themes. For example, in Senior Year 2, theme 4, unit 1 is titled 'Parental Responsibility' and it includes the studying of 1 Samuel chapters 1-4 on the story of Eli. This is followed in Unit 2 with the story of King Asa and in the Southern Kingdom of Judah in 1 King 15-22. While students are taught the consequences of good and bad parenting, the examples and models are taken from the Biblical stories to make the faith story practical in understanding present human challenges. The same pattern is followed for other themes like 'Disobedience to God and Consequences', (1 Samuel 10-15, story of king Saul), 'Supremacy of God' (1 Kings 16-19, story of Elijah) and 'Concern for one's Nation' with examples from the books of 2 Kings and Nehemiah. Like other textbooks, they also include *Summary, Moral Lessons, Revision and Question* sections for students to master. An example of one of these publications sampled in this research is the book written by R. T. Faniku.⁵⁴⁶

One of the changes in the locally published CRK text in the 90s was in their pastoral focus. Many of the authors wanted the examples in the books to be directly linked with the daily

545 Tunde Erumevba, R. T. Faniku and Segun Gbadegesin, *Ilesanmi Christian Religious Studies book 2* (1st ed.). (Akure: Ilesanmi Press Education Publishers Limited, 1985.). Following the 6.3.3.4 system and themes developed according to the three school terms of the school annual calendar.

546 R. T. Faniku, *Ilesanmi Christian Religious Studies*, 3 vols (Akure: Ilesanmi Press Education Publishers Limited, 1990).

realities of the students and struggles in the country. In Book 2 of the *Fundamentals of Christian Religious Knowledge*, Osbele, Mature and Balogun explains that “the historical approach has been [inextricably] blended with research-oriented approach. The students grasp the Biblical stories in logical sequences as well as seeing how the narratives are related to modern day events and practical life”.⁵⁴⁷ This book also goes further to include the text from the actual biblical passages that are referenced inside the textbooks, so that the students can easily read the text even if do not have a copy of the Bible readily at hand. By so doing, “The difficulty of reading scattered chapters and verses from the Bible is totally removed. All the Bible passages are so thoroughly, simply and accurately paraphrased that the actual reading of the Bible itself is not dispensable to a sound understanding of the course. This may appear on the surface, to play down on one of the objectives of the Christian Religious Knowledge Curriculum, which states that the students should be encouraged to read and [study] the Bible. But experience in the classroom situation shows that this is not really so. The thematic nature of the Senior Secondary School Certificate Syllabus makes the Bible passages not to be in chronological order. This discourages the students from reading the passages directly from the Bible let alone studying them. For example, a student will have to read 1st Corinthians 12:1-31 in Section C, theme seven unit one, on the topic ‘Different Types of Spiritual Gifts’ and then come back to Romans 12:3-8, in unit two of the same theme on the topic ‘Making Use of Individual Talents’”.⁵⁴⁸

As a textbook, the layout is very clear with specific outlines for each of the three terms of the year. For example, for the first term of year 2, themes are all simplified in modules for the

547 A. E. Osubele, M. Bature A. Balogun, *Fundamentals of Christian Religious Knowledge for Senior Secondary Schools book 2*, (Warri, Doves Publishers, 1994), 7. in 3 vols 1,2,3. The book was originally written in 1991 and follows the Senior Secondary School Certificate Examination Syllabus.

548 Osubele, Bature and Balogun, book 2, 5.

students, to facilitate easy learning such as: *Birth, Baptism and temptation of Jesus, Discipleship, Miracles, Parables, Sermon on the Mount, and The Mission of the disciples.*

Towards the end of the 90s another locally published textbook for the subject was introduced. This publication also covers the last 3 years of Secondary School preparing the students for the senior Secondary School leaving certificate examination. It covers three main areas of the selected Old Testament themes, Gospels, Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles. (words mine) This book has been revised in 2002 and reprinted more than seven times.⁵⁴⁹

5.8 Some sampled publications in the 2000s

By the year 2000 most of the local publishers and writers of textbooks for teaching Christian Religious Education had already been established. This meant that some of the books that were produced were new editions of previous ones. The syllabus and style remained basically the same and there were no longer new innovations in the curriculum.

However, from the fieldwork experience of selecting and reviewing these past and present publications, one can see a possibility for more theological expansion, especially in the application to moral and civic education. This pastoral approach to teaching Christian Religious Education is the new frontier of engagement for African theologians who are interested in contributing to the growth of African theology at this time.

For example, in *Living as God's Children: Christian Religious Education and Moral Instructions for Upper Schools in Nigeria*,⁵⁵⁰ there is an attempt to keep to the preparing of students for academic information about the Bible but with the emphasis on 'religious education for moral formation'. The focus on Christian Religious Education shifted to 'pastoral

549 A. E. Izuchukwu, V. C. Ama and A. A. Adeyinka, *Round-up Christian Religious Knowledge* (Lagos: Longman Nigeria Plc, 1997).

550 T. N. O. Quarcoopome, L. E. T. Shyllon and A. J. V. Obinna, *Living as God's Children: Christian Religious Education and Moral Instructions for Upper Schools in Nigeria*, 3rd edition (Ibadan: African Universities Press/Pilgrim Books Limited, 2001).

education' in the local context. In addition to learning the Biblical stories and reading the scriptural texts and passages, there is now the adaptation of the meaning of these teachings to local daily customs and behaviour. The broad pastoral focus is on 'work, communal relationship, integrity of life and 'loyalty' to God and the country. The pattern in the textbook contains 'class discussion questions', 'theological understanding of the text', 'moral message from the reading' and summary of core teachings. This is repeated in all units of the syllabus. The lessons also begin with a formal prayer and some illustrations are made by using local African symbols and imageries.

There is also another set of textbooks prepared by the same group of experts specifically for preparation for the Secondary School leaving school certificate examination. It is presented in units to be taught for each of the three terms in preparation for the senior Secondary School leaving certificate examinations of the West African Examination Council (WAEC) that conducts the 'West African Senior School Certificate Examination' (WASSCE) and the Nigerian 'National Examinations Council' (NECO) that conducts the national 'Senior School Certificate Examination' (SSCE). The publication is in 3 series titled 'Living as God's Children: Christian Religious Knowledge for WAEC/WASSCE and NECO/SSCE'.⁵⁵¹

More recently in in 2011, the University Press of Ibadan published new textbooks for Christian Religious studies by J. Olufemi Olugasa, Shelia H. Davies, Agodi U. Ochulo, and Umar Habila Danfulani. This is a set of three books for the first 3 years of secondary (now called the 'Upper Basic') education with the present National Educational Research Development Council (NERDC) curriculum. The style tries to avoid Christian denominational issues while keeping

551 T. N. O. Quarcoopome, L. E. T. Shyllon and A. J. V. Obinna, *Living as God's Children: Christian Religious Knowledge for WAEC/WASSCE and NECO/SSCE* 2nd edition (Ibadan: African Universities Press/Pilgrim Books Limited, 2002). Books 1-3.

with the themes and biblical passages. Present national values are emphasised with an accompanying teachers' guide and students' workbook.⁵⁵²

All of these locally published books by indigenous authors are concrete and observable materials from which one may interpret the growth of African theology from the pastoral perspective of the classroom. In addition to the early missionary influence, book publishing in Nigeria also got some support from the Franklin Book programs founded in 1952 (previously called the Franklin Book Publication before 1964), The Ford Foundation and together with the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) between 1964 and 1968. The Franklin group looked at possible avenues for promoting and sustaining a library culture in the New Country and specifically highlighted the establishment of the National Book Development Council as recommended by UNESCO at that time for Africa. Other recommendations include the formation of a National Book Development Council designing school curriculum and publications under the leadership of the Federal Ministry of Education. Later on, in 1964, the National Library of Nigeria was created and in 1965, the Nigerian Publishers Association was established. This was followed by the Nigerian Book Foundation in 1991 with emphasis on publication and promotion of indigenous books. Leaders of the Nigerian Book Foundation include members of related bodies like the group of Publishers, Librarians, Writers and Marketers. Production and distribution of academic books are still slow in Nigeria. In very recent history, Religious Education has been highlighted as one of the subjects that is essential for promoting the national values of Nigeria. This means that the

552 J. Olufemi Olugasa, Shelia H. Davies, Agodi U. Ochulo, Umar Habila Danfulani, *Christian Religious Studies for Junior Secondary Schools*, 3 Vols. for Junior Secondary 1, 2 and 3 (Ibadan: University press Plc 2011). The Univeristy press of Ibadan also published a text book for senior Secondary School in 2009. See Osadolo Imasogie, *Christian Religious Knowledge for Senior Secondary Schools*, (Ibadan: University Press, 2009).

textbooks for both Christian and Islamic studies have to reflect the national goal of the country of living in peace and unity especially at a time of religious tensions and global terrorism.⁵⁵³

Gwadabe gave a summary of the development of book publishing in Nigeria since 1983, highlighting the various periods and initiatives taken to address the publication and distribution of indigenous books in Nigeria:

1983 Nigerian National Congress on Books

1984 Task Force on the Scarcity of Books and Stationary

1987 Panel on a Book Policy for Nigeria

1989 ODA/World Bank Book Sector Study

1990 National Council on Education Committee Report on the Rationalization of Textbooks in Primary and Secondary Schools

1990 British Council sponsored Conference to debate the Book Sector Study (Aug-Sept)

1990 Ministerial Committee on Provision of Books to Schools and Colleges

553 See Nigerian Book Foundation, & Fourth Dimension Publishing. *Directory of Nigerian Book Development*. Chukwuemeka Ike (Ed.). (Enugu: Fourth Dimension Pub Co Ltd., 1998). In a review by Hans Zell in 1998, the five parts of this directory (the maiden edition) was described with the following words: “the Directory brings together a massive amount of information, which is grouped into five distinct parts, each preceded by a short introductory essay. Part One is a directory of published Nigerian authors, a total of 749 entries covering creative writers as well as academic authors. Entries include full name and address, telephone number, date of birth, details of published books, awards and honours received, and other information. Part Two is a directory of book publishing houses, 74 entries giving a wide array of specifics on each publisher, e.g. date founded, number of books in print, number of new titles published annually, types of books published and primary markets, in addition to financial information, number of employees, name of chief executive, and full name and address, telephone/fax numbers. Part Three is a directory of book printing presses, listing 66 companies and providing similar information as for publishers, but also including more printing-specific information such as typesetting and origination services offered, printing and binding equipment available, and more. Part Four covers the retail trade and bookshops/distribution organisations (70 entries), again with very full information on each organisation, including nature of business, name of chief executive, type of sales outlets and principal promotion channels, annual turnover figures (where disclosed), and specialised services offered. Part Five is a directory of libraries throughout Nigeria, grouped by states, but unlike Parts 1-4 listings are confined to just name and address and an indication of the type of library.” In Hans Zell. (1998, December 24). *Directory of Nigerian Book Development. Bellagio Publishing Network Newsletter*, (24). Retrieved from http://www.bellagiopublishingnetwork.com/newsletter24/review_zell2.htm

1993 Nigerian Educational Research and Development Council Review Workshop on Preferred Recommendations for solving the problems of the Nigerian Book Industry and Formation of Implementation Strategies (Aug).
1994 National Conference on Book Development (April, organized by the Nigerian Book Foundation on the theme “Making Books Readily and Affordable”).⁵⁵⁴

In the effective distribution of Christian Religious textbooks in Nigerian secondary schools, and the influence of the teachers of the subject is very significant. A recent article suggests that in some predominantly Muslim parts of the country the government have been reluctant in recruiting teachers to teach the subject. A representative of the Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) noted that since 2003 to 2016, the government of Niger State have not recruited sufficient teachers in public schools to teach the subject. In 2004, there were about 120 CRE teachers in 152 schools. This was less than one teacher per school. Ten years later in 2014, the number of public secondary schools in the state had increased to about 450, and the teachers for Christian Religious Education was 220 (including volunteer-non-professional teachers).⁵⁵⁵ This is less than one teacher per two schools to look after the entire six years of secondary education in that subject. While this is not the same for teachers of Islamic studies, one may suspect a political conspiracy as far as this data is concerned. To have at least two teachers (one each for the junior and senior secondary schools) in Niger state the government would need employ 900 teachers of Christian Religious Education. In the absence of that, the Christian students who are interested in studying Christian Religious Education in that State would have

554 Maude Rabi Gwadabe, (2015, June 3). Book Publishing in Nigeria. Retrieved from <http://www.slideshare.net/Maude1/mac2212-2>.

555 Wole Mosadomi, (2016, May 1). CAN Cries out over failure to recruit CRK teachers: Niger government playing politics with religion. *Vanguard Nigeria* [Lagos]. Retrieved from <http://www.vanguardngr.com/2016/05/can-cries-failure-recruit-crk-teachers-niger-govt-playing-politics-religion/>

to prepare for the final examination of the subject by reading the textbooks by themselves. As a substitute for teachers in school, the students would also depend on their catechetical lessons and Bible study in their Churches.

After the full presentation and review of original materials and indigenous publications, the next chapter focuses on the actual content of the CRE syllabus from a Catholic theological perspective

CHAPTER 6
CONTENTS OF THE SECONDARY SCHOOL LEAVING CERTIFICATE
CURRICULUM FOR CHRISTIAN RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

This chapter presents the curriculum of the secondary school Christian Religious Studies. It is detailed and complete with the actual materials that students are learning in school in preparation for university. It also contains the theological reflection on some basic themes in the syllabus like Creation, Sin, Eschatology and Redemption.

6.1 Major themes of the Secondary School Christian Religious Education Syllabus

They are based on some fundamental elements of Christian theology. These elements are sometimes repeated with varying depths in the different classes of the Secondary School programme. Some of the themes are mainly in either the New Testament or the Old Testament; while some can be found generally in both Testaments. For example, the theme of ‘Creation’ and ‘Leadership’ may be quite extensive in the Old testament book of Genesis and the stories of the Judges, Prophets and Kings. On the other hand, the themes of Incarnation, Ecclesiology and Eschatology may be more prominent in the New Testament passages used for teaching the students.

6.1.1 Creation

The presentation of ‘Creation’ in the syllabus strictly follows the two creation accounts in Genesis⁵⁵⁶ There have been some attempts by local authors to add some of the different stories of creation that could be found in African oral traditions. This initiative is good to help the

556 The two accounts of Creation in Genesis 1:1-2:3 (‘Priestly’ Tradition) and Genesis 2:4-24 (‘Jahwistic’ Tradition). They are often studied in a complimentary way in biblical theology as both accounts give an understanding of the creation *ex nihilo* (out of nothing) and the Jewish monotheistic historical development. See Kenneth A. Mathews, *Genesis 1-11:26*. (Nashville, Tenn.: Broadman and Holman Publishers, 1996).

students understand the historical elements that may be present when doing Biblical theology. This is because the Biblical authors used forms, names, symbols and geographical elements known to them when they were writing the sacred text under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit. The students who are gradually being introduced into the world of ‘Historical biblical Critical method’ can profit from the stories of their own local cultures and environment on creation when engaging with the world of Jewish spiritual history.

Part of the ways that Creation has been presented in the textbooks include emphasis on the ‘names’ of God, the ‘days’ of creation, the ‘power and authority’ to be able to create out of nothing, and a certain kind of connection between creation, sustaining the universe and end of time. This means that creation is never studied only as a way to know about the origin of things but to establish the reality of God who is to be worshipped by all because he is the creator, the force behind the sustenance and final end of the whole of creation. This understanding of God presents a very ‘living’ and ‘active’ image of God. That is why the liturgical aspect of the Christian faith is very connected to the understanding of God as creator. The signs and symbols⁵⁵⁷ used for any liturgical worship is believed to be coming from God. The same could be said about the ‘prompting’ or desire to worship God within the human person as coming from God.

On a pedagogical level, the stories of creation found in the two accounts of Genesis are taught in the Nigerian schools as stories of faith. Stories of faith are understood in two ways by both

557 In Liturgical theology, a clear distinction is made on the understanding of *res et sacramentum* taken alone, *res (atum)* refers to the ‘grace’ of the effect of the action. Similarly, *saramentum (antum)* refers to the actions or signs of the often expressed with the symbols used for the sacrament or liturgical ceremony. In this context of this writing, creation could be understood providing the ‘place’ and ‘materials’ used for worship. All of creation is called to worship the creator and human beings as creatures can worship as well by using signs and symbols (*sacramentum*) and engaging in a real experience of grace (*res*). One can see the link between the creator and creation in the narratives of Genesis 1 and 2. Alister E McGrath explains the sign itself as *sacramentum tantum*, the ‘intermediate’ effect as *res et sacramentum*, and the ‘ultimate’ effect as *res tantum*. This is especially with regards to an understanding of the Sacrament of the Holy Eucharist. See Alister E McGrath, *Christian theology: An introduction*. Chichester, West Sussex: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011).

the Catholic and Protestant traditions. In the Catholic tradition, the stories are not taken literally but the meaning contained in the stories are believed to be of divine origin. Therefore, they are accepted as being the exact word of God written in human language of literary styles, symbols and influenced by historical factors. In the Protestant and especially evangelical traditions, the creation accounts of Genesis are considered to be literally specific. This includes the counting of six days of creation as we have in the 24-hour clock of the modern world. For the students who read about creation in their CRE textbooks, their assimilation of the interpretation of the text would be mainly influenced by the Christian Religious tradition of their teachers. Fortunately, the goal of CRE in the curriculum is not for indoctrination, and consequently, the examinations are focused on students' familiarization with the text and not the denominational interpretation of the text among different traditions. However, it should also be clear that the interactive nature of the different subjects (in the Sciences and Arts) of the curriculum helps the students to develop a critical approach in their faith response to life in general. There is also a lot of 'Wisdom' that can be gained by an active engagement with the scriptures.

Another significant influence of studying the theme of creation in the CRE syllabus is in its value in helping the students understand the relevance of the Bible in the care and protection of the environment. There is a consistent consensus that the richness and resources of the universe is constantly being destroyed and diminished by controllable human actions. The consequences of such evil towards 'creation' is leading towards self-destruction. The image of the 'perfect' garden that was lost due to the fall⁵⁵⁸ continues to remind all of the universe as a 'continuum' where any damage perpetrated at any place ultimately affects the rest.⁵⁵⁹ The

558 In the Catholic theology of Grace, Saint Augustine's explanation of the 'fall' is analogically introduced by the biblical exegesis on the story of the Garden of Eden. The fall is a 'movement' and decision from the 'Will'. It creates a 'disorder' which can be redeemed. See Ronnie J. Rombs, *Saint Augustine and the Fall of the Soul: Beyond O'Connell & His Critics*. (Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 2011), 143.

559 Some Feminist approach to the theology of creation continues to emphasise this connection between salvation and creation. Examples can be found in works of Elizabeth Johnson and Sallie McFague, with references to

additional demand from the study of creation themes in the CRE class is not only on human responsibility to the environment but also to the creator whose universe is being destroyed.

Perhaps the most challenging aspect of the creation story is in the understanding of the purpose and responsibility of human beings. In African Traditional Religions, there are many allusions to a hierarchical worldview of the structure of the universe. From a God who dwells in the highest domain with his subjects, to human beings who also have various roles and duties to one another, and further down to other creatures considered lower in the ranks. Among humans, the major distinguishing factor of difference is in the time of birth. Those who are older are considered elders and seniors in the affairs of things among people. They are saddled with more responsibilities and are expected to produce, nurture and prepare the younger generations coming after them. This is supposed to be the way they were nurtured and how the younger generation will nurture those coming after them in the circle of life. With this understanding, human reproduction and marriage have a clear meaning and understanding. The gender purpose of ‘male’ and ‘female’ is also discussed as a natural phenomenon from the source of the creator.⁵⁶⁰

A sample of the content of creation in the second year of senior Secondary School is on ‘The Sovereignty of God’. This topic concludes with the students having an understanding of the relevance of the ‘Apostles’ creed’. A creed that declares one’s acceptance of the sovereignty of God as creator and maker of ‘Heaven and Earth’; what is ‘Visible and Invisible’; and ‘Resurrection of the dead and Life everlasting’. The topic has the title ‘God the Creator’ and contents include:

Cosmic Christ and Cosmic Church in the Pauline epistles to the Ephesians and Colossians. Rosemary Radford Ruether talks about ‘Ecofeminism’ and Grace Jantzen focuses on life as a ‘continuum’. See Ernst M. Conradie, (Ed.), *Creation and salvation: Volume 2*. (Berlin: LIT., 2012), 264. *Studies in Religion and the Environment*, Vol. 6.

⁵⁶⁰ Genesis 2:7-25, Genesis 1:26-28.

- ‘God, the creator of man and all things’, Genesis 1 and 2, Psalm 19
- ‘Sovereignty of God over individuals’, Daniel 4
- ‘Sovereignty of God over His Creation’, Isaiah 45.

These sub themes all focus on helping students distinguish between things made by the intellectual and natural gift of human actions and the more primordial things and principles created by God. This in turn helps to clarify the role of human beings participating in the creation of God. ⁵⁶¹

With so many themes from the topic of creation in the Bible, one can see how it is one of the essential topics in the CRE syllabus and how in an African context, the communal life and family structure of different ethnic groups creates a theological platform for pastoral conversations and practice.

6.1.2 Sin

The reality of evil and pain forms a crucial part of the CRE syllabus that is covered in the Nigerian syllabus. It is a very complex situation of the human experience that has both structural and personal dimensions. The multi dimensions of evil extends to the ‘personification’ of evil as a being with the name Satan, Lucifer or the ‘evil-one’. The influence of Sin affects the whole of creation including human beings who are the primary protagonists. To understand sin and evil therefore, one has to establish a clear understanding of qualities that make up the human anthropological reality. What are the full capacities of a person? This is one of the fundamental questions that one may need to ask when a person is analysed in different ways like physical, mental, spiritual, psychological and social.

⁵⁶¹ Federal Ministry of Education, Senior Secondary School Curriculum: Christian Religious Studies for SS1-3 (Abuja: Nigerian Educational Research and Development Council, 2007), 19-21.

Sin is presented in the syllabus as coming from human action or lack of it. The influencing factors are many just as the human person is complex. Like other topics in the syllabus most of the references are taken from the Bible. For example, in the first year of the senior Secondary School (SS1), there is a theme on ‘Jesus’ teaching about himself’ which contains readings from biblical passages like John 3:19; 8:12; 9:4; 12: 35 that talk about Jesus as light of the world and invites the readers to turn away from ‘works of darkness’ and instead to be ‘walking in the light of Christ’. Other passages include 1 Cor. 13:1-13, 1 John 4:7-8⁵⁶² emphasize the golden rule of Christian love and charity that helps in the discernment process of knowing when we are ‘walking in the light or in darkness’. After establishing the main principles of good (light) and evil (darkness), another unit in the SS1 syllabus titled ‘New life in Christ’, helps the students to identify some specific moral issues that are useful in distinguishing between living a life in Christ (in the light) or living a life outside of Christ (in darkness). These passages include Galatians 5:19-21⁵⁶³; Colossians 3:1-7⁵⁶⁴, that talk about sinful actions to be avoided; and

562 “Beloved, let us love one another, because love is from God; everyone who loves is born of God and knows God. Whoever does not love does not know God, for God is love” (1 John 4:7-8 NRSV).

563 19 Now the works of the flesh are obvious: fornication, impurity, licentiousness, 20 idolatry, sorcery, enmities, strife, jealousy, anger, quarrels, dissensions, factions, 21 envy, drunkenness, carousing, and things like these. I am warning you, as I warned you before: those who do such things will not inherit the kingdom of God. (Galatians 5:19-2 NRSV).

564 1 So if you have been raised with Christ, seek the things that are above, where Christ is, seated at the right hand of God. 2 Set your minds on things that are above, not on things that are on earth, 3 for you have died, and your life is hidden with Christ in God. 4 When Christ who is your life is revealed, then you also will be revealed with him in glory. 5 Put to death, therefore, whatever in you is earthly: fornication, impurity, passion, evil desire, and greed (which is idolatry). 6 On account of these the wrath of God is coming on those who are disobedient. 7 These are the ways you also once followed, when you were living that life. (Colossians 3:1-7 NRSV).

Romans 6:1-4⁵⁶⁵, 12-19⁵⁶⁶; Romans 15:18-19⁵⁶⁷, that presents the ‘new life in Christ’. These passages of contrast are useful to help the students understand what is a good way to behave in society, as opposed to things that can cause spiritual and moral harm. Application is made by comparing between living a good life (of humility, tolerance, justice, hard work, patience, love and patriotism) and living a bad life (of ‘idolatry’, ‘enmities’, ‘jealousy’, ‘impurity’ and ‘evil desires’). Since African societies are shaped by morals and beliefs based on philosophical and theological principles, the cultural understanding of social life is evaluated through the lens of the Christian moral principles taught in the CRE. This process helps in contributing to having a society with acceptable moral standard for the common good.⁵⁶⁸

For the level of Secondary School education, the expected outcome of learning such a theme includes the ‘formation of conscience’. Education and the formation of conscience include not

565 1 What then are we to say? Should we continue in sin in order that grace may abound? 2 By no means! How can we who died to sin go on living in it? 3 Do you not know that all of us who have been baptized into Christ Jesus were baptized into his death? 4 Therefore we have been buried with him by baptism into death, so that, just as Christ was raised from the dead by the glory of the Father, so we too might walk in newness of life (Romans 6:1-4 NRSV).

566 12 Therefore, do not let sin exercise dominion in your mortal bodies, to make you obey their passions. 13 No longer present your members to sin as instruments of wickedness, but present yourselves to God as those who have been brought from death to life, and present your members to God as instruments of righteousness. 14 For sin will have no dominion over you, since you are not under law but under grace. 15 What then? Should we sin because we are not under law but under grace? By no means! 16 Do you not know that if you present yourselves to anyone as obedient slaves, you are slaves of the one whom you obey, either of sin, which leads to death, or of obedience, which leads to righteousness? 17 But thanks be to God that you, having once been slaves of sin, have become obedient from the heart to the form of teaching to which you were entrusted, 18 and that you, having been set free from sin, have become slaves of righteousness. 19 I am speaking in human terms because of your natural limitations. For just as you once presented your members as slaves to impurity and to greater and greater iniquity, so now present your members as slaves to righteousness for sanctification. (Romans 6:12-17 NSRV).

567 18 For I will not venture to speak of anything except what Christ has accomplished through me to win obedience from the Gentiles, by word and deed, 19 by the power of signs and wonders, by the power of the Spirit of God, so that from Jerusalem and as far around as Illyricum I have fully proclaimed the good news of Christ. (Romans 15:18-19).

568 For recent works on Catholic perspectives of the ‘common good’ in public space see Stephen R. Sharkey, (Ed.). *Sociology and Catholic social teaching: Contemporary theory and research*. (Lanham Md.: Scarecrow Press 2012). And J. Brian Benestad, *Church, state, and society: An introduction to Catholic social doctrine*. (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2011). See also Catholic Church, Pontifical Council for Justice and Peace (Vatican), and United States Conference of Catholic Bishops, *Compendium of the social doctrine of the church*. (Washington D.C: United States Conference of Catholic Bishops (USCCB), 2007). For a political perspective on the same see Brian Stiltner, *Religion and the common good: Catholic contributions to building community in a liberal society*. (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 1999). And Marinus C. Iwuchukwu, and Brian Stiltner, (Eds.), *Can Muslims and Christians resolve their religious and social conflicts? Cases from Africa and the United States*. (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 2013).

only the teaching of the child to understand what is ‘objective’ good and evil but also how to keep searching for ‘truth’ in life. Catholic education has always been guided by the Divine Revelation in designing the contents of Christian morality. Consequently, the understanding of sin should include the human experience of pain, loss, sadness, fear and anxiety. The communitarian and cultural ‘awareness’ of sin based on historical experiences of the local people is also useful in teaching the young about what a ‘good conscience is about’. Linda Hogan writes on conscience and truth from the Catholic tradition, explaining that conscience unites both people ‘of faith’ and those of ‘no faith’ together, especially in modern society.⁵⁶⁹ Following the Thomistic tradition in systematic theology, Robert J Smith distinguishes ‘superior’ attention one has to give to ‘conscience’ as opposed to mere ‘reason’. This is because it is possible for one to have a faulty reason and refuse to ‘listen’ to what is described as a ‘divine’ and ‘interior’ prompting’ which comes from the Holy Spirit as ‘infused’ gifts. Linking conscience with prudence, he further explains that “Conscience precedes prudence and provides the fundamental decision and orientation of a proposed action. However, without prudence exercising its commanding function, the decision of conscience would remain only in the order of intention.”⁵⁷⁰ Therefore, to follow divine law, one needs to have prudence in order to be able to ‘act’ on what is known to be good and desist from what is known to be evil or sinful. The Catechism of the Catholic Church No. 1783 on ‘The Formation of Conscience’ states that: “Conscience must be informed and moral judgement enlightened. A well-formed conscience is upright and truthful. It formulates its judgments according to reason, in conformity with the true good willed by the wisdom of the Creator. The education of

569 Linda Hogan, *Confronting the truth: Conscience in the Catholic tradition*. (London: Darton Longman and Todd, 2001), 9. For a psychological perspective of the same, See also Anthony J. Marinelli, *Conscience and Catholic Faith: Love and Fidelity*. (Mahwah NJ.: Paulist Press, 1991).

570 Robert J. Smith, *Conscience and Catholicism: The nature and function of conscience in contemporary roman catholic moral theology*. (Lanham: University Press of America, 1998) 30. Cf. *Summa Theologiae* I-II 68, 2.

conscience is indispensable for human beings who are subjected to negative influences and tempted by sin to prefer their own judgement and to reject authoritative teachings”⁵⁷¹

In the education of children especially in Christian Religious Education, the topic of ‘sin’ is connected to a good understanding of ‘conscience’. Though the education of human conscience grows all through life, it is important that children in school are introduced to this fact from the age of reason. The Catholic Catechism emphasises that the “education of the conscience is a lifelong task. From the earliest years, it awakens the child to the knowledge and practice of the interior law recognized by conscience. Prudent education teaches virtue; it prevents or cures fear, selfishness and pride, resentment arising from guilt, and feelings of complacency, born of human weakness and faults. The education of the conscience guarantees freedom and engenders peace of heart.”⁵⁷² It therefore makes a lot of sense to see why the theme of ‘sin’ and related studies about ‘conscience’ is one of the major topics in the Secondary School curriculum in Nigeria. The Bible and the teachings of the Church are the materials used for shaping the contents of the topics. This is particularly true for Catholic schools who are aware of other ideologies and non-Christian principles that may be proposed to the young. Catholic parents and Christian citizens have the right to choose this option of education, as long as it contributes to the common good and can promote non-violence and increase generosity. The indispensable usage of the Bible in the formation of conscience in the Catholic understanding is mentioned in the Catechism of the Catholic Church by saying that “in the formation of conscience the word of God is the light for our path. We must assimilate it in faith and prayer and put it into practice. We must also examine our conscience before the Lord’s Cross. We are

571 Catholic Church. (2003). Catechism of the Catholic Church - IntraText. Retrieved from <http://www.vatican.va/archive/ENG0015/P60.HTM> Libreria Editrice Vaticana.

572 Catechism of the Catholic Church No. 1784 cited from Catholic Church. (2003). Catechism of the Catholic Church - IntraText. Retrieved from <http://www.vatican.va/archive/ENG0015/P60.HTM> Libreria Editrice Vaticana.

assisted by the gifts of the Holy Spirit, aided by the witness or advice of others and guided by the authoritative teaching of the Church.”⁵⁷³ One may clearly say that one of the primary goals of Christian Religious Education is the formation of a good human and spiritual conscience that promotes every good and avoids evil in all forms. One of the contributions of CRE to education in general is in the promotion of non-violence and help of the poor (material, health-wise or spiritual).

6.1.3 Redemption

The theme of redemption naturally follows the consequences of sin (though not limited to it). It also includes all the instructions and teachings on the person and mission of the messiah. Creation and Redemption are theologically considered a ‘continuum’ in the sense that one can find a consistent connection between creation and salvation in theological discourse. Human beings are ‘moving’ towards redemption as ‘spiritual’ beings who are having ‘supernatural orientations’.⁵⁷⁴

In the first year of senior Secondary School there is a unit in the syllabus titled ‘Jesus as the Lamb, the Door and Good Shepherd’. The passages of scriptures that the students are presented with are John 1:29-34, (which talks about Jesus as the lamb of God) and John 10:1-18, where Jesus talks of himself as the ‘Door’ and the ‘Good Shepherd’. Similarly, in the third year of Secondary School the syllabus contains detailed contents of the passion of Christ (‘betrayal’,

573 Catechism of the Catholic Church No. 1785 cited from Catholic Church. (2003). Catechism of the Catholic Church - IntraText. Retrieved from http://www.vatican.va/archive/ENG0015/_P60.HTM Libreria Editrice Vaticana.

574 Karl Rahner, *Hearers of the word*. (New York: Herder and Herder, 1969), 36. This work was originally published in Munich in 1941 as *Hörer des Wortes* and later revised by Joannes Baptist Metz. See also John Webster, (1983). Karl Rahner's Theology of Grace. *Evangel*, 9-11. Retrieved from https://biblicalstudies.org.uk/pdf/evangel/1-2_webster.pdf

‘trial’, ‘crucifixion’ and ‘death’). This is followed by the ‘resurrection accounts’ from the Gospels. The topics in this class are divided into:

- The Trials of Jesus before the high Priest (Matthew 26:36-75, Luke 22:66-71, Mark 14:53-75), before Pontius Pilate Matthew 27:11-31, Luke 23:1-5, Mark 23:1-25), and before Herod (Luke 23:6-12).
- ‘The Crucifixion, Death and Burial of Jesus’ (Matthew 27:32-66, Luke 23:26-56 and Mark 15:16-47).
- The Resurrection accounts (Luke 24:1-35, Mark 16:1-14, Matthew 28:1-10) and the significance of the resurrection of Christ in 1 Corinthians 15:3-8, 12-20.⁵⁷⁵

The faith in the power of the suffering of Christ is a motivation for African Christians who may be suffering different forms of persecution and hardship. The presentation of the theme of ‘redemption’ is linked to the theme of ‘witnessing’ to Christ by being faithful in good and bad times with hope in the ‘redemption’ of Christ. For a Christian facing persecution, the students study the letter of 1 Peter 1:5-9,⁵⁷⁶ 4:12-19⁵⁷⁷. In the ‘class activity’ session, the syllabus enumerates various instances of the persecution of Christians in Nigeria like not having access to land in some parts of the country to establish Christian structures or proper places of worship,

575 Federal Ministry of Education, Senior Secondary School Curriculum: Christian Religious Studies for SS1-3 (Abuja: Nigerian Educational Research and Development Council, 2007), 50-51.

576 *5 who are being protected by the power of God through faith for a salvation ready to be revealed in the last time. 6 In this you rejoice, even if now for a little while you have had to suffer various trials, 7 so that the genuineness of your faith—being more precious than gold that, though perishable, is tested by fire—may be found to result in praise and glory and honor when Jesus Christ is revealed. 8 Although you have not seen him, you love him; and even though you do not see him now, you believe in him and rejoice with an indescribable and glorious joy, 9 for you are receiving the outcome of your faith, the salvation of your souls. (1 Peter 1:5-9 NRSV).*

577 *12 Beloved, do not be surprised at the fiery ordeal that is taking place among you to test you, as though something strange were happening to you. 13 But rejoice insofar as you are sharing Christ's sufferings, so that you may also be glad and shout for joy when his glory is revealed. 14 If you are reviled for the name of Christ, you are blessed, because the spirit of glory, which is the Spirit of God, is resting on you. 15 But let none of you suffer as a murderer, a thief, a criminal, or even as a mischief maker. 16 Yet if any of you suffers as a Christian, do not consider it a disgrace, but glorify God because you bear this name. 17 For the time has come for judgment to begin with the household of God; if it begins with us, what will be the end for those who do not obey the gospel of God? 18 And "If it is hard for the righteous to be saved, what will become of the ungodly and the sinners?" 19 Therefore, let those suffering in accordance with God's will entrust themselves to a faithful Creator, while continuing to do good. (1 Peter 4:12-19 NRSV).*

terrorist attacks against Christian schools and hospitals and political obstacles that prevent Christians from achieving some social responsibilities in some levels of government.⁵⁷⁸ In all this the message is ‘love for enemies’, struggle for justice and be strong in faith especially during the times of persecution (Matthew 5:38-48).⁵⁷⁹ There are many passages that could be selected to teach this topic and one can deduce that the choice of passages reflects the theological slant of the group of local experts who designed the syllabus. Some of these passages take it for granted that there is religious persecution of Christians in the country and the students have to be educated to overcome it. The passages also provide a moral compass for the CRE student that violence and retaliation is not a model of conflict resolution in Africa after the imitation of Christ who himself suffered political and orchestrated persecution. There is also a clear suggestion that persecution against Christians could be politically and structurally motivated. This increasing situation of modern day persecution has been called “Christianophobia”.⁵⁸⁰ This theme of ‘redemption’ is one of the major theological quests of African theology today especially in the form of ‘liberation theology’.

578 Federal Ministry of Education, Senior Secondary School Curriculum: Christian Religious Studies for SS1-3 (Abuja: Nigerian Educational Research and Development Council, 2007), 15.

579 38 "You have heard that it was said, "An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth.' 39 But I say to you, Do not resist an evildoer. But if anyone strikes you on the right cheek, turn the other also; 40 and if anyone wants to sue you and take your coat, give your cloak as well; 41 and if anyone forces you to go one mile, go also the second mile. 42 Give to everyone who begs from you, and do not refuse anyone who wants to borrow from you. 43 "You have heard that it was said, "You shall love your neighbor and hate your enemy.' 44 But I say to you, Love your enemies and pray for those who persecute you, 45 so that you may be children of your Father in heaven; for he makes his sun rise on the evil and on the good, and sends rain on the righteous and on the unrighteous. 46 For if you love those who love you, what reward do you have? Do not even the tax collectors do the same? 47 And if you greet only your brothers and sisters, what more are you doing than others? Do not even the Gentiles do the same? 48 Be perfect, therefore, as your heavenly Father is perfect. (NRSV Matthew 5:38-48).

580 Researchers have been developing evidential materials to show how the persecution of Christians is becoming institutionalised and sampling statistics and resources from different parts of the world, including Nigeria. See Raphael Israeli, (2016). *Christianophobia: The persecution of Christians under Islam*. (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock, 2016). See also Paul A. Marshall, Lela Gilbert, and Nina Shea, *Persecuted: The global assault on Christians*. (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 2013). This work includes data on persecuted Christians from the Vatican and other sources to conclude that Christians are numerically the largest persecuted religious group in the world as of 2010. Other similar works in recent years include: Pieter Coertzen, M. Christian Green, and Len Hansen (Eds.). *Law and Religion in Africa: The Quest for the Common Good in Pluralistic Societies*. (Stellenbosch, South Africa: SUN MeDIA, 2015). And Laura Murray, *Nigerian genocide: Christian persecution, 2014*. (Dallas TX: Primedia E-launch LLC, 2015). See also Samuel K. Elolia, (Ed.). *Religion, conflict, and democracy in modern Africa: The role of civil society in political engagement*. (Eugene, Or: Pickwick Publications, 2012).

6.1.4 Eschatology

The fourth broad theological/ theme that can be found in the Secondary School syllabus is the notion of ‘hope’ (as a theological virtue).⁵⁸¹ Hope is not only in the possibility of having a better life in the material world but also in the reality of everlasting life (in the world to come). A clear example of this can be found in 1 Corinthians 4:16-18 which reads: “*So we do not lose heart. Even though our outer nature is wasting away, our inner nature is being renewed day by day. For this slight momentary affliction is preparing us for an eternal weight of glory beyond all measure, because we look not at what can be seen but at what cannot be seen; for what can be seen is temporary, but what cannot be seen is eternal.*”⁵⁸²

The preparation for the eschatological reality is presented in the third term of the first year of the senior Secondary School with the topic ‘The Second Coming of Christ’. This theme of the ‘*parousia*’⁵⁸³ is developed in the syllabus with emphasis on building the kingdom of God here

581 Cf. Josef Pieper, *On hope*. (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1986).

582 1 Corinthians 4:16-18 NRSV.

583 From the Greek *παρουσία*, it refers to a ‘presence’ or ‘arrival’. In catholic eschatology, the second coming of Christ is ‘already’ (present) and ‘not yet’ (fully realised) till the end of time. This view of the Second Coming is part of the mystery of faith. Christ who *died*, is *risen* and alive, and he will *come again*. (1 Thessalonians 2:19, 5:23, 1 Corinthians 15:20-23). His ‘presence’ is real and is celebrated especially in the Eucharist, under the form of Bread and Wine which becomes the Body and Blood of Christ. At the same time, he is expected to come again as the creed professes, to *Judge the living and the dead* in a kingdom that has no end (1 Thessalonians 4:15, 1 John 2:28, 2 Peter 3:10-12). Theologically the *παρουσία* has also been described in the scriptures as ‘The Day of the Lord’ and the ‘End of Time’ (Mark 13:26-27). This day is described in apocalyptic symbols in the Gospels, which may make it seem as a day or event that would be very easy to know when the time comes. However, Jesus clarifies that no one ‘knows’ the ‘day’ or the ‘hour’ except the Father (Mark 13:32). The work of James Stuart Russell on this topic is quite detailed though he does not seem to hold the view of the ‘Resurrection of the Body’. The different standpoints on the philosophy of the last things (‘Preterism’-philosophy of eschatology) also influences the opinion one may hold on the bodily resurrection. Speculation on this future ‘nature’ of the body is answered by the bodily resurrection of Jesus himself, which is believed to be sign of what is yet to come. Part of Russell’s teaching is influenced by a form of radical ‘Preterism’ that claims that all that is expected at the second coming is already fulfilled and therefore, the ‘second coming’, ‘resurrection of the body’ and ‘end of time’ will not happen at a moment in the future. While this assumption is inconsistent with Biblical Theology that teaches of the resurrection of the dead (1 Corinthians 15:12), it nevertheless helps to understand the varying theological reflections that have taken place over the years about the *παρουσία*. (see Jackson, Wayne. (1999) "The Menace of Radical Preterism." *ChristianCourier.com*. Access date: March 28, 2017. <https://www.christiancourier.com/articles/91-menace-of-radical-preterism-the>)

James Stuart Russell, E. E. Stevens, and International Preterist Association. (2003). *The parousia: The New Testament doctrine of Christ's Second Coming*. Bradford, PA: International Preterist Association. This publication is a reprint of J. Stuart Russell Originally published: London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1887. Moderate Preterism could be compared to ‘Realised Eschatology’ where the notion of the ‘already’ is more pronounced than the ‘not yet’ in the discourse of the *παρουσία*. The expectation of the *παρουσία* as coming very ‘soon’,

on earth with a positive practical call to Christian charity especially in the final year of the Secondary School CRE syllabus with such topics as: ‘Communal Living in the Early Church’ (Acts 5:1-11, 6:1-6), ‘Mission to the Gentiles’ (Acts 9:1-42, 10:44-48, 11:1-18), ‘Need for Order in Society’, (Romans 13:1-7 and study of the Nigerian Constitutions and the African Charter on Human and people’s Rights), ‘Civic Responsibility’ (1 Peter 2: 13-17 with additional materials from the United Nations Declaration on Human Rights), ‘Care for the Sick’ (John 4:46-54, 5:1-8, 9:1-7, with additional information on various types of sickness especially terminally illness like HIV/Aids) and Dignity of work with emphasis on ‘Independence and Self-Actualisation’ (Matthew 13:55, Mark 6:3, John 21:1-8- showing Jesus as carpenter and the Apostles as fishermen). Other examples on ‘Dignity of Labour’ includes the obligation to work (2 Thessalonians 3:6-15, Colossians 3:23-25, Titus 3:1 and Ephesians 6:5-8).

This way of preparing for the second coming of Christ prevents the slide into laziness or false expectations of the second coming of Christ which could be void of personal accountability of one’s life of faith and service. It is within this context that death, judgement, heaven and hell gets their proper understanding. Other eschatological themes in the CRE syllabus can be found in the second year of the senior Secondary School programme like the units on the Resurrection of Jesus Christ and its connection to the ‘second coming of Christ’ and the meaning of ‘eternal

perhaps during the life time of the early Christians dominates this view. The mystery of the incarnation and the life of Christ is in itself the very essence of the *παρουσία* more than a future coming. This does not mean that there is no belief in the future coming, but it is not emphasised. The kingdom of God is already a present reality and that is what ‘realised eschatology’ focuses on. See C. H. Dodd, *The parables of the Kingdom*. (London: Fount Publ. 1988). And David W. Congdon, *Rudolf Bultmann: A companion to his theology*. (Eugene, Oregon: Cascade Books, 2015). However, Jurgen Moltman would add that there is still the ‘not yet’ aspect of the world to come which will come to replace the present world as it is already doing by the work of Christ. A process to be fully realised at the Parousia when God will be ‘all in all’. See Richard Bauckham, *God will be all in all: The eschatology of Jürgen Moltmann*, (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2001).

life'⁵⁸⁴. The passages listed include Matthew 28:1-8⁵⁸⁵, (with parallels from Luke 24:1-11 and Mark16:1-8). In same theme of the 'resurrection and second coming of Christ', specific references are made to some passages where Jesus talks about the παρουσία in Matthew 25:31-46.

31 "When the Son of Man comes in his glory, and all the angels with him, then he will sit on the throne of his glory. 32 All the nations will be gathered before him, and he will separate people one from another as a shepherd separates the sheep from the goats, 33 and he will put the sheep at his right hand and the goats at the left. 34 Then the king will say to those at his right hand, "Come, you that are blessed by my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world; 35 for I was hungry and you gave me food, I was thirsty and you gave me something to drink, I was a stranger and you welcomed me, 36 I was naked and you gave me clothing, I was sick and you took care of me, I was in prison and you visited me.' 37 Then the righteous will answer him, "Lord, when was it that we saw you hungry and gave you food, or thirsty and gave you something to drink? 38 And when was it that we saw you a stranger and welcomed you, or naked and gave you clothing? 39 And when was it that we saw you sick or in prison and visited you?' 40 And the king will answer them, "Truly I tell you, just

584 Federal Ministry of Education, *Senior Secondary School Curriculum: Christian Religious Studies for SSI-3* (Abuja: Nigerian Educational Research and Development Council, 2007), 17-18.

585 1 *After the sabbath, as the first day of the week was dawning, Mary Magdalene and the other Mary went to see the tomb. 2 And suddenly there was a great earthquake; for an angel of the Lord, descending from heaven, came and rolled back the stone and sat on it. 3 His appearance was like lightning, and his clothing white as snow. 4 For fear of him the guards shook and became like dead men. 5 But the angel said to the women, "Do not be afraid; I know that you are looking for Jesus who was crucified. 6 He is not here; for he has been raised, as he said. Come, see the place where he lay. 7 Then go quickly and tell his disciples, "He has been raised from the dead, and indeed he is going ahead of you to Galilee; there you will see him." This is my message for you." 8 So they left the tomb quickly with fear and great joy, and ran to tell his disciples.* (Matthew 28:1-8 NRSV), cited from <http://www.biblestudytools.com/nrs/matthew/passage/?q=matthew+28:1-8>

as you did it to one of the least of these who are members of my family, you did it to me.' 41 Then he will say to those at his left hand, "You that are accursed, depart from me into the eternal fire prepared for the devil and his angels; 42 for I was hungry and you gave me no food, I was thirsty and you gave me nothing to drink, 43 I was a stranger and you did not welcome me, naked and you did not give me clothing, sick and in prison and you did not visit me.' 44 Then they also will answer, "Lord, when was it that we saw you hungry or thirsty or a stranger or naked or sick or in prison, and did not take care of you?' 45 Then he will answer them, "Truly I tell you, just as you did not do it to one of the least of these, you did not do it to me.' 46 And these will go away into eternal punishment, but the righteous into eternal life."⁵⁸⁶

This theme of the second coming is also related to the part of the workings of the Holy Spirit that makes believers respond to the salvific actions of God by the 'gifts' (1 Corinthians 12:4-8, Ephesians 4:11-13, 1 Corinthians 12:7-11, Romans 12:6-8, 1 Corinthians 14:1-5) and 'fruits' (Galatians 5:22-25, Acts 2:38) of the Holy Spirit. These 'fruits' of 'peace', 'kindness', 'generosity', 'self-control', 'patience', 'love' 'peace' 'joy' and 'faithfulness', are contracted in the syllabus with the negative 'fruits' (also called 'works') of the 'flesh' such as 'envy', 'licentiousness', 'idolatry', 'strife', 'jealousy', 'quarrels', 'dissensions', 'factions', 'enmities', 'fornication', 'drunkenness', 'carousing', 'sorcery', 'anger' and impurity in Galatians 5:19-21. By so doing the school teaches the students to understand the moral demands of life and society from faith perspective and Christian background.⁵⁸⁷

586 (Matthew 25:31-46 NRSV), Cited from <http://www.biblestudytools.com/nrs/matthew/passage/?q=matthew+25:31-46>
587 Federal Ministry of Education, Senior Secondary School Curriculum: Christian Religious Studies for SS1-3 (Abuja: Nigerian Educational Research and Development Council, 2007), 8-9.

Theologically, this understanding of the eschatological reality gives a practical nuance to the Christian notion of ‘hope’. “Hope ‘expects’ and ‘waits for’ what faith affirms. In this sense, faith is a theological virtue of the intellect since it informs us of the truth about God. But hope is a virtue of desire since it concerns the ‘difficult good’, but what is unique about hope is that it ‘leans on God’ for its help. This leaning on God ties hope together with charity since we hope for communion with God in the beatific vision. Yet this hope is not only for the next life but applies to this one as well.”⁵⁸⁸

6.2 Analysis of the 1985 standardized curriculum for Christian Religious Education in Secondary Schools

In the introduction to the 1985 curriculum for secondary schools, the long process of realization of the Nigerian education ‘project’ was duly acknowledged. It was clearly mentioned by the then honourable minister of Education (Professor Jibril Aminu) that there were 12 volumes of the of the 36 Senior Secondary School Curricula in Nigeria. The 7th volume of these Curricula was named ‘Religious Studies’, with academic contents for the two main religions in Nigeria which were called *Bible Knowledge* (BK) and *Islamic Studies*. These two subjects were based on the National Policy on Education.⁵⁸⁹ Those involved in the preparation of the materials were The Comparative Education and Adaptation Centre (CESAC)⁵⁹⁰ and the Nigerian Educational Research Council (NERC).

588 Kevin Timpe, and Craig A. Boyd, (Eds.). *Virtues and their vices*. Oxford: Oxford University Press 2015), 28.

589 The latest revision of the National Policy on Education at that time was the one of 1981.

590 For a previous review of the build-up of the curriculum by CESAC see Tony Gozie Anwukah, *Undergirding educational action in Nigeria through responsive curriculum theories*. (Lagos: Comparative Education Study and Adaptation Centre (CESAC), 1985).

This 1981 revision of the National Policy on Education is significant because (after the recommendation of the New National Policy on Education released in 1977) the implementation of the 6-3-3-4 system of education practically started from September 1982. It is interesting to note the arbitrary usage of the title of the subjects in official government documents. For example, in 1984 the Nigerian Educational Research Council (NERC) published a curriculum for the first three years of (Junior) Secondary School with the name *Christian Religious Education* (CRE) and the following year (1985) continued this with *Bible Knowledge (BK) for Senior Secondary Schools*. In 1985, the ‘rationale’ and ‘philosophy’ for designing the Secondary School Bible Knowledge curriculum includes the fact that the “Bible Knowledge Curriculum is expected to contain not only the content of the Bible but also moral lessons or instruction for the youth. As in in the case of the Junior Secondary School Christian Religious Education curriculum, therefore, the present one emphasizes the relationship between religion and morality-between God and man- and presents God as the Creator of all mankind, the sustainer of human lives and the source of the Christian belief, joy and hope. This philosophy has prompted the writers of this curriculum to use the Bible as the basic source of the materials for instruction at the senior Secondary School level”.⁵⁹¹

In addition to the needs of assisting students to be better citizens and live in peace in the society, the curriculum is also designed like the other subjects in the Secondary School cycle to prepare them for further studies in tertiary institutions. Some specific objects outlined in the 1985 curriculum are:

- (a) to provide more opportunity for the Nigerian youths to learn more about God and thereby develop their faith in Him;

⁵⁹¹ Federal Ministry of Education, *Senior Secondary Education Curriculum Religious Studies: Islamic studies, Bible Knowledge*. (Lagos: Nigerian Educational Research and Development Council, 1985), 205.

- (b) to enable the youth accept Christ as Saviour
- (c) to enable the youth to recognize Jesus as the founder and sustainer of the Christian Church
- (d) to enable the youth to accept the guidance of the Holy Spirit in their daily activities
- (e) to help the youth to understand the basic teachings of Christ and to apply these to their daily lives and work
- (f) to develop in the youth Christian attitudes and moral values such as humility, respect, love, kindness, justice and fair-play, spirit of forgiveness, obedience, devotion to duty, orderly behaviour and selfless service to God and humanity; and
- (g) to prepare the youth for higher education and for services within the community.⁵⁹²

One can see that the teaching of the Bible is specifically intended to include the acceptance of the Christian faith. This is consistent with the historical development of the teaching of this subject coming from the time of the early Christian missionaries.⁵⁹³ At the same time, there was also moral expectations from the 1995 curriculum.

592 Ibid., 206.

593 The historical development of the teaching CRE and works of the early Christian missionaries have been discussed in previous chapters of this work. The teaching of Religious Education in Nigeria has always been confessional for both Christians and Muslims. However, in the past decades, there have been different attempts from local international groups to modify the contents and purpose of Religious Education in the country and Aisha Lemu notes that: “in the mid 1980’s a group of agnostic humanists in some of the southern universities tried to replace Islamic and Christian Religious Knowledge with a syllabus called ‘Moral Education’, detached from religion so that Muslims and Christians could be taught in the same classes. This however raised the question of who would determine what was ‘moral’ or ‘immoral’ and what would be the religion or belief of the teacher of the subject. Both Muslim and Christian organizations protested against it on the grounds that religion is the source and ultimate sanction of moral values in this world and on the Day of Judgment. They advised the agnostics that if they wanted their syllabus for the small minority of unbelievers they could campaign for it, but that the vast majority of Nigerians are believing Christians and Muslims who want morality to be embedded in the context and teachings of religion. The Government accepted this position... There is a growing resistance to UN-sponsored programs being fed into the educational system without due consideration of existing moral and cultural beliefs. In recent months, it has been a Sexuality Education syllabus introducing children to various sexual practices and

Therefore, in 1995, when the Christian Religious Knowledge Curriculum was implemented; the general assumption was that the subject would help in instilling in youths the required and desired knowledge, values, behaviours, attitudes and skills that would ensure their effective adaptation in an ever changing multi-faith and multi-ethnic society such as Nigeria. It was expected to contain not only the content of the Bible but also moral lessons or instructions for the youth. It was believed that teaching and learning the Bible would help Nigerian youth to prepare for useful living within the society and that the Christian Religious Knowledge teacher could help the youths to improve their morals and attitudes to God, to their fellow men, to their work and to the nation general.⁵⁹⁴

6.2.1 Structure

The structure of the Secondary School curriculum especially from 1985 became more theological and thematic rather than ‘chronological’. This means that the aim was not only to make the students know ‘about’ the books of the Bible but to study specifically chosen themes from the Old and New Testaments that are considered pastorally relevant at the time. Consequently, one could have a theme that have scriptural passages from different books of the Bible and they would all be studied together.

deviations. Details were reported in the press which caused uproar among parents and religious bodies and suspicion of who is really in charge of our educational system. Whatever is to be done in respect of religious plurality must be handled with the utmost care and consultation in order to promote mutual understanding, which cannot be achieved by fiat or force.” See Aisha Bridget Lemu, (2002). Religious education in Nigeria – A case study. Teaching for tolerance and freedom of religion or belief. Report from the preparatory seminar held in Oslo December 7-9, 2002. In *The Oslo Coalition on Freedom of Religion or Belief*, retrieved from <http://folk.uio.no/leirvik/OsloCoalition/AishaLemu.htm>

594 F. O. Falako, (2013). Examination of the Status of the Bible in the Christian Religious Knowledge Secondary Schools' Curriculum. *Journal of Educational Review*, 6(3), 438. Retrieved from <http://serialsjournals.com/serialjournalmanager/pdf/1390388640.pdf> Citing C. T. Gotan, (2005). *Evaluation of Christian Religious Knowledge Curriculum for Junior Secondary Schools in Plateau State of Nigeria 1985-2002*, (unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of Jos, Jos, Nigeria.

For the first year of Secondary School most of the themes were explained by focusing on ‘stories’ from the Old Testament. In the second year, the focus was on the ‘person of Jesus Christ’ and this theme was covered mainly by a comparative study of the synoptic gospels (of Mark, Matthew and Luke). In the third year of junior secondary, the theological themes are taken mainly from the Acts of the Apostles. From this analysis of the structure one can see the ‘Prophetic’, ‘Christological’ and ‘Missionary’ focus of the syllabus in the first three years of secondary school

Year	1	2	3
<i>Main Theological Themes</i>	<i>Prophetic</i>	<i>Christological</i>	<i>Missiological</i>
Bible Focus	Old Testament Stories	Life of Jesus Christ	Early Church
Trinitarian Focus	Father	Son	Holy Spirit
Text Book contents	Creation, Call, Covenant, story of the Israelites	Synoptic Gospels of Matthew, Mark and Luke	Acts of the Apostles

Table 41. Junior Secondary School CRE structure from the 1985 syllabus.

From the 4th -6th year (of Senior Secondary 1-2-3), the Bible Knowledge keeps to the same structure, but there are some changes in the selection of the books of the Bible studied. There is more variety. The Prophetic theme for example, focuses on leadership qualities that the students may acquire as they prepare for university and grow into young adults in society. The focus of the structure will not only be to gain familiarity with the Old Testament stories, but to evaluate the challenges and lessons learned but those events in the lives of the Kings, Judges,

Patriarchs, and Prophets as leaders of the people of Israel. In the Christological aspects, focus is placed on the love of God revealed Jesus Christ and how the principle of Christian charity plays a role in righteous living. The meaning of suffering from the example of the passion of Christ is also included in the general themes that make up the structure. In the Missiological aspects, there is an invitation of the individual to accept and respond to the working of the Holy Spirit by learning about the ‘gifts’ and ‘fruits’ of the Spirit, discerning between ‘natural’, ‘national’ and ‘supernatural’ laws, ‘faith’, ‘grace’ and ‘community’.

Year	4	5	6
<i>Main Theological Themes</i>	<i>Missiological /Christological</i>	<i>Prophetic</i>	<i>Missiological /Christological</i>
Bible Focus	Pauline and Johannine Literatures	Mainly on the Minor Prophets and Patriarchs	Early Church
Trinitarian Focus	Father, Son and Spirit	Father and Holy Spirit	Son and Holy Spirit
Text Book contents	Gospel according to John and Pauline Epistles, Johannine Epistles.	Creation, Covenant, Leadership and Reform, Community building.	Justice and Religious Reform, Worship, Baptism, Example of Christ, Miracles and Parables

Table 42. Senior Secondary School Bible Knowledge structure from the 1985 syllabus.

The structure contained some materials in the Senior Secondary School that was not present in the previous syllabi especially some passages in the 4th year from the Gospel according to John, Letters of John and others from the letter to the Colossians, Romans, Galatians, 1

Thessalonians, 2 Thessalonians, Philippians, 1 Corinthians, Philemon, James and 1 Peter. These were added to develop further the themes including the 'Identity of Jesus Christ', some teachings of Jesus about 'himself', theological meaning of 'Sonship', 'Family life', 'Christian Prayer', 'Christian Community', 'Law and Grace', 'Forgiveness' 'Persecution', 'Justification by faith' and 'Humility'. In the 5th year there is a continuation of the story of Creation from Genesis with a focus on the 'Sovereignty of God' and 'Controller of the Universe'. Other additions include specific leaders in the history of Israel like Joseph, Moses, Joshua and Deborah. 'Parental responsibility' and, 'National concern' are also in the selection. Some of the books of the Bible studied to understand these themes include: Judges, 1 Kings, 2 Kings, Nehemiah, Daniel, Jonah, Joshua, Exodus, Deuteronomy, Ezra, Genesis, Numbers, 1 Samuel and 2 Samuel. In the 6th year, themes were added to the prophetic part of the structure with passages from Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Amos, Hosea and Isaiah and a repetition of some of the Christological themes previously studied from the synoptic gospels, and missiological themes about the early Church and pneumatology from the Acts of the Apostles. By so doing, the same structure created room for a general revision of some of the major themes of the Bible that the students would have been developing since their first year. Some of the themes include 'Holiness and Divine call', 'Baptism', 'Sin', 'Temptation', 'The passion of Christ', 'the Resurrection', 'Mission to the Gentles' and 'Workings of the Holy Spirit' in the economy of salvation ⁵⁹⁵

As can be expected, indigenous authors and publishers had to respond in their publications to the development of the syllabus and curriculum. "The construction of a new curriculum calls for other related activities, such as the writing and publication of new textbooks, pupils' work

⁵⁹⁵ Federal Ministry of Education, *Senior Secondary Education Curriculum Religious Studies: Islamic studies, Bible Knowledge*, 207.

books and teachers' manuals. The Bible Knowledge Curriculum is not an exception. The adoption of the curriculum therefore poses a new challenge to indigenous authors and publishers so that adequate teaching materials can speedily be made available to teachers and students".⁵⁹⁶

6.2.2 Contents

The contents of the Secondary School curriculum for Christian Religious Education is based upon some set criteria. These criteria have been updated and outlined in the 2001 guidelines for the development of basic education in Nigeria (first 9 years -made up of 6 years of primary and 3 years of Junior secondary). They include elements such as 'Significance', 'Scope and Depth of coverage', 'Suitability', 'Utility', 'National aspirations and goals', 'Learnability', 'Utility', 'Implementability', 'Needs and Problems of society/individuals' and 'Validity'.⁵⁹⁷

Previous research on the 'themes' by Bidmos⁵⁹⁸ and Falako⁵⁹⁹ show that there has been a shift from a direct focus on 'Bible study' to a broader Bible and Pastoral study. This means that the themes preferred for the course of study now include applied socio-economic issues. This shift has two main implications. Firstly, the name of the subject started to change from 'Bible Knowledge (BK) to Christian Religious knowledge and Christian Religious Studies. It was no longer studying to acquire 'knowledge' of the Bible, but to feed that knowledge into the national education goals of the country. The 'advantages' and 'contributions' of Christianity to the world are now included to the 'Bible Knowledge'. The names Christian Religious

596 Federal Ministry of Education, *Senior Secondary Education Curriculum Religious Studies: Islamic studies, Bible Knowledge*. (Lagos: Nigerian Educational Research and Development Council, 1985), 208.

597 Augustine Uzoma Ihedinma, *Reconstructing the Religious Knowledge Curriculum in Nigeria: A study of inclusive education and pedagogical reform* (Doctoral dissertation, Institute of Education, University of London, 2004), 131-132. Citing National Education Research and Development Council, *Guidelines for the Revision and Development of the National Primary and Junior Secondary School Curricula* (Lagos: Education Tax Fund, 2001), 8.

598 M. A. Bidmos, Moral and Religious Education, Congruence or Divergence? In A. M. Ejiogu & D. Ajeyalemi (Eds.), *Emergent Issues in Nigerian Education* (1st ed., 171-182), (Lagos: Joja, 1987).

599 F. O. Falako, (2012). Religious Studies and the Challenge of Indoctrination in a Pluralistic Society. *International Council for Higher Education ICHE: West African Journal of Higher Education*, 2, 61-68.

Knowledge (CRK) or Christian Religious Studies (CRS) or Christian Religious Education (CRE) include the study of the Bible and other related issues like morality and national values.

According to Falako:

Different nomenclatures are being used in the schools such as Bible Knowledge (B.K.); Christian Religious Knowledge (CRK); Christian Religious Education (CRE) and Christian Religious Studies (CRS). The first two, BK and CRK, are being rejected because of their perceived emphasis on mere acquisition of the knowledge of the Bible. More often than not, the syllabi of BK and CRK are examination oriented in which case pupils only memorize Bible facts and reproduce them on demand without any sign of simulation or reflection, the effective domain is not developed... The subject was treated like History were students were fed with the History and religion of Israel and the life and teachings of Jesus Christ; it was also taught like Literature and students provided answers to questions like: *Who said this, to whom and why?* Thus, teachers then employed the use of lecture method and memorization of facts....⁶⁰⁰

The second implication is that text books for teaching the subject have to be modified from what was used in the past when the focus was primarily for the study of the Bible. This change became an opportunity for African theologians and indigenous publishers and writers to

600 F. O. Falako, (2013). Examination of the Status of the Bible in the Christian Religious Knowledge Secondary Schools' Curriculum. *Journal of Educational Review*, 6(3), 438. Retrieved from <http://serialsjournals.com/serialjournalmanager/pdf/1390388640.pdf> Citing M. A. Bidmos, Moral and Religious Education, Congruence or Divergence? In A. M. Ejiogu & D. Ajeyalemi (Eds.), *Emergent Issues in Nigerian Education* (1st ed., 171-182). (Lagos: Joja, 1987). Though there were concerns of 'relativism' mentioned in this article with regards to weakening the contents of CRE in the schools, one can argue that it may not be the case. This is because the Biblical contents of the subject is not changed in anyway. Perhaps the challenge for the local theologian is how to make the contents of scriptures relevant for the modern society within the Nigerian context. This challenge has been taken up quite vigorously as can be seen in the locally published textbooks with themes that are pastorally applied to needs of the local Church and community.

contribute original thoughts in the books. Pastorally, this also creates an opportunity for ongoing research and evaluation on the influence of Christian Religious Study in the country.

In a previous work on the 1985 CRK syllabus, Ihedinma presented some of the major themes as was being taught in Nigerian schools. One can identify about 28 themes in the Junior Secondary and another 52 themes for the Senior Secondary CRK content from the 1985 syllabus.⁶⁰¹ The contents of that syllabus is enumerated below.

Year 1 (JSS 1)

- 1 Relationship with God: (understanding human relationships, understanding Religion as relationship with God, Man's continuous search for a relationship with God).
2. Creation: (Biblical account of creation, Man's share in God's creative activity, dignity of God's creation).
3. Sin and its consequences (sin: a break in relationship and order, consequences of sin, overcoming temptation to sin).
- 4 Need for reconciliation (strong desire for power breaks relationships, ways of reconciling broken relationships).
- 5 Responding faithfully to God's call (God calls man into a new relationship, God's promise and its fulfilment, total obedience in faith).
6. Responding faithfully to the needs of others (identifying the needs of others, Christian response to the needs of others, faithfulness loyalty and accountability to the needs of others)
- 7 God wants people to be free (achieving freedom, responsibility for the promotion of freedom in society, protecting freedom).

601 Augustine Uzoma Ihedinma, *Reconstructing the Religious Knowledge Curriculum in Nigeria: A study of inclusive education and pedagogical reform* (Doctoral dissertation, Institute of Education, University of London, 2004). 181-182.

8. Living in community under God's law (what is law? God's law in the Old Testament, the law of Christ in the New Testament).

9 Sustaining relationship with God (continuous renewal of relationship with God, continuous service in God's community, acceptance of special responsibilities in Christian communities)

Year 2 (JSS 2)

1 The early life of Jesus Christ (preparation for the coming of Jesus Christ- Luke 1:5-25; 57-80, Matthew 3:1-12. The birth of Jesus Christ- Luke 2:1-20, 31 and 32; Matthew 2:1-12. The childhood of Jesus Christ Luke 2:41-51; Mark 6:3; Luke 2:1-20, Matthew 2:13-15.

2 Jesus Prepares for his life's ministry (the baptism of Jesus-Matthew 3:13-17, Luke 3:21-22, Mark 1:9-12, the temptation of Jesus- Matthew 4:1-11, Luke 4:1-13, Jesus selects his disciples- John 1:35-51, Matthew 9:9-38, Luke 5:1-11; 27-31, Mark 3:13-19)

3 Jesus welcomes all people (Jesus Christ and the elite: Nicodemus- John 3:1-17, Jesus Christ and the rejected: the Samaritan Woman- John 4:7-47, Jesus Christ and the sinner: the adulterous woman- John 8:1-11)

4 Jesus Christ cares for people (Jesus Christ's concern for those in need- John 2:1-11, 6:5-14, Jesus caring for the sick- Mark 1:21-28, 3:1-6, 5:24-34, Jesus' power over death- Luke 7:11-17, John 11:1-46)

5 Jesus teaches in parables (about God's relationship with his people-Luke 15:1-32, about our attitude to possessions- Luke 12:13-21, 16:19-31, about maturity and responsibility- John 2:1-11, 6:5-14)

6 Jesus Christ and the law (Jesus Christ subjects himself to the civil and religious laws-Luke 2:22-24, 41-51, Matthew 22:15-22, 23:2-27, Mark 1:40-44, Jesus Christ clarifies true meaning of the law-Matthew 7:1-13, 23:23-28, 23:1-12, Jesus Christ teaches that love is the supreme law-Luke 10:27, John 13:34-35, 1 Corinthians 13:4-8, 13).

7 Some other teachings of Jesus Christ (The Beatitudes, Persecution and Judgement- Matthew 5:5-12, Other Christian qualities, trust-Matthew 6:14-21, 6:24-34, 25:35-36, Acts 20:35. Commitment-Matthew 5:13-14).

8 Jesus Christ the Messiah, accepts suffering and death (the triumphant entry into Jerusalem-Matthew 11:1-11, Luke 11:28-40. The Last Supper-Luke 22:7-20, John 13:1-12, Matthew 26:26-30, 1 Corinthians 11:17-34. The Suffering and death of Jesus Christ: before Pilate and Crucifixion -Mark 14:27-72, 15:1-47. Arrest and trial before the High Priest- Mark 14:27-72, 15:1-47).

9 The Resurrection of Jesus Christ (Victory of Jesus Christ over death, The appearances of Jesus Christ Luke 24:1-11, 13-49, John 20:19-23, 24-29, 21:1-4. The Great Commission-Matthew 28:19-20, Luke 24:50-53).

Year 3 (JSS 3)

1 The Holy Spirit (the promise of the Holy Spirit- Acts 1:3-5, John 14:15-28, the coming of the Holy Spirit-Acts 2:1-13; 14-35, The effect of the Holy Spirit on Christians today- Galatians 5:22-24)

2 The early days of the Church (The Church in Jerusalem Acts 2:43-47, Act 4:32-37, The Church in Samaria Acts 8:8-4-25, The Church in parts of Palestine, Lydda and Joppa-Acts 9:32-35, 9:36-43, The Church in Caesarea-Acts 10:1-41)

3 Paul's early life (birth place, trade, education/persecutor of Christians-Acts 22:25, Acts 22:28, Acts 22:3 Acts 18:1-3. The conversion of Saul-Acts 9:3-9, reaction to Saul's conversion-Acts 9:25)

4 The spread of the gospel outside Palestine Matthew 28:18-29, Acts 1:8 (the structure of the Roman Empire facilitated the spread of Christianity-Acts 22:24-29, The missionary Church in Antioch in Syria- Acts 13:1-5, The Church in Paphos and Lystra- Acts 13:6-12, Acts 14:8-18)

5 Controversies among the early Christian believers (presenting the difficulties-Acts 15:20, Acts 11:1-3, 1 Corinthians 1:1-4, 12-13, 1 Corinthians 7, 1 Corinthians 8, 1 Corinthians 11, 1 Corinthians 12, 1 Corinthians 15. The Jerusalem Council 48 AD-Acts 15:1-35, conflict in Community)

6 Further spread of the Church (Paul at Philippi-Acts 16:11-40, Paul at Athens-Acts 17:16-34, Paul at Ephesus-Acts 19:1-19; 21-41)

7 Paul and civil authorities (Paul before Felix-Acts 24, Paul Before Festus-Acts 25:1-12, Paul before Agrippa-Acts 25:13-26, Acts 26:1-32)

8 The Christian Church today (The Mission of the Church, The growth of the Christian Church, New Religious Movements, Christian Co-operation, The Christian Church in Society).⁶⁰²

Year 4 (SS 1)

1 Jesus' teaching about himself (Jesus the lamb, the door and Good Shepherd -John 1:29-30, John 10:1-18, The light and the true vine - John 3:19, 8:12, 9:4-5, John 12:35-36, John 15:1-11, 1 John 1:5-7, The living bread and water- John 4:7-15; 6:25-50, The Resurrection and the life- John 11:25; 14:1-7, 1 John 5:11-12).

2 Signs of Jesus (nature miracles- John 2:1-11, John 6:5-13, John 6:16-21, healing miracles – John 4:46-54, John 5:1-18, John 9:1-7, raising of Lazarus- John 11:1-45).

3 Love (God's love for man- John 3:16-18, love for one another John 13:34-35; 15:12-13, 1 John 3:11-18, 1 John 4:7-21, 1 Corinthians 13:1-13).

4 Justification by faith (justification as righteousness- Romans 3:21-24, Galatians 3:19-21, faith as a condition for justification- Romans 10:5, Galatians 2:16, Romans 1:16-17; 4:1-5; 10:6-21, Galatians 2:16-22, Colossians 1:4).

602 Cf. Augustine Uzoma Ihedinma, *Reconstructing the Religious Knowledge Curriculum in Nigeria: A study of inclusive education and pedagogical reform*, PhD thesis university of London 2004 181-182. Many of the themes studies in the first 3 years of Junior Secondary School will be repeated in the last 3 years of Senior Secondary School with more depth.

5. Law and Grace (Law and the Grace of God- Romans 3:19-26; 4:13-16; 5:18-21; Galatians 3:10-14, 19-29).
6. New life in Christ (The old life-Romans 6:1-4, 12-14; 7:4-6; Colossians 3:1-17; Galatians 5:16-21, New life in Christ- Romans 6:3-4, Galatians 5:22-24, 2 Corinthians 5:17, Thessalonians 4:1-8, Ephesians 2:1-10).
- 7 Jesus the Son of God (Jesus is the Son of God- Romans 8:3, 17, 32, 39, Christians as children of God- Romans 8:1-39, Galatians 3:25-4:1-7, 1 Thessalonians 5:4-5, Ephesians 1:5, 6; 2:19).
- 8 Humility (lowliness of mind- Philippians 2:1-11, 1 Peter 5:5-11).
- 9 Forgiveness (pleading for forgiveness- Philemon 1:22, Galatians 6:1-2, 2 Corinthians 2:5-11)
- 10 Spiritual gifts (different types of spiritual gifts and talents- 1 Corinthians 12:1-31; 14:1-40, Romans 12:3-8).
- 11 Christian giving (joy in giving-Philippians 4:14-16, 2 Corinthians 8:3-5, 9:1-5, reward for giving-Philippians 4:17-20, 2 Corinthians 9:6-15).
- 12 Civic responsibility (need for order in society and serving with the fear of God- Romans 13:1-7, Good citizenship- 1 Peter 2:13-17).
- 13 Dignity of labour (dignity and the obligation to work- 2 Thessalonians 3:6-15, 2:9, Colossians 3:23-25, Ephesians 6:5-8, Titus 3:1).
- 14 The Family (rights and obligations- Colossians 3:18-21, 1 Peter 3:1-7).
- 15 The Second Coming (signs of the Second Coming- 1 Thessalonians 4:13-18, 2 Thessalonians 2:1-2, Preparation for the Second Coming 1 Thessalonians 5:1-11).
- 16 Resurrection (unending life with God- 1 Corinthians 15:1-58)
- 17 Faith and works (faith and works- James 1:22-27, Hebrews 11:1-3).
- 18 Impartiality (impartiality and teachings against Prejudice- James 2:1-13).
- 19 Effective prayers (James 1:1-8; 4:1-3, 5:13-20)

20 Christian living in the community (Christians living among non-Christians- 1 Peter 1:13-17; 2:9-25; 4:1-19, Interpersonal relationship among Christians- 1 Peter 5:1-4, 1 Peter 5:5-6, 1 Peter 5:7-11).

21 Christians and persecution (Christians' attitude to persecution- 1 Peter 1:5-9; 6:17, 4:12-19)

Year 5 (SS 2)

1 The sovereignty of God: (God the Creator-Genesis 1:2, God the Controller of the Universe- Gen 1:26-31, Amos 9:5-7; Isaiah 45:9-12).

2 The Covenant (God's Covenant with Abraham- Genesis 12:1-9; 17:1-21; 21:1-8; 25:19-26, God's Covenant with Israel- Exodus 2:23-25, Exodus 19-20, Exodus 24:1-11, Exodus 32:1-20, 30-34, Deuteronomy 30:15-20, the New Covenant- Jeremiah 31:31-34, Jeremiah 32:36-41; Ezekiel 26:25-28, Hebrews 8:1-13, Hebrews 9:11-22).

3 Leadership (Joseph as a leader-Genesis 37:1-28, Genesis 41:1-57, Genesis 45:1-15, Moses as a leader-Exodus 1-3, Exodus 4:1-17, 5:1-5, 22-23, 6:28, 7:7;14:1-31, 32:1-14, Numbers 13:1-33; 14:1-19, Joshua as a leader-Numbers 13:16, 14:10, 27:15-23, Joshua 1:1-9, Joshua 6, Joshua 1:10-15, 24:1-28, Deborah as a leader- Judges 4:1-24).

4 God's Care for his people (guidance, providence ['provisions'] Exodus 16:1-21; 17:1-7, 1 Kings 17:1-16, protection- Exodus 14:10-31).

5 Parental responsibility (Eli and Samuel- 1 Samuel 2:11-25; 8:1-5, Exodus 23:6-8, 1 Samuel 2:27-36; 3:2-18, 1 Samuel 4:1-22, example of King Asa- 1 Kings 15:9-15, 1 Kings 22:41-44).

6 Disobedience and consequences (Saul's disobedience 1 Samuel 10: 1-16, 1 Samuel 15:1-19, consequences of Saul's disobedience 1 Samuel 15:20-25, 1 Samuel 16:14-23, 1 Samuel 31:1-13).

7 A man after God's own heart (submission to the will of God- 1 Samuel 26:1-25, 2 Samuel 12:15-25, forgiveness- 2 Samuel 3:1-39, 2 Samuel 11, 12:1-15).

8 Making decisions (Solomon's wisdom 1 Kings 3:3-15, 1 Kings 3:16-28; 4:29-34, 1 Kings 5:1-12, 8:1-53, Unwise decisions of Solomon and Rehoboam- 1 Kings 9:1-23; 11:1-13 1 Kings 12:1-20).

9 Greed and its effects (Greedy Ahab and Gehazi- 1 Kings 21:1-16, 1 Kings 21:17-29, 2 Kings 5:1-27

Year 5 (SS 2)

1 The supremacy of God (religious tension- Elijah and Obadiah 1 Kings 16:29-34; 17:1-7; 18:1-19; 19:1-18, Elijah at Mount Carmel- 1 Kings 18:17-19, 1 Kings 18:20-46 cf. 1 Samuel 5:1-12).

2 Concern for one's Nation (the condition of the nation-2 Kings 24; 25:1-7, Nehemiah 1:1-11, 2:9-20, 2 Kings 25:8-17, response to the state of the nation- Nehemiah 1:1-11; 2:9-20, Ezra 7:1-10, 4; 5:1-2; 6:13-22).

3 Faith in God (faith and courage- Daniel 3:1-30, faith and power- Daniel 6:1-28)

4 The Message of God (the messenger Jonah 1:1-17, Jonah 2:1-10, The message- Jonah 3:1-9, Jonah 3:10-4:11 cf. Judges 2:11-18).

Year 6 (SS 3)

1 True religion and social justice (true religion- Amos 5:21-23, 25; 4:4-5, Amos 5:4, 14:15, 24, Social justice- Amos 2:6-8; 4:1-2; 5:10-12; 8:4-6, 4:2-3; 6:1-14; 5:1-24; 7:10 -17; 8:4-14).

2 Divine love (the love of God - the symbolic meaning of the marriage of prophet Hosea, Hosea 1, 2, 3, 4, Man's Response to God's love- Hosea 6:1-11;14)

3 Holiness and divine call (Holiness of God- Isaiah 1:10-20, 6:1-7, Divine Call- Isaiah 6:8-13, Ezekiel 1:2; 3:1-11, Jeremiah 1:4-10).

4 Punishment and hope (punishment- Jeremiah 2; 5:14-19; 32:26-35, Ezekiel 18., hope- Jeremiah 3:11-18; 4:1-2, 14)

5 Baptism and Temptation of Jesus (The Baptism- Matthew 3:13-17, Mark 1:9-11 Luke 3:21-22, The Temptation- Matthew 4:1-11, Mark 1:12-13, Luke 4:1-13)

6 Discipleship (call to discipleship-Matthew 4:18-25, 9:9-13; Mark 1:16-20; 2:13-17; 5:1-11, 27, 32; 9:57-62, the demands of discipleship- Matthew 8:18-28, Luke 9:57-63, Luke 14: 25-33).

7 Miracles (nature miracles Matthew 8:23-27, Mark 4:35-41, Luke 8:22-25, Matthew 14:13-24, Luke 9:10-17, Matthew 15:32-39, Mark 8:1-9, Matthew 14:22-26, Mark 6:45-52, healing miracles- Matthew 8: 1-4, Mark 1:40-44, Luke 5:12-16, Matthew 9:1-8, Mark 2:1-12, Luke 5:17-26, Matthew 8:14-17, Mark 1:29-31, Luke 4:38-39)

8 Parables: (parables of the kingdom of God- Matthew 23:1-23; Mark 4:1-20, Matthew 13:31-32, Mark 4:30-32, Luke 13:18-19, Matthew 13:24-30, 36-43, Mark 4:26-29, Parables illustrating God's love- Luke 15:1-7, Matthew 18:12-14, Luke 15:8-10, Luke 15:11-32, Parables illustrating concern for one another- Luke 10:25-37, Luke 16:19-31).

9 Sermon on the Mount (Jesus' Teaching on the demands of the kingdom Matthew 5, 6:1-18, Jesus' teaching on worldly possessions- Matthew 6:19-21, Matthew 6:25-34).

10 Mission of the disciples (mission of the twelve and the 72- Matthew 10:1-15, Mark 6:7-13, Luke 9:1-16, Luke 10:1-24).

11 Transfiguration (Christ reveals his glory-Matthew 17:1-13, Mark 9:2-13, Luke 9:28-36).

12 Triumphal entry and cleansing of the Temple (Triumphant Entry- Matthew 21:1-12, Mark 11:1-14; Luke 19:29-44, Matthew 21:12-17, Mark 11:15-19, Luke 19:45-48).

13 The Trial and death of Christ (the trials of Christ- Matthew 26:36-75, Mark 14:53-72, Luke 22:66-71, Matthew 27:11-31, Mark 15:1-25, Luke 23:1-5, 13-25, Luke 23:6-12, Crucifixion and Burial-Matthew 27:32-66, Luke 23:26-56, Mark 15:16-47, Matthew 27:46, Mark 15:54, Luke 23:34, 43, 46, Matthew 27:57-61, Mark 15:42-47, Luke 23:50-56).

14 The Resurrection appearances and Ascension of Jesus Christ (The Resurrection of Jesus- Matthew 28:1-8, Mark 16:1-8, Luke 24:1-11, The Appearances and Ascension of Jesus- Matthew 28:9-20, Luke 24:13-49).

15 Fellowship in the early Church (communal living in the early Church- Acts 1:15-26, Acts 2:41-47, 4:32-37, problems Acts 5:1-11; 6:1, solutions Acts 6:2-6).

16 The Holy Spirit and the mission (the Pentecost- promise Acts 1:8, coming Acts 2:1-13 Peter's speech Acts 2:14-41. The mission of the Church- In Judah and Samaria, Acts 8).

17 Mission to the Gentiles (conversion of Saul- Acts 9:1-19, Acts 9:20-30. The commissioning and the mission of Paul- Acts 13; 14:1-20. The mission of Peter and the Council of Jerusalem- Acts 9:32-42, Acts 10:1-43, 44-48, Acts 11:1-18, Council of Jerusalem Acts 15:1-35).⁶⁰³

Subsequent curricula are based on the pattern and content of the one prepared in 1995. There have been very little changes since the past thirty years. However, some themes on health, social justice and human dignity have been introduced. Below is a summary of the present structure that is now being used as at the time of this research. ⁶⁰⁴

603 Cf. Federal Ministry of Education, *Senior Secondary Education Curriculum Religious Studies: Islamic studies, Bible Knowledge*. (Lagos: Nigerian Educational Research and Development Council, 1985), 209-250. For the contents of the Junior Secondary School syllabus see

604 Form the Nigerian Educational Research and Development Council, (2013). Nigerian Educational Research and Development Council (NERDC) e-Curriculum Portal. Retrieved from <http://nerdc.org.ng/eCurriculum/CurriculumView.aspx>

Junior Secondary School 1 (Upper Basic 7) CRS Themes	3 Themes	Some examples of Units
1	God and His Creation	1 The Creation Story 2 Marriage 3 Disobedience
2	God's Call	1 Call to Repentance 2 Call to Obedience 3 Call to Service
3	Keeping God in Our Relationship	1 Relationship in the Family 2 Relationship in School 3 Relationship in the Church and community
Junior Secondary School 2 (Upper Basic 8) CRS themes	3 Themes	Some examples of Units
1	The Early Life of Jesus	1 The Birth of Jesus 2 Jesus and His Family 3 The Baptism and Temptation of Jesus
2	The Ministry of Jesus	1 The Call of the Disciples 2 Sermon on the Mount. 3 Some Parables of Jesus
3	The Sacrifice of Jesus	1 The Passion of Christ 2 The Death and Burial of Jesus Christ 3 The Resurrection and Appearance of Jesus
Junior Secondary School 3 (Upper Basic 9) CRS themes	3 Themes	Some examples of Units
1	The Beginning of the Church	1 The Promise of the Holy Spirit 2 Fellowship in the Early Church 3 Persecution of the Early Believers.
2	The Ministry of the Apostles	1 The Ministry of Peter 2 The Ministry of the Apostle Paul 3 Paul's First Missionary Journey
3	The Christian Church Today	1 Unity Among Christians 2 Christian Living

Table 43. Samples of Junior Secondary School themes and units

For the Senior Secondary School, the themes are more in number and there are repetitions of some of the themes especially about the passion of Christ (previously studied in the second year of secondary school. In addition, there is the introduction of some themes in the final year of Secondary School that are more geared towards social issues, civic responsibility and human dignity

Senior Secondary School 1 CRS themes	7 Themes	Some examples of Units
1	Jesus Teaching About himself	1 Jesus as the Lamb, the Door and the Good Shepherd 2 Jesus the Light of the World 3 Jesus the True Vine 4 Jesus as the Living Bread and Water
2	Love	1 God's Love for Man 2 Love for One Another
3	Justification by Faith	1 Justification by Faith
4	New Life in Christ	1 New Life in Christ
5	Sonship	1 Sonship
6	Faith that Works	1 Faith and Works
7	Fruits of the Spirit	1 The Fruit of the Spirit
Senior Secondary School 2 CRS themes	14 Themes	Some examples of Units
1	The Sovereignty of God	1 God the Creator 2 God the Controller of the Universe 3 The Apostles Creed
2	Leadership of Joseph, Moses, Joshua and Deborah	1 Joseph as a Leader 2 Moses as a Leader 3 Joshua as a Leader 4 Deborah as a Leader
3	God Cares for His People	1 Guidance 2 Provisions 3 Protection
4	Parental Responsibility	1 Example of Eli and Samuel 2 Example of Asa
5	Consequences of Obedience and Disobedience	1 Consequences of Obedience

		2 Consequences of Disobedience
6	Friendship	1 Friendship
7	Submission to the Will of God	1 Trust in God
8	Making decision as a Christian	1 The Wisdom of Solomon 2 Unwise Decisions of Solomon and Rehoboam
9	Greed and its effects	1 The Effects of Greed (Ahab and Gehazi)
10	The Supremacy of God	1 The Supremacy of God 2 Elijah at Mount Carmel
11	Religious Reforms	1 Religious Reforms
12	Concern for one's Nation	1 Concern for One's Nation
13	Faith in God	1 Faith in God 2 Faith and Power of God
14	True Religion and Social Justice	1 True Religion and Social Justice 2 Divine Love
Senior Secondary School 3 CRS Themes	11 Themes	Some examples of Units
1	Baptism and Temptation of Jesus	1 The Baptism 2 The Temptation of Jesus
2	Call to Discipleship	1 Call to Discipleship
3	Mission of the Disciple	1 Mission of the Twelve and Seventy Disciples
4	Trial, Death and Resurrection of Jesus	1 The Trial of Jesus 2 The Crucifixion, Death and Burial of Jesus. 3 The Resurrection of Jesus
5	Fellowship in the Early Church	1 Communal Living in the Early Church
6	The Holy Spirit and the Mission to the Gentiles	1 The Holy Spirit at Pentecost 2 Mission to the Gentiles
7	Opposition to the Gospel Message	1 Opposition to the Gospel Message
8	Civil Responsibility	1 The Need for Order in the Society 2 Good Citizenship
9	HIV/AIDS	1 Care of the Sick
10	Skill Acquisition and Empowerment	1 Independence and Self Actualisation
11	Dignity of Human Labour	1 Dignity of Labour

Table 44. Samples of senior Secondary School themes and units

6.2.3 Recommended instructional materials

The present recommended textbooks are based on the core themes for Christian religious studies as presented by the National Educational Research and Development Council (NERDC). Though there are different CRE text books with various authors and publishers, some are particularly recommended by states or the federal government. Most of these books are published by indigenous publishing houses or international publishers with Nigerian authors. For example, from 1978, *Spectrum Books Limited* have been contributing to the publishing of test books for Christian Religious Studies and with the introduction of the new system modified curriculum over the years, they have contributed to the production of instructional materials for the subject. They clearly demonstrate the capacity to change with the signs of the time including producing CRE learning materials in CD and digital formats. Part of the features of the materials they listed is listed below:

- Topics are written with clarity and in simple English to suit pupils' abilities.
- Relevant Bible references are given to capture the selected topics in a thematic order.
- Illustrations that make the lessons more understandable and interesting are provided.
- Moral lessons are given to emphasize spiritual relationship with God and good citizenship with fellow human beings.
- Summaries are provided to reinforce assimilation of topics.
- Questions which provide a strong base for evaluation and continuous assessment are included at the end of each module.
- Each book contains a curriculum outline and a work plan to aid teachers in planning their work.

- Each book comes with a Workbook, Teachers’ Guide and a CD that show part of Christian life.⁶⁰⁵

There have been more than 17 Book Fairs at Abuja in the Federal Capital Territory of Nigeria where some of the recommended books for Christian Religious Studies from 2013-2016 were listed. The list confirms the growth and stability of indigenous writers and publishing houses in the country. This has helped to increase the participation of local scholars and professionals by bringing an understanding of African theology to the secondary school. The textbooks are generally grouped into five categories of: ‘Main Texts’, ‘Supplementary Texts’, ‘Alternative Texts’, ‘Revision Texts’ and ‘Library Collection’.

Junior Secondary School

No.	Author	Title	Publishers	Place	Year	Recommendation
1	Quarcoopome, A. J. V. Obinna and L. E. T. Shyllon	Living as God’s Children New Syllabus	African University Press	Ibadan	2010	Main Text 3 volumes
2	Temitope Oluwatobe	Lasswell CRS for Upper Basic JS 1	Lasswell Books Services	Ibadan	2013	1st Alternative Text. 3 volumes
3	Stephen Ogunbode	Bounty C.R.S.	Longman Nigeria	Lagos	2012	2 nd Alternative Text 3 volumes
4	J. Olufemi Olugasa et al	Christian Religious Studies for JSS	University Press	Ibadan	2011	Supplementary Text 3 volumes

Table 45. Some major Junior Secondary School authors and publishers

605 Spectrum Books. (2017). Spectrum Books Limited - CHRISTIAN RELIGION STUDIES FOR JUNIOR SECONDARY SCHOOLS 1 & 2. Retrieved April 1, 2017, from http://spectrumbookslimited.com/index.php?option=com_djcatalog2&view=item&id=17:religion-and-national-values-theme-one-christian-religion-studies-for-junior-secondary-schools-1-2&cid=63:sss&Itemid=255#.WN7qjVKZP_8

For Senior Secondary

No.	Author	Title	Publishers	Place	Year	Recommendation
1	L. O. Udok, C. O. Okemiri, Y. A. Olaomo	Melrose Christian Religious Studies	Prome-Rose Books and Publishing	Sango Otta	2012	Main Text 3 volumes
2	Osadolor Imasociety	Round Up for SS, University Matric, PCE Examinations, etc	University Press	Ibadan	1990	1 st Alternate Text
3	P. G. Adetunji, A. O. Chulo, Y. U. Tsiga	Exam Focus Religious Knowledge	University Press	Ibadan	1999	2 nd Alternative Text
3	New Age Limited	New Age Christian Religious Studies	New Age Publications Limited	Nkpor- Anambra	2013	Supplementary Text

Table 46. Some major Senior Secondary School authors and publishers

Others categorised as 'Library Collections'

No.	Author	Title	Publishers	Place	Year	Recommendation
1	O. J. E. McOliver	Christian Religious Studies for JSS	Spectrum	Ibadan	2011	Library Collection
2	A. A. Adeyinka, D. C. Okeke and M. A. Orebanjo	U.B.E. Education C.R.K.	Learn Africa PLC	Lagos	2011	Library Collection
3	Ify C. Okonkwo et al	New Christian Religious Knowledge	New Age Press Limited	Anambra	2013	Library Collection
4	Nathaniel O. E. Kehinde Popoola	Rasmed Basic C.R.S.	Rasmed Publicaations Limited	Ibadan	2010	Library Collection
5	Fr. Stan Onuorah et al	Founders Basic C.R.S.	Mas Founders Publication Limited	Onitsha	2011	Library Collection

6	Rev. R. T. Faniku, Dr. Segun Gbadegbasin	Ilesanmin Christian Religious Studies	Ilesanmin Press Limited	Akure	2009	Library Collection
7	Rev S. J. Cusimono	Together in God's Family	University Press	Ibadan	2009	Library Collection
8	Val Okaka, J. N. Okeke	Intensive Christian Religious Studies	Noble Publishers	Onitsha	2009	Library Collection
9	H A Adigwe, R. T. Arubalueze, E. I. Aluju, J. N. Okeke	Christian Religious Knowledge for SSS	Africana First Publishers	Onitsha	2010	Library Collection
10	Osadolor Imasociety	Christian Religious Knowledge for SSS	University Press	Ibadan	1990	Library Collection
11	A. J. V. Obinna, L. E. T. Shyllon, T. N. O. Quarcoopome	Christian Religious Knowledge	African University Press	Ibadan	2008	Library Collection
12	Edmond Ugochukwu Okoli	Tonad Essential Christian Religious Knowledge	Tonad Publishers Limited	Ibato-Ogun state	2008	Library Collection
13	Nonyelu Kodigwe	Elites Hand Book Senior School Certificate CRK for JAMB, WASC, NECO	Elites Publishers	Onitsha	2000	Library Collection

Table 47. Some of the officially recommended books by indigenous authors for CRE in Nigeria 2013-2016⁶⁰⁶

606 Education Resource Centre Nigeria. *Approved List of Recommended Textbooks for Schools in Federal Capital Territory Abuja 2013-2016*. (Abuja: Education Resource Centre Mini Press, 2013), 25-28. These Books generally follow the same syllabus and some books that were previously recommended as 'main Texts' in previous years are sometimes changed to other positions like 'Library Collection' in later years. This does not mean that the contents of the books differ, but clearly suggests a rotation in the patronage given to the different authors and publishing houses. Though there was a previous set of recommended books for 2010-2013, preference was given to the updated version of 2013-2016 at the time of the field work for this research in 2015.

The process of selecting these books involved about 407 people who worked together in 2013. The request for submission of the books are made publicly and its books that are submitted go through a formal process as follows:

- Payment of a stipulated (usually small fee) to the NERDC Academic Fund Account. (This payment is done for each book submitted for review individually).
- The Book Development Centre of the NERDC gives a form called the ‘submission form’ to those who have paid and the book is submitted with the completed form.
- The book goes through a review and assessment by the NERDC who make final recommendations.

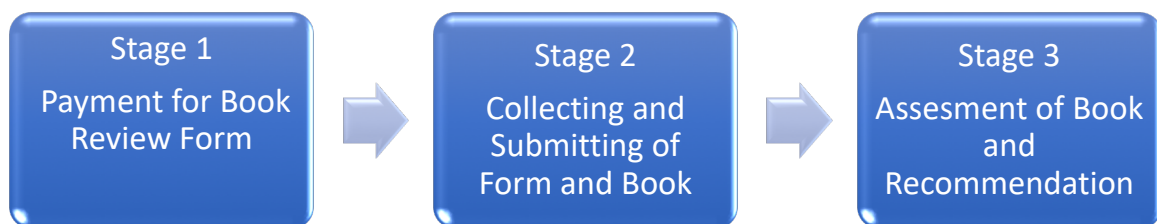


Chart 23. Stages of Book submission and selection in the NEDRC

The different CRE textbooks used for the six years in secondary schools in Nigeria follow the same kind of structure. Local authors try to adapt these biblical theological themes to local contexts. In the next chapter this will be explored further as it relates to African theology.

CHAPTER 7

INDIGENIZATION OF CHRISTIAN RELIGIOUS EDUCATION IN NIGERIA AND AFRICAN THEOLOGY

African theology favours the prioritising of sacred scripture in theological studies. This priority justifies the style of the present curriculum for Christian Religious Studies. In this chapter one can see the how the major trends in African theology link with the historical origins of the heritage received from the early missionaries and works of liberation from slavery and access to formal education.

7.1 Pedagogical approach of indigenous authors of Christian Education Textbooks

One of the challenges of studying Theology in Africa is that it is not an academic discipline that is attractive for future job employment. So, if you ask an average young person in Secondary School with a background of having studied Christian Religious Education if the person would like to be a theologian, the answer will be ‘No’. The introduction to Bible studies in the Secondary School curriculum is not designed to prepare future African theologians. The subject is taught as a pastoral tool in the formation of a good Christian moral conscience. This is also in line with cultural and national values from the local African societies. However, a relatively small number of young people may feel called into Pastoral Ministry and may need to continue the study of Christian theology within the tradition of their churches. This category of people is made up of those who eventually get involved in the study and research of African Christian Theology. Some will focus on its educational aspect as school Christian Education teachers, while others will ingrain the lessons in their personal growth in Leadership, Ministry or Vocation. The pedagogical approach of the indigenous textbooks for CRE, is open to all options.

This open option is possible because CRE in Secondary School level is general non-confessional and mainly scripture based. This common Biblical focus is primal foundation of any serious theological undertaking from a Christian perspective. This is because of the of the ‘primacy’ of the relevance of Sacred Scriptures in Christian theology. In denominational schools, other agreed elements of faith expressions may be optionally provided within the Secondary School environment. These include liturgical and doctrinal activities. In Catholic schools for example, the options of preparing for sacraments may be included. While the textbooks and syllabus may not contain catechetical lessons for preparing students for the sacrament of initiation, Catholic schools are free to have these options when teaching topics about Baptism, the Holy Spirit and the Lords supper which are found in the syllabus with many related themes in the Old and New Testaments. This also helps to clarify the purpose of the study of CRE as a subject that does not only prepare the students for examination grades but also as young adults with many options for their future lives.

The teaching methods of Christian Religious Education in Nigeria have been the same as other subjects in the Secondary School system. It is formal, textbook based and sometimes a mixed with a bit of real-life examples and illustrations. It is difficult to lay emphasis on denominational examples in public schools because of the student body composition of different Christian affiliations. However, the Trinitarian and Christological components of the curriculum is secured by the Federal Ministry of Education through the National Education Research and development centre NERDC. However, in private secondary schools owned by different Christian religious denominations, their respective doctrines may be taught alongside the national curriculum.

Consequently, the categories of the instructional materials may be classified into two. The first being the official text book which follows the national curriculum and focuses on preparation for the national examinations and certification. The second are those that are mainly catechetical and used mainly for the preparation for the sacraments in catholic schools. Some of elements of specific aspects of catholic doctrines of particular interests may be contained in the second category of books. These may include catholic teachings on Mariology, hagiography and other magisterial publications from councils, church history and papal encyclicals. There is a need to adapt these ecclesial documents to local needs and interpretations especially in the level of youth ministries in catholic secondary schools, which is not being done sufficiently at the moment. For example, just as the breviary has been translated into the local Yoruba language⁶⁰⁷ the documents of the second Vatican council and other encyclicals could also be translated into different local languages.

This aspect of Catholic theology in Nigeria is open to more pastoral research, especially with regards to the shaping of a clear identity of the African Theology of Education from an academic perspective. The present pedagogical materials used in secondary schools are very limited and indigenous publishers of catholic theological and educational materials can explore more options of publications.

7.2 Theological and Pastoral emphasis in the contents of instructional materials

The theological emphasis in the Nigerian CRE curriculum is Christocentric. The main focus of the syllabus and style of the local publishers is not to present the Christian Religion but to

607 Michael Olatunji Fagun *Adura Wakati: A Translation of the Divine Office into Yoruba Language*, (Lagos: The World Among Us Press, 2008). Bishop Fagun has been consistent in his pastoral publications and theological contribution to the Nigerian church with other publications. Some of these publications include: Michael Olatunji Fagun, *Iwe Misa Ojoojose: A Translation of the Roman Sunday Missal into Yoruba language*, (Ibadan: Claverianum Press, 1972). Michael Olatunji Fagun, *Legio Mariae Handbook: A Translation into Yoruba*, (Ibadan: Claverianum Press, 1975). Michael Olatunji Fagun, *Iwe Misa Ojoojumo: A Translation of the Daily Missal into Yoruba Language*, (Ibadan: Claverianum Press, 1976). Michael Olatunji Fagun, *Bibeli Mimo A Translation of The Jerusalem Bible into Yoruba Language*, (Ado-Ekiti: Hope Paper Mill, 1992).

present the person, message and mission of Jesus Christ. The three main themes in the first year of secondary school⁶⁰⁸ contain the introduction to the Trinitarian reality of God as ‘Creator’, ‘Sustainer’ and ‘Redeemer’. The themes of ‘Call’, ‘Obedience’, and ‘Service’ prepare one to understand the meaning of the ‘Actions of Christ’⁶⁰⁹. In the second year of Secondary School when most of the students would be about 14 years old, the entire year is all about the life of Christ in three terms with units from the Gospels about the birth, life, death and resurrection of Jesus (as already discussed in chapter 6). This is followed in the next year (which is the third year of secondary school) with the confirmation and fulfilment of the promises of Christ to his disciples. The workings of the Holy Spirit, early life of the Christian Church (community of believers) and missionary expansion, make up the main contents of this class. Most of the scriptural passages are from the Acts of the Apostles and Epistles.

At about the age 16 in the first year of senior secondary school, the Christological themes like Jesus as the ‘Lamb of God’, ‘Light’, ‘Vine’, ‘Bread’, ‘Water’, ‘Resurrection and Life’ are studied. A further understanding of the ‘Miracles of Jesus’ and ‘New life in Christ’ is also included at this stage in the syllabus. Other themes that directly link with the focus on the study of the Person of Christ include: ‘Jesus the Son of God’, ‘Humility of Jesus’, ‘The Second

608 The preparation at the Primary School level also contain a lot of Christological themes that are not studied in this research. However most of those themes are repeated in the Secondary School curriculum. The present educational system of Nigeria that considers the entire 6 years of primary and the first 3 years of secondary as an academic circle of 9 years of ‘Basic Education’. Therefore, one can understand the contents of the first three years of Secondary School (also called basic 7, 8 and 9) as a continuation of the biblical themes previously introduced in the primary level.

609 This theme is understood in liturgical theology in the Priestly ministry of Christ who intercedes on behalf of the people before the Father. In Spiritual theology, the ‘Action of Christ’ makes it possible for believers to do the same kind of works and preaching that Christ did. Christ gives his Spirit to those who believe in him (the Church-his body) so that they live and move ‘in’ him. The same obedience of Jesus to the Father and the fruit of the action also becomes the same obedience of the Church through Christ to the Father in the Holy Spirit. For a recent work on the Christological theme of believers working *ἐν Χριστῷ* (in Christ) see Michael J. Thate, Kelvin J. Vanhoozer and Constantine R Campbell, *"In Christ" in Paul: Explorations in Paul's theology of union and participation*. (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014). And Constantine R Campbell *Paul and union with Christ: An exegetical and theological study*. (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2012).

Coming’, ‘Faith in Christ’, ‘Prayer’ and ‘The Resurrection. Out of about twenty-one units, more than half focus on the person of Christ directly.

The second year of Senior Secondary School have biblical themes that focus mainly on leadership and the final (third) year takes up the direct themes on the person of Jesus Christ like his: Baptism and Temptations, Call to Discipleship, Miracles, Parables, sermon on the Mount and other teachings, Transfiguration, journeys, Conflicts with authorities, Trial, Death and Resurrection; Appearances and Ascension. These themes cover more than eighty percent of the contents of the final year the Secondary School syllabus. All of these show that the primary focus of the syllabus is for a detailed and sufficient knowledge about Jesus Christ from the scriptures. This is the primary pastoral and theological focus. It is not based on doctrine, Church structure or organisation. The primary interest of the contents at this stage of learning is that young people have a clear education about the person and significance of Jesus Christ.

JSS 1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Person, Message and Mission of Jesus Christ. • God as ‘Creator’, ‘Sustainer’ and ‘Redeemer’ • The themes of ‘Call’, ‘Obedience’, and ‘Service’ prepare one to understand the meaning of the ‘Actions of Christ’
JSS2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Birth, life, death and resurrection of Jesus • Early life of Christ • Ministry of Christ • Passion of Christ • Resurrection of Christ
JSS3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • the confirmation and fulfilment of the promises of Christ to his disciples. • The workings of the Holy Spirit, early life of the Christian Church (community of believers) and missionary expansion, the early church with Christ as the head, working through the disciples by the power of the Holy Spirit

Chart 24. Christological themes in the Junior Secondary School syllabus

SSS 1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 'Lamb of God', 'Light', 'Vine', 'Bread', 'Water', 'Resurrection and Life' • 'Miracles of Jesus' and 'New life in Christ' • 'Jesus the Son of God', 'Humility of Jesus', 'The Second Coming', 'Faith in Christ', 'Prayer' and 'The Resurrection' • about 50% of 21 units is directly on the person of Christ.
SSS2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pre-figures of Christ in the patriarchs and prophets
SSS3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Baptism and Temptations, Call to Discipleship, Miracles, Parables, • Sermon on the Mount and other teachings, Transfiguration, journeys, • Conflicts with authorities, Trial, Death and Resurrection; • Appearances and Ascension. • about 80% of the units are focused on Christ

Chart 25. Christological themes in the Senior Secondary School syllabus

Unfortunately, one of the limitations of the present instructional materials for teaching Christian Religious Education in secondary schools is that they are exam focused. This limitation comes from the syllabi that have specific biblical themes from the Old and New Testaments which the students have to remember during their Secondary School leaving certificate examination.

There is not clear pastoral emphasis in the textbooks also because of the different Christian denominations that all have to use the same publications for their school work. These different churches have doctrines and theological interpretations that are peculiar to them. It would be more practical for each denomination to have academic compendia for the different Christian faith schools. In the catholic community, this is already being done in parishes and basic Christian communities where parents and local leaders meet regularly to pray and learn more

about the teachings of the Church. This forum creates an educational environment for Christian families to discern best pastoral responses to daily challenges of the political and cultural issues that they face in the country.⁶¹⁰

The present textbooks for CRE avoid doctrinal elements and focus on the basic Christological and Trinitarian aspects of the Christian message. There are aspects of national life and sociological elements of the Christian life that are also contained in the syllabus but they are not detailed or doctrinal. This is left for the practical application by the various Christian denominations in the education of their children.

7.3 Protestant and Catholic emphasis on African theology

Over the years there have been noticeable emphasis on African theology that can be traced to the Catholic and Protestant theological traditions of African theologians. Beginning with the history of schools and formal education, intellectual formation has always been a priority in the Christian communities in Nigeria. This noble tradition has grown over the years and has led to the establishment of different Christian universities of Protestant and Catholic patronage in the country.⁶¹¹

610 During the 2014 outbreak of Ebola, the Catholic church in Nigeria temporarily stopped the shaking of hands during the sign of peace at Mass. Together with other Christian groups that gather weekly in large numbers, they engaged in an effective civic and basic health care campaign using the pastoral platform of the Christian population that are about half of the one hundred and eighty million Nigerians. It was one of the strategies that was used to avert a potential national health disaster.

611 In 2016, 8 new private universities were approved by the Federal Executive Council of Nigeria (FEC) after a recommendation by the National University Commission and about 7 of these were owned by Christian churches or faith based. Like: 1. Dominican University, (Order of Preachers, Nigerian Dominican Community). 2. Clifford University (Seventh Day Adventist Church). 3. Crown-Hill University (Modern Morgy and Sons Limited). 4. Kola Daisi University (Kola Daisi Foundation). 5. Anchor University (Deeper Christian Life Ministry). 6. Legacy University, (The Good Idea Education Foundation). 7. Arthur Jarvis University, (Clitter House Nigeria Limited). 8. Coal City University, (African Thinkers Community of Inquiry College of Education). these follow a group of 11 approved private universities that were announced in 2015, of which many are also faith based. In 2012, there were 5 approved private universities of which at least three are Christian faith based. A study of the rise of Christian private universities in Nigeria since the past 15 years could be useful in developing more understanding of the future of an African Theology of Education (ATE). The total number of officially recognised private universities in Nigeria by 2016 was 69. Federal Universities were 40 (with four established in 2013) and State-owned universities were 44 (with 4 established in 2016). There are about 55 affiliated colleges (including about

However, in their engagement with theological discourse, the Catholic Seminaries and institutes of learning seem to have a broad academic interest. The Evangelical Seminaries tend to focus primarily on biblical theology and hermeneutics. The Catholic Theological Association of Nigeria on the other hand, are actively engaged in different branches of theology. These include, Moral theology, Systematic theology, Pastoral theology, Biblical theology, Dogmatic theology and Missiological studies.

It would be of mutual benefit for all Christian theologians in Nigeria to come together with the wealth of their traditions to clearly define and sustain the African Theology of Education (ATE). This will help to sustain the legacy of Christian Education in Nigeria from the wealth of its historical foundations. It will also help to delineate the essence of an ‘authentic’ Christian education syllabus within the local context. The different Christian traditions in Nigeria have very rich theological and educational heritage that can be woven into an unambiguous academic programme for school students. The teaching about Christ and the Christian community of believers would profit from such an academic venture in promoting the cause of

20 Catholic Seminaries) and other centres of ‘distant learning’ affiliated to Universities. The private universities include the American University of Nigeria (2003) and the Turkish (NILE) university of Nigeria (2009). Cf. National Universities Commission (NUC). (2016). Private Universities. Retrieved May 5, 2017, from <http://nuc.edu.ng/nigerian-universities/private-universities/> . On the other hand, there is comparatively low interest in the establishment of third level institutions to take care of the large needs of technical, vocational and innovative enterprise which may be accessible to the very poor in the society. The Federal government of Nigeria established the National Board for Technical Education (with Act No. 9 on 11 January 1977) as part of the Ministry of Education. There are about 7 categories of such institutions like Polytechnics (99), Colleges of Agriculture (35), Colleges of Health Science (32), ‘Other Monotechnics’ (27), Innovation Enterprise Institutions -IEIs (127), Vocational Enterprise Institutions –VEIs (72), Technical Colleges (107), making a total of about 499 institutions as at January 2016. These institutions are offering courses and training that lead to the award of Advanced National Business Certificate (ANBC), National Business Certificate (NBC), National Technical Certificate (NTC), Advanced National Technical Certificate (ANTC), Full Professional Diploma (Post- HND), Higher National Diploma (HND), National Diploma (ND), National Innovative Diploma (NID) and National Technical Certificate (NTC). All technical and vocational programmes in secondary and tertiary levels that is not in a University is ‘accredited’ by this board. Pastoral and missionary involvement at this level of education is much needed. Cf. National Board for Technical Education (NBTE). (2016). National Board for Technical Education (NBTE). Retrieved from <http://www.nbte.gov.ng/>

liberation theology in Africa. This is because material and economic poverty is still the biggest humanitarian challenge of Africa.⁶¹²

At the moment, the enthusiasm in investment of a huge amount of money in building places of worship (like churches and prayer centres), does not seem to be commensurable with the interest in building hospitals and agricultural projects, that are lifesaving and food producing.⁶¹³ This is particularly obvious in rural communities. This modern trend of the lack of sufficient interest in pastoral participation in evangelisation of the poor and rural development is a deviation from the patronage of the early missionaries. The educational facilities (for the human and spiritual development of the local people) also have to be prioritised among the poorest. In urban areas, the poor are normally settled in ghettos and demarcated areas. Geographically, the various farming communities are located in rural areas close to where they can fish and have land to farm. Because of these local factors, one tends to find that the works of most African theologians, tend to be focused on ‘preaching the word’ without an elaborate pastoral project for the liberation of the poor. Catholic theologians are called to engage in social works especially by formal education and emancipation of the poor.⁶¹⁴ A combination of both the emphasis on the preaching of the word and social works with the poor is what is needed to

612 Samuel Kunhiyop has engaged in the interpretation of Biblical theology within the African context in his ‘*African Christian Theology*’ and previously explained that the African context is one that poverty is strife, in ‘*African Christian Ethics*. See Samuel Waje Kunhiyop, (2008). *African christian ethics*. (Nairobi: Hippo Books, 2008), and Samuel Waje Kunhiyop, *African Christian theology*. (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan 2012).

613 Similarly, there have been repeated outcry in the newspapers and media against the particular money-making venture of some churches that make a lot of money from poor people without having any pastoral contribution in the area of healthcare, social wellbeing and scientific and educational upliftment of the poor. See Nkem Jacobs, Chioma Onuegbu, Peter Duru, Juliet Ebirim, Emmanuel Edukugho and Onochie Anibeze (2014, October 25). Rich Churches, Poor Members. *Vanguard* [Lagos]. Retrieved from <http://www.vanguardngr.com/2014/10/rich-churches-poor-members/>

614 Anthony Okwudili Achunonu. *Theological and practical perspectives of the church's mission to the poor in Igboland, Nigeria*. (Rome: Pontificia Università Lateranense, 2012). Achunonu identified various kinds of poverty in Nigeria and their possible causes. These include: ‘Relative and Absolute poverty’, ‘Spiritual and Moral poverty’, ‘Existential poverty’, ‘Human and Anthropological poverty’, ‘Voluntary and Involuntary poverty’, ‘Subjective and Objective poverty’. They have led to different kinds of social and political problems in the country and religious communities can help in reducing these problems. Most importantly, there should always be an improve collaboration between the church and state for the common good especially with the eradication of poverty and access to quality education.

witness to Jesus Christ in Nigeria today. Looking at the American Catholic pastoral missionary work over the decades, Matthew Kelly presented some analysis of the social commitment of the Catholic Church especially in education and health care.

The global reach and contribution of the Church is enormous, but the national impact of the Church on every aspect of society is also impressive, though largely unknown. In the United States alone the Catholic Church educates 2.6 million students every day, at a cost of ten billion dollars a year to parents and parishes. If there were no Catholic schools these same students would have to be educated in public schools, which would cost eighteen billion dollars. The Catholic education system alone saves American taxpayers eighteen billion dollars a year.

In the field of secondary education, the Church has more than 230 colleges and universities in the U.S., with an enrollment of seven hundred thousand students. And the Catholic and non-Catholic students educated in our schools and colleges go on to occupy many of the highest positions in any field. In terms of health care, the Catholic Church has a non-profit hospital system comprising 637 hospitals, which treat one in five patients in the United states every day.⁶¹⁵

There have been different poverty eradication programmes set up by the Nigerian government and other Non-Governmental Organisations (NGO) over the past 35 years to reduce the level of poverty and increase the education ratio of the country.⁶¹⁶ These two elements of poverty

615 Matthew Kelly, *Rediscover Catholicism: A spiritual guide to living with passion & purpose*. (Cincinnati, Ohio: Beacon Publishing, 2010).

616 For the different poverty eradication programmes in Nigeria like 'Green Revolution', 'Operation feed the Nation', 'Better Life for Rural Women' and 'Family Economic Advancement Programme', see S. Aibieyi, and E. Dirisu, (2010). National Poverty Eradication Programmes in Nigeria: Problems and Prospects. *Lwati: A Journal of Contemporary Research*, 7(2). doi:10.4314/lwati.v7i2.57550 Previous historical studies by Stanislaus on this

reduction and educational improvement necessarily need to go hand in hand in the Nigerian context if progress is going to be made. The more people can think constructively, critically and have skills, the more the standard of living and quality of governance (and a demand for it) should increase. In General, most evangelical churches see poverty, especially material poverty as not compatible with the Christian life of blessings, joy and abundance. The model of this type of church is the United States of America where many Christians are committed to their churches and still have good economic and financial status. Some churches in Nigeria have been noted to have started banking and other financial institutions trying to provide loans and assistance to eligible people at a reduced interest rate.⁶¹⁷

The Christian community in Nigeria is growing and becoming more complex in its membership and structure. The non-Catholic Christian communities (generally referred to as Protestants and Pentecostals) in Nigeria are very large. Together with the Roman Catholic Church, they formed the Christian Association of Nigeria in 1976, at a time of 'indigenisation' and after the civil (Biafra war). The first constitution of CAN was signed in 1977. The initial group of members from 1976 at the beginning of CAN was three: 'Catholic Secretariat of Nigeria (CSN)', 'Christian council of Nigeria (CCN)' and 'Others'. In 1991, the group was further rectified into five and the group of 'others', delineated into 2. These two are the 'Organisation of African Instituted Churches' and the 'Christian Pentecostal Fellowship of Nigeria (CPFN)/ Pentecostal Fellowship of Nigeria (PFN)'. The identification of the groups are:

1. Catholic Secretariat of Nigeria (CSN) is made up of the Catholic Church in Nigeria.

topic in Nigeria suggest that the growing number of the population of Nigeria without a commensurate economic expansion, also contributes to the problem of poverty. Some see this growth as a strength rather than a weakness if it is well enhanced, especially after independence in 1960. See Frank Stanislous, *Liberation theology: Oppression, politics, poverty and the Nigerian church*. (Ibadan, Nigeria: Harvest Pub. House, 2004).

⁶¹⁷ Joseph Antyo, (2012). The role of churches in government poverty eradication programmes in Nigeria. *Nederduitse Gereformeerde Teologiese Tydskrif*, 53(0). doi:10.5952/53-0-209

2. Christian Council of Nigeria (CCN) is made up of Anglican, Methodist, Baptist Churches, Four Square, Presbyterian, Eternal Sacred Order of C & S, Church of the Lord Aladura and other Orthodox Churches.
3. Christian Pentecostal Fellowship of Nigeria (CPFN) Pentecostal Fellowship of Nigeria (PFN) made up of Pentecostal Churches.
4. Organisation of African Instituted Churches is made up of Churches founded by Nigerians (Africans) in Nigeria. These Churches have their origin in Nigeria (Africa).
5. ECWA – Evangelical Church of West Africa (Former Sandan Interior Missions) which had taken root in Northern Nigeria and Tekan – Denominations based in Northern Nigeria such as COCIN, HKAN NKST, Christian Assemblies, LCCN etc.⁶¹⁸

The pastoral differences between the Roman Catholic Church and other Christian Churches was made more explicit because of a difference in pastoral approach towards contextual issues. In expressing this difference to the leaders of the other churches in the Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN), the Catholic Secretariat of Nigeria wrote a letter to the leadership of CAN and temporarily left the national level coordination of the CAN. In a letter dated September 24 2012, the president of the Catholic Bishops of Nigeria expressed their dissatisfaction about seven issues:

- a. A departure from the original concept of her founding fathers
- b. Non-prioritisation of ecumenical motto of CAN (*‘That they all may be one’*) and the ‘theological foundation of Christian unity
- c. Not ‘giving priority to issues of national peace and unity’

618 The Christian Association of Nigeria. (1991). Membership: The Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN). Retrieved April 30, 2017, from <http://cannigeria.org/membership/>

- d. Getting involved in ‘partisan’ politics in a way that ‘compromises’ CAN’s objectives of standing for the poor and ‘voiceless’
- e. Poor representation of all CAN members in decision making
- f. Lack of ‘consensus’ on ‘major issues’.
- g. Misunderstanding of the role of the President of CAN on assuming the leadership of all the different Christian Churches in Nigeria.⁶¹⁹

The pastoral preferences and theological understanding of a combined ecumenical insertion in the social economic life of the country was not agreed upon. It is also clear that there seems to be a misrepresentation of what style of leadership the other Churches wanted to present in the Nigerian context. The Catholic Bishops wanted a more participatory and service based model. It is expected that this stand of the Catholic Bishops will change with the new president of CAN that was elected in since 2016 at the national level⁶²⁰.

619 Cf Monday Ateboh, (2013, January 24). Why we pulled out of CAN — Catholic bishops. *Premium Times*[Abuja]. <http://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/116774-why-we-pulled-out-of-can-catholic-bishops.html>

620 on Tuesday June 14 2016, Dr. Olasupo Ayokunle the president and CEO of the Nigerian Baptist Convention was elected as the present leader of the Christian Association of Nigeria CAN at Abuja the Federal Capital Territory of Nigeria.



CATHOLIC BISHOPS CONFERENCE OF NIGERIA

Plot 42B, Cathedral Zone EC, Telephone: E-mail: Website:
Southern Parkway, Durumi T. 00171326718 catholicbp@yahoo.co.uk http://www.CBCN.org

Postal Address:
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Abuja,
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Our Ref:

24 September, 2012

Pastor Ayo Oritsejafor
The President
Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN)
Abuja

Dear Pastor Oritsejafor,

OUR CONCERN FOR CHRISTIAN UNITY

Greetings and blessings of the Lord!

We wish to bring to your notice the concern of the CSN bloc of the association over some recent attitudes, utterances and actions of the National leadership of CAN, which in our opinion negate the concept of the foundation of the association and the desire of Our Lord Jesus Christ "That They All May Be One." The CSN bloc hereby suspends participation in CAN meetings at the National level until such a time the leadership of CAN reverse back to the original Vision, Mission and objectives of CAN. We have been compelled to take this painful decision because of the following reasons among others:

1. That the present state of CAN has departed from the original concept of her founding fathers of which our bloc is a prominent stake holder.
2. That the motto of CAN "THAT THEY ALL MAY BE ONE" is not taken as a priority. We note a total neglect of Ecumenism and unwillingness to learn the theological foundations of Christian unity.
3. That the Directorate of Ecumenism and inter-faith which is one of the missions of CAN is not given a priority attention to promote peace and unity in the nation which is the mandate of Christ to all Christians.
4. That CAN is being dragged into partisan politics thereby compromising its ability to play its true role as conscience of the nation and the voice of the voiceless.
5. That there is not enough respect for and involvement of all the blocs of CAN in major decisions and activities.
6. That CAN is no longer acting on consensus on major issues.
7. CAN is not a Mega Church but an association of different Churches. Therefore any claims by the President of CAN to be the leader of all Christians in Nigeria must take this into account.

President: MOST REV. IGNATIUS KAJIAMA
Vice President: MOST REV. AUGUSTINE AKUJEZE


Secretary: MOST REV. ALFRED ADEWALE MARTINS
Assistant Secretary: MOST REV. WILLIAM AVONKA

We remain committed to the promotion of Christian unity in the country. We recall our major contributions at the founding and growth of the association. That is why we are compelled to call your attention to the anomalies we now see.

We remain open to further discussions and dialogue, while we pray for the light of the Holy Spirit to guide us all to a better future.

Yours Sincerely in Christ,


Most Rev. Ignatius Kajama
Archbishop of Jos
President, Catholic Bishops' Conference of Nigeria (CBCN)

The Original received by me
Rev. Dr. Asaka
CAN - General Secretary

8/10/12

Picture 3 Copy of the letter from the Catholic Secretariat of Nigeria CSN⁶²¹

621 From Monday Ateboh, (2013, January 24). Why we pulled out of CAN — Catholic bishops. *Premium Times*[Abuja]. <http://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/116774-why-we-pulled-out-of-can-catholic-bishops.html>

Text of CBCN letter to CAN 2012

The letter reads:

24th September, 2012

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The President

Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN)

Abuja

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Most Rev. Ignatius Kaigama

Archbishop of Jos

President, Catholic Bishops' Conference of Nigeria (CBCN)⁶²²

622 From Monday Ateboh, (2013, January 24). Why we pulled out of CAN — Catholic bishops. *Premium Times*[Abuja]. <http://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/116774-why-we-pulled-out-of-can-catholic-bishops.html>

7.3.1 African Theology in Literature

Many African theologians are writing their ideas and thoughts to be understood by a Western audience. The style of their writing is usually in the form of philosophical principles and systematic presentation of various elements of African ‘thoughts’ and ‘practice’ in a way that both Africans and non-Africans can understand. This often includes the identification of some ‘principles’ and ‘paradigms’ akin to an African culture or civilisation. These principles are used to explain the concepts of God, nature, time, space, humans, money, respect, authority, and other relevant foundation upon which the theological discourse is going to be based. For example, when looking at the concept of eternity, an African theologian may begin with the ‘concept of time in Africa’⁶²³. Others may want to begin the reflection from an inward-looking position of putting Africa first as the priority before considering themes or issues to be discussed. This second approach assumes that God is present in every culture and provides sufficient human and natural resources for people to ‘know’, ‘love’ and ‘serve’ God and neighbour.⁶²⁴

As far as classification of written works on African theology is concerned, the works of Josiah U. Young⁶²⁵ and Dianne B. Stinton⁶²⁶ contain well annotated and a chronological collection of the various writers. Young gives a chronological summary of books and articles on African theology published from 1955 reaching a total of about 600 publications by 1992. Stinton on the other hand looked at such issues like ‘Methodology’ in African theology (contextualisation, Biblical exegesis and hermeneutics); local situations (African ‘ethics’, African founded

623 See John S. Mbiti, *Concepts of God in Africa*. (Nairobi, Kenya: Acton Publishers, 2012) John S. Mbiti, *African Religions and Philosophy*. (London: Heinemann, 1969).

624 Agbonkhianmeghe E. Orobator, *Theology brewed in an African pot: An introduction to Christian doctrine from an African perspective*. (Nairobi: Paulines Publications Africa, 2008).

625 Josiah U. Young, *African theology: A critical analysis and annotated bibliography*. (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1993).

626 Diane B. Stinton, (Ed.), *African theology on the way: Current conversations*. (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 2010).

Churches, African women and theology); and relationships in African theological movements (Interfaith relations in Africa, social suffering and evil, ecumenism, ethnicity and identity, and African Christianity outside of Africa). The findings from these collections of works on published literature presenting African theology are diverse. They show that both Francophone and Anglophone countries South of the Sahara, are actively involved in articulating theological reflections and pastoral proposals on various issues that pertain to faith, culture and Christian life on the continent.

7.3.2 Different emphasis on African theology

When K. Nsoki used the term '*théologie africaine*'⁶²⁷ in 1979, the popularity of African theology was already growing within the Catholic community.⁶²⁸ The term *African Theology* became popular in the 1960's. Some of the main trends of what is known as African theology today is presented by Ukpong who explains that:

Contextualization of theology has, within the last few years become a major theological orientation of our age whether in the North Atlantic region or in the South. It is within the framework of this general orientation that three major theological currents have emerged in Africa in the last two decades.

627 K. N'soki (1979). 'Génèse de l'expression 'théologie africaine'. *Telema: revue de réflexion et créativité chrétienne en Afrique par les Jésuites de Kinshasa-Kinwenda/Congo*, 5(4), 43-57. See also Gabriel Tchongang, (2010). Brève histoire de la théologie africaine. *Revue des sciences religieuses*, 84(2), 175-190. doi:10.4000/rsr.344

628 In 2017, there was a conference on African Christian Theology at the University of Notre Dame, Rome from March 22-25, exploring the development of African theology over the years and prospects for its future within the academic theological community. Issues discussed included 'Moral theology and the Question of Values in Africa', 'Faith and Family in Africa', 'Evangelisation in Africa', 'Liturgy in Africa', 'Charismatic healing and Medical treatments in Africa', 'Christianity, Islam and Traditional Religions', 'African Christianity and Social situations', 'Trinity and the Question of God in Africa', 'Historical development of African theology', and Urgent Pastoral concerns. See University of Notre Dame. (2017). Theological Conference: Re: Imagining African Theology: A collaborative Venture with African Churches and Theological Institutions // Events // Notre Dame International // University of Notre Dame. Retrieved from <http://international.nd.edu/events/2017/03/23/theological-conference-reimagining-african-theology-a-collaborative-venture-with-african-churches-and-theological-institutions/>

The first and the oldest of these is African inculturation theology simply referred to as African theology. Briefly stated, this theology is an attempt to give an African expression to the Christian faith within a theological framework. It involves a conscious engagement of European Christian thinking and African religious thought in serious dialogue for the purpose of integrating Christianity into the life and culture of African people.

The second is South African black theology. This takes after the American black theology and aims at relating the gospel message to the social situation of segregation and oppression in which the black in South Africa find themselves. Black theologians see the gospel as the Good News to liberate both the oppressed and the oppressor, and they are concerned with discovering and propagating this Good News of liberation.

The third is African liberation theology, which, though a late starter, having appeared only about a decade ago, is becoming very popular in most parts of Africa. There are three sub currents in this theology. One is based on the indigenous socioeconomic system, the second takes after the Latin American model, and the third involves a combination of elements both approaches. They seek genuine human promotion in the context of the poverty and political powerlessness of Africa, and take the form of Christian reflection within the context. Like black theologians, the liberationists believe that the gospel has a liberating message for Africans in their state of poverty, oppression, and exploitation...these three theologies are based on three different issues which, though separate, are nevertheless related: the issue of

culture for African inculturation theology, the issue of color for South African black theology, and the issue of poverty for African liberation theology.⁶²⁹

One may suggest that the regional political situation of Africa has been one of the major influences on theological reflections on the continent. The usage of the expression ‘African Theology’ has become popular in describing the study of theology in Africa either in connection with the black race or with the geographical space of the continent. Josiah Young explains that while this term may be misleading, one cannot ignore the historical influence of colonisation slavery and slavery on the faith and life of the African people both at home and abroad. He also adds that: “There is the recognition that First World theologians are not equipped to produce theologies relevant to the oppressed of the Third World”.⁶³⁰ Within the African context there is also another regional association of theologians with interest in Catholic theology. This group is called *L’Association oecuménique des théologiens africains* (AOATA) and part of their study includes:

- The difference between inculturation (from out to in) and acculturation (from in to out) in studying ‘particular’ theologies

629 Justin S. Ukpong, (1984). The Emergence of African Theologies. *Theological Studies*, 45(3), 501-502. doi:10.1177/004056398404500305 . Ukpong is referring mainly to works of Manas Buthelezi (Black theology) Charles Nyamiti (liberation) and Zablon Nthamburi (Liberation). See Charles Nyamiti, *The way to Christian theology for Africa*. Eldoret, Kenya: Gaba Publications, 1979). And Manas Buthelezi African Theology and Black Theology: A Search for a Theological Method. In H. J. Becken (Ed.), *Relevant Theology for Africa*. (Durban: Lutheran Publishing House, 1973). See also Zablon Nthamburi (1980). African Theology as a Theology of Liberation. *African Ecclesial Review (AFER)*, 22, 232-3.

630 Young, J. There are associations like ‘The Ecumenical Association of Third-World Theologians’ (EATWOT) made up of theologians who live in countries so classified or are interested in faith development and religious studies in those places. These include countries in Latin America, Africa, Asia and countries ‘categorised as developing’. They are committed to issues of material poverty, reconciliation and marginalisation. The group ‘created’ in Africa (Tanzania) in 1976. The goal is to achieve liberation and a Christian model of society that excludes all forms of oppression especially at the ‘grassroots’. Archival materials of this association of publications and research journals from 1975 to 2006 can be found at the Burke Library Archives, Columbia University Libraries, Union Theological Seminary, New York. Cf. Ecumenical Association of Third World Theologians (EATWOT). (2007). EATWOT Records. Retrieved from http://library.columbia.edu/content/dam/libraryweb/locations/burke/fa/wab/ldpd_6306796.pdf The materials are classified in 6 series of 1975-1981, 1981-1986, 1986-1992, 1992-1996, 1996-2001, and 2002-2007.

- The link between African Philosophy and Religion, and African Catholic Theology
- The usefulness of understanding African Independent Churches and non-Christian spiritual movements in the modern world, as a tool to studying, African theology
- The anthropological significance of autochthonous values
- Specifying between ‘geographical’ (Egypt, Algeria, Ethiopian) Africa and Sub-Saharan black-Africa (African black theology as distinct from Black African-American theology)
- Bible-healing and Africa theology /independent churches
- African tradition religious belief systems and systematic theology –ancestors/communion of saints, initiation-rite of passage/sacraments, witchcraft/atonement, divinity/Christ as mediator, zamani-sasa-time/eschatology.⁶³¹

African theology is also influenced by the social and racial issues of ‘black and poor’ emancipation. This situation is believed to have been exacerbated by the unresolved political and cultural impact of the slave trade. This resulted in the development of movements that sought to uplift the philosophical and anthropological dignity of racially oppressed people. One

631 Young, 21. Young presents three stages in the historical development of Christian theology in Africa. The First Phase before the 7th Century (in the Eastern Church) Alexandrians –Clement (3rd cent) Origen (185-254), Athanasius (296-373). In the Western Church, there were the Carthaginians-Tertullian (160-220), Cyprian (200-258), Augustine (354-430); Axum/Ethiopian 4th century- Ethiopian Orthodox church. With few Christian communities in Egypt and Ethiopia, this first phase was Islamised by the 14th century. In the second phase which Young dates from the 15th century, he lists the Coastal areas of Africa and Congo which were evangelised by the Portuguese Catholic missionaries. This time was influenced by the slave trade. Most of the missionaries were Europeans and gave up their lives in the mission as they died in large numbers. The third phase was a more permanent and integrated missionary approach as the faith took root and flourished in Mainland Africa (sub-Saharan West, South and East). This growth was sustained by the influenced of local African vocations who are called ‘ancestors’ of African theology’ like Samuel Crowther, Edward W. Blyden and James Holy Johnson among others. Cf. Josiah U. Young, *African theology: A critical analysis and annotated bibliography*. (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1993), 8-9.

of these movements was the *négritude* group by Francophone Africans that presents African theology as a 'Pan-African' venture involving all black people in and outside the continent-including black countries in the Caribbean.⁶³² On the other hand, we have the Anglophone Protestant approach which is more about identifying and presenting the 'African Personality'. The notion of 'Pan-Africanism' is attributed to Adward Wilmot Blyden⁶³³ (1832-1912). His contribution as a clergyman and politician influenced other African writers, publishers and politicians after him. The racial influence on African theology and politics continues to be one of the identifying qualities of describing pastoral theology today. This is more evident when analysing academic literatures published on the same over the years.⁶³⁴ Alex Quaison-Sackey suggests that philosophy of the 'personal' identity of the black African is reflected in the study of African education. Therefore, 'racial liberation' is a necessarily part of the pastoral challenges that African theologians will have to clarify in the process of self-actualisation and talking about education in Africa. He says that for the African:

to understand who he is, whence he came; and since he knows that no personality can be fully and effectively realized except in the open air of freedom and independence, he wishes not only to obtain these conditions for himself but to recover what his ancestors once had achieved before they finally succumbed, through conquest, bribery, treachery, and bad faith, to European power. Yet he knows too, as a result of colonial domination, that his struggle to attain a personality, an individuality, and the equality, dignity and respect that accompany it, is more difficult for him than for people of

632 Young, 14-15. Citing Vincent Mulago, *Un Visage africain du christianisme: L'union vitale bantu face à l'unité vitale ecclésiale*. (Paris: Présence africaine, 1965), Condé-sur-Noireau, impr. C. Corlet.

633 Adward Wilmot Blyden, *Christianity, Islam and the Negro race, 1887* (3rd ed.). (Edinburgh: University Press, 1967).

634 Cf. Charles Nyamiti, *African theology: Its nature, problems and methods*. (Kampala: Pastoral Institute of Eastern Africa, 1972).

other colors—and largely because the white man has needed to depict him as in effect, subhuman in order to justify his own cruelty and rapacity.⁶³⁵

Apart from the issue of personal identity within a multicultural global context, Young also highlights the sociological and political challenges that some of the post-colonial African theologians have failed to address. He described these theologians like John S. Mbiti and Vincent Mulango as ‘The old guard’:

The old guard [Mbiti, Mulago etc.] gave little, if any serious attention to: the Congo crisis, which included the assassination of Patrice Lumumba, and the rise of Mobutu; the fall of Nkrumah’s Ghana, which marks a turning point in the undermining of revolutionary Pan-Africanism; the assassination of Amilcar Cabral; the proliferation of micro-nationalism, i.e., the civil wars between Nigeria and Biafra and the Tutsi and Hutu of Burundi; the horror of African fascism; and the rising indebtedness of the continent to its colonial masters and the United States. All have taken their toll and constitute the death pangs of a diseased continent. The old guard, in addition, gave little attention to the similarities between “tribalism,” as a species of racism, and apartheid. Neither did the old guard realize that the totality of Black Africa—and not just South Africa—suffers from the massive pauperization of peasants and workers; the agglutination of a power elite; and the covert manipulation by the Western bloc.⁶³⁶

635 Young, 15. Citing Alex Quaison-Sackey, *Africa Unbound. Reflections of an African Statesman* (New York: Frederick A. Paeger, 1963), 39-40. (Former permanent representative of Ghana to the UN)

636 Young, 23-24.

On the contrary, ‘The new guard’ made up of more recent theologians are becoming more engaged with the theology of liberation. Building upon the identity clarification⁶³⁷ of the ‘old guard’, the ‘new guard’ look into pastoral issues that need courageous evangelical response. They do this by emphasising that “We stand against any form of oppression because the Gospel of Jesus Christ demands our participation in the struggle to free people from all forms of dehumanization”.⁶³⁸ Other popular African theologians like Jean-Marc Éla discussed the concept of *l’Afrique “d’en-bas”* (the underside of Africa- poor) and proposed a radical ‘Africanisation’ of the Catholic liturgy and more indigenous adaption of the biblical message. He suggested that the African local situation needs a pastoral approach that Challenges high illiteracy, infant mortality, economic corruption, malnutrition, security and homelessness.⁶³⁹ Among the different emphasis on African theology, the issues of emancipation from material poverty and formal education are top on the pastoral concerns. The message of Jesus Christ and his redemptive action is best translated in the theological participation in the daily struggle for a better life of the poor. ⁶⁴⁰ This understanding is contained when ‘Africa’ and ‘theology’ is put together. Either by doing theology in Africa, or interpreting African Christian life in response to Jesus and the gospel.⁶⁴¹

637 Bénézet Bujo and Muya Juvénal Ilunga, *African Theology in the 21st Century: The Contributions of the Pioneers. Vol 1* (Nairobi: Paulines Publications Africa, 2003). The second volume of this work was published about 3 years later. See Bénézet Bujo and Muya Juvénal Ilunga, *African theology in the 21st century: The contribution of the pioneers Vol 2*. Nairobi, (Kenya: Paulines Publications Africa, 2006).

638 Young, 26. Citing Kofi Appiah-Kubi and Sergio Torres, (eds.) *African Theology en Route* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1979), 194. Some of those listed in the ‘new guard’ are Jean-Marc Éla, Engelbert Mveng, Eboussi Boulaga, Barthélemy Adoukonou, and Mercy Oduyoye.

639 Jean-Marc Éla, *Repenser la théologie africaine: Le Dieu qui libère*. (Paris: Editions Karthala 2003), and Jean-Marc Éla, *My faith as an African*. (Eugene, Oregon: Wipf & Stock, 2009). See also Philip Gibbs, *The word in the Third World: Divine revelation in the theology of Jean-Marc Ela, Aloysius Pieris and Gustavo Gutiérrez*. (Rome: Editrice Pontificia Università Gregoriana, 1996).

640 Engelbert Mveng distinguishes between ‘ideological poverty’ and ‘anthropological poverty’ (rights, privileges, structures, religions and languages etc). See Josiah U. Young, *African theology: A critical analysis and annotated bibliography*. (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1993) 27-28 citing Engelbert Mveng, “Récent développements de la théologie africaine. “*Bulletin de théologie africaine* 5,9 (janvier-juin 1983) 137-144.

641 S. O Abogunrin, J. O. Akao, and Dorcas O. Akintunde *Christology in African context*. (Ibadan: Nigerian Association for Biblical Studies, 2003). See also Sylvester O. Ajunwa, (2015). *HI-touch pastoral approach in the 21st century: A response to the problem of insufficient organic link between faith and daily life in Nigeria*. (New York: Peter Lang, 2015). praxis and practice of Catholic pastoral ministry in the light of Vatican II in Nigeria.

Inculturation and Liberation have been identified by Emmanuel Martey as the two primary issues of African theology. A theology that included political and economic emancipation. He sees Africa as being highly fragmented by historical ethnic plurality and multiple colonial influence. He states that “the way Africa itself is fragmented by ethnicity and European colonization exacerbates this intricacy. For instance, the colonial legacy has divided sub-Saharan Africa into at least six fragments: Anglophone Africa, francophone Africa, Portuguese Africa⁶⁴², Belgian Africa, Spanish Africa and apartheid South Africa. Of these, Anglophone and francophone Africa and South Africa form the three major zones where theological activity has been the most intense. Each of these three major ‘theological zones’ has had its own distinctive cultural-political movement which has influenced religious thought and has been the source of theological motivation.”⁶⁴³ The rapid and steady growth of the Church in Africa shows that pastoral priorities on the continent are effective.

Statistics from *Agenzia Fides* for 2016 show the present pastoral engagement of the Catholic Church in Africa and the other continents.

<i>Continent</i>	<i>Hospital</i>	<i>Dispensary</i>	<i>Leprosy Centres</i>	<i>Homes for the elderly, chronically ill, disabled</i>	<i>Orphan ages</i>	<i>Nursery schools</i>	<i>Marriage Counsel. centres</i>	<i>Catholic schools</i>	<i>Other institutes</i>
Africa	1.221	5.230	174	648	1.120	2.996	2.088	213	2.044
America	1.501	4.667	43	3.726	2.227	3.477	5.634	1.603	15.363
Asia	1.159	3.584	313	2.564	3.859	3.422	928	696	4.391
Europe	1.042	2.485	81	8.304	2.173	2.606	5.670	1.158	15.624
Oceania	235	557	1	437	113	136	256	112	179
Total	5.158	16.523	612	15.679	9.492	12.637	14.576	3.782	37.601

Table 48. Health/Welfare and other Pastoral works

642 Portuguese speaking countries also known as ‘Lusophone’ countries in Africa include Angola, Mozambique, Cape Verde, São Tomé and Príncipe, Guinea- Bissau and Equatorial Guinea.

643 Emmanuel Martey, *African theology: Inculturation and liberation*. (Eugene, Oregon: Wipf & Stock, 2009), 1.

Continent	Infant schools	Infant Pupils	Primary schools	Primary Pupils	Secondary schools	Secondary schools Pupils	High school pupils	University pupils
Africa	18.200	1.688.564	38.162	17.013.610	13.564	5.675.930	94.973	107.601
America	16.408	1.455.721	21.915	6.414.488	11.516	4.229.228	791.626	1.820.117
Asia	13.788	1.889.319	16.078	6.334.576	10.898	5.749.826	1.297.057	398.603
Europe	23.940	1.954.736	16.158	3.040.311	9.664	3.670.962	284.318	363.170
Oceania	1.244	55.294	3.970	713.875	697	434.978	9.662	30.152
Total	73.580	7.043.634	96.283	33.516.860	46.339	19.760.924	2.477.636	2.719.643

Table 49. Education pastoral work. Both charts above are prepared by Agenzia Fides 23/10/2016⁶⁴⁴

From the above one can see that education and health have been given major priority in the overall Catholic pastoral insertion. According to this report, Africa has the highest number of primary and secondary schools. It also has the second largest number of ‘infant’ schools after Europe. It becomes clear why there is a need understand the theological ‘contents’ of what is being taught to children in Catholic schools. In an increasing secularised and anti-Christian world, many Nigerian parents do not want the secularist agenda to infiltrate into the educational system. This is particularly relevant on the contents of Christian Religious Education in schools. The development of and African Theology of Education (ATE) will help to continue the dialogue on issues related to education in Catholic schools in Nigeria.⁶⁴⁵

644 Agenzia Fides. (2016). Catholic Church Statistics. Retrieved from http://www.fides.org/en/stats/61026-VATICAN_WORLD_MISSION_DAY_CATHOLIC_CHURCH_STATISTICS_2016#.WQekRI5Wwn0 The Agenzia delle pontificie opera missionarie has been providing information service on missionary work of the church since 1927.

645 A previous work has been published on ‘Theological Education in Africa’ which looks at the different Christian theological traditions in different parts of Africa. It is not focused on the education process or content but on the variety of traditions that are present. See Isabel Apawo Phiri, Dietrich Werner, Priscille Djomhoué, and James Amanze (Eds.). *Handbook of theological education in Africa*. (Eugene, Oregon: Wipf & Stock, 2015). This work covers the history of theological education from the Jewish and local African traditions, Ecumenical dialogue among various Christian denominations, Christian theology in African Universities, popular thoughts from theologians from the different geo-political regions of Africa, understanding the situation of Africans practising the Christian faith outside the continent and examining the different kind of theological formation given to ministers of the different Christian groups (Catholic, Pentecostal, Evangelical and African independent churches). It also covers other vital issues involving Christian-Moslem relationship, HIV/AIDs, Inculturation, Ethnicity, Gender and Children, Biblical translation and Internet accessibility. African theology of Education on the hand focusses on the Christian understanding of Education in general within the African context and challenges and prospects of the same.

7.3.3 African theology in Nigeria

The Nigerian Christian community is highly diversified with different Christian groups. However, with the Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN), many of the locally established ‘African Independent Churches’ have established themselves after the structured model of the Catholic Church and other traditional Protestant and Evangelical Churches. This has led to the hierarchical structures of all the churches having a general or episcopal leadership. They also have specific local leadership for designated congregations at different structural levels. This style of church organisation has led to the establishments of seminaries and bible schools for the preparation of ministers and leaders. It has also created an opportunity for students of Christian Religious Studies in tertiary institutions to take up roles as qualified church personnel. As a result of this ongoing training and education, some theological trends have developed in Nigeria over the years. Different churches have their specific emphasis on various biblical themes that best sustains the initial spiritual legacy of their founders.⁶⁴⁶ Nevertheless, the overriding themes are similar to the general themes attributed to African and Black theology of liberation, inculturation, contextualisation and emancipation.

7.3.4. Nigerian Catholic Theological Association

A further distinguishing factor in Nigerian theology is the emphasis placed on some theological and social factors by the Catholic Theological Association of Nigeria (CATHAN). One of the goals of the Association is to “study the word of God in its dynamism and to relate this to the Nigerian historical, cultural and religious, economic and social situation and realities”⁶⁴⁷

⁶⁴⁶ In addition to the popular institutionalised and traditional churches, there are numerous undocumented numbers of new Christian churches, springing up daily in Nigeria. Some of them do not associate themselves with any previous body or association. The common focus is on preaching about Jesus Christ by using the Bible.

⁶⁴⁷ Uchena Aba, *The reception of the Second Vatican Council's liturgical reforms in Nigeria (Nsukka diocese)*, Doctoral dissertation, Universität, Bochum 2015, Germany, (Zürich: LIT Verlag Publishers, 2016), 143. The International Network of Societies for Catholic Theology (INSeCT) which is made of about thirty Catholic Theological Societies worldwide tries to promote the works of indigenous theologians from developing countries. These include the Association of African Theologians, (Associação dos Teólogos Africanos, Association des Théologiens Africains)- ATA. This association was relaunched in 2009 after its initial foundation in the 70s. since

An insight into the pastoral priorities of the Catholic Theologians in Nigeria can be found in some of the theological discourses and themes chosen for their conferences on local level within the country. As of 2017, there have been 37 such conferences and over the years the Catholic theological interest in the country can be identified. The first edition was held at Onitsha from the 24th-26th April, 1985. For example, the 2017 theological theme focused on youth pastoral care in Nigerian within the context of globalisation. Five years earlier in 2012, the focus was on Justice, Peace and Reconciliation. The 2012 theological discourse with the various presentations of related sub themes wanted the Nigerian Catholic community to take a more active role in political and social issues in the country for the sake of peace and predilection for the poor. The 2012 theme reiterated the 2007 which was on ‘Religion, Violence, and Conflict Resolution in Nigeria’. This 22nd conference of 2007 can be considered one of the central themes that continues to challenge the situation of conflict and stability in the country today. Some other themes have been more ‘inward looking’ in the sense of looking at theological issues that concern other Christian groups or spiritualities in the country and a healthy and synergised response can be provided. Examples of these include the 21st edition on ‘New Religious Movements: Pentecostalism in perspective’ in Enugu (2006), the 8th edition

2012 it has been focusing on the issues of ‘African Theology and Miscellanies’ (2012), ‘Studies on Women Empowerment and Governance’ (2014) and a ‘Dictionary of African Theology’ (2013). Members are advised to publish with the association at least once every two years. They have had conferences and meetings hosted in different African cities (like Nairobi 2010, Abidjan 2011 and Cotonu 2012). The work on the Dictionary of African Theology is done in partnership with the Evangelization department of the Catholic African Bishops’ Conference (The Symposium of Episcopal Conferences of Africa and Madagascar –SECAM). The Miscellanies were in honour of Theophilus Okere of Nigeria and Charles Nyamiti from Tanzania. Cf. The International Network of Societies for Catholic Theology (INSeCT). (2015, September 4). Conferences in Africa, that deal with INSeCT’s Research Program. Retrieved February 5, 2017, from <https://insecttheology.wordpress.com/category/africa/>. Other official members of INSeCT as at 2016 are Catholic Theological Society of Southern Africa (CTSSA), Association des Théologiens Catholiques du Bénin (ATCB), Cellule de réflexion et de propositions des théologiens Ivoiriens (CREPTI) and Catholic Theological Association of Nigeria (CATHAN). There are also other regional theological bodies on the continent like the West African Association of Theological Institution (WAATI), Association of Theological Institutions in Eastern Africa (ATIEA), Association of Theological Institutions in Francophone Africa (L’ASTHOL), Association of Theological Institutions in Southern and Central Africa (ATISCA), The Circle of Concerned African Women Theologians (CIRCLE) and Association des Universités et Instituts supérieurs Catholiques d’Afrique et Madagascar (ASUNICAM) / Association of Catholic Universities and High Institutes of Africa and Madagascar (ACUHIAM).

on 'Authority and Charism in the Nigerian church' in Abuja (1993), and the 18th edition on 'Theology and the interpretation of the Christian message in Nigeria' at Ibadan (2003).

7.4 The close connection between biblical and social application in texts books

The relationship between pedagogy (as the science of education) and content (the subject matter *per se*) has been widely discoursed by researchers like Punya Mishra and Matthew J Koehler.⁶⁴⁸ The introduction of the notion of Pedagogy and Content Knowledge (PKN) by Shulman⁶⁴⁹ suggests that the 'contents' of the syllabus and the 'skills to teach' the same, have to be given equal attention in the education process. Teachers and school administrators have to ensure that there is sufficient training on 'how' best to communicate the 'what' that is in the syllabus. Consequently, the contextual application of the contents of the syllabus for Christian Religious Education needs to be elucidated with 'practical' applications especially in the African context with its diverse peculiarities.

In the teaching of Christian Religious Education in Nigeria, the text books published by indigenous authors have some differences from the previous ones used before and during the colonial era. One major difference is the ingenuity of the local authors to introduce elements from African traditional religions. More recent textbooks have also incorporated contemporary contextual contents. For instance, in the books sampled for this research it can be noticed that the examples of African traditional religions, names of God and local cultural practices started featuring in books published after independence in the 70's. An example is a text book

648 Punya Mishra, and Matthew J. Koehler, (2006). Technological Pedagogical Content Knowledge: A Framework for Teacher Knowledge. *Teachers College Record*, 108(6), 1017-1054. doi:10.1111/j.1467-9620.2006.00684.x Columbia University.

649 Lee S. Shulman, (1986). Those Who Understand: Knowledge Growth in Teaching. *Educational Researcher*, 15(2), 4-14. doi:10.2307/1175860. See also Lee S. Shulman, (1987). Knowledge and Teaching: Foundations of the New Reform. *Harvard Educational Review*, 57(1), 1-23. doi:10.17763/haer.57.1.j463w79r56455411.

published by the National Association of Bible Knowledge Teachers of Nigeria (NABKTN) in 1989 called '*Christian Religious Education for Junior Secondary Schools*'.⁶⁵⁰

Similarly, the indigenous authors also included socio-political issues of justice, corruption and tribalism. With a relatively poor health system, the awareness of terminal disease like HIV/AIDS, and Cancer have now found a platform in the textbook for teaching Christian Religious Education. Many of the biblical stories that relate to health, oppression of the poor and marginalised, liberation of captives, and the good news of hope and joy have local examples in modern day Nigeria that they are being applied to.⁶⁵¹

7.4.1 Tension of doctrinal affiliations and presentation of contents in the national syllabus

In a syllabus that does not have doctrinal contents enshrined, different Christian denominations are offered the option of adding doctrinal elements of the faith according to their traditions. This lacuna is often filled by the discretion of the CRE subject teacher. It is not uncommon to see teachers giving examples and illustrations of the contents of the syllabus from their own Christian background and experience. This random disparity among different schools in leads to a certain kind of tension as students from a different Christian tradition of the teacher would need to distinguish between what is strictly the academic content of the syllabus and the natural theological background of the teacher or the school. Similarly, teachers who come from one particular theological tradition will have to constantly handle the ambivalence of teaching the

650 National Association of Bible Knowledge Teachers of Nigeria (NABKTN), *Christian Religious Education for Junior Secondary Schools books 1, 2, 3*. O.P. Achebe, E. N. Aghaegbhuna, E. I. Alutu, & L. N. Okonkwo (Eds.). (Onitsha, Nigeria: Jet Publishers Nigeria Limited, 1989).

651 Cf. F. Adugbo, E. N. Aghaegbhuna, R. H. Horton, and J. A. Ilori, (Eds.). (1983). *Christian Religious knowledge: Bible studies and moral instruction for Junior Secondary Schools Book 1*, (Ibadan: African University Press, and London: Edward Arnold Publishers. In association with the National Association of Bible Knowledge Teachers of Nigeria, 1983), 3.

students of other Christian traditions or religions who are interested in studying CRE. The solution to this tension is found in the structure of the syllabus. It does not promote any specific doctrine but focusses primarily on the study of the Old and New Testaments.

7.4.2 Comparative analysis of some selected textbooks and contents in the last thirty years

The comparative analysis of the sampled textbooks used in this research has been done by looking at the structure and content. Between these elements (of content and structure) there has not being any significant difference in the content as the primary source has always been the holy Bible and this has not changed. However, with the intermittent restructuring of the Nigerian school programme (from pre-school to university) the design of the curriculum for secondary schools has been modified. Two main structural change was with the introduction of the 6-3-3-4 system from around 1982 and more recently, the extension of ‘basic education’ to include the first 3 years of secondary school. This change has made indigenous authors to design books for basic 1 to 9 (instead of primary 1-6 and Junior Secondary School 1-3). The University Press local publication for Christian Religious Studies and National Values for Primary Schools is introduced by stating that the “series is purposefully packaged to conform with the new Nigerian Educational Research and Development Council (NERDC) curriculum for the first six years of the 9-year Basic Education Programme”.⁶⁵² This restructuring since 2008 has recently been revised in 2014.⁶⁵³

While not changing the theoretical contents of the syllabus over the past thirty years, the new textbooks have periodically inserted examples for illustrations of the themes with the changing

652 University Press Ibadan. (2016). Christian Religious Studies and National Values. Retrieved from <https://www.universitypressplc.com/catalogs/primary/christian-religious-studies-and-national-values> see also Olufemi J. Olugasa, Oluola H. Bamidele, Felix K. Alonge, Julius O. Onwuka (Eds.), *Christian Religious Studies and National Values for Primary Schools*. (Ibadan: University Press, 2015).

653 Charity O. Igbokwe, (2015). Recent Curriculum Reforms at the Basic Education Level in Nigeria Aimed at Catching Them Young to Create Change. *American Journal of Educational Research*, 3(1), 31-37.

times especially with the evolution of digital technology. In 2011 one hundred schools participated in a research carried out by Kosoko-Oyedeko and Adejoja on the use of digital technology in teaching Christian Religious Studies in Nigerian schools. The findings were published in 2012 and presented at the Information Science and IT Education Conference (InSITE) held in Canada. Part of the findings include the possibility of teaching Bible Knowledge with the use of Email and Facebook. About five hundred teachers participated in the study.⁶⁵⁴

Another significant area of change in the past decades is in the inclusion of impact of new African Pentecostal and evangelical churches and movements to the list of the groups that make up the Christian community of believers in Nigeria. This has naturally influenced the contents of units that have topics on ecumenism. These units now have more mentions of the new Christian churches that started gaining large followership since the 80s.

The present trend in African theology is to publish theories and pastoral guidelines that best explain the spiritual understanding of the African people. The more books are published and methods are proposed, the more research in this field will need to compare findings with best practices in other parts of the world. In the next chapter a Christological model will be studied against this background.

654 Gannet Adebola Kosoko-Oyedeko and Gloria Olushola Adedjoja, (2012). Sensitizing Nigerian Secondary School Teachers on the Available Web-Based Tools Suitable for Instructional Delivery in Christian Religious Studies. In *Proceedings of the InSITE 2012 Informing Science + IT Education joint conference, Montreal, June 22-27, 2012* (Santa Rosa, CA: Informing Science Institute), pp. 505-516.

CHAPTER 8

TOWARDS A PASTORAL INDIGENOUS CHRISTOLOGY

Indigenous Pastoral Theology in Africa can only be sustained with a robust intellectual engagement of reflection and participation with the community of believers. Knowledge develops from qualitative reflection on lived experience. To design an African theology of education some theological models like the ‘theology from below’ and the concept of ‘experience’ will be studied.

8.1 Edward Schillebeeckx and the notion of Christology of ‘experience’ for Contextual Theology

Schillebeeckx (1914-2009) was a contemporary theologian whose contribution to Catholic thoughts and teachings have been sometimes clouded by the difficult aspects of his writings. However, his relevance in this research is in his positive influence on contextual theology. This is in connection with his emphasis on the ‘theology of practice’ which can be related to certain aspects of pastoral theology as we understand it today. This also includes the role of (local) indigenous theologians in their participation in Catholic theology. It also means that there is more inclination towards listening to the contributions of theological works from different parts of the world.

In the academic space, theological contributions are often evaluated within the two generic frames of ‘method’ and ‘interpretation’.⁶⁵⁵ His theology has been divided into three parts of ‘early’, ‘middle’ and ‘later’ works. The early stage of his theology was before the Second Vatican Council. During and shortly after the council is considered the middle stage of his

⁶⁵⁵ William L. Portier, Interpretation and Method. In M. C. Hilbert & R. J. Schreier (Eds.), *The praxis of the reign of God: An introduction to the theology of Edward Schillebeeckx* (2nd ed.), (New York: Fordham University Press, 2002), 21.

work. What follows next is considered the later parts of his theology from the seventies. Though it has been suggested that there are considerable differences in the theology of Schillebeeckx from the 1950s to the 1990s,⁶⁵⁶ some clear Catholic principles still remain unambiguous in his work. He generally has a Christology that begins from ‘below’:

This astonishing and overwhelming encounter with the man Jesus became the starting-point for the New Testament view of salvation. To put it plainly, ‘grace’ has to be expressed in terms of encounter and experience; it can never be isolated from the specific encounter which brought about liberation. Furthermore, this means that any further reflection on the meaning of grace and salvation must always go back to the original ‘sources of experiences’ without which any theology of grace soon turns into mythology and ontology (in the pejorative sense).⁶⁵⁷

The focus is on Jesus’ earthly ministry in a way that is accessible to the different cultures in the world rather than focusing on dogmas and condensed definitions that may not be easily transmittable.

The rate of the success of his work and style is debatable as there are different opinions about parts of his theology. In the third part of what he called his trilogy, Schillebeeckx admits his previous two parts have caused what can be considered a considerable ambiguity. He states that: “Of course I have been influenced by criticisms that the first two volumes of this trilogy have been hard to read. Like all researchers, theologians, too, often talk in jargon. We get involved, and so many facets to polish and clarify theologically that our language becomes too compact and therefore difficult. But I have also paid attention to my readers, and so I have

656 Joris Geldhof, (2010). The Early and Late Schillebeeckx OP on Rituals, Liturgies, and Sacraments. *Usus Antiquior*, 1(2), 132-150. doi:10.1179/175789410x12729674261065.

657 Edward Schillebeeckx, (2014). *Collected Works of Edward Schillebeeckx Volume 7: Christ: The Christian Experience in the Modern World*. (New York: Bloomsbury T & T Clark, 2014), 3.

spent a good deal of time making this third part readable. That, along with the handicaps of my own old age, which are already beginning, is another reason why this book has taken so long in coming”.⁶⁵⁸

8.1.1. Schillebeeckx and theological hermeneutics from a ‘different historical-cultural background’

However, the interest here is in the methodology of focusing on the grassroots’ ‘experience’ of the people and in particular with those who suffer. This shows interest in the Church’s option for the poor and the demands of inculturation which will continue to develop in the history of the world as we know it. Two key concepts from his work are relevant for this study. They are the rising consequences of ‘secularism’ in the financially stable countries and the issue of serious economic ‘poverty’ in many parts of the world.

The reference to the concept of ‘experience’ from the writings of Schillebeeckx is not to discuss his theology or attempt to summarise his monumental *oeuvre*. Rather, it is an attempt to adapt this principle in a pastoral sense that synchronises with pastoral theology in the ‘south’. This is possible through a process of analogy and adaptation. Theologians in the Philippines like Antonio Sison have discussed this possibility in previous works.⁶⁵⁹

Among the great western theologians of his generation, Schillebeeckx stands unique in that he speaks directly and prophetically about the Third World

658 Edward Schillebeeckx, *The collected works of Edward Schillebeeckx: Volume X*. Ted Mark Schoof & Carl Sterkens, Eds., (New York: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2014), xxiii. The original Dutch version is titled *Mensen als verhaal van God*, published by Uitgeverij Nelissen, Baarn, 1989.

659 Antonio D. Sison, (2009). The Prophetic-Liberating Schillebeeckx: Reclaiming a Western Voice for the Third World. *New Theology Review*, 22(4), 57-68. doi:10.17688/ntr.v22i4.815. See also Edmund Kee-Fook Chia, *Edward Schillebeeckx and interreligious dialogue: Perspectives from Asian theology*. (Eugene, Or: Pickwick Publications, 2012).

situation. Schillebeeckx's sensitivity for a sociopolitical context that is not his own issues from his epistemological project of addressing the 'ecumene of suffering', the scandal of wide-scale human suffering that continues to afflict our world notwithstanding the salvific claims of science and economic progress. This starting point is characteristic of Schillebeeckx's later theology, the result of a theological turnabout that took place around the time of the Second Vatican Council where he would break away from a Thomistic framework to a more praxis-oriented theology. Schillebeeckx's liberative trajectory would take a more concrete configuration in the seventies when he encountered the critical theory of the Frankfurt School during his travels to the United States and when he would later assume the role of western conversation partner to Latin American Liberation Theologians. His open-minded dialogue with the philosophical and theological currents along his intellectual journey would become the humus for the flourishing of a later theology that is attuned to the concrete experiences of suffering in the world.

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In general, Schillebeeckx's use of hermeneutics avoids the 'transcendental'.⁶⁶¹ He does not focus on the dogmatic and transcendental approach but rather on the historical and experiential. This is why his theology has been defined as a 'historical-critical theology'.⁶⁶²

In 'Post-colonial theology', theologians propose a method of listening to the anthropological dimension of reflecting on the human experience as a valid starting point on the way to the

660 Ibid., 58.

661 William L. Portier, Interpretation and Method. In Mary Catherine Hilkert and Robert J. Schreiter (Eds.), *The praxis of the reign of God: An introduction to the theology of Edward Schillebeeckx*, 2nd ed. (New York: Fordham University Press, 2002), 21.

662 Ormerod, (1996). 710.

divine. Schreiter mentions that: “Indeed for Schillebeeckx, it is the human that is the royal road to God”.⁶⁶³

A further insight into the later writings of Schillebeeckx reveals his passion for the materially poor and economically disadvantaged. A situation which he invited theologians to engage with in a concrete liberating way, both within and outside the Church.

There is a good reason for the statements in the EATWOT (Ecumenical Association of Third World Theologians) conferences of Third World theologians that ‘the believing but exploited people’ in the Third World contrast with ‘the secularized and exploitative West’. The two problems are interconnected and cannot be separated. The existence of the ‘non-person’, the poor and the oppressed, in a subcontinent like Latin America or a country like South Africa, lands which have been dominated by Christians for centuries, is a scandal for any belief in God. For many people, it makes belief in God incredible. Therefore, in the West we can no longer talk about God without relating our thought about God to the massive suffering of men and women elsewhere and anonymously among us.⁶⁶⁴

Experience and (particularly, the experience of suffering) specifically speaks to the African situation and position in the contemporary world.⁶⁶⁵ Though this is easily understood in terms

663 Robert J. Schreiter, (Ed.). *The schillebeeckx Reader*. (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1984) 14. Cited in Antonio D. Sison, (2009). *The Prophetic-Liberating Schillebeeckx: Reclaiming a Western Voice for the Third World*. *New Theology Review*, 22(4), 59.

664 Edward Schillebeeckx, *Church: The human story of God*. (New York: Crossroad, 1990), 54.

665 Schillebeeckx also speaks about the personal and unique experience between Jesus and God the Father which he calls the ‘Abba experience’, and the experience between Jesus and his disciples which he calls the ‘Easter experience’. These are not dealt with in details here as the usage of ‘experience’ is borrowed and applied in the Nigerian context to be used interchangeably as a ‘personal encounter’ of Christ through the community, nature, the word of God and the sacraments as stated in *Sacrosanctum Concilium*: “To accomplish so great a work, Christ is always present in His Church, especially in her liturgical celebrations. He is present in the sacrifice of the Mass, not only in the person of His minister, ‘the same now offering, through the ministry of priests, who formerly offered himself on the cross’, but especially under the Eucharistic species. By His power He is present in the sacraments, so that when a man baptizes it is really Christ Himself who baptizes. He is present in His word, since

of economic disadvantage, it could also be a significant area of contribution in shaping the future of an African theology of Education. It asks the question of how the experience of suffering shapes the community's theological understanding of life within the local context. Doing indigenous theology devoid of this fundamental existential reality may not be productive. It also argues that education in Africa that does not produce a concrete eradication of poverty is fundamentally deficient in content and purpose.

Previous studies by Schrieter and Dupré show that Schillebeeckx's emphasis on experience is a significant aspect of his work. They highlighted an understanding of 'the praxis of Christian experience'.⁶⁶⁶ This is specifically useful within the context of Christology, which plays a major part of the contents of the Secondary School syllabus in Nigeria. One may borrow this idea of 'experience' and adapt it within the local Nigerian context. It can be done in two ways. Firstly, the young people and indeed the Christian community have to be able to identify Christ in the least of his brothers and sisters, tangible fellow human beings in need of mutual support to live their whole lives to the full. Secondly, the second person of the Trinity has been revealed to the world when he came in the form of a man in flesh and blood and this historical fact has to be accepted in faith and with reason. The salvific ministry of Christ the saviour and redeemer remains the core message of the Christian faith. Each one is invited to have this divine encounter as Schillebeeckx puts it:

it is He Himself who speaks when the holy scriptures are read in the Church. He is present, lastly, when the Church prays and sings, for He promised: 'Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them' (Matt. 18:20)." Sacrosanctum concilium No. 7, Cf. Catholic Church. (1963, December 4). Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy Sacrosanctum concilium. Retrieved from http://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_const_19631204_sacrosanctum-concilium_en.html Vatican Council II. Citing Council of Trent, Session XXII, *Doctrine on the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass*, c. 2. And St. Augustine, *Tractatus in Ioannem*, VI, n. 7.

666 Robert J Schreiter, and Mary Catherine Hilker, *The Praxis of Christian experience: An introduction to the theology of Edward Schillebeeckx*. (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1989). See also Louis Dupré, (1982). Experience and Interpretation: A Philosophical Reflection on Schillebeeckx' Jesus and Christ. *Theological Studies*, 43(1), 30-51. doi:10.1177/004056398204300102

So the story of a new quality of life, a new life-style or praxis, began with an encounter. However, interpretation begins long before the point when people ask about the significance of what they have experienced. Interpretative identification is an intrinsic element of the experiences itself; to begin with, perhaps, it is still implicit, and only later is it brought to the level of reflection. The renewal of life which Jesus had evoked from his disciples and the process which he had started off led the disciples to reflect on their experience. They began to analyse it, to consider its various aspects and give it a place in their consciousness, which was full of many other things and ideas. Familiar things became familiar in a new way, now that the followers of Jesus had a completely new focal point. On the basis of their common experience, they arrived at what we might call a Christian theory of grace, the beginnings of what in Christian tradition is called a 'theology of grace': soteriology, a thematic account of the meaning of Christian redemption and Christian salvation.⁶⁶⁷

Within a context of excessive suffering and economic hardship, the African theologian is faced with the paradox of proclaiming the good-news in difficult times. The Christian community on the continent is reminded of the original motivation of some of the early missionaries which was to evangelise and educate. This was done in a way that transformed the socio-economic and spiritual lives of the local people. The principles of solidarity and option for the poor remain a strong impetus for African theology especially around the celebration of the Eucharist, where unfortunately unlike other parts of the world the disparity between the poor and the very rich is scandalously unacceptable. It is precisely in this aspect the contents of the education of

⁶⁶⁷ Edward Schillebeeckx, (2014). *Collected Works of Edward Schillebeeckx Volume 7: Christ: The Christian Experience in the Modern World*. (New York: Bloomsbury T & T Clark, 2014), 3-4.

the young in Christian Religious Studies have to focus in its Christological dimension. Though many interpreters focus on other aspects of Schillebeeckx's writings, his influence in this area is significant for African theology. "Schillebeeckx himself could not validate why the liberative cast of his theology had not been given due attention in the reception of his work. For him the only meaningful salvation for the contemporary human situation is one that takes into account 'the existential context of oppression and liberation'".⁶⁶⁸ The invitation to encounter Christ at the Eucharistic table is in itself a liberating experience and challenge for the Christian community.

How is it possible for defenders of oppressive systems and those they oppress, all of us and the Third World, to celebrate the one eucharist together as Christians? We drink from our full cups but do not share the one cup among one another. The great scandal is not intercommunion among Christians of different communions: that is a sign of hope. The scandal is the intercommunion of rich Christians who remain rich and poor Christians who remain poor while celebrating the same eucharist, taking no notice of the Christian model of sharing possessions: the sharing of the one cup of salvation among one another. For this salvation also has social and economic consequences. Everyone, not just an elite group, has to be full enough to be able to laugh because salvation has happened to him or her.⁶⁶⁹

Despite the fact that the focus is on practical theology, it does not diminish the principle that the 'transcendental' plays a significant part in Christian theology. However, his contribution,

668 Sison, (2009), 63. Citing Edward Schillebeeckx, *Jesus: An Experiment in Christology*. (Hubert Hoskins Trans.), (New York: Crossroad Publishing, 1979) 191; reprinted. 1995. And Antonio D. Sison, *Screening Schillebeeckx: Theology and Third Cinema in Dialogue*. (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2006), 144.

669 Edward Schillebeeckx, *God among us: The gospel proclaimed*. (New York: Crossroad Publishing Company, 1983), 178. Cited in Antonio D. Sison, (2009). The Prophetic-Liberating Schillebeeckx: Reclaiming a Western Voice for the Third World. *New Theology Review*, 22(4), 65.

is useful for thinking about systematic theology in a non-transcendental way. In pastoral theology, there is room for multiplicity of interpretations and adaptations without necessarily denying the transcendental deposit of faith. One must engage in theology with an open mind to contextualisation both in biblical and pastoral theology. Christology is the main emphasis in the content of the Secondary School curriculum in catholic schools in Nigeria. Schillebeeckx idea of experience in relation to Christology is one which shows that “experience is the medium of revelation, that is, there is no revelation without experience. On the other hand, because we simply cannot understand what we do not experience, hermeneutical issues of faithful interpretation of Christianity in history are central. On the level of relationship between experience and revelation, Schillebeeckx believes that the Jesus movement started with experience, namely, the experience of the encounter with Jesus.”⁶⁷⁰

8.1.2 Experience and Contextual Christology in Africa today

The Educational model for the Nigerian theological experience is one that is characterised by three main local factors namely: domestic family, economic empowerment and national security. The teaching of the faith and religious education that does not help to develop these fundamental aspects of the African society would be failing in its pastoral significance within the local context. To build a vibrant and sustainable society, Christian education has to be a vehicle of change and social transformation. The Gospel values and teachings have a capacity for human and economic development for Africa. The documents on social teachings of the Church have constantly reiterated the need for Christian education to address the most pressing needs of the times. These include the ‘dignity of the human person’, option for the poor, Justice and Peace, care for creation and economic development.⁶⁷¹ In the table below there is a

670 Marguerite Abdul-Masih, *Edward Schillebeeckx and Hans Frei: A Conversation on Method and Christology*. (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2006.), 101.

671 Catholic Church. *Symposium from Rerum Novarum to Laborem Exercens, Rerum novarum Laborem exercens 2000: Roma, 3-5-IV*. (Vatican City: Pontificia Commissio Iustitia et Pax, 1982).

summary of some of the major Catholic magisterium teachings on social issues stemming from Biblical teachings.

Year	Name	Summary
May 15, 1891	<i>Rerum novarum</i> (On the condition of Labour) by Pope Leo XIII	Fundamental human right and dignity of labour. Industrial revolution has to be in the service of man.
May 15, 1931	<i>Quadragesimo anno</i> (Reconstruction of the Social Order) by Pope Pius XI	Rights of workers and the need for global economic cooperation for a just world.
May 15, 1961	<i>Mater et Magistra</i> (Christianity and Social Progress) Pope John XIII	Industrialisation and global marginalisation of poor nations. The role of the state in improving agriculture, healthcare, housing and education for the common good.
April 11, 1963	<i>Pacem in terris</i> (Peace on Earth) by Pope John XXIII	Human rights and civic responsibilities of state and citizens. Against armed conflicts and promotion of mutual respect between nations.
December 7, 1965	<i>Gaudium et spes</i> (The Church in the Modern World) by Vatican II	Global consciousness, people as united families and response to technological and environmental issues of the time.
March 26, 1967	<i>Populorum Progressio</i> (The Development of Peoples) by Pope Paul VI	<i>Populorum Progressio</i> was written at a time when many African countries were gaining independence from colonial rule. It talks about human holistic development and response to economic exploitations and armed conflicts.
May 14, 1971	<i>Octogesima adveniens</i> (A Call to Action) Pope Paul VI	Urbanisation and discrimination. Response to global economic disparity and support for poor nations. Increased awareness of the need to preserve the environment.
October 26, 1975	<i>Evangelii nuntiandi</i> (Evangelisation in the Modern World) by Pope Paul VI	The power of the liberating message of Jesus Christ in a world that is becoming overwhelmingly secularised, racially divided and ideologically fragmented.
November 30, 1971	<i>Justice in the World</i> by the synod of Bishops	Against unjust political and social structures that lead to marginalisation and oppression. Proposing a theology that is liberating and promotes human rights.
September 14, 1981	<i>Laborem exercens</i> (On Human Work) by Pope John Paul II	Human dignity and value for work. Against capitalistic exploitation of labour. Influence of technology in modern world and its adverse impact on the environment.
December 30, 1987	<i>Sollicitudo rei socialis</i> (On Social Concern) by Pope John Paul II	The economic division in the world into first, second and third 'worlds' is a non-sustainable global situation if there is going to be political peace, fair trade and economic migration decline.
May 1, 1991	<i>Centesimus annus</i> (The Hundredth Year) by Pope John Paul II	Effects of materialism and dangers of social development devoid of a transcendental understanding of the human person. Focus on the moral principles of subsidiarity and solidarity.

Table 50. Major Catholic magisterium teachings on social issues

The main aspect of contextualisation in African theology has been in Christology. The Secondary School curriculum in Nigeria for Christian Religious Education also focuses mainly on Christological themes. The knowledge about Jesus Christ and worshipping him as Lord and saviour is the primary focus of evangelisation in Africa today. Before thirty years ago, theologians in Africa argued that there was no clear definition of what African Christology means.⁶⁷² Part of their reasons included the fact that most of the theology done on the continent was mainly textual translations. Some others suggested pastoral adaptations in liturgical inculturation by local languages and music⁶⁷³. However, there is now a clear Christological emphasis in Africa today which broadly includes a ‘Christology of Inculturation’ and a ‘Christology of Liberation’.⁶⁷⁴ The Christology of Inculturation presents different aspects of Jesus Christ as can be analogically or culturally understood within the local contexts of different African tribes and languages. It does not provide any ontological redefinition of Christological themes or dogmas. However, it focuses on themes and expressions that best provide a more direct understanding of Christ to the local cultures.⁶⁷⁵ For example, the useful examples of the parables of Jesus fits in with many African wisdom stories and can be used in teaching children in the classroom. Similarly, divine motherhood and significance of the Virgin Mary can be understood with the sacred role of mothers in traditional Africa. This can be understood by the philosophical construct of the term ‘mama Africa’. When Christology is studied with a background of Mariology, the feminine vision of Africa as people can emerge.

672 John S. Mbiti, Some African Concepts of Christology. In G. F. Vicedom (Ed.), *Christ and the Younger Churches*. (London: SPCK, 1972), 51-62.

673 Charles Nyamiti, Contemporary African Christologies: Assessment and Practical Suggestions, in Rosino Gibellini, ed., *Paths of African Theology*, (MaryKnoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1994).

674 Raymond Moloney, (1987). African Christology. *Theological Studies*, 48(3), 505-515. doi:10.1177/004056398704800305, p.506.

675 For the ‘face’ of Jesus in Africa from a local Christological perspective see Ukachukwu Chris Manus, *Christ, the African king: New Testament Christology*. (Frankfurt am Main: P. Lang, 1993).

49-70. Others who have constructed some theological approach to the same topic include: Akintunde E. Akinade, (1995). Who Do You Say That I Am? An Assessment of Some Christological Constructs in Africa, *Asian Journal of Theology*, 9(1), 181-99. See also J. José Alviar, (1997). Anthropological Foundations of African Christology. *African Christian Studies (Catholic University of Eastern Africa)*, 13(1), 19-27. and J. S. Ukpong, The Emergence of African Theologies. *Theological Studies*, 45, 501-536.

“Africa is always called ‘Mama Africa’. Our ancestors in the journey have often seen in this image the creativity and fertility of Africa. This is true not only of her population that has a verve and passion for life and happiness, but also of her land which is rich and fertile. Africa’s maternal image embodies the reality of a continent where life was once revered and preserved. This life refers to the totality of all life, including the sacredness of human life, the sacredness of communal life and the common good over the selfish ends of individuals, the sacredness of the earth in general, and of the harmony between animals and humans, of the plants, the land, the streams and the rivers and mountains, all having life”.⁶⁷⁶

Some of the experiences that are shaping the pastoral reality of Africa today are not very much different from previous historical events on the continent. These experiences can be grouped into four categories such as: leadership, education, security and economy. From the level of leadership, the African political scenario is one of the least sustainable in the world. The incapability of the political class to develop a system that works for the poor seems to be a continuum from the years of colonisation.

In the Nigerian Church, there is a need for a more active response from the ecclesiastical and educational institutions that are useful platforms of the Church to engage in good governance of the country. Consequently, the most significant reputation of the Church which is in Catholic education has to be offered as a prototype of the academic future in Africa. Even among non-Christians, catholic education is still the most preferred choice of learning especially in Nigeria.

676 Stan Chu Ilo, (2012). *Face of Africa: Looking beyond the shadows*. (Eugene, Oregon: Wipf & Stock Publishers, 2012), xxii-xxiii. See also Patricia de Santana Pinho, *Mama Africa: Reinventing blackness in Bahia*. Durham: (Duke Univ. Press, 2010). Sometimes the expression ‘Mama Africa’ is replaced with ‘The Motherland’ meaning the source and home. This resonates with the geographical origins of the human species from Africa and more recently with the African-American history after the slave trade. For a political study on this, see Alvin Bernard Tillery, *Between homeland and motherland: Africa, U.S. foreign policy, and Black Leadership in America*. (New York: Cornell University Press, 2011).

This sustained legacy originated from the investment and priority of the early missionaries that came to the country. Therefore, one can argue that any theological development in Nigeria should incorporate the relevance of catholic pastoral participation in the school sector. Christological studies in the school curriculum have to contain the teaching mandate of Christ. This includes the study of Jesus Christ as an educator and the faithful adhering to his mandate to the disciples to ‘go and make disciples of all nations and teach’ with the promise to be with them ‘always’ till the ‘end of time’ (Matthew 28:19-20).⁶⁷⁷

With a deplorable health system and lack of sufficient use of technology in crime prevention and control, security of lives and properties are deficient on the continent. The life expectancy ratio in Nigeria is at 54.07 years.⁶⁷⁸ This demographic reality naturally makes the study of theology in the Nigerian context to be more pastorally oriented. The connection between the ‘bread come down from heaven’ (John 6:51), and having the bread from the bakers’ oven to a family table has to be less complicated. Theology has to be tangible within the present African

677 The Biblical imperative in the Greek text of Matthew 28:19-20 to teach. *προρευθέντες οὖν μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, βαπτίζοντες αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, διδάσκοντες αὐτοὺς τηρεῖν πάντα ὅσα ἐνετειλάμην ὑμῖν· καὶ ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ μεθ’ ὑμῶν εἰμι πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας ἕως τῆς συντελείας τοῦ αἰῶνος.* (*Go therefore and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, teaching them to observe all that I have commanded you. And behold, I am with you always, to the end of the age*). In a pastoral document of the Second Vatican council the teaching ministry of the priest reiterates this mandate by stating that: “The People of God is formed into one in the first place by the Word of the living God, which is quite rightly sought from the mouth of priests. For since nobody can be saved who has not first believed, it is the first task of priests as co-workers of the bishops to preach the Gospel of God to all men”. Ref. No. 4. *Decree on the Ministry and Life of Priests (Presbyterorum ordinis)* See Catholic Church. (1965). *Presbyterorum ordinis*. Retrieved from http://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_decree_19651207_presbyterorum-ordinis_en.html

678 “With a current life expectancy of 54.07 years, Nigeria is ranked 216 in the world, and 16th in Africa. Thirty-seven years ago, the average life expectancy in Nigeria was 44.74 years, ranking 58th in the world and 21st in Africa. In 2020, the average life expectancy in Nigeria is expected to rise to 55.23 years (ranking 214 globally and 14th in Africa), while in 2030, it will be 59.20 years (ranking 212) and by 2050, hit 68.15 (ranking 209 globally and 9th in Africa). According to the “Top 100+ rank countries of the world by statistics gathered by the U.S. Census Bureau, rankings (2012 – 2050), for 2017, Nigeria is ranked No. 3 in the world. With an estimated total population of 192,908,804 comprising 96,260,905 females and 96,647,900 males, Nigeria is the world’s 7th most populous country.” see Sola Ogunidipe, (2017, February 28). Average life expectancy is increasing slowly in Nigeria. *Vanguard Nigeria* [Lagos]. <https://www.vanguardngr.com/2017/02/average-life-expectancy-increasing-slowly-nigeria/>

reality. Looking at theology from different realities and experiences have be supported by Pears who states that:

approaches which stress the necessarily contextual nature of Christian theologies challenge the notion that Christian theology, and indeed all human knowledge, is objective, dispassionate and ‘true’ in a universal sense. As Bevens develops his argument here he points out that traditional or classical theology centered on two unchanging and culturally transcendent ‘logi theologici’ (theological source) –those of scripture and tradition. Bevens proposes a widening of theological sources in a challenge to traditional understandings. He argues for the addition of a third locus theologicus—that of current human experience. This then allows for the recognition and valuing of culture and situated human experience alongside the more traditional sources of Christian theology. Bevens recognizes that inclusion of experience as a Christian theological source has radical and far-reaching implications. His claims and statements are bold and do not flinch from some of the inevitabilities of his proposals: ‘The time is past when we can speak of one, right, unchanging theology, a *theologia perennis*. We can only speak about a theology that makes sense at a certain place in a certain time’.⁶⁷⁹

Looking at contextual theology in Africa today, one can see the various emphasis on the six models presented by Bevan. Models here refer to categorical constructs which Bevan describes as ‘constructions’ of contextual theology which could be also applied metaphorically. This means that the ‘models’ are fundamentally ‘descriptive’. These models present different ways

679 Pears, 21-22. Citing Stephen B. Bevens, *Models of Contextual Theology*, (Revised and Expanded Edition), (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2002), 4-5.

of “theologizing that takes a particular context seriously, and so each represents a distinct theological starting point and distinct theological presuppositions”.⁶⁸⁰ These models are all linked with experience which forms a background for their specific interpretations.

The first model is translation. This is considered the most popular and it involves linguistic representation of clearly studied and defined theological discourses from one language to another. Some of these languages could be from the same geographical regions or other regions far away over the oceans. It is a model that seems to have few challenges apart from finding terms and words from one culture that best conveys the meaning of a term from another language in another part of the world. At the colonisation era when some languages were considered superior to others, missionaries were faced with the challenge of teaching the local people how to speak, read and write in the language of the colonisers so that educational and evangelical discourses could be communicated in the language of the colonisers. “The values and thought forms of culture and the structures of social change are understood not so much as good in themselves, but as convenient vehicles for this essential, unchanging deposit of truth.”⁶⁸¹ The opposite effort to translate these publications into indigenous languages is what is considered a contextualisation process based on the translation model. “In many ways, every model of contextual theology is a model of translation. There is always a content to be accommodated to particular culture. What makes this particular model specifically a translation model, however, is its insistence on the message of the gospel as an unchanging message.”⁶⁸² This model is basically ‘preservative’ as it attempts to keep the core message of the gospel undiluted, while the message is ‘re-worded’ or articulated against the background different cultures.

680 Stephen B. Bevans, *Models of Contextual Theology*, (Revised and Expanded Edition), (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2002), 31.

681 Ibid.

682 Ibid., 37.

The second model is called the anthropological model. As the name suggests, the value and interest of the 'person' comes first. African pastoral theology with this model in mind will have to respect the philosophical and cultural understanding of who a person is within the African traditional context. This is usually very difficult in the social sciences in general and even worse in the field of theology. The reason for this difficulty is the existence of a bias against what is African. African education, culture, music, languages, economy, currencies, governments, and practices have long suffered a bad press, since the colonial reports of Africa in the previous centuries. Modern research in African studies do not seem to have a strong voice to speak for themselves under the stereotype previously created. Perhaps in the theological academia where pastoral and ecclesiastical tolerance is relatively high, one would expect more credible interpretation of the anthropological understanding of the human person in Africa. If this is the case, pastoral theology in Africa will have to accommodate specific understandings of the human person that is typical to the African psyche. For example, it is commonly accepted in African Christian philosophical anthropology that the good of the 'community' is what safeguards the good of the 'individual'. It is also described as the 'I am because We are' philosophy.⁶⁸³ This understanding of the person influences the social interaction between neighbours and fellow workers. It shapes the rules of the raising of children where any present adult is responsible for instilling the commonly agreed social values on any child with the 'a priori approval' of the child's parents taken for granted. The children in the community or village are 'our children'. And the parents and especially the elderly and feeble are 'our

683 From the Swahili proverb '*Mtu ni Watu*' (person is people) it is a principle of solidarity and an expression of a way of thinking within the African community that your next-door neighbour is your sister and brother. Fortified with the experience of generations of sufferings and economic deprivation, many Africans in diaspora especially after the slave trade still use 'brother and sister' with this meaning in mind. On a deeper level, it expresses acceptance and respect for the local community so as to keep the peace and solicit solidarity for a common purpose. Theological, it best explains the principle of 'love thy neighbour as thy self'. For a more recent approach on this theme in African and Afro-Caribbean political philosophy see Anthony Bogues, *Black heretics, black prophets: Radical political intellectuals*. (London: Routledge, 2016).

parents'. This does not take away from a more western emphasis on the 'individualist' focus in anthropological discussion. It however looks at it from a different view point.

From the school of pragmatic or pastoral theologians who engage in the method of doing theology 'from below', inculturation must include the non-imposition of 'external' contents and practices borrowed from other cultures because the foreign cultures are considered to be 'superior'. It is equally abusive and pastorally unacceptable to introduce elements which have no bearings to the 'fundamentals' of Catholic teachings or divine revelation into African societies in ways that can only be best described as theological colonisation or abuse. That is why the anthropological model of pastoral theology should be done with increased participation and hermeneutical methods that show how God is already present in local cultures. The International Theological Commission in the introduction to their 1988 document mentioned that:

Pope John Paul II himself has taken to heart in a special manner the evangelization of cultures: In his view, the dialogue of the Church and of cultures assumes a vital importance for the future of the Church and of the world. To assist him in this great work, the Holy Father has created a specialized curial body: the Pontifical Council for Culture. It is moreover with this Dicastery that the International Theological Commission is happily in a position to reflect today on the inculturation of faith. Relying on the conviction that 'the incarnation of the Word was also a cultural incarnation', the pope affirms that cultures, analogically comparable to the humanity of Christ in whatever good they possess, may play a positive role of mediation in the expression and extension of the Christian faith.

Two essential themes are bound up with this view. First, that of the transcendence of revelation in relation to the cultures in which it finds

expression. The Word of God cannot, in effect, be identified or linked in an exclusive manner with the elements of culture which bear it. The Gospel quite often demands a conversion of attitudes and an amendment of customs where it establishes itself: Cultures must also be purified and restored in Christ. The second major theme of the teaching of John Paul II revolves around the urgency of the evangelization of cultures. This task presupposes that one would understand and penetrate with a critical sympathy particular cultural identities and that, in the interest of a universality corresponding to the truly human reality of all cultures, one would favor exchanges between them. The Holy Father thus bases the evangelization of cultures on an anthropological conception firmly rooted in Christian thought since the fathers of the Church. Since culture, when pure, reveals and strengthens the nature of man, the Christian impregnation presupposes the surpassing of all historicism and relativism in the conception of what is human. The evangelization of cultures should therefore be inspired by the love of man in himself and for himself, especially in those aspects of his being and of his culture which are being attacked or are under threat.⁶⁸⁴

Doing theology in this way will help the local community to ‘contribute’ to the understanding of the same faith that has been received. The anthropological method recognises the voices of the indigenous people and allows them to express the faith in their own words and with their

684 International Theological Commission. (1988). *Faith and Inculturation*. No. 4-7 citing *John Paul II, Speech to the University of Coimbra, 15 May 1982, John Paul II, Letter of foundation of the Pontifical Council for Culture, 20 May 1982* and *Speech to the bishops of Kenya, 7 May 1980* Retrieved from http://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/congregations/cfaith/cti_documents/rc_cti_1988_fede-inculturazione_en.html

own symbols. This has been encouraged at the second Vatican council especially at the participation in the Eucharistic liturgy.⁶⁸⁵

The third model of pastoral theology presented by Bevens is the called the ‘praxis’ model. This model allows for calculated and academic speculations and ‘theological experiments’. It studies the present trends and tries to interpret the gospel message with the tangible and invisible signs of the times. Praxis theology method relies on the past and speculates about the future, but concerns itself with the present day to day situation on ground. It is careful not to over rely on the results and manifestations of daily realities based on failed assumptions and experiences of the past. With regards to the adaptation of technology and findings on human reproductive studies on genetics, it has proved prudent not to rush to hasty conclusions. However, on other fundamental issues like poverty eradication, universal access to health, education, housing, clothing and food, the praxis model is very result oriented. It is the branch of theology that is politically active, structurally shaped and legally ‘aggressive’. For most theologians who use the praxis model, the focus is not in ‘right thinking’ but in ‘right acting’.⁶⁸⁶ Consequently, in providing Catholic education in communities where there is high economic deprivation and extreme poverty, a praxis model would be the most attractive. The model is

685 Second Vatican Council. (1963, December 4). *Sacrosanctum Concilium*: Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy. Retrieved from http://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_const_19631204_sacrosanctum-concilium_en.html

and Second Vatican Council. (1964). *Lumen gentium*: Dogmatic Constitution on the Church. Retrieved from http://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_const_19641121_lumen-gentium_en.html See also Pontifical Council for Culture. (1999, May 23). Towards A Pastoral Approach to Culture. Retrieved from http://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/pontifical_councils/cultr/documents/rc_pc_cultr_doc_03061999_pastoral_en.html This model is similar to the ‘incarnational’ model which was talked about by Orabator in his book ‘Theology Brewed in an African Pot’. He presents the topic with an anthropological approach and courageously presents a reciprocal way of evangelisation of people and respect for local culture. It is based on the inherent fact that God can be found in all cultures by virtue of the mystery of the incarnation. See Agbonkhianmeghe E. Orobator, *Theology brewed in an African pot: An introduction to Christian doctrine from an African perspective*. (Nairobi: Paulines Publications Africa, 2008). Bevens also mentions that this model can be alternatively called ‘indigenisation’ or ‘ethnographic’.

686 Bevens, 72. Bevens also clarifies that the praxis model is not only restricted to the ‘liberation’ method of doing theology as other developed countries with fairly standardised economic and physical infrastructure can still use the praxis model. They can do this by studying other peculiar issues typical of their living experience that need a concrete response.

connected to the biblical understanding of the self-revelation of God in human history and gives it a particular Christological meaning:

A key presupposition of the praxis model is its notion of God's revelation. If the translation model works largely out of the presupposition that revelation consists in a supracontextual and unchanging message, and if the anthropological model understands revelation in terms of a personal and communal encounter with divine presence of God in history –in the events of everyday life, in social and economic structures, in situations of oppression, in the experience of the poor and the marginalized. The God revealed in history is not just *there*. God's presence is one of beckoning and invitation, calling men and women of faith to locate God and cooperate with God in God's work of healing, reconciling, liberating. We best know God by acting in partnership with God.⁶⁸⁷

The major relevance of this model in developing an African theology of education is that it combines reflection with action. It's like a symbiotic relationship of action and thinking, pondering and doing in a continuous process, with daily events. It could be a starting point for any theological discourse because it finds out what people are 'doing' before looking at what they 'believe in'.⁶⁸⁸

A fourth example of pastoral model that resonates with experience of the faith education in Africa is what Bevans calls the 'transcendental' or 'subjective' model. In his analysis of this pastoral model Bevans explains that: "A fundamental presupposition of the transcendental

687 Bevans, 75. It is also described as 'situational theology' because of its focus on the present situation and engagement with it for clarity, solutions and contributions in tangible or visible ways.

688 Ruard R. Ganzevoort, and John Roeland, (2014). Lived religion: the praxis of Practical Theology. *International Journal of Practical Theology*, 18(1). doi:10.1515/ijpt-2014-0007.

model is that one begins to theologize contextually not by focusing on the essence of the gospel message or the content of tradition as such, nor even by trying to thematize or analyze a particular context or expressions of language in that context. Rather, the starting point is transcendental, concerned with one's own religious experience and one's experience of oneself."⁶⁸⁹ This model is influenced by the personal worldview of the individual or community. Historical recollections and 'collective memories' of the people influence their self-consciousness and sense of the divine. This notion of 'sense of self'⁶⁹⁰ is the core of the transcendental model. According to Kasambala, pastoral theologians in Africa need to engage more with this approach in order to get the right 'framework' for African spirituality, cosmology and 'practice' on the continent.⁶⁹¹ This model assumes that God is truly present in everyone and communicates with all. Therefore 'divine revelation' can be received by anyone who is open to the word of God in the scriptures and in natural environment. This model looks at the location (which is in the encounter of the individual) where one experiences the presence of God. It's not about the 'content' or 'material' of revelation but the 'place' where it happens. The more one is open to the word of God and the Holy Spirit, the more a 'transcendental' understanding of pastoral theology can be understood and 'articulated'. Therefore, the best person to carry out practical theology using this model is someone who is inserted within the same context.⁶⁹² As children are being introduced to a more mature understanding of the

689 Bevens, 104.

690 Louis F. Kavar, (2015). Spirituality and the Sense of Self: An Inductive Analysis. *The Qualitative Report*, 20(5), 697-711. Retrieved from <http://nsuworks.nova.edu/tqr/vol20/iss5/11>

691 Amon Eddie Kasambala, (2005). The Impact of an African Spirituality and Cosmology on God-Images in Africa: A Challenge to Practical Theology and Pastoral Ministry. *International Journal of Practical Theology*, 9(2). doi:10.1515/ijpt.2005.9.2.300

692 Bevens, 105-6. He also refers here to the principle of 'subjectivity' of Lonergan that stresses the importance of 'authentic' individual response to divine revelation as a prerequisite of having a 'objective' response to faith that is made up of the same influence of the one God working through all and in all by the power of the Holy Spirit. In other words, the capacity of the early individual Christians to be of 'one mind and heart' (Acts 4:32) is a testimony of a 'subjective' personal encounter with Christ that has an 'objective' confirmation or validity. However, Lonergan's assertion that "Genuine objectivity is the fruit of authentic subjectivity. It is to be attained only by attaining authentic subjectivity." In Bernard Lonergan, *Method in Theology*. (New York: Herder & Herder, 1972), 292. Has been adapted in various ways. Bracken suggests that "Authentic subjectivity, accordingly, consists, not in overcoming particularities of one's standpoint in order to embrace a universal viewpoint shared in common with other individuals, but in getting more deeply in touch with the unique particularity of one's own

Christian faith in their Secondary School syllabus, they have to be able to ‘articulate’ their own ‘subjective’ understanding of the faith within their local contexts. It is this understanding that they will use to interact with others in the world. By so doing they will be building an ‘objective’ consensus of the same working of the Holy Spirit in their individual lives as members of the body of Christ.

A fifth pastoral model with an emphasis on experience is the countercultural model. It is based on the awareness of the constant call to conversion that the gospel messages challenges believers to achieve. Against the backdrop of the materialistic culture of the world, the invitation of Christ as the way, the truth and the life (John 14:6),⁶⁹³ can be countercultural. It contains the invitation to religious conversion and acceptance of the Christian message and way of life.

“The countercultural model emphasizes the importance of Christian ‘practices’—reading the Bible (especially together), hospitality (especially to the stranger), participation in communal prayer, celebrating baptism and reconciliation, celebrating Eucharist, developing skill in Spirit-guided discernment, keeping the Sabbath—as ways to provide ‘meaning, orientation and purpose’ within the community and within the surrounding world”.⁶⁹⁴ Contemporary

subjective perspective in order better to appreciate both the similarities with and the differences from the standpoints of the other individuals”. Joseph A. Bracken, (1984). Authentic Subjectivity and Genuine Objectivity. *Horizons*, 11(02), 290-303. doi:10.1017/s0360966900033703.

693 “‘Lord,’ said Thomas, ‘we do not know where You are going, so how can we know the way?’ Jesus answered, ‘I am the way the truth and the life. No one comes to the Father except through me. If you had known me, you would know my Father as well. From now on you do know Him and have seen Him.” John 14: 5-7. This is one key Christological passage in the Johannine literature. Jesus explains a Trinitarian aspect of his being one with the Father and that his presence is also revealing the presence of the Father. See George Mlakuzhyil, *The Christocentric literary structure of the Fourth Gospel*. (Roma: Editrice Pontificio istituto biblico, 1987). And for a leadership critical model on discipleship from this passage see Leonard I Sweet, *I am a follower: The way, truth, and life of following Jesus*. (Nashville, TN: Thomas Nelson 2012).

694 Bevans, 122-123. Citing Inagrace Dietterich, “Missional Community: Cultivating Communities of the Holy Spirit”, in Darrell L. Guder, (Ed.). (1998). *Missional church: A vision for the sending of the church in North America*. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 154. And Craig Dykstra, “Reconceiving Practice”, in Barbara Wheeler and Edward Farley, eds., *Shifting Boundaries: Contextual Approaches to the Structure of Theological Education* (Philadelphia: Westminster/John Knox, 1991), 35-41.

community-based spirituality theologians like James O'Halloran⁶⁹⁵ have developed the practice of basic Christian communities in different parts of the world. These communities also called small Christian communities form the nucleus of the larger Christian assembly. Their particular emphasis on sharing the word of God prepares them for the Sunday gathering around the table of the Lord at Eucharistic celebrations. This practice respects the inspiration that comes from a genuine encounter with the scriptures shared and reflected upon together in small communities. The unique quality about the small Christian communities is in the fact that the gathering could be held in homes, in schools and colleges, as well as sports clubs or meeting places, where believers may choose to gather. In this pastoral model, there is an 'encounter' or 'engagement' of the word of God with the community of believers in their own local context. This model is useful to safeguard essential aspects of the Christian message, especially when it comes into conflict with local African traditional practices that may need to be evangelised in the light of the gospel and teachings of Christ. Bevans also distinguishes between 'counterculture' and 'anticulture' saying that early missionaries in different parts of the world sometimes made the mistake of suppressing local cultures to the point of destruction.⁶⁹⁶ This attitude and method is 'anticultural'. However, the prophetic courage to proclaim Christ without fear or favour even in the midst of persecution and challenges, is 'countercultural'.

The sixth model attempts to combine two or more pastoral models together, especially as the nature of human relations and communities continue to merge in the ever-increasing process of globalisation. This 'synthetic model' would be useful in a school environment where students can engage in the process of theology by the combination of different methods and approaches. John Troken explains how theology in the classroom is a process that involves a

695 See James O'Halloran, *Living cells: Vision and practicalities of small Christian communities and groups*. (Blackrock, Co Dublin: Columba Press, 2010) and James O'Halloran, *Building community: Vision and practice*. (Dublin: Currach Press, 2011).

696 Cf. Bevans, 124-125.

combination of methods. The Bible story is best taught by using different ‘paradigms’ of theory and practice in the education of the child. “Theology is an activity of people. The biblical experience of Exodus and Resurrection provide witness to the essential truth that we are a covenant people who experience God within our history (action) and together in time recognize, retell, and celebrate (reflection) this presence together. These stories function as paradigms of faith, as well as models of theological education. It is in the corporate/communal remembering and retelling of our experience that God is recognized. The theology and mystery of the incarnation live at the center of his rhythm. In essence, the classroom is a theologizing community, not just the inheritor or receptor of theology. The gift of God’s spirit is present and active within the life of the entire community”.⁶⁹⁷

The ‘synthetic’ model, also called ‘dialogue model’, requires an in-depth study of best pastoral practices in different cultures. This will help the pastoral theologian to adapt or modify them within different social realities in other parts of the world. In the African context, one tends to see a growing dualism of two extreme worlds living side by side –the very rich and the very poor. This economic and educational dichotomy already suggest a need for an adaptation of the synthetic method even within the same geographical space. For example, some children from very poor backgrounds in Nigeria do not have the same social experience as their counterparts from very affluent homes and parts of the same country. The content of the curriculum for teaching in schools sometimes does not present awareness of this disparity as it is mainly designed for those who are able to read and write. Applying the synthetic method in such a context would require education administrators and curriculum designers to consider poor families. In subjects like Christian Religious Education, the subject has to be designed to

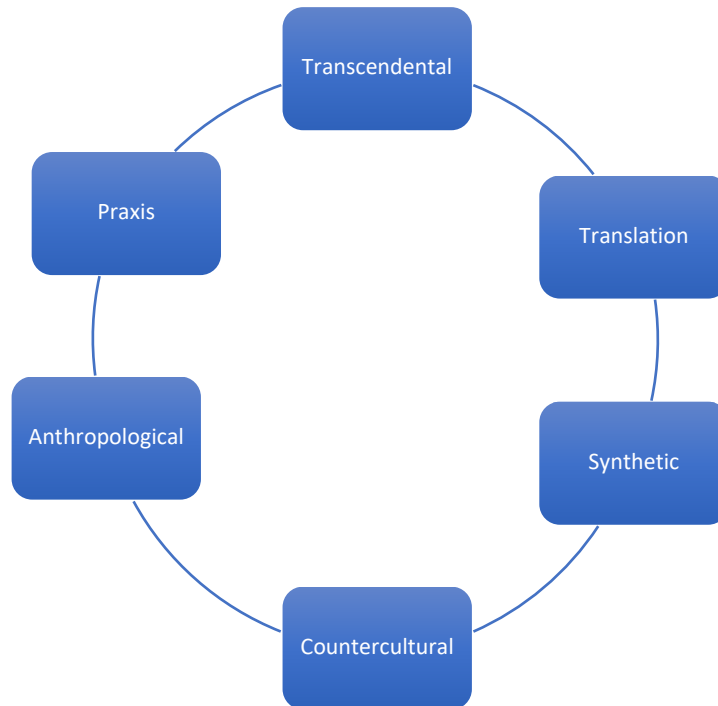
697 John Trokan (1997). Models of theological reflection: Theory and praxis. *Journal of Catholic Education*, 1(2), 146. Retrieved from <http://digitalcommons.lmu.edu/ce/vol1/iss2/4>

include the emancipation of the poor and marginalised. This will be in line with the core gospel message of Christ in Luke 4:18 “The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he has anointed me to bring good news to the poor. He has sent me to proclaim release to the captives and recovery of sight to the blind, to let the oppressed go free”.⁶⁹⁸The synthetic pastoral method for Nigerian schools has to reflect the need to adapt different pastoral models that will meet the needs of the diverse situations and background from which the students come from. A simple example of some of the Christological titles for Christ like the ‘living water’ in a typical Nigerian setting would require the explanation of different sources from which families get their daily water supply. Many have to go out of the house to fetch this water, some have it right from the borehole that they made themselves in their compound, others get it from the tap right in their rooms, and some have to buy it from different kinds of water vendors. In the school textbook, such a variety needs to be adequately adapted into the syllabus for children from different backgrounds all over the country studying the theme of Jesus as the ‘living water’.

In general, one can say that it is becoming more effective to study theology from the lived experience of people and communities especially in the African context where many publications have not been released on the educational development of theological contents in schools. This attention to local experience of doing pastoral theology challenges other theologians who sit in their offices with tea cups and cigars and speculate the ‘possible’ meanings of theological terms and scriptural passages, often in discord with the lived experience of many poor people who see God in their daily lives especially in suffering, pain

698 Bible Gateway online Bible. (1995). Luke 4:18 New Revised Standard Version. (NRSV®) Retrieved September 20, 2017, from <https://www.biblegateway.com/passage/?search=Luke+4%3A18&version=NRSV>.

and death. Most of this hardship is caused by economic or emotional disadvantages, material or spiritual deprivation and mental or ideological entrapments.



*Chart 26. Bevan’s six models of Pastoral Theology*⁶⁹⁹

8.2. Christological Themes in Secondary School Syllabus

The main Christological themes in the Nigerian Secondary School syllabus are contained in the New Testament passages that are referenced to understand the topics listed in the textbooks. The Christological themes mainly begin from the second year of the secondary school. The basic understanding of Christology is the study about Jesus Christ especially with regards to the aspects of his humanity, divinity, ‘origin’, mission and message. Those who begin this study from his divinity are follow an approach of a Christology from ‘above’ and those who begin the study from his humanity are said to be following an approach of Christology from ‘below’. Similar terms used for the same academic connotations are ‘high, descending’ (for

⁶⁹⁹ All 6 models are based on experience and scriptures Experience (Historical/traditional). – Scripture- and present-day reality (actual response or line of action).

Christology from ‘above’), and ‘low, ascending’ (for Christology from ‘below’). It basically means that when the study of Jesus Christ is approached from an intellectual perspective of looking at the historical Jesus, who was born of the virgin Mary in a Jewish family and society, one is said to be studying it from an ‘ascending’ order. Going from ‘low’ or ‘below’ and moving upwards to understand or encounter his divinity. On the other hand, the study of Jesus Christ from his divinity and later ‘descending’ from the ‘high’ notions of the divine logos becoming man is what a Christology from ‘above’ is about. A balanced view of Christology should use both methods with numerous examples found in the scriptures. Historically, the early church struggled with Christological controversies while defining clear positions on the understanding of Christ in various councils like, Nicea (325), Constantinople (381), Ephesus (431) and Chalcedon (451), where the definition of Christ as having two natures was proclaimed and, in a way, combining the ‘high’ and the ‘low’ together. The theological contents in the secondary curriculum do not contain extra biblical Christological themes involving ecumenical councils and studies in Patristic writings. This could a good catechetical addition especially in Catholic schools. The historical relevance and academic quality of some of these theological definitions are pastorally useful when it comes to the application of the biblical teachings in the dogmatic definitions made by the magisterium over the years.

In the Secondary School curriculum, the Christological themes swing freely in no particular order as one can see various aspects of the divinity and humanity of Christ presented in the textbooks. However, one can make three broad categories of Christological contents in the curriculum. They can be broadly divided into three categories namely:

- a. Incarnation
- b. Mission
- c. Redemption

These are found in the entire Secondary School syllabus especially from the second year to the sixth year. The students are first introduced to the Christological themes with the event of the Incarnation. The first unit of the second year begins with the mysterious virgin birth of Jesus with passages presenting the forerunner, John the Baptist (Matthew 3:1-12 with reference to Isaiah 40:3) and about the miraculous birth of John with the story of his parents, Zachariah and Elizabeth, and his early ministry (Luke 1:5-25; 57-80). This is followed by another topic on the actual birth of Christ and his early childhood. Showing the divine presence of angels, voices, messengers and at the same time, a normal human struggle of seeking shelter (Luke 2:1-20, 31 and 32; Matthew 2:1-12 and getting lost (Luke 2:41-51). The Jesus of history and the Jesus of faith is one and the same and students are learning about him without any academic distinction between ‘methods’ of ‘high’ or ‘low’ theology. The primary focus of this part of the syllabus is the mystery of the incarnation. It continues with themes on the baptism of Jesus (Matthew 3:13-17, Luke 3:21-22, Mark 1:9-12), temptation of Jesus, and the call of the disciples (Matthew 4:1-11, Luke 4:1-13).

These themes on the incarnation and call to discipleship are repeated with more depth in the sixth (and final) year of the Secondary School syllabus. The emphasis is on the ‘demands’ of discipleship with additional bible passages like Matthew 4:18-25, 9:9-13; Mark 1:16-20; 2:13-17; 5:1-11, 27, 32; 9:57-62, Matthew 8:18-28, Luke 9:57-63, and Luke 14: 25-33.

The theme on the ‘Mission’ of Christ is the longest in the entire Secondary School syllabus. It includes the early Galilean ministry of Jesus with his disciples Matthew 4:18-25, 9:9-13; Mark 1:16-20 (in the sixth year of secondary school). The wedding at Cana in Galilee (John 2:1-11) in the syllabus of the second year of Secondary School is significant in understanding the transformative power of the presence of Jesus with the intercession of his mother. In the fourth-

year syllabus, some of the Christological themes in the Johannine literature are presented. They include the 'signs' and symbols of Jesus like 'living water' (John 4:7-15), 'light of the world' (John 8:12), 'living bread from heaven' (John 6:25-60), 'door' (John 10:9), 'the way, the truth and life' (John 14:6); all point to a deeper reality of the identity of Jesus. This deeper reality is exemplified in his 'mission' and daily teachings, healings and confrontations. The sixth year's syllabus contains lesson units on the teachings and healings. For example there are different topics on parables of Jesus (Matthew 18:12-14, Matthew 23:1-23; Mark 4:1-20, Luke 13:18-19, - Luke 15:1-7, , Luke 15:8-10, Luke 15:11-32, Luke 10:25-37, Luke 16:19-31), Miracles (Matthew 14:13-24, Mark 1:40-44, , Luke 5:17-26, Matthew 8:23-27 and teachings (Matthew 5:1-7:28, Matthew 6:19-34).

The third category of Christological themes in the syllabus is the one of 'redemption'. This refers to topics that are in the Secondary School programme that teach about the passion of Christ and the attitude of Christ towards his own suffering and glory. In the sixth year, the students are taught the passage of the transfiguration (Matthew 17:1-13, Mark 9:2-13, Luke 9:28-36). In the second year, they are taught about the redemptive power of Christ over death (Luke 7:11-17, John 11:1-46) and the significance of the suffering and death of Christ for the salvation of the world. From the 'last supper' (Luke 22:7-20, John 13:1-12, Matthew 26:26-30, 1 Corinthians 11:17-34) to the passion (Mark 14:27-72, 15:1-47) and resurrection (Luke 24:1-11, 13-49, John 20:19-23, 24-29, 21:1-4). A more detailed study of the passion and redemptive ministry of Jesus is taught in the sixth year in addition to what has been previously studied in the second year. The trial of Jesus and betrayal of Peter (Mark 14:53-72) who had earlier confessed his divinity as the 'Son of God' (Matthew 16:16). The crucifixion and burial (Mark 15:1-47), and the resurrection appearances and ascension (Matthew 28:9-20, Luke 24:13-49, Acts 1-26).

The connection between the Jesus and the Holy Spirit is also a Christological theme that is present in the syllabus especially in the third year (Acts 1:3-5, John 14:15-28). The day of Pentecost (Acts 2:1-35) and the effect of the Spirit in the Christian community is a confirmation of the presence of Jesus in his body the church (Galatians 5:22-24). The relationship between the Christ and his body the Church, is the link of Christians becoming children of God. (Romans 8:1-39, Galatians 3:25-4:1-7, 1 Thessalonians 5:4-5).

8.3 Pedagogical models presented in indigenous textbooks to explain the person of Jesus Christ

Among the popular pedagogical methods for teaching Christian Religious Education, Buchanan identified seven main ‘approaches’. They are the doctrinal approach, educational approach, life-centred approach, shared Christian approach, typological approach, kerygmatic approach, and phenomenological approach.⁷⁰⁰ The doctrinal approach was used especially in the pre-colonial era in Nigeria by the early missionaries. It is mainly catechetical and doctrine based. Each missionary group sought for membership and followership by indoctrination. The ‘educational’ approach attempts to give an ‘objective’ study of religion by analysis and criticism without denying the element of faith as a key aspect of the intellectual inquiry. This method has been used in catholic schools in Australia. The ‘life-cantered’ approach is fundamentally catechetical and practical. It gives a lot of room for storytelling and a pastoral focus on faith in action from shared experience. The shared Christian approach is basically a way of teaching religious education that may be best suited from matured Christians. This is because it is ‘reflection’ based. The learning process includes students coming to ‘share’ their

700 Michael T Buchanan, (2005). Pedagogical Drift: The evolution of new approaches and paradigms in Religious Education. *Religious Education*, 100(1), 20-37. doi:10.1080/00344080590904662.

personal understanding and encounter of the faith. It presupposes that the faith is already being practiced and the students are fully engaged with the word of God and bringing the fruit of all that richness to share with others in learning environment.

The ‘typological’ approach focuses on the curriculum contents of religious education; what makes a religion what it is. The ‘elements’ that any religion is composed off. This view has been highlighted by Habel and Moore who ‘typified’ eight parts of religious studies which are “beliefs, texts, stories, ethics, ritual, symbols, social structure and experience”.⁷⁰¹

The kerygmatic and phenomenological approaches seem to be the two mainly used models in the Nigerian textbooks. The early missionary publishers began with the doctrinal approach and this slowly shifted to the kerygmatic approach, as the independent African churches started to consolidate their evangelisation with education. It was a shift from joining a church to believing in Jesus Christ and learning about how to live the Christian life from the world of God. The choice of choosing a church is left out of the textbooks and one is free to practice the faith in a way chosen.

According to Buchanan, the kerygmatic⁷⁰² method focuses mainly on the main message of Christianity as a message of salvation.⁷⁰³ And the curriculum is designed in such a way that the ‘kerygma’ is learned. This focus on the kerygma is similar to the content in the Christian Religious Education syllabus of Nigeria. This is because it mainly focuses on scriptural texts.

701 Ibid., 32. Citing Basil S. Moore, and Norman C. Habel, *When religion goes to school: Typology of religion for the classroom*. (Adelaide, SA: South Australian College of Advanced Education, 1982).

702 from the Greek κήρυγμα, meaning ‘to proclaim’. The primary message of the gospel. (examples used in the synoptic gospels in Mark 16:20, Matthew 12:41 and Luke 11:32).

703 Michael T Buchanan, (2005). Pedagogical Drift: The evolution of new approaches and paradigms in Religious Education. *Religious Education*, 100(1), 20-37. doi:10.1080/00344080590904662.

Rahner sees this fidelity to the scripture as the best way to proclaim the kerygma, especially when some key concepts of the Christian faith are defined (as a dogma).⁷⁰⁴ In a context of pluralistic Christian theologies as found in Nigeria, the education of Christian students in the national curriculum is designed to focus on the kerygmatic aspects of the Christian Religious Education. This method focuses on the primary proclamation of the message of Jesus Christ.

The popularity of the phenomenological method in Nigeria may not be unconnected with the British colonial influence in the educational foundation of Nigeria as a whole. “From the 1960s, the ethnic, cultural and religious diversity of the British population, caused by the flux of immigration, challenged the effectiveness of compulsory religious education taught from a Christian faith perspective”.⁷⁰⁵ It is a method that attempts to apply religious education in a pluralistic society by focusing on the sociological aspects of faith without any direct promotion of any particular faith. With a historical harmony of practitioners of Islam, African traditional religions and Christianity living side by side, the phenomenological approach is a, practically, useful method. This is also because it is a method of teaching religious education which focuses on religious themes of peace, harmony and community service. Religious studies in this way, tend to focus on looking at it as a ‘phenomenon’, which means studying ‘about it’ and not so much in a confessional or adherent way. While patrons of religious private schools have always had the freedom to practice their faith and ethos within their schools, the Nigerian Educational Research and Development Council have been proposing different contents in the Christian Religious syllabus over the years especially about issues connected with health, security,

704 Karl Rahner, and Karl Lehmann, *Kerygma and Dogma*. (New York: Herder and Herder, 1969), 67.

705 Michael T Buchanan, (2005). Pedagogical Drift: The evolution of new approaches and paradigms in Religious Education. *Religious Education*, 100(1), 30. doi:10.1080/00344080590904662. The textbooks for teaching religious education were based on the British system and later modified to local situations with the emergence of indigenous publishers. Dating back to the early Birmingham ‘Agreed’ Syllabus of 1975, there have always been tensions about teaching religious education in a ‘confessional’ way in schools.

agriculture and gender. Some of these ideas are part of the continued external influences and suggestions coming from the international community and donors.

8.4 Influence of African Theology on New Instructional Materials for Teaching CRE in Nigerian Secondary Schools

Past influence of African theology in the textbooks was very minimal during the colonial period. But since the 1960s and the era of the indigenous writers and publishers there have been some noticeable differences in instructional materials especially in three areas of collaboration, use of local examples and design. Collaboration started from the beginning of the local publications by different educationists and writers coming together to produce books. Some of the popular instructional materials have been produced by a combination of African theologians and educators from different traditions.⁷⁰⁶ This has proven to be a source of enrichment to the objectivity of exegetical methods used in explaining the biblical stories. It also made it possible for the different contributors to focus more on the biblical themes rather than on doctrinal differences thus providing the students with clear and unambiguous ideas. This also shows a healthy interaction between the members and leadership of the Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) at this level. That could be one of the reasons why a steady consistency has been maintained in the content of the syllabus for Christian Religious Education in the past thirty years. There is also a clear safeguarding of the best Christian ethos and principles in the contents of the Secondary School syllabus and political manoeuvring has always been vigorously challenged.

706 For example, most of the textbooks sampled in this study have been co-authored like A. Ilori, M. Daudu, T. N. Quarcoopome, and A. J. Obinna, *Christian Religious Education and Moral Instruction*. (Ibadan: African University press, 2014), reprint. R. I. Arubalueze, J. O. Anyaegbu and E. L. Okeke *Christian Religious Knowledge for Junior Secondary Schools year 2* (Aba: Standard Press Limited, 1987), J. Olufemi Olugasa, Shelia H. Davies, Agodi U. Ochulo, Umar Habila Danfulani, *Christian Religious Studies for Junior Secondary Schools, 3 Vols. for Junior Secondary 1, 2 and 3* (Ibadan: University press Plc 2011), and J. O. Awoalu, T. E. Ahunanya and P. A. Dopamu. *Religious and Moral Instruction for Junior Secondary Schools: Students book 3*, (Ibadan: Evans Brothers Nigeria Publishers Limited, 2015) revised edition.

Secondly, the use of local examples in the textbooks are also evident especially in the areas of students' activity like learning the traditional names for God in the local cultures. Others include an African understanding of marriage and family life, human sexuality in the biblical tradition and its relations to local cultures, Christian rites of passage and celebrations.⁷⁰⁷

Thirdly, recent instructional materials for Christian Religious Education has taken a more indigenous outlook from the design of the book covers to the choice of illustrations and arts displayed for pedagogical purposes to teach the students. For example, in 2013, J. Toffumm Publishers in Akure, south-west Nigeria published a textbook for Christian Religious studies in secondary schools with the cover page showing the manger of the nativity (with the holy family and baby Jesus in the crib). This picture is alongside another picture of a white dove (representing the Holy Spirit).⁷⁰⁸ In another series published in 2011, the cover page for the three years of Secondary School textbook shows Moses with the tablets of the Decalogue, Jesus at the last supper and Jesus teaching in the temple.⁷⁰⁹ More recently, in 2014 a reprinted textbook published by the African Universities press for the second year of secondary school⁷¹⁰ has the picture of Jesus between the two thieves on Golgotha. At the foot of the cross there is the picture of a lady in blue head cover (Mary) and a man (John) and a Roman soldier. This is consistent with the previous emphasis on the style of publication by 'Standard Press' publication thirty-years ago, which had about 24 pictorial illustrations with 22 of them about

707 See F. Adugbo, E. N. Aghaegbuna, R. H. Horton, and J. A. Ilori, (Eds.). (1983). *Christian Religious knowledge: Bible studies and moral Instruction for Junior Secondary Schools Book 1*, (Ibadan: African University Press, and London: Edward Arnold Publishers. In association with the National Association of Bible Knowledge Teachers of Nigeria, 1983).

708 A. B. Joseph, Ajoke Olaolu, and Samuel Praise. *Christian Religious Studies and Moral Instructions for Junior Secondary schools (UBE edition) workbook basic 8*. (Akure: J. Toffumm Publishers, 2013).

709 Cf. J. Olufemi Olugasa, Shelia H. Davies, Agodi U. Ochulo, Umar Habila Danfulani, *Christian Religious Studies for Junior Secondary Schools, 3 Vols. for Junior Secondary 1, 2 and 3* (Ibadan: University press Plc 2011).

710 Also known as grade 8 or upper basic 2.

Jesus in the bible and 2 maps.⁷¹¹ These show the Christocentric focus of local publishers influenced by the kerygmatic model of African theology.⁷¹²

With the introduction of e-books by some of the publishing houses like Evans Brothers Nigeria Publishers Limited Publishers, there will be more room for creativity and design. From 2012, they prepared e-books with formatted contents for 17 Senior Secondary School subjects in Nigeria on a digital tablet platform.⁷¹³ As far as Christian Religious Education is concerned, the contents of the syllabus have basically remained the same but the examples used by teachers, have taken a more African approach in its theology. This is in line with the emphasis on liberation and economic emancipation on the one hand, and kerygmatic and phenomenological contents on the other.

8.5 Political and Sociological influence on the Christian Religious Education syllabus

Religious education in Nigeria has always been in three categories of Christianity, Islam and African Tradition. Islam and Christianity are more taught in schools while African traditional religions do not have a lot of academic recognition. This is an irony because of the millions of Africans that practice traditional African religious beliefs. One can also talk about a fourth category of those who are caught up in the web of fluid syncretism. They combine all of the above in addition to other religions from Asia (with the historical influence of India and more

711 R. I. Arubalueze, J. O. Anyaegbu and E. L. Okeke Christian Religious Knowledge for Junior Secondary Schools year 2 (Aba: Standard Press Limited, 1987).

712 Cf. A. Ilori, M. Daudu, T. N. Quarcoopome, & A. J. Obinna, *Christian Religious Education and Moral Instruction for Junior 2*. (Ibadan: African University press, 1998).

713 This project was done in conjunction with the state of Osun and other partners called the ‘*Opon Imo*’ (Tablet of Knowledge). See Evans Brothers Nigeria Publishers Limited. (2017). Evans Profile: E-book Reader. Retrieved from <http://www.evanspublishers.com/about/evans-profile/> The digital project contains more than 56 textbooks, thousands of past national and West African Regional examination revision questions and 900 minutes of virtual contents for students and teachers. see also Donald Inwalomhe, (2017, January 26). Opon Imo: How Aregbesola laid foundation for digital education in Nigeria. *Vanguard Nigeria* [Lagos]. Retrieved from <https://www.vanguardngr.com/2017/01/opon-imo-aregbesola-laid-foundation-digital-education-nigeria/>

recently, China, on the continent).⁷¹⁴ Ellis and Ter Haar note that formal education does not diminish the traditional ‘cosmologies’ from African traditional culture and beliefs.

There is widespread evidence that many Africans today continue to hold beliefs derived from traditional cosmologies which they apply to their everyday activities, even when they live in cities and derive their living from jobs in the civil service or the modern economic sector. Contrary to what an older generation of Western scholars was inclined to believe, such views have hardly diminished with education. Religious belief operates at every level of society in Africa. Popular priests and prophets work in areas where the poor live, while the rich may have their own more exclusive spiritual advisors. Some religious leaders minister to both rich and poor. In most countries plural religious allegiance is common at all levels of society, so that an individual may be a member of several religious congregations simultaneously, and in many parts of the continent may even practice religious rituals regarded in the West as belonging to different systems of belief, such as Christianity and Islam, or Christianity and ‘traditional’ religion, or Sufism and reformed Islam, as in Sudan.⁷¹⁵

With the influence of globalisation and mass migration, sociological issues have emerged in world religious studies that need to be addressed within the context of teaching Christian Religious Education to Nigerian teenagers in secondary schools today. This is especially urgent

714 Others include Hinduism, Judaism, Buddhism, Bahá’í, faith and Rastafarianism.

715 Stephen Ellis and Gerrie Ter Haar, (1998). Religion and politics in Sub-Saharan Africa. *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 36(2), 175-201. Retrieved from https://www.cambridge.org/core/services/aop-cambridge-core/content/view/550559CA9C2008E94F90A6DF3361126C/S0022278X9800278Xa.pdf/religion_and_politics_in_subsaharan_africa.pdf, Citing Abdou Touré and Yacouba Konaté, *Sacrifices dans la ville : le citoyen chez le divin en CoV te d’Ivoire* (Abidjan: Editions Douga 1990).

in the country because of the rise of religious and economic terrorism that is causing political tension in Nigeria. With groups like the Boko Haram militants in the North-east and Niger-Delta militants in the South-south, the country is faced with an urgent need for religious and political de-radicalisation. The leadership of these and similar groups include in different measures, some form of religious commitment and initiation in sustaining their followers. Consequently, the textbooks have been emphasising the role of ‘moral lessons’ at the end of every chapter of the new text books. This is similar to earlier publications on another subject called ‘Moral Education’.⁷¹⁶ Basically, the idea is to find a pragmatic way to making religious education useful in effecting good character formation for the people of the nation. This will change the understanding of those who see it mainly as for the purpose of cognitive knowledge and passing the leaving- certificate examination.

After the amalgamation of the different kingdoms into what is now Nigeria, religion has continued to play a very unifying factor in building a national identity that goes beyond ethnic affinities. People from different ethnic groups all play significant leadership and educational roles in their communities and there is the wide practice of people from different faiths praying in turns together. Even though some people have used the advantage of religious affiliations to promote their political ambitions and plans, one can generally say that most families still find religion as important in their daily lives. It is highly believed (by the findings of previous separate studies on politics and religion in Nigeria) by Kukah and Kastfelt, that political leadership especially on a presidential level is a strong Christian and Muslim debacle. There is

716 This subject for secondary schools contains topics like: ‘Brotherliness’, ‘Tolerance and Cooperation’, ‘Devotion to duty’, ‘Truthfulness and Integrity’, ‘Adolescence and Sex Morality’, ‘Patriotism’, ‘Frugality’, ‘Respect and Modesty’, ‘Perseverance and Courage’, ‘Goodwill’, ‘Humaneness’, ‘Forgiveness’, ‘Neighbourliness’, ‘Social Justice and Fair-play’, ‘Responsibility and Discipline’, ‘Sense of Duty’, ‘Trust’, ‘Contentment’, and ‘Patience’.

a strong suspicion of an ‘Islamisation’ agenda in the political interest of politicians from the northern part of the country.⁷¹⁷

These sensitive issues have made the syllabus of Christian Religious Studies to be more proactive in proposing leadership models with samples of historical successes and failures from the Bible. The syllabus emphasises the significance of character building, formation of a good conscience and respect for individual freedom and dignity.⁷¹⁸

8.5.1 The Civic Education Debacle/Islam and Curriculum Tension

The recent sudden attempt to restructure the Nigerian curriculum by merging certain subjects together (including Christian Religious studies) was met with complete rejection and almost led to a national revolt by the Christian community. The campaign was led by the Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) who successfully defended the rights of Christian Religious Education to remain as a stand-alone subject in the curriculum as against the proposal to merge it with civic education (the new subject was named Religion and National Values). It was suspected that though the contents would remain the same, the idea of a merger and changing of name could only be the first step among others that would eventually see to the suppression of the subject. This ‘controversy’ highlighted the general suspicion and concern that parents have about the political interference on the teaching of Christian Religious Education in the country. The National Education and Research Development Council has made a recent statement to clarify the suspicion that was widely circulated and debated in the Nigerian print and electronic media especially since the beginning of 2017.

717 See Niels Kastfelt, *Religion and politics in Nigeria: A study in Middle Belt Christianity*. (London: British Academic Press, 1994). And Matthew Hassan Kukah, *Religion, politics and power in Northern Nigeria*. (Ibadan: Spectrum Books, 1993).

718 Most of these ideas are contained in the 5th year of Secondary School (SS2) with such some topics on Leadership (Genesis 37:1-28, Joshua 1:1-9, Exodus 4:1-17, 5:1-5, 22-23, 6:28, 7:7;14:1-31, 32:1-14), Parental responsibility (1 Samuel 2:11-25; 8:1-5), forgiveness, unwise decisions 1 Kings 12:1-20), Greed and its effects (1 Kings 21:1-16).

The management of NERDC hereby reiterates categorically and unequivocally to all Nigerians that the subject offerings (Civic Education, Social Studies, Christian Religious Knowledge, Islamic Studies and Security Education) under the Religion and National Values Curriculum are distinct, as listed and taught separately on the time table. “In this curriculum, no child should be coerced or compelled to learn or be taught in school any religious studies subject but only one (out of the two) that restrictively relates to the belief system professed by the child and his/her parents.” In view of the claims, therefore, NERDC hereby states that: “CRK is still taught in schools; as a separate distinct subject with the accompanying teachers’ guide” “CRK is not a theme in Civic Education. Civic Education is a distinct subject on its own which teaches the rudiments of good citizenship. “There is no subject in the Nigerian School Curriculum called Islamic Arabic Studies, nor anywhere in the world, as being speculated.”⁷¹⁹

The main objection of the Christian Association of Nigeria was that such a decision would be deliberately suppressing Christian education and promoting ‘Islamisation’. The NERDC would have to give more clarity on the controversy as it has been doing recently.

719 Johnbosco Agbakwuru, and Joseph Erunke, (2017, June 22). CRK not removed from curriculum — Education Minister. *Vanguard Nigeria* [Lagos]. Retrieved from <https://www.vanguardngr.com/2017/06/crk-not-removed-curriculum-education-minister/> see also Omololu Ogunmade, (2017, June 16). CAN Protests Replacement of Christian Education in Secondary Schools with Islamic Studies. *This Day Newspaper* [Lagos]. Retrieved from <https://www.thisdaylive.com/index.php/2017/06/16/can-protests-replacement-of-christian-education-in-secondary-schools-with-islamic-studies/> and Iyabo Lawal, (2017, June 29). A curriculum review and its raging controversy. *Guardian Nigeria*[Lagos]. Retrieved from <https://guardian.ng/features/education/a-curriculum-review-and-its-raging-controversy/>

8.6 A Christocentric approach to Christian Religious Education

The Old Testament passages that have been included in the Secondary School curriculum include those that give prelude to the coming of Jesus Christ. The Genesis stories of creation and the patriarchs, the stories of Moses, Joshua, Samuel, Judges, Prophets and Kings help the students to integrate their study of Christ into the divine mystery of salvation. The teaching of Christian Religious Education in schools is presumed to be accompanied by similar faith formation in churches and at home with the families. Clifton Clarke in his book on ‘African Christology’ explores how the personal relationship of the believer with the person of Christ is a key element in African Indigenous Churches. Jesus is the healer and being in communion with him gives real life. In his survey with Akan community of Ghana he concluded that the Christological connection among African Christians is primarily because of their study of the bible which is largely made possible by education. In one of his many samples one can see below the response to the question: “How do you best experience the presence of Christ? Tick the three which you find most important

Options	Number	Percentage
Reading the Bible	1918	77%
Sermons Preached at Church	1440	58%
Prayer	824	33%
Visiting the Sick and Needy	604	24.1%
Participating in the Lord Supper	593	24%
Worshipping and Praising God in Church	1766	71%
Working for Justice in Society	304	12.2%
Others	44	2%

Table 51. Clarke’s finding⁷²⁰

720 Clifton R. Clarke, *African Christology: Jesus in post-missionary African Christianity*. (Eugene, OR: Pickwick Publications, 2011), 69.

This is seen as “a massive importance of the text of the Bible in contemporary African Christianity”.⁷²¹

To design an African theology of Education that is fundamentally Christological in its outlook seems to be the logical direction of the future of African pastoral theology. Catholic universities and theologians are faced with the challenge of providing more clarity to this discovery present in the history and daily life of the local people. Some recommendations and proposals are suggested in the final chapter.

⁷²¹ Ibid., 70.

CHAPTER 9

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The scope of this work includes a historical and contemporary synthesis of the development of Christian Religious Studies in Nigeria. It also gives a detailed outline of the content of the textbooks used for teaching the subject in secondary schools. The syllabus for CRE in Nigeria is designed in such a way that the students are able to get a general introduction to the Christian Religion by studying the Holy Bible. This fidelity of learning about Christianity from the biblical texts is one of the fundamental characteristics of the CRE syllabus.

However, there are some specific emphases that have been placed on the Christological themes in the syllabus to help students focus more on the unique role of the person of Jesus Christ. This knowledge about Jesus Christ is traced to the influence of the early missionary methodology of teaching religious education before Nigeria gained independence in 1960. Jesus Christ has remained the primary focus of the Christian Religious syllabus. To know him, to hear his words and build one's life choices around his teachings have become goal of the studying the subject. There are different consequences of an educational focus of this kind including the phenomenon of having many African Independent Churches. These churches are founded by local Africans, many of whom were former members of Christian Orthodox churches. They have successfully developed an African Christology and theology that can be said to be modified from a mixture of Western thoughts and traditional African Philosophy and culture. Since the 70s, the Nigerian National Research Institute for Education called the Nigerian Education Research and Development Council has been designing the curriculum and syllabus for all schools in Nigeria. They work with other partners in specific subject areas in providing detailed contents and production of instructional materials for learning. The local

book publishing houses and academic writers of different disciplines play a pivotal role in shaping the contents of the textbooks. All of this forms part of the aspiration of meeting the national goals of education as enshrined within the Nigerian constitution.

With regards to Religious Education in Nigeria, Christian, Islamic, and African traditional religious communities have a historical patronage that is recognised within the education research environment. Their role is sensitively linked with the understanding of national security, ethnic harmony and peace keeping within the Nigerian context. This is because of the political and historical relevance that traditional leaders, religious institutions and local belief systems have in Nigeria. Consequently, unlike in other parts of the world, teaching a subject like religious education in Nigeria is seen as a tool for peaceful coexistence and harmony within a highly pluralistic and multi-ethnic society. This is because in some parts of the UK and the Republic of Ireland where most of the missionaries that worked in Nigeria come from, Religious Education does not occupy such a sensitive and recognised place within the modern-day school curriculum.⁷²²

African theologians involved in pastoral care through formal education have realised the role of liberation and economic emancipation within the framework of religious studies.⁷²³ It is a shift from a knowledge-based approach model, to a model that is ‘solution-based’ and emancipating. This shift in the relevance of religious studies is not foreign to the gospel message of Jesus who came to set the world free from all forms of injustices and bondage. It

722 See Carl O'Brien, (2016, December 28). Religion may be out of core curriculum for primary schools. *The Irish Times* [Dubin]. Retrieved from <https://www.irishtimes.com/news/education/religion-may-be-out-of-core-curriculum-for-primary-schools-1.2918634> and Jeevan Vasagar, (2011, June 25). Criticism over plans to exclude religious studies from Ebacc. *The Guardian* [London]. Retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/education/2011/jun/25/religious-studies-ebacc-exclusion>

723 See works of Cyril U. Orji, *A Semiotic Approach to the Theology of Inculturation*. (Eugene, OR: Pickwick Publications, 2015) and James K Mashabela, (2017). Africanisation as an agent of theological education in Africa’, *HTS Teologiese Studies/Theological Studies*, 73(3). Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.4102/hts.v73i3.4581>

is liberation from illiteracy to literacy, slavery to freedom, unemployment to job creation, sickness to health, poverty to wealth and death to life. The curriculum insists on modelling the minds of the students after the mind of Christ. In this way, the most ideal model for human perfection and leadership is learned and believed in. This way of education can be categorised as part of ‘Transformative Learning’ because it involves a reflexive participation of the students and opens them to make personal commitments in their way of life. According to O’Sullivan:

Transformative learning involves experiencing a deep, structural shift in the basic premises of thought, feelings, and actions. It is a shift of consciousness that dramatically and irreversibly alters our way of being in the world. Such a shift involves our understanding of ourselves and our self-locations; our relationships with other humans and with the natural world; our understanding of relations of power in interlocking structures of class, race and gender; our body awarenesses, our visions of alternative approaches to living; and our sense of possibilities for social justice and peace and personal joy.⁷²⁴

The focus of ingenious theologians in Nigeria is to have a Christian Religious Education syllabus that is open to transformative learning⁷²⁵. This has been sustained by the emphasis of

724 Edmund O’Sullivan, (2003) "Bringing a perspective of transformative learning to globalized consumption." *International Journal of Consumer Studies*, 27 (4), 326–330. Citing Edmund O’Sullivan, Amish Morrell, and Mary Ann O’Connor, eds. (2002) *Expanding the Boundaries of Transformative Learning: Essays on Theory and Praxis*. Palgrave Press, New York, p. 18. For applying the same for older students see Jack D. Mezirow, and Jossey-Bass. *Learning as transformation: Critical perspectives on a theory in progress*. (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass a Wiley Company, 2006). And for a spiritual approach on the same, see John Jack P. Miller, (2002). Learning from a Spiritual Perspective. *Expanding the Boundaries of Transformative Learning*, 95-102. doi:10.1007/978-1-349-63550-4_8

725 A system of education that includes openness to mental (psychological), spiritual and behavioural changes especially through experience at different levels of faith and knowledge. It was developed by Jack Mezirow (1923-2014) and originally focused on adult learners with ‘critical thinking’. It attempts to combine rational and emotional intelligence.

Christological themes in the Secondary School syllabus so that the right academic environment for the personal encounter with Christ could be made possible. From biblical times to the early church and coming of the missionaries to Africa, the driving passion has been the personal experience of Christ in the lives of the individuals and communities that have lived by the gospel values and message. African Christology has been linked to the different characteristics of Jesus Christ especially as he most relates with the present human challenges on the continent today. If the historical events of the incarnation and redemption are a continuum of the 'creation' *ex nihilo* of the divine economy of God the Father, anywhere there is poverty, injustice, sickness and deprivation can be said to be where the presence of Christ is most needed. Wars, insecurities, and structural deficiencies continue to show how the model of building a perfect global society has not yielded its expected result. The message of the suffering servant and prince of peace is a longing for many who continue to strive by God's grace to build a better world by honest living and generosity.⁷²⁶

9.1 The need for a more pastoral approach in teaching Christian Religious Education by not separating content from practice

One of the weaknesses of the Nigerian education system is a general lack of 'transformative learning'. There are many people with certificates and no commensurable skills to go with them. The determination of the education department to intensify focus on skill acquisition led to the promotion of technical and vocational studies especially from the 1980s.

On the moral and social interaction levels, there is a decrying of the high rate of crime and insecurity. There is also a large scale of corruption of public officers and within the local business community. These factors make the teaching of religious education even more

⁷²⁶ Edmund V. O'Sullivan, *Transformative education for the 21st century: Reshaping learning for sustainable development and social justice*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999).

challenging as most of these leaders are ‘practicing’ Christians and Moslems who have been formed with the curriculum designed to make them men and women of skills and integrity. Unlike in some other countries, most African leaders are not secularists, Atheists or non-religious. They profess strong allegiance to spiritual values of peace, justice and liberation. This failure to see the positive impact of religious education in public life, is due to the emphasis of knowledge-based learning over practice.

For Christian Religious Studies, there is an urgent need to place emphasis on the spiritual formation of the young. That is why the identification of the main theological focus of the syllabus has to be identified and emphasised. Without prejudice to the contents of the curriculum which is well distributed in the syllabus, one has to add guided modules of prayer, reflection and meditation in such a way that the learning experience is not merely cerebral. The reality of the modern world demands a Christian education that is spiritual and pragmatic. Some educators have been advocating for this depth in religious education; a depth that includes a ‘spiritual’ content in learning because “As a result of the inadequacies of modern life, which also include the problems of poverty, homelessness, and racism, many people are looking for a different way of approaching education that includes a spiritual perspective”.⁷²⁷ Miller referred to this understanding of the modern need in education in writing on ‘Learning from a Spiritual Perspective’ stating that:

The paradox of our time in history is that we have taller buildings but shorter tempers; wider freeways but narrower viewpoints; we spend more but have less; we buy more but enjoy it less. We have bigger houses and smaller families; more conveniences but less time; we have more degrees but less

727 John Jack P. Miller, (2002) Learning from a Spiritual Perspective. In: O’Sullivan E., Morrell A., O’Connor M.A. (Eds.) *Expanding the Boundaries of Transformative Learning*. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan), 95. Citing Michael Lerner, (2000). *Spirit matters*. (Charlottesville, VA: Hampton Roads Pub. Co., 2000).

sense; more knowledge but less judgment; more experts but more problems; more medicine but less wellness. We have multiplied our possessions but reduced our values. We talk too much, love too seldom, and hate too often. We've learned how to make a living but not a life; we've added years to life, not life to years. We've been all way to the moon and back but have trouble crossing the street to meet the new neighbour. We've conquered outer space but not inner space; we've cleaned up the air but polluted the soul; we've split the atom but not our prejudice. We have higher incomes but lower morals; we've become long on quantity but short on quality. These are times of world peace but domestic warfare; more leisure but less fun; more kinds of food but less nutrition. These are days of two incomes but more divorce; of fancier houses but broken homes. It is a time when there is much in the show window and nothing in the stockroom; a time when technology can bring this letter to you, and a time when you can choose either to make a difference ... or just hit delete.⁷²⁸

Education, as it functions in Nigeria under huge budgetary challenges of underfunding⁷²⁹, needs to critically examine itself. One of the areas of self-evaluation is in the affective and emotional aspect of learning. Even if there are structural and financial deficiencies, are these being compensated for by the depth of the contents in the syllabus? For a subject like Christian Religious Education, it is possible. The level of resilience and determination of the average

728 Miller, 95.

729 The recommended percentage by UNICEF of a nation's GDP for education is 26 percent. Very few African countries are able to invest this much. This consequently makes it constantly impossible to achieve all the universal education goals that have been set over the years by the UN, though progress has been noticed notwithstanding. See United Nations. (2015, April 9). Education for All 2000-2015: Only a third of countries reached global education goals. Retrieved from <http://www.un.org/youthenvoy/2015/04/education-2000-2015-third-countries-reached-global-education-goals/> and for an economic review of education investment in the African region see Samuel Akinyemi, *Economics of education*. (Houston TX: Strategic Book Publishing and Rights Co., 2013), 114-118.

African to succeed in a world that seems to have left the continent behind in economic and scientific prosperity, is largely based on a faith-vision of life. To be kind, forgiving, hardworking and prayerful can be inculcated through proper education even in a poor environment. The determination to scrutinise economic woes and demand better governance and socio-economic development, does not alienate the African theologian from reaping the qualitative benefits of a good biblical education. That is why the safeguard of the theological contents in the school curriculum contribute to the spiritual formation of the young people with samples from the secondary schools in Nigeria.

However, the time has come to have a collective will to move away from a pastoral docility. Christian education should not endure changeable deplorable conditions. Rather it should move towards a model that uses the strength and liberation that comes from Christian education for the common good. The inability of pastoral formation to sufficiently influence political decadence in Africa shows a weakness in the application of the contents that have been learned. There should be no dichotomy between the contents in the curriculum and practice in public life. This is a particular contribution that Religious Education brings into society and as explained by Shone, “forms of knowledge are not merely collections of information but ‘the complex ways of understanding experience which man has achieved, which are publicly specifiable and which are gained through learning’”⁷³⁰

Many agree that serious investment in formal education is the way forward for Africa countries to leverage on intellectual and technological development. Most disturbing is the high rate of

730 Raymond Shone, (1973). Religion: A form of knowledge? *Learning for Living*, 12(4), 5-8. doi:10.1080/00239707308557588. Citing Paul H. Hirst, (1965). Liberal education and the nature of knowledge. *Philosophical analysis and education*, 2, 122. Hirst’s philosophical educational principles have been influential in the curriculum discourse in the field of education.

those estimated to drop out school in Africa which is about 42%.⁷³¹ Despite the United Nations commitment to an ‘Education for all’ project, poverty has made this impossible in Africa. The World Education Forum (with major partners being the World Bank, UNESCO and the Asian Development Bank) focused on promoting education for all in a forum on the same topic that took place in the year 2000 in Dakar. The Dakar Framework has been designed in such a way that funding would always be made available to achieve this goal. But the reality is that ‘out-of-school’ children in a 2012 UN report was estimated at 38 million in Africa. And “about half of all out -of-school African children will never step foot in a school in their lifetime”.⁷³²

This basically reflects a major deficiency in the rights and formation of the African child. Within the global community this is a social concern as much as it is a pastoral concern. The investment in Christian education over the years is still facing this critical and urgent challenge. Simply put, there are too many young people who are not able to go to school in Africa no matter how much they want to, or have to. An African theology of education has to sustain the determination to improve the access to education for young people in Africa. Pastoral care in the school, especially in teaching religious education, has to contain a concern for this deprivation. It means that those who are not able to afford formal education in government or private schools, need to be provided with other alternatives where they can receive education. A practical location for this is the church compound. Many children who do not go to school are able to attend church weekly. In designing an African theology of education, one can add a structural dimension of the using of church buildings and compounds as learning venues. With the large number of churches of varied structural qualities around the country, this would

731 United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). (2013, March). Education for All in Africa. Retrieved October 18, 2017, from www.unesco.org/new/en/dakar/education/education-for-all-in-africa/

732 The Africa America Institute (AAI). (2015). *State of Education Report in Africa 2015: A report card on the progress, opportunities and challenges confronting the African education sector*. Retrieved from The Africa-America Institute New York website: <http://www.aaionline.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/09/AAI-SOE-report-2015-final.pdf> 7.

be a phenomenal contribution. Those in the rural communities where the normal school buildings are already in short supply, will benefit greatly from this initiative. In other words, there could be two approaches in talking about African theology of education; one is about the content and the other is about accessibility. Having only contents in the syllabus or printed materials in books that are not transmitted to millions of school age children who are out of school is a handicapped situation in need of a pastoral solution.

9.2 A proposal to integrate the contributions of local theologians in specific contexts in the exegetical process of textual criticism

The textual critical method of studying the scripture has been useful in understanding the meaning of a text by a systematic analysis of the 'writing' with various scholarly tools which includes linguistic and historical proficiency. Since the bible is very popular in daily Christian life in Africa, African theology of education should contain the contributions of theologians who have redacted their thoughts based on the scholarly interpretations from local encounters with the word. This is partly what the Secondary School Christian Religious Education syllabus attempts to portray. The choice of topics and relevance of the many symbols and stories of the bible contained in the syllabus, is influenced by the theological vision that the African theologians have. However, the encouragement of local textual critical studies does not necessarily affect dogmatically defined doctrines but facilitates the unlimited reflection that the mystery of the word contains. Wallace explains that "nothing we believe to be doctrinally true, and nothing we are commanded to do, is in any way jeopardized by the variants. This is true for any textual tradition. The interpretation of individual passages may well be called in question; but never is a doctrine affected".⁷³³ In fact, the veracity of the word of God is not

733 Daniel B. Wallace, (2004, June 3). "The Majority Text and the Original Text: Are They Identical?" Retrieved November 1, 2017, from https://bible.org/article/majority-text-and-original-text-are-they-identical#_ftn1

compromised by having access to the multiple collections of manuscripts and texts that are available today for reflection. In this area of textual engagement with the scriptures, African theology has a lot of room for exploration and research.

African theologians need to engage more with the textual sources of the sacred scriptures in order to better articulate a critical response to the ongoing conversation of theological education within a local context. This is because the role of scripture in any branch of theology is indispensable.⁷³⁴ When texts have more refined mastery and evaluation, they provide room for the contribution of original ideas. Though there are different forms of Biblical Criticism,⁷³⁵ textual critical method is particularly relevant to this research because of the interest in printed materials published for Christian Religious education instruction. It is also important because the focus of the Nigerian school curriculum is not mainly on the presentation of the bible story and books to the students, but on the understanding of the role of Christ in the salvation of the world. The students are prepared to be familiar with the texts and how they help to reveal the message of salvation. Indigenous African theologians would contribute thoughts that are unique and authentic when (biblical) theology is studied with attention to the different methods of ‘textual criticism’ that are available. These original contributions will help in the design of

734 See Matthew R. Crawford, *Cyril of Alexandria's Trinitarian Theology of Scripture*, (Oxford: University Press, 2014), and James E. Force, and Richard H. Popkin, (Eds.). (2011). *The books of nature and scripture: Recent essays on natural philosophy, theology and biblical criticism in the Netherlands of Spinoza's time and the British Isles of Newton's time*. Dordrecht: Springer. For a previous preparatory approach to this, see Joseph P. O'Donnell (1942). Sacred Scripture and the Theology Course, *The Catholic Biblical Quarterly*, 4(1), 45-50. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/43718757>

735 It is mainly concerned with ‘source’ (historical) ‘form’ (composition and compilation) and ‘style’ (textual redactions) general grouped into such headings as ‘historical critical method’, ‘textual critical method and ‘literary criticism’ and ‘source criticism’. For related works see John Barton, *Reading the Old Testament: Method in biblical study*. (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 1996). And Joseph A. Fitzmyer, (1989). Historical Criticism: Its Role in Biblical Interpretation and Church Life. *Theological Studies*, 50(2), 244-259. doi:10.1177/004056398905000202. There have been other works that have influenced textual criticism which are related to ‘biblical semantics (quest for meaning behind the text) and stemmatics’ (comparing similar textual sources), ‘philology’ (historical development of the texts), ‘eclecticism’ (combination of multiple linguistic tools to make hypothesis) and Phylogenetics (origin of texts, as if looking for a genetically established primary source) see Sabastiano Timpanaro, And Glen W. Most, *The genesis of Lachmann's method*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005). And Calvert Watkins, (1990). What Is Philology? *Comparative Literature Studies*, 27(1), 21-25. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40246724>

the textbooks for secondary schools in a way that best upheld the ‘original’ meaning of the texts. Such scholarly engagement will also provide a necessary background and competence to proffer the best way to present such theological contents to young people in schools. For example, the significance of the kerygma for an African country that is still in a political process of consolidating the gains of democratic structures that have been established since independence, will be different from other parts of the world with different situations. It would require the local theologians to constructively design the contents of the core message of the gospel in a way that is most pastorally relevant and useful for the specific context. In a Nigerian context, this has to be practice oriented and the best people to carry this out will be the local theologians themselves.⁷³⁶

9.3 A proposal not to change the present method of teaching Christian Religious Studies as a specific subject in the Secondary School curriculum

The method of teaching Christian Religious Studies directly as a subject in the secondary school, has proven to be stable and productive over the past forty years. Part of the reason for this stability is because of the participation of the primary stakeholders like the Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN), the Catholic Bishops Conference of Nigeria (CBCN) and the National Association of Bible Knowledge Teachers that were quite active at the time of the structuring of the present curriculum.⁷³⁷ Another important reason why the present format and syllabus should be kept is because of its methodological approach of teaching Christian Religious studies from a Biblical perspective. This helps to safeguard the theological

⁷³⁶ This assumes that local theologians or theologians who live and practice within a particular context, will be more prepared to understand the local situation. Being a local theologian in this regard means living or researching within the context and not necessarily a native born.

⁷³⁷ See Robert H. Horton, P. N. Udeze, and National Association of Bible Knowledge Teachers of Nigeria. *St. Luke's Gospel*. (London: Edward Arnold in association with the National Association of Bible Knowledge Teachers of Nigeria, 1985) and Gerald O. West, and Musa W. Dube, (Eds.) *The Bible in Africa: Transactions, trajectories, and trends*. (Leiden: Brill, 2000).

consistency of the subject against doctrinal and subjective influences that may need to be periodically adapted with the changing times. The primary source and ‘textbook’ recommended for the study of Christian Religious Education in the national syllabus has always been the Holy Bible. The role of the local authors and indigenous theologians have always been that of interpretation and application. They designed the curriculum to meet the constitutionally defined ‘objectives of education’ and ‘National goals’ in Nigeria. In this way teaching Christian Religious Studies is an essential part of realising the national goals of the country.⁷³⁸ These goals are based on the overall philosophy of living in peace and harmony in a democratic society. There are equal opportunities for all for freedom of religion and worship.⁷³⁹

However, the fact the contents in the syllabus have a solid Christological emphasis and are consistent with basic Christian ethos does not mean that the teaching methods have been well implemented. A previous research by Catherine Okeke in 2015, has shown that teaching methods in Nigeria have to be improved upon across all disciplines. This is particularly for those who still teach using only the ‘lecture method’. Students retention of learning from a class that is mainly of ‘speaking’ to them for hours and giving notes to read and memorise does not produce much result especially for reflective subjects in the liberal arts and social sciences.

738 Cf. Sunday Onovughe, and John Friday Mordi, (2017). Religious Education: A Vital Tool for Sustainable Development in Nigeria. *International Journal of Religious and Cultural Practice*, 3(1), 12-19. Retrieved from <https://iiardpub.org/get/IJRCP/VOL.%203%20NO.%201%202017/Religious%20Education.pdf> ISSN 2579-0501

739 These objectives in are contained in the National policy of Education and the Second National Development plan from 1970. One of the main objectives is to have a ‘united, strong and self-reliant nation’. Religion, despite its many challenges and complexities has helped to keep Nigeria united by its unwavering focus on peace and unity above all forms of diversity and through it. And as Cyprian Eneh puts it: “When the Nigerian civil war ended in January 1970, the federal government articulated the five main national development goals of building a free and democratic society; a just and egalitarian society; a united, strong and self-reliant nation; a great and dynamic economy; and a land full of bright opportunities for all citizens, as contained in the Second National Development Plan (1970-1974) and endorsed in 1973 as the necessary foundation for the Nigerian National Policy on Education, which was first published in 1977” abstract from Onyenekenwa Cyprian Eneh, (2008), “The national development goals- where stands Nigeria? *Knowledge Review*, 16(2), 146-157.

She discovered that “the reports of the Examination Development Centre (EDC), in charge of the Basic Education Certificate Examination in Anambra State stressed the high rate of failure in CRS, for five years (2007-2011) especially in the theme containing the Epistles. The reports attributed the cause of students’ poor performance to lack of knowledge of subject matter, non-commitment and poor methodology on the part of teachers.”⁷⁴⁰ A combination of methods that includes students’ participation and role playing as well as inclusion of a pastoral service dimension would increase the students’ interest and influence the performance outcomes during assessment.

9.4 The future of African theology in politically charged environment

Two constant struggles in modern African history are the economic narratives and the democratic process. The economic issues include the big challenge of food sufficiency and eradication of hunger and fast killer diseases like malaria. On the bright side, new strides are being made in the telecommunication and bio-diversity sectors with particular attention to mineral resources, agriculture and eco-tourism. The democratic challenges are a bit more unpredictable with the persistence of several arms struggle, terrorist militancy and sustaining democratically established institutions.⁷⁴¹ These challenges are being confronted with

740 Catherine, Nwada Amara Okeke, (2015). *Effect of Constructive Simulation Teaching Strategy on Students’ Achievement and Retention in Christian Religious Studies* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). (Nsuka: University of Nigeria), 17. More suggestions have also come from other researchers in Nigeria based on the importance of using modern technology for teaching CRS which is still lacking. See Idiat Oluranti Adebule, (2009). The Effective use of Educational Technology for Religious Education Teaching: Learning Amongst Secondary Schools in Lagos State, Nigeria. *International Journal of Learning*, 15 (12), 141-145;. G. A. Kosoko-Oyedeko, and Adeyinka Tella, (2010). Teacher’s perception of the contribution of ICT to pupils performance in Christian religious education. *Journal of the Social Sciences*, 22(1), 7-14. Retrieved from <http://www.krepublishers.com/02-Journals/JSS/JSS-22-0-000-10-Web/JSS-22-1-000-10-Abst-PDF/JSS-22-1-007-10-878-Oyedeko-G-A-K/JSS-22-1-007-10-878-Oyedeko-G-A-K-Tt.pdf> and. C. O. Okoro, and E. E. Ekpo, (2016). Effects of Information and Communication Technology (ICT) Application on Academic Achievement of Students in Christian Religious Studies in Cross River State. *International Journal of Interdisciplinary Research Method*, 3(2), 14-24. Published by European Centre for Research Training and Development UK (www.eajournals.org). In the field work of Ekpo and Okoro, Projected Video Package (PVP) was found to be very efficient in improving students’ interest and performance level on CRS.

741 About 24 African countries are having major elections (presidential, regional and parliamentary) in 2017 and another 16 African countries are going to have a similar process in 2018. See Electoral Institute for Sustainable Democracy in Africa. (2017, September). 2017 African election calendar. Retrieved November 10, 2017, from

legislative and military interventions on both regional and international levels. In general, there are signs of economic and political growths though one has to remain cautious because of lack of long-term stability.

Within such a context, creative thinking and humanitarian services through education, evangelisation and healthcare is an opportunity. Christian education that promotes civil rights and human liberation has been well embraced in Nigeria and other Christian populated countries in Africa. For the future, the participation in third level education has to be increased. While the urgent response to basic (primary and secondary) education has been quite successful, the same cannot be said for tertiary institutions. This lack of active theological influence in third level institutions in Nigeria has kept the general discourse on African theology mainly in the elementary level. The new constructions of faith-based universities in Nigeria is a positive way to prepare people and engage in the political life of Africa's future. Michel Lejeune talked about the role of Catholic Universities in Africa to bring about holistic

<https://www.eisa.org.za/calendar.php> From the academic perspective, academic bodies like the 'Association of Catholic Universities and Higher Institutes of Africa and Madagascar' (ACUHIAM) -founded in 1989- which is part of the 'International Federation of Catholic Universities' (IFCU), are well placed to offer their theological contribution to the African Union (AU) in general, and to the more than 15 African countries with one or more Catholic higher institutions. There are about 221 Catholic higher education institutions that are part of the IFCU and they have a representation in the United Nations and seek more active participation in Regional episcopal conferences, the Holy See and the Council of Europe. Cf. The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO). (2016, October 6). International Federation of Catholic Universities. Retrieved November 10, 2017, from <https://en.unesco.org/partnerships/non-governmental-organizations/international-federation-catholic-universities> See also, The International Federation of Catholic Universities (IFCU), (2014). Universities at the core of our commitment since 1924. Retrieved November 10, 2017, from <http://fiuc.org/>. Genevieve Mwayuli of the Scientific Committee of the Association of Catholic Universities and Higher Institutes of Africa and Madagascar' (ACUHIAM) gave a summary of the major contribution of African theological and educational impact by listing some of the topics they have been engaged with like "Catholic Universities in Africa for Peace and Reconciliation: Searching for Root Causes of and Solutions to Violence and Conflicts", "The Role of Africa's Catholic Universities in the Attainment of the Millennium Development Goals", "Catholic Universities in Africa: Educating for Holistic and Sustainable Development", and "Ethics and Resources of Africa: Land, Family and Religion". Cf. Genevieve Mwayuli, (2017, June 17). In Search for Solutions to Africa's Challenges. Retrieved November 10, 2017, from <https://acuhiam.com/search-for-solutions-to-africas-challenges/> John Maviiri, (2010). Catholic Universities in Africa for Peace and Reconciliation: Searching for Root Causes and Solutions to Conflicts. *ACUHIAM Journal/Revue de L'ASUNICAM*, 1(2), parts 1 and 2. Association of Catholic Universities and Higher Institutes of Africa and Madagascar (Nairobi: CUEA Press). See also David Tonghou Ngong, (Ed.). *A new history of African Christian thought: From Cape to Cairo*. (New York: Routledge, 2017).

transformation of the continent. However, he acknowledges that there would be need for support from outside of Africa if this transformation is going to have the desired global impact and contribution. Speaking about the role of the Association of Catholic Universities and Higher Institutes of Africa and Madagascar in this process, he stated that: “As a newly established association, ACUHIAM will need support from outside Africa if it wishes to achieve its goals. The will is there, some resources are present, but international solidarity is also an important factor. Member universities are committed to being partners in development, and believe that education *is* development. The association bases its philosophy on principles drawn from Christianity as the basis for action and is not afraid to tell the world who it is and what it stands for. The challenges facing Catholic universities today are enormous. Two priorities are academic excellence and service to the poor”.⁷⁴²

The academic platform could be the most successful and long-term way to engage with political trends in Africa. Historically, this was effective in the colonial era and helped in shaping the free choice of the local people in achieving self-determination and building up the early democratic structures in Africa. Nowadays, there seems to be a weakness in the capacity of Christian education to impact on the African political sphere. This is because of the high level of corruption and poverty that have remained major challenges to economic and human development on the continent. There is a need to renew the focus on theological reflections on education especially when character formation and value systems are under question. This is the contribution that an African theology of Education can bring to the table.

742 Michel Lejune, (1998). The Challenges of Catholic Universities in Africa: The Role of ACUHIAM. *International Higher Education*, (12), 13. doi:10.6017/ihe.1998.12.6434

A further study could be carried out that seeks to identify the main theological emphasis that the various Catholic universities in Africa have been placing on the local political situation. Such an empirical study will help propose a platform for a Christian political party or organisation that clearly articulates the Christian vision of the society in a local context. The social teaching of the Church invites Christians to take responsibility for improving the national democratic process and to participate in governance and legislation in their countries. For this to happen in Africa, there is a need to be guided by a pastorally defined theology of education. This could be achieved by influence and contribution of the Christian universities.

9.4.1 African Theology of Education (ATE)

Theology of education has been viewed critically in different ways especially with the rise of secularism. “A theology of education, then, looks for much more informal links between theology and education...It searches for matchings and links between theological reflections on the one hand and educational theory and practice on the other”.⁷⁴³ In his abstract to ‘what is theology of Education?’ Hull clarifies susceptible misunderstandings of subject by stating that:

An understanding of the nature of theology of education, as of any other field of applied or practical theology, will spring from some previous understanding of the nature and functions of theology itself. But here the theorist in the interdisciplinary field is in something of a dilemma. If he fails to make it clear that theology of education rests upon an interpretation of the nature of theology, his treatment will tend to be superficial. He will be

⁷⁴³ Ian Thomas Ramsey, (1976). Towards a theology of education. *Learning for Living*, 15(4), 137-147. doi:10.1080/00239707608556914

exploring the theological implications of education, but he will not have shown himself aware of the implications for theology of the methods he uses in his exploration. Since his aim is to elucidate implications for theology, he must turn his scrutiny inwards towards himself as theologian, as well as outwards towards education. On the other hand, in setting forth the understanding of theology which informs his work in applied theology, he makes his work more controversial, since there will be other understandings of theology, and other understandings of applied theology will flow from these to relativise his own methodology. Or it may be thought that the interdisciplinary field necessarily rests upon this and only this understanding of theology, and then those whose understanding of theology differs will conclude that the whole interdisciplinary enterprise is misconceived. A relatively under-developed interdisciplinary field such as theology of education is particularly susceptible to this misunderstanding.⁷⁴⁴

There are some initiatives on the African continent to shape an African theology of education especially from the Evangelical and Pentecostal theological institutions. The ‘Association for Christian Theological Education in Africa’ (ACTEA) has been promoting an African theology of education especially within the group known as the Association of Evangelicals in Africa (AEA) since 1975. The focus of their training is to prepare people for theological formation with different evangelical education institutions across east, south and west Africa. This effort compliments those done by the Catholic higher institutions and different missionary congregations. They all run their educational facilities with an understanding of the human

744 John M. Hull, (1977). What is Theology of Education? *Scottish Journal of Theology*, 30(1), 3-29. doi:10.1017/S0036930600024790, See also Leslie J Francis, L. (1979). Theology and Education: A Research Perspective. *Scottish Journal of Theology*, 32(01), 61. doi:10.1017/s0036930600043386

person whose intellectual formation is part of the divine mission of the creator. Every aspect of education is linked with the call of humanity to eternal salvation. Education is not therefore a goal in itself but a tool to understand the creation which is part of divine revelation. In a country like Nigeria the different subjects taught in secondary schools are not devoid of the cultural understanding of creation and the human person as being part of a divine economy. Most schools still begin the day with a prayer moment either collectively in a general assembly or as class groups in the different classrooms. The emphasis of the prayer moment is not on denominational affiliation or religious preference. It is on the concept of the supremacy of God. Even if the students may be from different religious backgrounds and may need to pray in their own way, the time is slotted in the school time table to acknowledge and develop that awareness.

Based on the religious patronage of the schools, different emphasis may be placed on the style and duration of prayer. This is actually secondary, as even a moment of silence or listening to scriptural readings (either Islamic or Christian as the case may be) could still be flexible depending on the pastoral situation of the school. Within this understanding of an African theology of education, an abnormality would occur when there will be no room for prayer, meditation, sacred songs or blessings for an entire day in the school.

From a Catholic perspective, Brian Kelly explains that secularism is a major factor that affects theological contents in schools. In 'Toward a theology of Catholic Education', Kelly emphasises four 'challenges' previously identified by Giuseppe Groppo, that need to be considered in structuring a catholic theology of education. "First is the evaluation of the educational problems which culture presents to faith; second is the critical appropriation of modern theology's understanding of salvation, holiness, autonomy, human action, and education as a liberating and humanizing process; third is the understanding of the process of religious conversion and

development; fourth is the description of the parameters of maturity and growth in both developmental and religious terms.”⁷⁴⁵

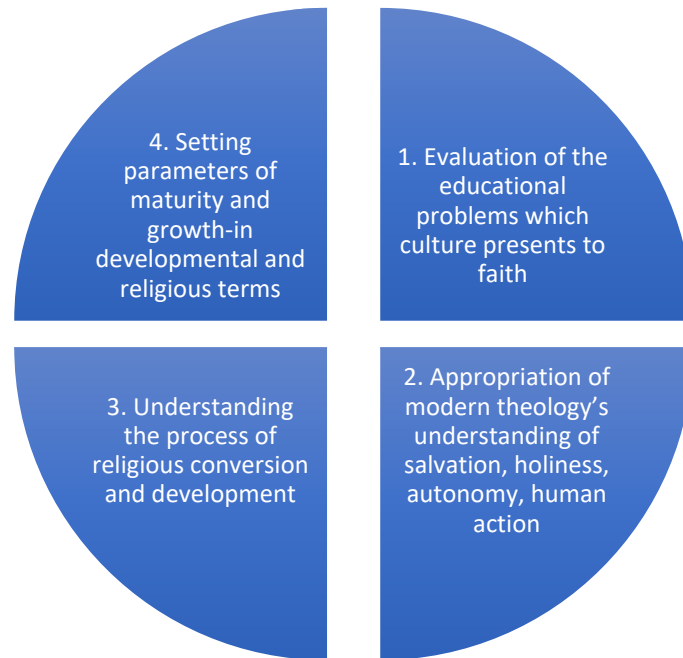


Chart 27 Giuseppe Groppo's 4 challenges of a theology of Education

Based on the facts that “Commitment to personal development and growth in personal freedom are priorities for educational efforts claiming consistency with the goals of Catholic Education. ‘Transcendent humanism’ has been at the centre of the Christian tradition from the idea’s inception”.⁷⁴⁶ This correlation of faith and culture is mentioned in the following:

Intellectual development and growth as a Christian go forward hand in hand.

As students move up from one class into the next it becomes increasingly imperative that a Catholic school help them become aware that a relationship exists between faith and human culture. Human culture remains human, and

⁷⁴⁵ Brian J. Kelty, (1999). Toward a Theology of Catholic Education. *Religious Education*, 94(1), 22. doi:10.1080/0034408990940102. Citing Giuseppe Groppo, *Teologia dell'educazione Origine, identità compiti* (Rome: Libreria Ateneo Salesiano-LAS), 1991. 440.

⁷⁴⁶ Ibid., 15.

must be taught with scientific objectivity. But the lessons of the teacher and the reception of those students who are believers will not divorce faith from this culture; this would be a major spiritual loss. The world of human culture and the world of religion are not like two parallel lines that never meet; points of contact are established within the human person. For a believer is both human and a person of faith, the protagonist of culture and the subject of religion. Anyone who searches for the contact points will be able to find them. Helping in the search is not solely the task of religion teachers; their time is quite limited, while other teachers have many hours at their disposal every day. Everyone should work together, each one developing his or her own subject area with professional competence, but sensitive to those opportunities in which they can help students to see beyond the limited horizon of human reality. In a Catholic school, and analogously in every school, God cannot be the Great Absent One or the unwelcome intruder. The Creator does not put obstacles in the path of someone trying to learn more about the universe he created, a universe which is given new significance when seen with the eyes of faith.⁷⁴⁷

An educational approach that focuses on the human and spiritual dimensions of the person and the world could be said to be compatible with a Christian theology of education. “More recently, the discussion has moved from a somewhat confrontational statement of the rights of Catholics to Catholic education, to a recognition of the religious dimension of all education”.⁷⁴⁸

747 Catholic Church, Congregatio pro Institutione Catholica. (1988). *The religious dimension of education in a Catholic school: Guidelines for reflection and renewal*. (Washington, DC: United States Catholic Conference).
And

http://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/congregations/ccatheduc/documents/rc_con_ccatheduc_doc_19880407_catholic-school_en.html

748 Kelty, 18.

When this openness to transcendence is influenced by the content of divine revelation in the sacred scriptures, it could be said to be a Christian approach to education. If it comes from Africa, it could be further classified as an African Christian theology of education.

This worldview contradicts an African theology of education that sees the formation of students in a school environment as inclusive of both physical and spiritual components with the child having sufficient background to make future choices later in life.

Another characteristic of an African theology of education is in its 'Africaness'. This is different from the focus on issues about languages of learning or other trivial details like the use and type of school uniforms in an African setting. What could be considered essential elements are in three categories of (1) being engaged with the supernatural, (2) having a heterosexual understanding of building up a family life where others in the community are actively supportive, and (3) upholding the principles of celebration of life and the 'living-dead ancestors'. This third principle influences the cultural norms around birth, death and hard work for building up the domestic family and the larger community.

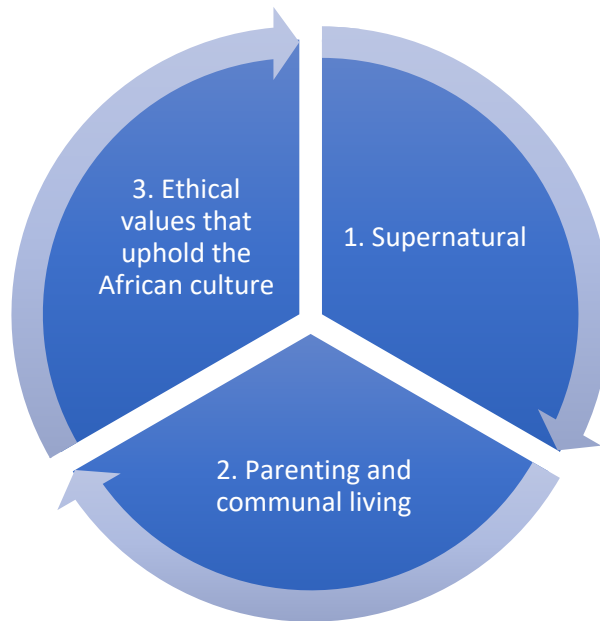


Chart 28. Concept of 'Africaness' for an African theology of education

An African theology of education is therefore a combination of what a Christian education stands for, and three core elements that have been described as representing African culture. African theology of education (ATE) therefore, stands in contrast to a postmodern era where there is more inclination towards an empirical and subjective form of knowledge. This is because such a model is to the detriment of a 'metaphysical' and 'transcendental' notion of the understanding of creation in general and human nature in particular. The dichotomy between and educational model that is based mainly on physical realities without the inclusion of the supernatural, is what African theology of education is not willing to accommodate.

One recommendation for further research on this topic is to see how an African theology of education can be designed into a curriculum for study. This will provide a deeper understanding of the best qualities of African culture that can be developed for posterity within the educational sector. Such a study will also help clarify specific educational priorities for the four major groups of Africans on the continent; the French and English linguistic divide on the one hand, and the northern and sub Saharan ethno-religious divide on the other.

Another recommendation would be to study the importance of religious education in connection with African cultures in the modern African states. This will help in providing findings of the differences in traditional African societies and the modern states. Above all it should reveal how formal education that began from a Christian religious background is influencing the larger society today. Such a study will present an African perspective to the four common philosophical principles of education which are ‘knowledge’, ‘society’, ‘history’ and most importantly, ‘person’.⁷⁴⁹

A third recommendation would be to examine the possibility of making more digital materials for the teaching of Christian religious studies in Nigerian secondary schools. With the present structural challenges and especially lack of sufficient electricity, it would be very innovative to carry out a research on the digitalisation of instructional materials for teaching Christian religious studies.

A fourth area for further research could be in the pastoral adaptation of the biblical translations in indigenous African languages with a view to adapting them to the curriculum of teaching Christian religious studies. This may help to reveal the extent to which the study of the subject may influence the students if the scriptures are studied in indigenous languages. Such a study could profit from present biblical commentaries and translations from the African perspective. For example, scholarly commentary in the African Bible and the African Bible Commentary have provided patterns for the kind of relevant topics and methods that could be used as foundations for the African theology of education

⁷⁴⁹ Cf. *Ibid.*, 13.

Nevertheless, one should we should guard against an education that is narrow minded and focuses only on localization. This is because the very nature of education suggests that one is open to both local and international best practices in learning and methods.

The phenomenological growth of Christianity in Africa south of the Sahara in the last century without a corresponding economic growth is questionable. At least it suggests a disconnect between faith and action if the Christian faith is going to be seen as credible or effective. Though one may validly argue that the religious propensity and practice in Africa may not be playing any significant role in the economic situation in the content, Christian education has an urgent quality to offer in shaping the growth of the continent. The pastoral approach to education in Africa has to be socially and economically relevant in shaping the content of an African Theology of Education. A theology that is passive and non-participatory is irrelevant for Africa at this historical period.

9.5 Why Pastoral Theology and Christology should remain integrated in African theological education

The growth of the faith in Africa is getting to a historical point where the teaching of the faith is being questioned due to many hardships. Pastorally, education provides the long-term solution and opportunity to advance the cause of human and spiritual growth. On the other hand, the understanding of, and relationship with Jesus Christ are decisive indications of the depth of the spiritual commitment of the individual with God. The integration of educational tools (and methods) together with Christological themes in the Secondary School syllabus in Nigeria, provide a balanced way to promote education and Christian formation. Education is promoted by increasing accessibility especially to the poor. Christian formation is offered by providing a clear opportunity to have a spiritual experience that is rooted on the word of God

and active participation in the life of the Christian community. This is most useful at a time when as James Riley Estep says: “Christian education is at this moment in period of definition, or perhaps redefinition, as it seeks a new identity and relevant direction for the twenty-first century”.⁷⁵⁰

⁷⁵⁰ James Riley Estep, (2008). The Christian Educator and Theology. In *A theology for Christian Education*. (Nashville, TN: B and H Academic, 2008), 296-297.

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Appendix 1

CATHAN CONFERENCES AND THEMES OVER THE YEARS

CATHAN President

5 Jul

Dear Fr Cyril,

It is my pleasure to get back to you finally regarding the subject above. Thanks for your patience.

In the attached document, we have supplied the information requested. Some columns are still vacant. However, we considered it expedient to send what we have while we keep working to find the missing information. Once we get the remaining ones we shall forward them to you.

We hope this will be of some assistance to you in your doctoral research. We look forward to having you around at our next conference or anytime you're back home.

Rest assured of our prayers.

Sincerely,

Fr Raymond 'Sesan Aina, MSP

President, CATHAN

{Catholic Theological Association of Nigeria}

**ANNUAL CONFERENCES OF THE CATHOLIC THEOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION
OF NIGERIA (CATHAN): 1985-2017**

Year	Theme	Venue	Pastoral Focus	Edition
2017	“Youth Formation and Globalisation in the Nigeria Context”	Abuja - Daughters of divine love Retreat and Conference Centre, Lugbe (April 18-21, 2017)	Youth Ministry	32 nd CATHAN National Conference
2016	“Theology and Ecological Issues”	Umuahia – Bishop Anthony Nwedo Pastoral Centre (March 29-April 1, 206)	Eco- preservation	31 st CATHAN National Conference
2015	“The Family and the New Evangelisation”	Benin – Bishop Kelly Pastoral Centre (7-10, 2015)	Marriage & Family Life	30 th CATHAN National Conference
2014	“The Church in Nigeria and Ecumenical Question”	Abuja - Daughters of divine love Retreat and Conference Centre, Lugbe (April 22-25, 2014)	Ecumenism	29 th CATHAN National Conference
2013	“Religious Faith and Public Service in Nigeria: Ambiguities and Paradoxes”	Onitsha – The Madonna Renewal Centre, Nkpor (April 2-5, 2013)	Faith in the Public Space	28 th CATHAN National Conference
2012	“The Church in Africa: witness to justice, peace and reconciliation a post-synodal reflection and reception”	Ibadan – The Redemptorist Retreat/Conference Centre (April 10-13, 2012)	Justice, Peace and Reconciliation	27 th CATHAN National Conference
2011	“Theology and Liturgy in the life of the Church”	Ikot Ekpene – St Joseph’s major Seminary (April 26-29, 2011)	Liturgy	26 th CATHAN National Conference
2010	“Theology at the Service of National Unity”	Abuja – The National Missionary Seminary of St. Paul (April 6-10, 2010)	National transformation	25 th CATHAN National Conference
2009	“Celebrating the Year of St Paul: The Challenges of Evangelisation in the Third Millennium in the Light of St Paul, Apostle to the Nations”	Ibadan – Ss Peter & Paul Major Seminary, Bodija	Evangelisation	24 th CATHAN National Conference

Year	Theme	Venue	Pastoral Focus	Edition
2008	“The Nigerian Church and the Second Special Assembly for Africa: Synod of Bishops”	Awka – John Paul II Seminary (March 25-28, 2008)	2 nd ‘African Synod’	23 rd CATHAN National Conference
2007	“Religion, Violence and Conflict Resolution in Nigeria”	Makurdi – St. Thomas Aquinas Seminary (April 10-14, 2007)	Religion, Violence & Conflict transformation	22 nd CATHAN National Conference
2006	“Church and Pentecostalism”	Uhiele – Seminary of All Saints, Ekpoma (April 18-21, 2006)	Pentecostalism challenge	21 st CATHAN National Conference
2005	“Collaborative Ministry in the Context of Inculturation”	Onitsha – Blessed Iwene Tansi Seminary (March 28-April 1, 2005)	Collaborative Ministry	20 th CATHAN National Conference
2004	“Theological Perspectives on Spirituality and Piety in Nigeria”	Jos – St. Augustine’s Major Seminary, (April 13-16, 2004)	Spirituality	19 th CATHAN National Conference
2003	“Theology and the interpretation of the Christian message in Nigeria”	Ibadan – Ss Peter & Paul Major Seminary, Bodija (April 22-25, 2003)	Theological Hermeneutics	18 th CATHAN National Conference
2002	“Leadership in The Church”	Ikot Ekpene – St. Joseph's Seminary (April 2-5, 2002)	Ecclesial leadership	17 th CATHAN National Conference
2001	“The nature and identity of the Church: Nigerian theological perspectives”	Enugu – Bigard Memorial seminary Enugu 17-20 April 2001	Ecclesiology	16 th CATHAN National Conference
2000	“Agenda for Theology in Nigeria in the 21 st Century”	Abuja – The National Missionary Seminary of St. Paul (April 25-28, 2000)	Contextual Theology	15 th CATHAN National Conference
1999	N/A	Ibadan – Ss Peter & Paul Major Seminary, Bodija	N/A	14 th CATHAN National Conference
1998	N/A	Jos – St. Augustine’s Major Seminary	N/A	13 th CATHAN National Conference
Year	Theme	Venue	Pastoral Focus	Edition

1997	N/A	Enugu – Bigard Memorial seminary Enugu	N/A	12 th CATHAN National Conference
1996	“Ecclesia in Africa: The Nigerian Response”	Owerri – Claretian Institute of Philosophy, Nekede	1 st ‘African Synod’	11 th CATHAN National Conference
1995	“Towards Good Governance in Nigeria”	N/A	Public Theology	10 th CATHAN National Conference
1994	“Evangelisation in a Distressed Land”	N/A	Evangelisation	9 th CATHAN National Conference
1993	“Authority and Charism in the Nigerian Church”	Abuja – The National Missionary Seminary of St. Paul	Authority & Charism	8 th CATHAN National Conference
1992	“The Theologian and the Challenges of the Third Republic”	Ibadan – Ss Peter & Paul Major Seminary, Bodija	Public vocation of Theologians	7 th CATHAN National Conference
1991	“The Church and Human Development”	Owerri – Seat of Wisdom Seminary	Human Development	6 th CATHAN National Conference
1990	“Christology in the Nigerian Context”	N/A	Christology	5 th CATHAN National Conference
1989	“Leadership in the Nigerian Context”	N/A	Ecclesial Leadership	4 th CATHAN National Conference
1988	“Religion and Politics in the Nigerian Context”	Jos – St. Augustine’s Major Seminary	Religion & Politics	3 rd CATHAN National Conference
1987	“Theology in the African cultural milieu	N/A	African Theology (Contextualisation)	2 nd CATHAN National Conference
1986	-N/A	N/A	N/A	
1985	“The Nigerian Theologian at the Service of the Church”	Onitsha – Madonna House (April 24-26, 1985)	Ecclesial Vocation of Theologians	1 st CATHAN National Conference

Appendix 2

Research permissions and field work

February 3, 2017

Rev. Fr. Cyril Odi, SDB
Mary Immaculate College
University of Limerick
Ireland

PERMISSION TO USE CATHOLIC SECRETARIAT OF NIGERIA PUBLICATIONS

With this letter, you are permitted to use the publications of the Catholic Secretariat of Nigeria on the first and second Catholic Education Summits held in Abuja for your PhD research on pastoral theology and education.

I wish you the best of luck in your studies.

Rev. Fr. Ralph Madu
Secretary General
Catholic Secretariat of Nigeria
Abuja, F.C.T. Nigeria
08033320217

Acceptance for 1 year 2015-2016 associate membership in Centre for African Studies (CAS) in the School of oriental and African Studies (SOAS) of the University of London.

29th November 2014

Caitlin Pearson and Angelica Baschiera,

Centre of African Studies (CAS), School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), University of London

This is to certify that Father Cyril Odia (a Nigerian National and member of the Salesian Order) is a registered doctoral student at Mary Immaculate College, University of Limerick, Ireland. He is currently resident in Ireland. He has full medical and travel insurance and is involved in some pastoral and youth services in the inner city of Dublin. He also has valid travel documents to the UK. He is a member of the Royal African Society and the Religious Education Association of America...

Father Odia is pursuing his PhD research in the Department of Theology & Religious Studies. His field work includes the study of instructional materials published in Nigeria for the teaching of Religious Education in Nigerian secondary schools. The research focus is on the 'theological content' in instructional materials in Nigerian secondary schools, looking at text books for teaching Christian Religious Education (CRE) since the beginning of indigenous (local) publications in Nigeria back in the 1950s. This research will also require a background investigation into the advent of 'Western formal' education in Nigeria dating back to the 1800s.

We would appreciate it if you could grant him associate membership of CAS so as to facilitate his research in the coming years, especially in regard to accessing your specialist Library and other events that may be relevant to his studies from an African perspective.

If you require any further information, please don't hesitate to contact me.

Yours sincerely

Dr Patrick Connolly

Senior Lecturer in Theology & Religious Studies

Assistant Registrar

Mary Immaculate College

~ University of Limerick ~

South Circular Road

Limerick, Ireland

Dear Patrick,

Thank you for your email and for the reference about Cyril Odiya and his research. We are pleased to grant Cyril associate membership of the Centre for one year and I have emailed him to ask which date this will begin.

Best wishes,

Caitlin

Caitlin Pearson

Executive Officer

Centre of African Studies

SOAS - University of London

www.soas.ac.uk/cas

www.aegis-eu.org

Caitlin Pearson

02/12/2014

Hi Cyril,

Ok thanks. We have received your reference. You can become an associate member of CAS for up to 1 year and please let us know the dates when you would like this to be.

There is no form to be filled.

CENTRE OF AFRICAN STUDIES

Centre e-mail: cas@soas.ac.uk

CAS web site:<http://www.soas.ac.uk/cas/home.html>



14th of December 2015

Dear Cyril Odia,

I am pleased to inform you that, on the recommendation of the Centre Chair, the School has approved the renewal of your appointment as Research associate at the Centre of African Studies of the University of London from 15 January 2016 until 29 February 2016 to do research on the advent of 'Western formal' education in Nigeria from the 1800s.

Under the agreement, you will be able to consult with colleagues and have access to the library and seminars. Please show this letter at the Library Membership Desk when applying for membership of the Library. Please note: remote access to electronic resources is not included in the membership, or request via the Inter Library Loan.

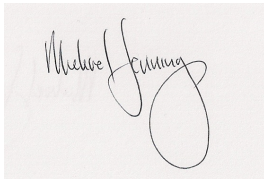
You are entitled to:

1. Allowed to borrow up to 20 books
2. on campus access to electronic resources.

Unfortunately, we cannot offer office space, secretarial assistance, nor individual study space in the Library. However, you are welcome to use the SOAS Staff common room

To the Library staff: Please accept this request for Library access for this visiting scholar who is in receipt of Academic hospitality.

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink on a light-colored background. The signature is written in a cursive style and reads "Michael Jennings".

Dr Michael Jennings

Chair

Centre of African studies

Appendix 3

SACRED CONGREGATION FOR THE DOCTRINE OF THE FAITH

Letter to Father E. Schillebeeckx

Cited From

http://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/congregations/cfaith/documents/rc_con_cfaith_doc_1980_1120_schillebeeckx_en.html

November 20, 1980

Reverend Father,

For some time now, our Congregation has been in contact with you to clarify the Christological positions you have set forth in your book, *Jesus: An Experiment in Christology*.

On Oct. 20, 1976, through the intermediacy of Cardinal Willebrands, whom it informed of the examination under way, the Congregation, having noted that the book contained ambiguous propositions which could be dangerous for your readers, addressed to you a list of questions dealing with the content of the book and the method used.

On April 13, 1977, you answered these questions in a letter which provided various explanations; these did not eliminate all the difficulties, as was explained to you in an "appreciation of the response," which our Congregation sent to you July 6, 1978.

In the meantime, you had published *Christ: The Experience of Jesus as Lord*, the second book of the trilogy on Christology which you had announced. Several months later, you sent to the Congregation your little work, *Intermediate Discussion Concerning Two Books on Jesus*, accompanied by a card which said: "In this little book, I explained some passages that are a bit obscure or disputed on Jesus Christ..."

An attentive examination of this last publication showed that it indeed contained some interesting precisions, but that nevertheless your own position remained ambiguous on fundamental points of the Catholic faith. Thus, in view of the gravity of the questions under examination, the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith decided to invite you to a colloquium for final clarifications, in conformity with Articles 13-15 of its program of operation. Through the intermediacy of Cardinal Willebrands, you were asked July 6, 1978, to come to Rome, in order to clarify your Christological position in a discussion with representatives of our Congregation. The same letter indicated to you also the essential points which this colloquium would cover.

After further contacts, delayed among other things by the deaths of Popes Paul VI and John Paul I, Cardinal Willebrands informed the Congregation (letter of June 30, 1979) that you agreed to participate in the colloquium. So, after exchanges of letters that were indispensable for determining the time and the procedure of the colloquium, it took place Dec. 13, 14 and 15, 1979, at the offices of the Congregation with the participation of Msgr. A. Bovone, moderator of the discussions, and of Bishop Albert Descamps, and Fathers A. Patfoort, O.P., and J. Galot, S.J.

At the time of a meeting with the authorities of the Congregation which immediately preceded the colloquium, you were reminded that its purpose was not to proceed to a judgment, nor to take decisions, but to complete the information about your Christological position. They told you finally that at the end of the colloquium a report would be drawn up, which, once accepted by the two sides, would then be submitted to the examination of the cardinals who are members of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith.

Having met in Ordinary Session, the Cardinals proceeded to this examination in the light of the explanations you gave in your written response of April 13, 1977 and the colloquium of Dec. 13-15, 1979.

They noted that the procedure followed showed its utility since it permitted you to explain the goal, method and literary genre of your writings and to clear up a certain number of ambiguities.

In formulating their conclusions, which were approved by the Holy Father, the cardinals emphasized that these were valid solely for the three works indicated at the beginning of this letter.

Consequently, speaking in their name, in my capacity as Prefect of this Congregation, I want to communicate to you what follows:

— 1. The Congregation takes note of the clarifications, precisions and corrections that you made at the colloquium and in your letter, in relation to your published works (cf. attached document, pp. 1-4).

— 2. It judges nevertheless that on certain points the explanations provided have not sufficed to do away with the ambiguities (cf. attached document, pp. 4-5).

For this reason, I ask you:

1) To make known to the public which has access to your works the clarifications, precisions and corrections which emerge from the recent explanations that you have given to the Congregation. It must in fact be kept in mind that the book, *Jesus...* is known to a vast public. Therefore, your explanations which, on decisive points, go further than the affirmations of the published books, are important not only for the ecclesiastical Magisterium, but also for your readers who have the right to be informed about indications of such importance.

2) To review in the light of Catholic doctrine the points on which a certain ambiguity still weighs, and to manifest publicly your intention to comply with this request.

Furthermore, it must be recognized that, despite the extent of its program, the colloquium was not able to press far enough the clarifications which would have been required, on the one hand, by the manner in which you consider the relations between revelation and experience, and on

the other hand, by the role which you attribute in theology to a *manuductio* (leading by hand) of an apologetic type. By reason of that and of the doubts which still remain, the Congregation, which abstains for the moment from forming a judgment on this subject, cannot dispense itself from stressing the necessity of a perfect conformity to the principles to which any theological work must adhere. As far as the relation between revelation and experience is concerned (with its consequences for the normative role of the formal teachings of the Bible and the documents of the Magisterium), it particularly draws your attention to what is set forth in the "*Declaration in Defense of Catholic Doctrine on the Church Against Certain Errors of the Present Day*," 5 (AAS LXV, 1973, pp. 402-404).

I would be grateful to you, Reverend Father, to let me know what means seems to you most effective for satisfying the requests I have expressed. For its part, the Congregation would have in mind an article that you would prepare in accord with it, taking as a guide the document attached to the present letter. But it is ready to consider any other means that you could propose. We are sending a copy of this letter to His Eminence Cardinal Willebrands, who is following this affair in his capacity as Chancellor of the University of Nijmegen, and another to the Most Reverend Master General of the Dominican Order, your Superior.

In the expectation of a favorable response on your part, I beg you to accept, Reverend Father, the expression of my sentiments of respectful devotedness.

Cardinal Franjo Šeper

Prefect

SACRED CONGREGATION FOR THE DOCTRINE OF THE FAITH

DECLARATION

***IN DEFENSE OF THE CATHOLIC DOCTRINE ON THE CHURCH
AGAINST CERTAIN ERRORS OF THE PRESENT DAY***

Cited from

http://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/congregations/cfaith/documents/rc_con_cfaith_doc_19730705_mysterium-ecclesiae_en.html

The mystery of the Church, upon which the Second Vatican Council shed fresh light, has been repeatedly dealt with in numerous writings of theologians. While not a few of these studies have served to make this mystery more understandable, others, through the use of ambiguous or even erroneous language, have obscured Catholic doctrine, and at times have gone so far as to be opposed to Catholic faith even in fundamental matters.

To meet this situation, the bishops of several nations, conscious both of their duty of "keeping pure and intact the deposit of faith" and of their task of "proclaiming the Gospel unceasingly,"(1) have, through concurring declarations, sought to protect the faithful entrusted to their care from the danger of error. In addition, the second General Assembly of the Synod of Bishops, in dealing with the ministerial priesthood, expounded a number of important points of doctrine regarding the constitution of the Church.

Likewise, the Sacred Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, whose task it is to "preserve the doctrine of faith and morals in the whole Catholic world,"(2) intends to gather together and explain a number of truths concerning the mystery of the Church which at the present time are being either denied or endangered. In this it will follow above all the lines laid down by the two Vatican Councils.

1. The Oneness of Christ's Church

One is the Church, which after His Resurrection our Savior handed over to Peter as Shepherd (cf. Jn 21:17), commissioning him and the other apostles to propagate and govern her (cf. Mt 18:18ff.) (and which) He erected for all ages as "the pillar and mainstay of the truth" (cf. 1 Tm 3:15). And this Church of Christ, "constituted and organized in this world as a society, subsists in the Catholic Church, which is governed by the Successor of Peter and the bishops in union with that Successor."(3) This declaration of the Second Vatican Council is illustrated by the same Council's statement that "it is through Christ's Catholic Church alone, which is the general means of salvation, that the fullness of the means of salvation can be obtained,"(4) and that same Catholic Church "has been endowed with all divinely revealed truth and with all the means of grace"(5) with which Christ wished to enhance His messianic community. This is no obstacle to the fact that during her early pilgrimage the Church, "embracing sinners in her bosom, is at the same time holy and always in need of being purified,"(6) nor to the fact that "outside her visible structure," namely in Churches and ecclesial communities which are joined to the Catholic Church by an imperfect communion, there are to be found "many elements of sanctification and truth (which), as gifts properly belonging to the Church of Christ, possess an inner dynamism towards Catholic unity."(7)

For these reasons, "Catholics must joyfully acknowledge and esteem truly Christian endowments derived from our common heritage, which are to be found among our separated brethren,"(8) and they must strive for the re-establishment of unity among all Christians, by making a common effort of purification and renewal,(9) so that the will of Christ may be fulfilled and the division of Christians may cease to be an obstacle to the proclamation of the Gospel throughout the world.(10) But at the same time Catholics are bound to profess that through the gift of God's mercy they belong to that Church which Christ founded and which is governed by the successors of Peter and the other Apostles, who are the depositories of the original Apostolic tradition, living and intact, which is the permanent heritage of doctrine and

holiness of that same Church.(11) The followers of Christ are therefore not permitted to imagine that Christ's Church is nothing more than a collection (divided, but still possessing a certain unity) of Churches and ecclesial communities. Nor are they free to hold that Christ's Church nowhere really exists today and that it is to be considered only as an end which all Churches and ecclesial communities must strive to reach.

2. The Infallibility of the Universal Church

"In His gracious goodness, God has seen to it that what He had revealed for the salvation of all nations would abide perpetually in its full integrity." (12) For this reason He entrusted to the Church the treasury of God's Word, so that the pastors and the holy people might strive together to preserve it, study it and apply it to life.(13)

God, who is absolutely infallible, thus deigned to bestow upon His new people, which is the Church, a certain shared infallibility, which is restricted to matters of faith and morals, which is present when the whole People of God unhesitatingly holds a point of doctrine pertaining to these matters, and finally which always depends upon the wise providence and anointing of the grace of the Holy Spirit, who leads the Church into all truth until the glorious coming of her Lord.(14) Concerning this infallibility of the People of God the Second Vatican Council speaks as follows: "The body of the faithful as a whole, anointed as they are by the Holy One (cf. 1 Jn 2:20, 27), cannot err in matters of belief. Thanks to a supernatural instinct of faith which characterizes the people as a whole, it manifests this unerring quality when, 'from the bishops down to the last member of the laity' (St. Augustine, *De Praed. Sanct.*, 14, 27), it shows universal agreement in matters of faith and morals."(15)

The Holy Spirit enlightens and assists the People of God inasmuch as it is the Body of Christ united in a hierarchical communion. The Second Vatican Council indicates this fact by adding to the words quoted above: "For, by this instinct of faith which is aroused and sustained by the Spirit of truth, God's People accepts not the word of men but the very Word of God (cf. 1 Thes

2:13). It clings without fail to the faith once delivered to the saints (cf. Jude 3), penetrates it more deeply by accurate insights, and applies it more thoroughly to life."(16)

Without doubt the faithful, who in their own manner share in Christ's prophetic office,(17) in many ways contribute towards increasing the understanding of faith in the Church. "For," as the Second Vatican Council says, "there is a growth in the understanding of the realities and the words which have been handed down. This happens through the contemplation and study made by believers, who treasure these things in their hearts (cf. Lk. 2:19, 51), through the intimate understanding of spiritual things they experience, and through the preaching of those who have received through episcopal succession the sure charism of truth."(18) And the Supreme Pontiff Paul VI observes that the witness the pastors of the Church offers is "rooted in Sacred Tradition and Holy Scripture and nourished by the ecclesial life of the whole People of God."(19)

But by divine institution it is the exclusive task of these pastors alone, the successors of Peter and the other Apostles, to teach the faithful authentically, that is with the authority of Christ shared in different ways; so that the faithful, who may not simply listen to them as experts in Catholic doctrine, must accept their teaching given in Christ's name, with an assent that is proportionate to the authority that they possess and that they mean to exercise.(20) For this reason the Second Vatican Council, in harmony with the first Vatican Council, teaches that Christ made Peter "a perpetual and visible principle and foundation of the unity of the faith and of communion"(21); and the Supreme Pontiff Paul VI has declared: "The teaching office of the bishops is for the believer the sign and channel which enable him to receive and recognize the Word of God."(22) Thus, however much the Sacred Magisterium avails itself of the contemplation, life and study of the faithful, its office is not reduced merely to ratifying the assent already expressed by the latter; indeed, in the interpretation and explanation of the written or transmitted Word of God, the Magisterium can anticipate or demand their assent.(23)

The People of God has particular need of the intervention and assistance of the Magisterium when internal disagreements arise and spread concerning a doctrine that must be believed or held, lest it lose the communion of the one faith in the one Body of the Lord (cf. Eph 4:4, 5).

3. The Infallibility of the Church's Magisterium

Jesus Christ, from whom derives the task proper to the pastors of teaching the Gospel to His people and to the entire human family, wished to endow the pastors' Magisterium with a fitting charism of infallibility in matters regarding faith and morals. Since this charism does not come from new revelations enjoyed by the Successor of Peter and the College of Bishops,(24) it does not dispense them from studying with appropriate means the treasure of divine Revelation contained both in Sacred Scripture which teaches us intact the truth that God willed to be written down for our salvation(25) and in the living Tradition that comes from the Apostles.(26) In carrying out their task, the pastors of the Church enjoy the assistance of the Holy Spirit; this assistance reaches its highest point when they teach the People of God in such a manner that, through the promises of Christ made to Peter and the other Apostles, the doctrine they propose is necessarily immune from error.

This occurs when the bishops scattered throughout the world but teaching in communion with the Successor of Peter present a doctrine to be held irrevocably.(27) It occurs even more clearly both when the bishops by a collegial act (as in Ecumenical Councils), together with their visible Head, define a doctrine to be held,(28) and when the Roman Pontiff "speaks ex cathedra, that is, when, exercising the office of Pastor and Teacher of all Christians, through his supreme apostolic authority he defines a doctrine concerning faith or morals to be held by the universal Church."(29)

According to Catholic doctrine, the infallibility of the Church's Magisterium extends not only to the deposit of faith but also to those matters without which that deposit cannot be rightly preserved and expounded. (30) The extension however of this infallibility to the deposit of faith

itself is a truth that the Church has from the beginning held as having been certainly revealed in Christ's promises. The First Vatican Council, basing itself upon this truth, defined as follows the matter of Catholic faith: "All those things are to be believed by divine and Catholic faith which are contained in the written or transmitted Word of God and which are proposed by the Church, either by a solemn judgment or by the ordinary and universal Magisterium, to be believed as having been divinely revealed."⁽³¹⁾ Therefore the objects of Catholic faith – which are called dogmas – necessarily are and always have been the unalterable norm both for faith and theological science.

4. The Church's Gift of Infallibility Not To Be Diminished

From what has been said about the extent of and conditions governing the infallibility of the People of God and of the Church's Magisterium, it follows that the faithful are in no way permitted to see in the Church merely a fundamental permanence in truth which, as some assert, could be reconciled with errors contained here and there in the propositions that the Church's Magisterium teaches to be held irrevocably, as also in the unhesitating assent of the People of God concerning matters of faith and morals.

It is of course true that through the faith that leads to salvation men are converted to God,⁽³²⁾ who reveals Himself in His Son Jesus Christ; but it would be wrong to deduce from this that the Church's dogmas can be belittled or even denied. Indeed the conversion to God which we should realize through faith is a form of obedience (cf. Rom 16:26), which should correspond to the nature of divine Revelation and its demands. Now this Revelation, in the whole plan of salvation, reveals the mystery of God who sent His Son into the world (cf. 1 Jn 4:14) and teaches its application to Christian conduct. Moreover it demands that, in full obedience of the intellect and will to God who reveals,⁽³³⁾ we accept the proclamation of the good news of salvation as it is infallibly taught by the pastors of the Church. The faithful, therefore, through

faith are converted as they should to God, who reveals Himself in Christ, when they adhere to Him in the integral doctrine of the Catholic faith.

It is true that there exists an order as it were a hierarchy of the Church's dogmas, as a result of their varying relationship to the foundation of the faith.(34) This hierarchy means that some dogmas are founded on other dogmas which are the principal ones, and are illuminated by these latter. But all dogmas, since they are revealed, must be believed with the same divine faith.(35)

5. The Notion of the Church's Infallibility Not To Be Falsified

The transmission of divine Revelation by the Church encounters difficulties of various kinds. These arise from the fact that the hidden mysteries of God "by their nature so far transcend the human intellect that even if they are revealed to us and accepted by faith, they remain concealed by the veil of faith itself and are as it were wrapped in darkness."(36) Difficulties arise also from the historical condition that affects the expression of Revelation.

With regard to this historical condition, it must first be observed that the meaning of the pronouncements of faith depends partly upon the expressive power of the language used at a certain point in time and in particular circumstances. Moreover, it sometimes happens that some dogmatic truth is first expressed incompletely (but not falsely), and at a later date, when considered in a broader context of faith or human knowledge, it receives a fuller and more perfect expression. In addition, when the Church makes new pronouncements she intends to confirm or clarify what is in some way contained in Sacred Scripture or in previous expressions of Tradition; but at the same time she usually has the intention of solving certain questions or removing certain errors. All these things have to be taken into account in order that these pronouncements may be properly interpreted. Finally, even though the truths which the Church intends to teach through her dogmatic formulas are distinct from the changeable conceptions of a given epoch and can be expressed without them, nevertheless it can sometimes happen

that these truths may be enunciated by the Sacred Magisterium in terms that bear traces of such conceptions.

In view of the above, it must be stated that the dogmatic *formulas* of the Church's Magisterium were from the beginning suitable for communicating revealed truth, and that as they are they remain forever suitable for communicating this truth to those who interpret them correctly.(37)

It does not however follow that every one of these formulas has always been or will always be so to the same extent. For this reason theologians seek to define exactly the intention of teaching proper to the various formulas, and in carrying out this work they are of considerable assistance to the living Magisterium of the Church, to which they remain subordinated. For this reason also it often happens that ancient dogmatic formulas and others closely connected with them remain living and fruitful in the habitual usage of the Church, but with suitable expository and explanatory additions that maintain and clarify their original meaning. In addition, it has sometimes happened that in this habitual usage of the Church certain of these formulas gave way to new expressions which, proposed and approved by the Sacred Magisterium, presented more clearly or more completely the same meaning.

As for the *meaning* of dogmatic formulas, this remains ever true and constant in the Church, even when it is expressed with greater clarity or more developed. The faithful therefore must shun the opinion, first, that dogmatic formulas (or some category of them) cannot signify truth in a determinate way, but can only offer changeable approximations to it, which to a certain extent distort or alter it; secondly, that these formulas signify the truth only in an indeterminate way, this truth being like a goal that is constantly being sought by means of such approximations. Those who hold such an opinion do not avoid dogmatic relativism and they corrupt the concept of the Church's infallibility relative to the truth to be taught or held in a determinate way.

Such an opinion clearly is in disagreement with the declarations of the First Vatican Council, which, while fully aware of the progress of the Church in her knowledge of revealed truth,(38) nevertheless taught as follows: "That meaning of sacred dogmas...must always be maintained which Holy Mother Church declared once and for all, nor should one ever depart from that meaning under the guise of or in the name of a more advanced understanding."(39) The Council moreover condemned the opinion that "dogmas once proposed by the Church must, with the progress of science be given a meaning other than that which was understood by the Church, or which she understands."(40) There is no doubt that, according to these texts of the Council, the meaning of dogmas which is declared by the Church is determinate and unalterable.

Such an opinion is likewise in contrast with Pope John's assertion regarding Christian doctrine at the opening of the Second Vatican Council: "This certain and unchangeable doctrine, to which faithful obedience is due, has to be explored and presented in a way that is demanded by our times. One thing is the deposit of faith, which consists of the truths contained in sacred doctrine, another thing is the manner of presentation, always however with the same meaning and signification."(41) Since the Successor of Peter is here speaking about certain and unchangeable Christian doctrine, about the deposit of faith which is the same as the truths contained in that doctrine and about the truths which have to be preserved with the same meaning, it is clear that he admits that we can know the true and unchanging meaning of dogmas. What is new and what he recommends in view of the needs of the times pertains only to the modes of studying, expounding and presenting that doctrine while keeping its permanent meaning. In a similar way the Supreme Pontiff Paul VI exhorted the pastors of the Church in the following words: "Nowadays a serious effort is required of us to ensure that the teaching of the faith should keep the fullness of its meaning and force, while expressing itself in a form which allows it to reach the spirit and heart of the people to whom it is addressed."(42)

6. The Church Associated with the Priesthood of Christ

Christ the Lord, the High Priest of the new and everlasting covenant, wished to associate with His perfect priesthood and to form in its likeness the people He had bought with His own blood (cf. Heb. 7:20-22, 26-28; 10:14, 21). He therefore granted His Church a share in His priesthood, which consists of the common priesthood of the faithful and the ministerial or hierarchical priesthood. These differ from each other not only in degree but also in essence; yet they are mutually complementary within the communion of the Church.(43)

The common priesthood of the laity, which is also rightly called a royal priesthood (cf. 1 Pt 2:9; Rev. 1:6; 5:9ff.) since through it the faithful are united as members of the messianic people with their heavenly King, is conferred by the sacrament of Baptism. By this sacrament "the faithful are incorporated into the Church and are empowered to take part in the worship of the Christian religion" in virtue of a permanent sign known as a character; "reborn as children of God they are obliged to profess before men the faith which they have received from God through the Church."(44) Thus those who are reborn in Baptism "join in the offering of the Eucharist by virtue of their royal priesthood. They likewise exercise that priesthood by receiving the sacraments, by prayer and thanksgiving, by the witness of a holy life, and by self-denial and active charity."(45)

Moreover, Christ, the Head of the Church, which is His Mystical Body, appointed as ministers of His priesthood His Apostles and through them their successors the bishops, that they might act in His person within the Church,(46) and also in turn legitimately hand over to priests in a subordinate degree the sacred ministry which they had received.(47) Thus there arose in the Church the apostolic succession of the ministerial priesthood for the glory of God and for the service of His people and of the entire human family, which must be converted to God.

By means of this priesthood bishops and priests are "indeed set apart in a certain sense in the midst of God's people. But this is so, not that they may be separated from this people or from

any man, but that they may be totally dedicated to the work for which the Lord has raised them up"(48) namely, the work of sanctifying, teaching and ruling, the actual execution of which is more precisely specified by the hierarchical communion.(49) This many-sided work has as its basis and foundation the continuous preaching of the Gospel,(50) and as a summit and source of the entire Christian life the Eucharistic Sacrifice.(51) Priests, acting in the person of Christ the Head, offer this Sacrifice in the Holy Spirit to God the Father in the name of Christ and in the name of the members of His Mystical Body.(52) This sacrifice is completed in the holy supper by which the faithful, partaking of the one body of Christ, are all made into one body (cf. 1 Cor 10:16ff.).

The Church has ever more closely examined the nature of the ministerial priesthood, which can be shown to have been invariably conferred from apostolic times by a sacred rite (cf. 1 Tm. 4:15; 2 Tm. 1:6). By the assistance of the Holy Spirit, she recognized more clearly as time went on that God wished her to understand that this rite conferred upon priests not only an increase of grace for carrying out ecclesiastical duties in a holy way, but also a permanent designation by Christ, or character, by virtue of which they are equipped for their work and endowed with the necessary power that is derived from the supreme power of Christ. The permanent existence of this character, the nature of which is explained in different ways by theologians, is taught by the Council of Florence(53) and reaffirmed by two decrees of the Council of Trent.(54) In recent times the Second Vatican Council more than once mentioned it,(55) and the second General Assembly of the Synod of Bishops rightly considered the enduring nature of the priestly character throughout life as pertaining to the teaching of the faith.(56) This stable existence of a priestly character must be recognized by the faithful and has to be taken into account in order to judge properly about the nature of the priestly ministry and the appropriate ways of exercising it.

Faithful to Sacred Tradition and to many documents of the Magisterium, the Second Vatican Council taught the following concerning the power belonging to the ministerial priesthood: "Though everyone can baptize the faithful, the priest alone can complete the building up of the Body in the Eucharistic Sacrifice."(57) And again: "The same Lord, in order that the faithful might form one body in which 'all the members have not the same function' (Rom. 12:4), appointed some ministers within the society of believers who by the power of Orders would be capable of offering the Sacrifice and of forgiving sins."(58) In the same way the second General Assembly of the Synod of Bishops rightly affirmed that only the priest can act in the person of Christ and preside over and perform the sacrificial banquet in which the People of God are united with the oblation of Christ.(59) Passing over at this point questions regarding the ministers of various sacraments, the evidence of Sacred Tradition and of the sacred Magisterium make it clear that the faithful who have not received priestly ordination and who take upon themselves the office of performing the Eucharist attempt to do so not only in a completely illicit way but also invalidly. Such an abuse, wherever it may occur, must clearly be eliminated by the pastors of the Church.

It was not the intention of this Declaration, nor was it within its scope, to prove by way of a study of the foundations of our faith that divine revelation was entrusted to the Church so that she might thereafter preserve it unaltered in the world. But this dogma, from which the Catholic Faith takes its beginning, has been recalled, together with other truths related to the mystery of the Church, so that in the uncertainty of the present day the faith and doctrine the faithful must hold might clearly emerge.

The Sacred Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith rejoices that theologians are by intense study exploring more and more the mystery of the Church. It recognizes also that in their work they touch on many questions which can only be clarified by complementary studies and by

various efforts and conjectures. However, the due freedom of theologians must always be limited by the Word of God as it is faithfully preserved and expounded in the Church and taught and explained by the living Magisterium of the pastors and especially of the Pastor of the entire People of God.(60)

The Sacred Congregation entrusts this Declaration to the diligent attention of the bishops and of all those who in any way share the task of guarding the patrimony of truth which Christ and His Apostles committed to the Church. It also confidently addresses the Declaration to the faithful and particularly, in view of the important office which they hold in the Church, to priests and theologians, so that all may be of one mind in the faith and may be in sincere harmony with the Church.

Pope Paul VI, by divine providence Supreme Pontiff, in the audience granted to the undersigned Prefect of the Sacred Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith on May 11, 1973, has ratified and confirmed this Declaration in defense of Catholic doctrine on the Church against certain errors of the present day and has ordered its publication.

Given in Rome, at the Sacred Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, on June 24, 1973, the feast of St. John the Baptist.

Franjo Cardinal Seper,

Prefect

Abp. Jerome Hamer,

Secretary

1. Paul VI, Apostolic Exhortation *Quinque iam anni*, AAS 63 (1971), p. 99.
2. Paul VI, Apostolic Constitution, *Regiminis Ecclesiae Universae*, AAS 59 (1967), p. 897.

3. Vatican Council II: Dogmatic Constitution on the Church, *Lumen Gentium*, 8; *Constitutiones Decreta Declarationes*, editio Secretariae Generalis, Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis, 1966, p. 104ff.
4. Vatican Council II: Decree on Ecumenism, *Unitatis Redintegratio*, 3; *Const. Decr. Decl.*, p. 250.
5. *Ibid.*, 4; *Const. Decr. Decl.*, p. 252.
6. Vatican Council II: Dogmatic Constitution on the Church, *Lumen Gentium*, 8; *Const. Decr. Decl.*, p.106.
7. *Ibid.*, *Const. Decr. Decl.*, p. 105.
8. Vatican Council II: Decree on Ecumenism, *Unitatis Redintegratio*, 4; *Const. Decr. Decl.*, p. 253.
9. Cf. *ibid.*, 6-8; *Const. Decr. Decl.*, pp. 255-258.
10. Cf. *ibid.*, 1; *Const. Decr. Decl.*, p. 243.
11. Cf. Paul VI, Encyclical Letter, *Ecclesiam Suam*, *AAS* 56 (1964), p. 629.
12. Vatican Council II: Dogmatic Constitution on Divine Revelation, *Dei Verbum*, 7; *Const. Decr. Decl.*, p. 428.
13. Cf. *Ibid.*, 10; *Const. Decr. Decl.*, p. 431.
14. Cf. *Ibid.*, 8; *Const. Decr. Decl.*, p. 430.
15. Vatican Council II: Dogmatic Constitution on the Church, *Lumen Gentium*, 12; *Const. Decr. Decl.*, p. 113ff.
16. *Ibid.*, *Const. Decr. Decl.*, p. 114.
17. Cf. *Ibid.*, 35; *Const. Decr. Decl.*, p. 157.
18. Vatican Council II: Dogmatic Constitution on Divine Revelation, *Dei Verbum*, 8; *Const. Decr. Decl.*, p. 430.
19. Paul VI, Apostolic Exhortation, *Quinque iam anni*, *AAS* 63 (1971), p. 99.

20. Cf. Vatican Council II: Dogmatic Constitution on the Church, *Lumen Gentium*, 25; *Const. Decr. Decl.*, p. 138ff.
21. *Ibid.*, 18; *Const. Decr. Decl.*, p. 124ff. Cf. Vatican Council I: Dogmatic Constitution, *Pastor aeternus*, Prologue; *Conciliorum Ecumenicorum Decreta* 3, ed. Istituto per la Scienze Religiose di Bologna, Herder, 1973, p. 8. (DS 3051).
22. Paul VI, Apostolic Exhortation, *Quinque iam anni*, AAS 63 (1971), p. 100.
23. Cf. Vatican Council I: Dogmatic Constitution, *Pastor aeternus*, ch. 4; *Conc. Oec. Decr.*(3), p. 815ff. (DS 3069, 3074); Decree of the Holy Office *Lamentabili*, 6, AAS 40 (1907), p.471 (DS 3406).
24. Vatican Council I: Dogmatic Constitution, *Pastor aeternus*, ch. 4; *Conc. Oec. Decr.* (3), p. 816 (DS 3070). Cf. Vatican Council II: Dogmatic Constitution on the Church, *Lumen Gentium*, 25, and Dogmatic Constitution on Divine Revelation, *Dei Verbum*, 4; *Const. Decr. Decl.*, p. 141 and 426.
25. Cf. Vatican Council II: Dogmatic Constitution on Divine Revelation, *Dei Verbum*, 11; *Const. Decr. Decl.*, p. 434.
26. Cf. *ibid.*, 9ff.; *Const. Decr. Decl.*, pp. 430-432.
27. Cf. Vatican Council II: Dogmatic Constitution on the Church, *Lumen Gentium*, 25; *Const. Decr. Decl.*, p. 139.
28. Cf. *ibid.*, 25 and 22; *Const. Decr. Decl.*, pp. 139 and 133.
29. Vatican Council I: Dogmatic Constitution *Pastor aeternus*, ch. 4; *Conc. Oec. Decr.* (3), p. 816 (DS 3074). Cf. Vatican Council II: *ibid.*, 25, *Conc. Oec. Decr.* (3), pp. 131-141.
30. Cf. Vatican Council II: Dogmatic Constitution on the Church, *Lumen Gentium*, 25; *Const. Decr. Decl.*, p. 139.
31. Vatican Council I: Dogmatic Constitution, *Dei Filius*, ch. 3; *Conc. Oec. Decr.* (3), p. 807 (DS 3011). Cf. C.I.C., can. 1323, Sect. 1 and can. 1325, Sect. 2.

32. Cf. Council of Trent., Sess. 6: *Decree on Justification*, ch. 6; *Conc. Oec. Decr.* (3), p. 807 (DS 3008); cf. also Vatican Council II: Dogmatic Constitution on Divine Revelation, *Dei Verbum*, 5; *Const. Decr. Decl.*, p. 426.
33. Cf. Vatican Council I: Constitution on the Catholic Faith, *Dei Filius*, ch. 3; *Conc. Oec. Decr.* (3), p. 807 (DS 3008); cf. also Vatican Council II: Dogmatic Constitution on Divine Revelation, *Dei Verbum*, 5; *Const. Decr. Decl.*, p. 426.
34. Cf. Vatican Council II: Decree on Ecumenism, *Unitatis Redintegratio*, 11; *Const. Decr. Decl.*, p. 260.
35. *Reflections and Suggestions Concerning Ecumenical Dialogue*, IV 4 b, in the Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity: *Information Service*, n. 12 (December 1970, IV), p. 8.
36. Vatican Council I: Dogmatic Constitution *Dei Filius*, ch. 4; *Conc. Oec. Decr.* (3), p. 808 (DS 3016).
37. Cf. Pius IX, Brief *Eximiam Tuam*, *AAS* 8 (1874-75), p. 447 (DS 2831); Paul VI, Encyclical Letter, *Mysterium Fidei*, *AAS* 57 (1965), p. 757ff. and *L'Oriente cristiano nella luce di immortali Concilii*, in *Insegnamenti di Paolo VI*, vol. 5, Vatican Polygot Press, p. 412ff.
38. Cf. Vatican Council I: Dogmatic Constitution *Dei Filius*, ch. 4; *Conc. Oec. Decr.* (3), p. 809 (DS 3020).
39. *Ibid.*
40. *Ibid.*, can 3; *Conc. Oec. Decr.* (3), p. 811 (DS 3043).
41. John XXIII, *Alloc. in Concilii Vaticani inauguratione*, *AAS* 84 (1962), p. 792. Cf. Vatican Council II: Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World, *Gaudium et spes*, 62; *Const. Decr. Decl.*, p. 780.
42. Paul VI, Apostolic Exhortation *Quinque iam anni*, *AAS* 63 (1971), p. 100ff.
43. Cf. Vatican Council II: Dogmatic Constitution on the Church, *Lumen Gentium*, 10; *Const. Decr. Decl.*, p. 110.

44. *Ibid.*, 11; *Const. Decr. Decl.*, p. 111.
45. *Ibid.*, 10; *Const. Decr. Decl.*, p. 111.
46. Cf. Pius XI, Encyclical Letter, *Ad Catholici sacerdotii*, *AAS* 28 (1936), p. 10 (DS 3735).
Cf. Vatican Council II: Dogmatic Constitution on the Church, *Lumen Gentium*, 10, and Decree on the Priestly Life and Ministry, *Presbyterorum ordinis*, 2; *Const. Decr. Decl.*, p. 110ff., 622ff.
47. Cf. Vatican Council II: Dogmatic Constitution on the Church, *Lumen Gentium*, 28; *Const. Decr. Decl.*, p. 625.
48. Vatican Council II: Decree on the Priestly Life and Ministry, *Presbyterorum ordinis*, 3; *Const. Decr. Decl.*, p. 625.
49. Cf. Vatican Council II: Dogmatic Constitution on the Church, *Lumen Gentium*, 24, 27ff.; *Const. Decr. Decl.*, p. 137, 143-149.
50. Vatican Council II: Decree on the Priestly Life and Ministry, *Presbyterorum Ordinis*, 4; *Const. Decr. Decl.*, p. 627.
51. Cf. Dogmatic Constitution on the Church, *Lumen Gentium*, 11; *Const. Decr. Decl.*, p. 111ff. Also Council of Trent, Sess. 22: *Doctrina de Missae Sacrificio*, ch. 1 and 2; *Conc. Oec. Decr.* (3) pp. 732-734 (DS 1739-1743).
52. Cf. Paul VI, *Sollemnis Professio Fidei*, 24, *AAS* 60 (1968), p. 442.
53. Council of Florence: Bulla unionis Armenorum, *Exsultate Deo*, *Conc. Oec. Decr.*, (3) p. 546 (DS 1313).
54. Council of Trent: *Decree on the Sacraments*, can. 9 and *Decree on the Sacrament of Order*, ch. 4 and can. 4; *Conc. Oec. Decr.* (3) p. 685, 742, 744 (DS 1609, 1767, 1774).
55. Cf. Vatican Council II: Dogmatic Constitution on the Church, *Lumen Gentium*, 21 and Decree on the Priestly Life and Ministry, *Presbyterorum ordinis*, 2; *Const. Decr. Decl.*, pp. 133, 622ff.

56. Cf. Documents of the Synod of Bishops: I. *The Ministerial Priesthood*, part one, 5, *AAS* 63 (1971), p. 907.
57. Vatican Council II: Dogmatic Constitution on the Church, *Lumen Gentium*, 17; *Const. Decr. Decl.*, p. 123.
58. Vatican Council II: Decree on the Priestly Life and Ministry, *Presbyterorum ordinis*, 2; *Const. Decr. Decl.*, p. 621ff. Cf. also: 1) Innocent III, Letter *Eius exemplo* with *Professio fidei Waldensis imposita*, PL, vol 215, col. 1510 (DS 794); 2) Lateran Council IV: Constitution *De Fide Catholica*; *Conc. Oec. Decr.* (3), p. 230 (DS 802); passage quoted on the Sacrament of the Altar to be read together with the following passage on the sacrament of Baptism; 3) Council of Florence: Bulla unionis Armenorum, *Exsultate Deo*; *Conc. Oec. Decr.* (3), p. 546 (DS 1321); passage quoted on the Minister of the Eucharist to be compared with nearby passages on the Ministers of the other sacraments; 4) Council of Trent, Sess. 23: *Decree on the Sacrament of Order*, ch. 4; *Conc. Oec. Decr.* (3), p. 742ff. (DS 1767, 4469); 5) Pius XII, Encyclical, *Mediator Dei*, *AAS* 39 (1947), pp. 552-556 (DS 3849-3852).
59. Documents of the Synod of Bishops: I. *The Ministerial Priesthood*, part one, 4, *AAS* 63 (1971), p. 906.
60. Cf. Synod of Bishops (1967), *Relatio Commissionis Synodalis constitutae ad examen ulterius peragendum circa opiniones periculosas et atheismum*, II, 4: *De theologorum opera et responsabilitate*, Vatican Polygot Press, 1967, p. 11 (*L'Osservatore Romano*, Oct. 30-31, 1967, p. 3).

Appendix 4

CHRISTIANS SAY “NO” TO THE NEW EDUCATION CURRICULUM

Written by Prof. Charles Adisa

Category: News

Published: 06 April 2016

Cited form <http://canng.org/news-and-events/news/34-christians-say-no-to-the-new-education-curriculum>

I have attached some very controversial portions of the curriculum as it relates to religion. It is rather unfortunate that this curriculum was approved by President Goodluck Jonathan's Administration who is supposed to be a Christian from the South South when Prof Mrs Ruqayyatu Ahmed Rufa'i was Minister of Education.

It is more annoying that Chief (Barr) Ezenwo Nyesom Wike was the Honourable Minister of State for Education at the time of approval. Wike is the current governor of Rivers State, another Christian from South South, and to worsen matter, the document was signed by Prof. Godswill Obioma, a Christian Iboman!!

Please don't misunderstand my comments; it is not about politics (PDP or APC) nor tribe and tongue, this is an affront on the kingdom of God by creating doubts and confusion in the heart of our children, the hope of tomorrow!

Some of the offensive/controversial parts of the curriculum include

1. The supremacy of prophet Muhammad(pbuh) over all other prophets or religious icons
2. That the glorious Quran is the final authority of Allah.
3. Children could disobey their parents if they refuse them to follow Allah (can you imagine that this curriculum was written for minors (Primary One Pupil to JSS3)

4. Prophet Isa (pbuh) that Christians know as Jesus Christ did not die nor was crucified.
5. It is a compulsory subject comprising Christian Religious Knowledge, Islamic studies, Social studies, and National Security all in one subject called Religion and National Values curriculum
6. All the children including those of other faith apart from Islam are to learn, memorize and recite the Quran/Arabic language.

Following the decision of the Federal government to introduce the Universal 9-year Basic Education Program, the Nigerian Educational Research and Development Council (NERDC) restructured and realigned all extant primary and junior secondary schools (JSS) Curricula into a 9 year Basic education curriculum which commenced in 2008. This curriculum was recently revised by the Federal Ministry of Education through the NERDC. Part of the revised curriculum is the omnibus subject called Religion and National values.

Religion and National Values is said to be the merging of formally independent subjects such as Christian Religious Studies, Islamic Studies, Civic Education, Social studies and Security Education into one compulsory subject.

Given the fact that it is the duty of Government to provide functional education to her citizenry which is in line with the United Nations Declaration on human and people's rights, the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria and even the Child Right Act of 2003; curriculum review is a welcome development. A review should eliminate subject matter overlaps, redundancies and enrich curriculum quality through the infusion of emerging issues. However, this duty, as exercised in this respect is faulty. A holistic view of the rights – both as enshrined in the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria and the Child Rights Act point to the fact that the parents or legal guardian should be taken into consideration in any matter that affects the interest of the child.

Unfortunately, the current educational curriculum did not take all these into consideration. In fact, parents as stakeholders were not consulted before the formulation and implementation. For instance, the Right of the child not to be exposed to a contrary religion outside those of his parents / Guardian is not taken into consideration by this curriculum. This has been made possible because the NERDC approved textbooks for this subject contain materials on both Christian religious studies and Islamic studies. This is of immense importance as the majority of children that attend the basic schools are minors (less than 18 years of age).

According to section 38 (2) of the 1999 constitution as amended, no person attending any place of education shall be required to receive religious instruction or take part in any religious observance that is contrary to his religion or religion of his / her parents or guardian. Also, subsection (1) of the same section 38 makes it explicit that freedom of worship is sacrosanct.

Further to this, Child Right Act 2003 section 7 (1) says every child has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion.

Subsection 2 saliently captured the role of the parents in enforcement of the right in subsection 1 as follows: “parents and where applicable legal guardians shall provide guidance and direction in the exercise of those rights having regard to the evolving capacities and best interest of the child”. Then the issue of consent of parents or guardian necessary before the formulation and implementation of the curriculum is graphically stated in subsection (3) as follows: “The duty of parents and where applicable legal guardians to provide guidance and direction in the enjoyment of the right in subsection (1) of this section by their child or ward SHALL BE RESPECTED BY ALL PERSONS, BODIES, INSTITUTIONS AND AUTHORITIES.”

The import of this curriculum is that compulsorily, the pupils / students would be exposed to contrary religions whether Islamic or Christian. For example, in one of the textbooks, it is

stated “Do not listen to your parents if they prevent you from accepting Islam”. While such a statement may be acceptable to a Moslem parent, such statements and more offends the beliefs of Christians. It therefore negates the idea of inculcating basic values as intended by the revised curriculum.

In the light of the above, it is our position that

1. Christian Religious Studies and Islamic Religious Studies should be allowed to stand separately and be studied as independent subjects with separate textbooks just like the Nigerian languages (Hausa, Ibo and Yoruba) in line with the previous curriculum.

2. Relevant authorities responsible for introducing this new curriculum should as a matter of urgency reverse the curriculum and revert to status quo ante.

3. Attempts to make this omnibus subject compulsory, for the Basic Education Certificate Examinations should be discontinued.

4. There should be a public hearing on this to galvanize the opinion of parents on a matter as sensitive as this.

5. Federal Government should device means of confronting directly those who propagate violence and religious intolerance rather than making a compulsory subject of the religions as Nigeria has no National religion.

6. Furthermore, the disadvantage of this omnibus integration outweighs whatever could be the advantage. When five subjects are merged into one, it is obvious that detailed work cannot be achieved both in writing of the textbook and the teaching. The child would be made to struggle to learn and comprehend five-in-one subject, which is not going to be easy. The result would be penny wise, pound foolish as excellence would be sacrificed at the altar of social integration.

You can also obtain the full copies of the textbooks from the Publishers:

1. Comprehensive religion and national values 1 for primary schools

By K. A. SALAWU, O. E. OJEDOKUN, A. M. ANUFORO, T. O. SALAHUDEEN
LOWER BASIC EDITION
PUBLISHERS: LANTERN
www. lantern-books. Com

2. New curriculum edition

Religion and national values for primary schools book 2 and 5

Authors: Oladipupo Makinde, Chima C Amazu, Christopher F Lewis, Abdulazeez A. I,
Danladi Makarfi

PUBLISHERS: STERLING BOOKS NIGERIA LIMITED. Suite 20, Block A, Alausa
shopping mall, 129/131 Obafemi Awolowo way

PO BOX 11615, Ikeja, LAGOS, NIGERIA

TELEPHONE: 01 3426884

E mail: Nigerian sterling publishers. com or sterlingbooksnigeria@yahoo. com

Thanks and God bless.

Prof. Charles Adisa

<http://canng.org/news-and-events/news/34-christians-say-no-to-the-new-education-curriculum>

Appendix 5

A COMMUNIQUE ISSUED AT THE END OF THE 32ND ANNUAL CONFERENCE AND MEETING OF THE CATHOLIC THEOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION OF NIGERIA, ON THE THEME “**YOUTH FORMATION AND GLOBALISATION IN THE NIGERIA CONTEXT**”, HELD AT THE DIVINE LOVE RETREAT AND CONFERENCE CENTRE (DRACC), LUGBE, ABUJA, TUESDAY, 18TH – FRIDAY, 21ST APRIL, 2017

We, the members of the Catholic Theological Association of Nigeria, after a careful reflection and deliberation on the phenomenon of globalisation, its impact and attendant challenges on the Nigerian Youth, issue the following communiqué:

- 1. The State of the Youth:** We thank God for the gift of our youth, their talents, dedication and the positive contributions they are making to nation-building and the growth of the Church. We recognise the difficulties and deplorable situations facing the youth today, like unemployment, inadequate preparations for facing life’s challenges, and the lack of a robust support system.
- 2. Youth Formation Today:** There exists the disparity between the conceptual vision and the practical reality of the formation of our youth. Accordingly, there is the need to harmonise the results of theological research on youth formation in the Nigeria context and the teachings of the Magisterium on the same subject, both universal and local. We, therefore, recommend that the youth should not only be objects but subjects, active participants and protagonists in their own formation. We recognise the importance of harnessing their great potentials as agents of their formation, and the renewal of the nation and the Church.
- 3. Comprehensive Youth Ministry:** If the Church will respond to the youth’s context today, they must be ministered to wherever they are found. We identified some practical solutions to existing inadequate formation of the youth. Some of these solutions are conscientisation, the rediscovery of an authentic identity, and the need for role models and authentic witnesses. In this regard, we recommend a comprehensive model of youth ministry, which covers evangelisation, catechesis, pastoral care, prayer and worship. Others are leadership development, justice and service, and advocacy.
- 4. Youth Formation and the New Media:** We cannot examine the positive and negative effects of globalisation on the youth today without focusing on the role of the media. Similarly, the need for new paradigms for the formation of the youth today must attend to the impact of the media, especially the new media. Consequently, a key component of youth formation today must be media education of all who use the new media. Therefore, we advocate for the formation of the youth on social media matters. On one hand, there is the need for the conscientisation and conversion of youth regarding the proper use of the social media. On the other hand, there should be web-based and online platforms for youth formation. This is because technology-savvy youth need an authentic theological formation that puts God at the centre.
- 5. Youth with Disabilities and Opportunities:** Youth with disabilities often face marginalisation and abuse both in the civil society and church communities. We recommend that opportunities in the society and the Church should be open to the youth equitably such that opportunities are not denied anyone on the basis of physical challenges.

6. **2014 ‘Religion and National Values’ (RNV) Curriculum:** We recognise the pivotal role that basic education plays in the formation of the youth. After careful and prayerful deliberations, and in the face of valid and grave objections raised against the 2014 ‘Religion and National Values’ curriculum, we strongly recommend that the RNV curriculum be reviewed. All relevant stakeholders must be consulted and involved the review process. In the meantime, we call on our bishops in the Catholic Bishops Conference of Nigeria to organise seminars for Catholic teachers and curriculum experts in their respective dioceses on the 'Religion and National Values' curriculum. Such seminars will make these participants identify and deal with the ambiguities and possible promises of the NRV curriculum pending the review of the curriculum.

We pray that the fruits of our conference this year will contribute to a clear programme, method, and pedagogy that will suit the Nigerian youth as faithful citizens in a globalised world. May the Lord bless this act of our ministry as theologians.



Revd Dr Raymond Olusesan Aina, MSP
President



Revd Dr Victor Usman Jamahh
Secretary

Appendix 6

A Capuchin's description of the Benin Kingdom by 1654 is given by Filippo da Hjar

The kingdom of Benin is six degrees north of the Equator. It has as its neighbours the kingdom of Arda on one side, and on the other that of Warri, Calabar and Ijebu. Through other kingdoms beyond one can travel to the land of Prester John of the Indies. Entering through the bar to the large rivers, one of them is called Rio Formoso, which is divided into others such as that of Warri, that of La Sal and Rio de Laguna. Following up the Rio Formoso, you meet a place (after many others) called Arbo, where there is a warehouse of the Dutch and English. Twenty leagues up the same river there is another large place called Goto, which offers many goods of the country on market days which are held every week. Here you leave the river and go ten leagues by land of continuous forested flat land, but every two leagues there are large places where food is sold to travelers. Off the road there are other settlements. At the end, you come to a very large city where the king lives, which is called Benin; it is very large and has a good climate and excellent water from a river that is called Gibel.

The city has very large spaces for buying and selling. In one of these is the palace of the king, which is as large as two miles [y tablas??] because it has three large patios where feasts are held every day with sacrifices and adoration of the devil. The streets of the city are very wide and straight and seem to have been perfectly measured out [tiradas a nibel??]. The walls of the houses are made of red mud and are so beautiful that they seem painted or transparent; the rest is covered with palm branches.

Customs

The people are black; the king goes out of his palace only once a year. He has three hundred wives; the first who gives birth to a boy who will later become king has the other wives as her servants. Also, the king in this city gives away some of his wives to whomever he wishes as presents after using them, and they take this as a great favour. Everyone has as many wives as he likes.

Ceremonies

Before taking a wife, the black man must rub himself completely with a kind of white chalk, so that he looks like a devil. After going through the city for a few days with this decoration, he must wash it all off and have his whole head done up with a chalk paste, a complicated job that looks like Flemish lace. All white, he walks around the city in the company of others with great majesty and then receives his wife from the hand of the king, who acts as a priest. She is all adorned with corals, brass bracelets, pieces of glass, [abolorios??] and snail shells and goes this way to the house dedicated to the devil where she does homage and sacrifice to him with certain ceremonies in their language. The women are obliged to work or to trade to support their husbands, who spend the whole day walking around or smoking and drinking palm wine.

If the king wants to make someone a chief, the ceremony is to place a string of colored corals around his neck, and the man is made a chief. But sons do not inherit this honour, even if they are sons of great chiefs, unless the king makes one of them a chief. These chiefs are the lords of all the others, and when one speaks to them he must kneel down. To get this honour of nobility,

the chiefs have their children serve white men, and by this service the king is obliged to make them chiefs.

When they go to the palace of the king or elsewhere the chiefs dress like the others, except for [despaña de??] the belt below with cloths like sheets, with soldier guards and some men on each side on whose shoulders he puts his arms to support himself, and they serve him as pages. They move with this seriousness even if they go by horse, and especially when they go to the palace for feasts or sacrifices. Their movement is like an Ash Wednesday procession in Europe. Whoever looks more horrible is the most elegant. Each one goes to the accompaniment of much music, all of it different, some with ivory flutes, others with little guitars, others with calabashes with pebbles inside, and others tambourines. In their houses every one, great or small, has according to his class, an altar or shrine elaborately arranged with the ugliest idols, skull bones of cows and pigs, monkeys, rotten guavas [guebos Podridos??] and other dirty things, with some sheep skulls. Each one has a very large elephant tusk with some holes in front of which is sculptured the devil and other figures according to the devotion of each one. They make a sacrifice each day of cola, which is a bitter fruit, palm wine, and something of everything they eat or drink, before consuming it.

They also have some very large houses commonly called the house of the devil, with its priests, and they so respect it that when they pass in front of it on the road they keep silence and do not dare to speak, although on the almost daily feasts that they keep day and night they do nothing but shouting, singing and dancing.

Ordinary food

There is a large root that they call inyam, of a consistency like a radish, but very white and excellent, which is roasted, boiled or fried in palm oil. There are also bananas, a little Turkish millet [milho??], vegetables of [curtas??], black and white beans, calabashes, a few cows, sheep without wool, goats and chickens. But even though the blacks like these well, they prefer the meat of horses, boars [Verro??] and monkeys, which they call "macaco"; they say that this is the best meat of all. There is also fish in abundance, but they do not like to eat it fresh, but smoked dry.¹

¹ Joseph Kenny, *The Catholic Church in tropical Africa, 1445-1850*. (Ibadan, Nigeria: Ibadan University Press, 1983), cited from <http://www.dhspriory.org/kenny/DH03E.htm> Jan 18, 2016.

Appendix 7

A letter sent by the Capuchin Friar Felipe as part of a report to the propaganda Fide dated 27th July 1654.

Your most Eminent Lordship: When I arrived at Seville I informed His Most Illustrious Lordship, the Nuntio of Spain, of the state of the mission to Benin. When I arrived at his court I kissed his hand and spoke long of what happened, and he commanded me to give a report also [y diera dos??] to Your Eminence, which I am doing.

So I begin by saying that eight of us missionaries arrived in the kingdom of Benin, five from the Province of Aragon and the two from Valencia and one from Flanders. We disembarked in a river of the same kingdom from where we went to a place called Gotto. There we all got very sick and in six days Our Lord was pleased to take to himself three preachers. The rest of us continued our journey to the city of Benin where the king lives. This was very difficult, but even more so getting to speak to the king. Yet, overcoming the difficulties [en efeto rompidas estas??], in two months we could speak to him two times, and this he did out of respect for the presents that we offered him and his officials. The second time the king said he wanted to convert and also build a church, and he even went as far as indicating the building site. But the Devil, who claims that whole barbaric nation as his own, since he commands them as his slaves, seeing that there were plans to despoil him of the throne he has there, told the black men not to teach us their language under pain of death. Besides the Beedor Major of the king insisted on not letting us see the king, without which his conversion would be impossible. We saw this very clearly and what Satan had done in the hard hearts of those

people, so that the diabolical teaching remained on their hearts as if they were of bronze. So we were never able to overcome them, neither by seeing the king nor by obtaining their conversion apart from that. We wasted more than a year at this without being able to soften them in the least by all the means that we tried.

Pained by seeing the door closed on every side, one day when the king was making a sacrifice of men and animals to the Devil in his house, we joined the infinite crowd of people that flock to such spectacles, so as to approach him and speak to him in public, since we could not do so in secret or privately for the reasons given. At the same time, if he did not want to hear us, we wanted to reproach him for the sacrifice he makes to the Devil many times a year, which is a terrible thing.

Happy to see this as an occasion of offering a sacrifice to the Lord by confiding in him, we went to the palace and looked at its gate, which is very large. The chiefs of the city, who are said to be more than two thousand, were entering, dressed in different regalia for the feast. They were going through the four patios which make up the palace. Since by now it was all full, we entered the first patio. Among those who noticed us was a venerable old man who looked outwardly like a Saint Peter. He gave us a signal to follow him. We were surprised, since we had not seen him before, and because the blacks never wanted us to see the sacrifice. We went with the old man from one patio to the next until we reached the last, where our volunteer left us, saying cowardly to get out. In the middle of the patio we saw a table on which were the machetes with which they were going to behead five men and five animals of every species that was found in that region.

We waited for the right time, and when it came we came out from our hidden place into the open and full view of the patio which, like the others in the palace, was full of high chiefs assisting the king in the sacrifice. But before they began to kill those poor men and innocent animals we began to talk to the king and the chiefs of the evil they were doing in making such a sacrifice and the state of perdition in which they were in and that the Devil to whom they were making the sacrifice was deceiving them etc. But as soon as we began to talk those barbarian idolaters rushed on us, brutally carrying us through that patio and not stopping until they had thrown us out and shut the door. Trying to enter a second and a third time by mixing with the crowd which continued to enter, they stopped us, until they threw us out of the palace altogether. At its gate an infinite number of blacks gathered, shouting at us until we reached our house. There we bewailed our misfortune and the loss of those gentiles, until that evening came ten ministers of the king, saying that we should leave Benin right away, since they did not want us to stop the sacrifices they make to the Devil. That night we were under guard until the next day [when] they expelled us from the house, taking Father Friar Angel de Valenzia and myself into the woods, where we stayed in the company of five leopards who guarded us without giving us anything to eat, which made us suffer a little. After four days they took us to a place called Gotto, where we were held prisoners for a month and a half until our companions brought the loads of the mission [from] where we were. From there we went to another place in the same kingdom called Ardo, where we stayed five months. Seeing that we could not gain anything [in] the meantime, we made

up our minds to leave in an English ship, which took us to the island of Principe, in Portuguese territory.

When we arrived there they asked us whether we had been to the kingdom of Warri. We said no, because we had no information about it at all. Then they told us something about this kingdom, which made us feel greatly disappointed, seeing that this kingdom is adjacent to that of Benin and they both farm one another's land.

The Warri people are Christian, both the king and his vassals, but it is sad that a priest goes to that kingdom only once in many years, when a ship happens to go from the island of São Tomé, which is below the equator. The priest stays there two or three months, for his own interests, and at the same time baptizes the children and weds the adults. When the traders finish their business, they all depart and leave that poor people in the most miserable state that can be imagined.

When we arrived at the island of Principe no priest had gone there for over eight years. Your Eminence can imagine the state of that kingdom, which is in communication with neighbours who are all idolaters and ministers of the Devil. While we were there a ship came to the island of Principe going to trade in the kingdom of Warri. Seeing that that was our best chance, we intended to go, first to nourish those poor souls without a pastor, full of idols and superstitions because of lack of evangelical ministers, and secondly because this would be the best way to convert Benin, since the two kingdoms are neighbours and one can learn the language of Benin in Warri, and in this way found and cultivate the vine of the Lord, as this occasion provides. You could not believe how happy we were; we made our desires known to the

Governor of that island, thinking that there would be no difficulty, seeing in what a sorry state of neglect were those souls. But he answered that he could not let us go, because we were Spanish and, if he were to do [so], the king of Portugal would cut off his head. This is in spite of the fact that the kingdom of Warri is free and there are no Portuguese there.

Since our hopes were frustrated here, we went to the island of São Tomé and again there was a ship leaving for the kingdom of Warri (for the first time in eight years). The Governor wanted to send a priest and looked for one on the island of São Tomé. Of the six or seven that were there, none wanted to go, even though it would have brought them very good opportunities to serve their own interests. When I saw such a good chance, we volunteered to go and begged the Governor very earnestly, putting on his conscience the loss of so many souls who were dying and living like beasts.

He answered the same as the other, which left us perplexed for the moment, having gone through the Portuguese; we await to see if Your Eminence provides another way to go, but this will not be possible until Portugal is subjected by Spain. Then everything will go well, not only in the kingdom of Warri but also in Benin, where the key factor is the conversion of the king. We were greatly handicapped by not knowing the language; the Devil worked hard to hide from us the kingdom of Warri, where we could have gone without passing through the island of Principe.

The kingdom of Benin is very large. Its capital is also called Benin, and is greater than Madrid. It has more than two thousand chiefs, and the rest of the people are innumerable. They are all idolaters. The Devil, with whom they converse familiarly, commands them to raise up altars to him. These consist

of a figure which they call the Devil, and the rest of the altar consists of heads of cows, goats, wild men, monkeys, elephant tusks and other superstitions. Everyone keeps an altar in his house where he makes an offering every time he dresses or eats, offering even the water with which he washes his hands. With the blood of the animals they kill to eat, even of turtles, they paint [vañan??] those idols; the king does the same with human blood. Apart from these things that everyone has in his house, there are other houses here and there where they gather to offer sacrifice and sing and shout before the Devil; this is their music.

Each black man keeps as many wives as he wants. The men are dressed from the waist to the knees and go barefoot. The girls before marriage wear nothing, even the daughters of the king. The men are circumcized and spend all their time with the sole purpose of enjoying themselves [pasar el tiempo alegremente al fin todo ordenado??], like the Devil who governs them.

These black men are completely illiterate. Nevertheless, they are very talented and govern themselves well; they know that the Devil is bad and God is good, but they serve the Devil because they fear him, and if they do not do what he asks, he punishes them severely.

Their food is a rice which they call inyam. Meat is scarce, and it is used for sacrifice. In general, there is great misery and need, more than can be imagined, since there is no remedy, but they just have to suffer. Yet I willingly offer myself if the occasion ever arises to go on mission to those kingdoms, as Your Eminence should indicate, trusting that the Lord will give me strength for it.

Many other things have transpired in the mission pertaining to conversion, which I do not mention, since what I have said is the most important. May Your Eminence pardon my lengthiness; I wrote all this to make you cognisant of everything. May Our Lord keep you for the protection of our holy Catholic Faith and the conversion of so many gentiles, which is expected.

From Madrid, 25 July 1654.

Unworthy servant of your Eminence Friar Filippo da Híjar Unworthy Capuchin of the Province of Aragon.²

² Kenny, cited from <http://www.dhsprory.org/kenny/DH03E.htm> Jan 18 2016.

Appendix 8

A correspondent of the London *Standard* gives the following account of the coronation King Archibong, of Old Calabar, on the west coast of Africa in 1876.

“Both on the river and in the villages, there was a great display of bunting, while guns were fired almost incessantly. Mr. David Hopkins, the English Consul, who had been at Old Calabar for some little time settling disputes between traders and chiefs was selected to proclaim Adam Archibong King. On the morning of the 6th ult. Consul Hopkins was escorted to Duke Town, with the chiefs and people of Henshaw Town as a guard of honor. The procession formed a spectacle of an unusual kind. The men were attired in the gaudiest-colored prints it was possible to collect, while an umbrella of extraordinary dimensions and colors was carried above the head of the Consul. The cavalcade arrived at the inclosure adjoining the palace, where a throne had been placed on a newly-erected platform. The natives were here assembled in thousands and were very enthusiastic. Shortly afterward the procession of the King-elect issued from the palace, a rudely-constructed building of wood, and wended its way to the platform. Like the other body, many and various were the colors worn the men. It was headed by a band of “musicians,” making a great uproar with toy trumpets and tom-toms. Many military coats were conspicuous here, as in the Consul’s following. In several instances, big negroes wore very small coats, which, not meeting in front, were drawn tightly to the figure with string. His Majesty, King Archibong, was scarcely less comically dressed. His loins were girt with a satin cloth of many colors, while a long slieve hat covered his head. This hat had evidently seen much service, being almost shapeless with indentations. His feet, like those of his attendants, were bare, and there was also a huge umbrella held high above his head. Archibong, who is a man [of] about

60 years old, is totally blind, and leaned on the arm of his son. He ascended to the platform amid the enthusiasm of the assembled crowd, who danced and shouted in the most frantic manner; but as soon as Consul Hopkins received the King the tumult ceased. The Consul read the existing treaties between the former Kings of Old Calabar and Queen Victoria, which were interpreted to the King by Mr. Campbell, an English missionary on the coast, and to which Archibong assented. A new treaty was also drawn up, the King agreeing thereto, which makes it compulsory upon all his female subjects to wear the European style of dress. Treaty matters having been arranged, the ceremony of coronation was proceeded with. The Queen, with her retinue of female attendants, arrived and took her place on the platform. Her Majesty, a very corpulent old lady, was not permitted to take her seat by the side of her sable consort. Amid the continued silence of the native throng, Consul Hopkins threw a scarlet cloak round Archibong, put a crown on his head, and a scepter in his hand, and proclaimed him 'King Archibong III., of Old Calabar.' Then the shrieks and hurrahs of the assembled thousands rent the air, the men and women dancing and shouting in the wildest glee. The crown appeared to be of gold, was very massive, was studded with 'representative' diamonds. During the ceremony, the King seemed to be greatly agitated, and at one time was scarcely able to hold the scepter. Immediately after the coronation a salute of 21 guns was fired, and the king and his courtiers adjourned to the palace, where a banquet in the native fashion was prepared. The English residents were especially favored by the King, and among those present at the dinner were Consul Hopkins, the whole of the English missionaries of the district, and the Captain. Chief Engineer,

Doctor, and purser of the mail steamer Kinsembo. The principal dish consisted of ‘palm oil chop’ which is considered a great luxury by the natives.”³

³ New York Times. (1876, November 6). Coronation of An African King. *New York Times* [New York]. Retrieved from <http://query.nytimes.com/mem/archive-free/pdf?res=9901E5D9153EE73BBC4E53DFB7678383669FDE>. For other studies on the Christian religious influence in Calabar and the British diplomacy see Rosalind I. J. Hackett, *Religion in Calabar: The religious life and history of a Nigerian town*, (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter 1989), and Kannan K. Nair. (1977). Politics and society in south eastern Nigeria, 1841–1906: a study of power, diplomacy and commerce in Old Calabar. *Journal of African Studies*, (3), 242-280.

Appendix 9

Missionary Accounts from the diary of Anna Hinderer

This missionary couple was faced with the danger of the Yoruba Ijaye War (1860-1862) which affected both Abeokuta and Ibadan. Anna was a courageous woman and describes the safety situation in Ibadan in her 1853 diary:

Their own narrow room, with its dismal bare mud walls, mud floor, and thatched roof, had to serve for sitting-room and bed-room. With cheerful hearts, ever looking on the bright side of everything, and with much ingenuity in contriving, they at once framed a partition, and divided the shallow strip into two small rooms, which were soon made not only habitable, but home-like. The house had neither doors nor windows, a curtain alone serving for a screen at its entrance. But the inhabitants felt perfectly secure. A robber would be far too much afraid of the white man to approach the house in the dark. They were, however, liable to other troubles. The whole town was exposed to injury from periodical hurricanes, and in the rainy season torrents of water would make their way through the roof of this dwelling, producing great discomfort, and doing much damage to their scanty but precious possessions. At all times the grass roof, which had no ceiling under it, harboured spiders, and other unwelcome insects, which would not be dislodged; and to these must be added creatures of a more noxious kind. One night Mr. Hinderer heard a rustling noise, proceeding, as he supposed, from the compound; wishing to ascertain the cause, he rose hastily from his bed and his foot alighted on a venomous serpent, whose bite might have caused his death had the creature turned upon him⁴

⁴ Hone, 57.

She was very observant of the local life of the people of Ibadan and studied the local culture and means of livelihood which would help in her influence on the young girls and mothers. She was impressed by the fact that everyone was hardworking and most especially that land was free for everyone. This was expressed in in her memoirs of Ibadan in 1853 as follows:

For in Ibadan there are numerous weavers, tailors, blacksmiths, carpenters, tanners, leather-dressers, saddlers, potters, and dyers; others are employed in extracting palm-oil and nut-oil, and in making soap. But the principal occupation of the people is farming, in which everyone is engaged, whatever other calling he follows, each having a right to such land as he chooses to occupy outside the walls, provided only that it be not already appropriated. When Mr. Hinderer, on first settling at Ibadan, asked what price he must pay for some land which he wished to cultivate, the chief said, laughing, " Pay! who pays for the ground? All the ground belongs to God; you cannot pay for it!" The soil is extremely fertile. Indian corn and yams, the staple articles of food, form the principal produce of the farms, but Guinea corn, beans, ground-nuts, and cassada, are also cultivated, as well as cotton, which is grown both for home use and for exportation. ⁵

While in the missions Anna and her husband took ill with fever several times and though gradually getting weak in health, they still continued their mission. They were encouraged by the love and affection they received from the local people. They continued their church and school activities to the best of their abilities in collaboration with other fellow missionaries that they were keeping contact with in other missions:

⁵ Hone, 60.

July 6th. Since I last wrote I have been very ill; a sharp attack of fever, brought on, doubtless, from anxiety and want of rest; but I am thankful to be about again, though weak. The good hand of my God hath been over me, and I have had the tenderest care from my still suffering husband. He is, I trust, recovering, but very, very slowly; the alarming symptoms have passed over, but he is intensely weak; it is such a comfort to hear him speak this evening a little above a whisper. He has indeed been brought to the edge of the grave, and is so altered, I think you would hardly know him. I have sometimes almost been inclined to ask, 'Can it be he?' It must be long before he quite recovers; but I am so thankful that there is a prospect of this blessing. The interest and sympathy of the people have been very touching; coming with a light step, and asking in a whisper, 'Babba o- sandie?' 'Is our father better?' Our young warrior, Olumloyo, has come every day, and has been truly heart-broken; he told me 'I must pray much for my husband'. The orange season is just over, we could not get one in the market; I mentioned it to Olumloyo, when he sent his servants to the farms, but they came back without any. He was very sorry, 'Yet I must have some,' he said; and he mounted his horse and galloped off to several farms, and brought back eleven, with great delight. He sat by the bed and saw the dear patient devour one almost greedily; the young chief was so pleased that tears filled his eyes. My husband tried to thank him, Olumloyo lifted up his hand, exclaiming, 'Don t speak: I am too glad'. He came this afternoon and saw my husband on the sofa; he was very much pleased, and told Olubi that many people would be so glad to have the white man well again, that there would be much rejoicing when he could once more get out; they would fire many guns, he himself would give a whole cask of powder.

July 10th, Sunday. - I must close this day with a few words with my friends. I have been at school twice, and at one service; during the other service, I stayed with my husband; he had a comfortable morning, though rather a trying afternoon; but after tea he revived much, and said he should like our usual singing. So now for the gathering, I only wish you could have seen it. Mr. Hinderer on the sofa, Mr. Kefer near him, our Christian visitor on a chair; in the wide door- way, on the ground, his daughter Martha, a girl of ten years, our two men Simon and Jacob, our horseman, [the] cook s wife, and one or two of Mr. Kefer s servants; I at the harmonium, with two little lamps fixed in wine- glasses for convenience sake; on a long bench, close behind me, Olubi, Benjamin, Susanna, [the] schoolmaster, carpenter, and cook. Two of my boys, who are very fond of singing, and could keep their eyes open, stood one on each side of me, sometimes listening, and sometimes putting in a few sounds; and then we had a hearty singing truly. These people have the art of catching an air quickly, and are able to follow music; and they sang the collect for the day, the 7th Sunday after Trinity, beautifully; then we had the Lowestoft hymn-book box, and sang ‘Comfort’, ‘Lydia,’ ‘Arabia,’ and we finished with

‘Praise God, from whom all blessings flow’.

There was a request that I would sing to them the ‘Missionary Cal’.⁶

⁶ R. B. Hone, *Seventeen Years in the Yoruba Country--Memorials of Anna Hinderer* (London: Religious Tract Society, 1872), 75-77.

Appendix 10

A.I.M. (Alliance for International Monasticism)

This group has been increasingly active in keeping an open link among monasteries in Nigeria. Recently in one of their publications, they published a report from the head of the Benedictine monastery in Ewu Esan in Edo state, founded by the Glenstal Abbey in Ireland.⁷ The situation is generally positive and one of growth. However, there are some concerns about the quality of monastic life and the foundation of newer monasteries within some dioceses in the country, especially with relations to the ‘founders’ of these monasteries. In South Africa, the Cistercian monastery later saw a new foundation developing from out of her members known as the Marianhill Mission Society. This separation was concluded by Pope Pius X in 1909 though the process could be traced back to 1882 by Abbot Francis Pfanner. This Marianhill Monastery became significant as the largest Christian monastery in the world in 1898 with 285 monks in Durban South Africa ⁸ In the recent history of Nigeria, the Monks from different Orders have also contributed to the growth of education. And now have an association of the Benedictine and Cistercian Association of Nigeria (BECAN):

The establishment of BECAN highlights a number of factors that were visibly present in the milieu of its establishment and which by and large are still with us today. Monastic life is both new and foreign in this country. Also, as is the case in some other parts of the African continent, struggles and difficulties, mostly social-economic in nature, abound. Hence, the pioneers of Nigerian

⁷ Some of these founders are members from other monasteries who have left their original monasteries to found new ones usually with agreements on local level with the bishop of the diocese. Some of them are quite successful in starting up and getting approval especially when no financial constraint is involved. See Peter Eghwudjakpor, (2015) The Alliance for International Monasticism. Retrieved from <http://www.aimintl.org/index.php/en/2015-05-29-13-29-49/bulletin-100/association-benedictine-et-cistercienne-du-nigeria>, cited 15 March 2016 Benedictine and Cistercian Association of Nigeria (BECAN): Forum for Dialogue between Western Monasticism and Nigerian Traditional Culture. See also Richard Elphick, and T. R. Davenport, (1997). *Christianity in South Africa: A political, social, and cultural history*. (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1997), 199.

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monasticism saw the need for mutual and fraternal support, the need for stronger ties among the different monastic communities. Though not clearly stated at its inception, BECAN saw one of its goals as that of forging stronger links among the Nigerian monasteries in order to tackle with greater confidence the numerous challenges that are peculiarly Nigerian.

These early BECAN fathers and mothers recognized the fact that the traditional culture of the people has its own richness, which is imbued with values some of which have correlation with Christian values and monastic values. The question, then, was how could the newly arrived Western monasticism dialogue with African culture, Nigerian culture?

Most of the pioneers of Nigerian monasticism that are still alive today agree that the idea of an Association to embrace both the Benedictines and the Cistercians here in Nigeria came from two people: M. Mary Charles Anyanwo, OSB, of Paschal Monastery Nike-Enugu, and Fr. Columba Breen, OSB, of St Benedict Monastery Eke-Enugu. However, ‘the first recorded event in the history of BECAN was a monastic seminar that was held in the Benedictine monastery at Eke on April 17th, 1979. The participants at that first meeting were: from Awhum, Fr. Mark, Br. Paul, Br. Gerard, and Fr. Thomas (USA), M. Patricia from Umuoji, M. Charles from Nike, and from Eke, Fr. Columba Cary-Elwes, Fr. Columba Breen, Fr. David, Br. Colman Hingerty, Br. Vincent Mordi, and Br. Peter (from Igueben).⁹

⁹ Peter Eghwudjakpor. (2015). The Alliance for International Monasticism. Retrieved from <http://www.aimintl.org/index.php/en/2015-05-29-13-29-49/bulletin-100/association-benedictine-et-cistercienne-du-nigeria> cited 15 March 2016 Benedictine and Cistercian Association of (BECAN): Forum for Dialogue between Western Monasticism and Nigerian Traditional Culture. citing Andrew Nugent, ‘From Eke to Ewu: Entering the Promised Land’ in *Silver Jubilee Reflections* (Ewu Nigeria, 2004).

Appendix 11

Text of the 1st January 1852, Oba Akintoye treaty with the British government represented by John Beecroft and Henry William Bruce, who was the commander of the British Navy in West Africa

Commodore Henry William Bruce, Commander-in-Chief of Her Majesty's ships and vessels on the West Coast of Africa, and John Beecroft, Esquire. Her Majesty's Consul in the Bights of Benin and Biafra, on the part of her Majesty the Queen of England, and the King and Chiefs of Lagos and of the neighbourhood, on the part of themselves and of their country, have agreed upon the following Articles and Conditions:

Article I The export of slaves to foreign countries is forever abolished in the territories of the King and Chiefs of Lagos; and the King and the Chiefs of Lagos; and the King and Chiefs of Lagos engage to make and to proclaim a law prohibiting any of their subjects, or any person within their jurisdiction, from selling or assisting in the sale of any slave for transportation to a foreign country; and the King and Chiefs of Lagos promise to inflict a severe punishment on any person who shall break the law.

Article II No European or other person whatever shall be permitted to reside within the territory of the King and Chiefs of Lagos for the purpose of carrying on in any way the traffic in Slaves; and houses, or stores, or buildings of any kind whatever shall be erected for the purpose of Slave Trade within the territory of the King and Chiefs of Lagos; and if any such

houses, stores, or buildings shall at any future time be erected, and the King and Chiefs of Lagos shall fail or be unable to destroy them, they may be destroyed by any British officers employed for the suppression of the Slave Trade.

Article III If at any time it shall appear that the Slave Trade has been carried on through or from the territory of the King and Chiefs of Lagos, the Slave Trade may be put down by Great Britain by force upon that territory, and British officers may seize the boats of Lagos found anywhere carrying on the Slave Trade; and the King and Chiefs of Lagos will be subject to a severe act of displeasure on the part of the King and Queen of England.

Article IV The slaves now held for exportation shall be delivered to any British officer duly authorized to receive them, for the purpose of being carried to a British Colony, and there liberated; and all the implements of Slave Trade, and the barracoons or buildings exclusively used in the Slave Trade, shall be forthwith destroyed.

Article V Europeans or other persons now engaged in the Slave Trade are to be expelled from the country; the houses, stores, or buildings hitherto employed as slave-factories, if not converted to lawful purposes within three months of the conclusion of this Engagement, are to be destroyed.

Article VI The subjects of the Queen of England may always trade freely with the people of Lagos in every article they wish to buy and sell in all the places, and ports, and rivers within the territories of the [K]ing and Chiefs of lagos, and throughout the whole of their dominions; and the King and

Chiefs of Lagos pledge themselves to show no favour and give no privilege to the ships and traders of other countries which they do not show to those of England.

Article VII The King and Chiefs of Lagos declare that no human being shall at any time be sacrificed within their territories on account of religious or other ceremonies; and that they will prevent the barbarous practice of murdering prisoners captured in war.

Article VIII Complete protection shall be afforded to Missionaries or Ministers of the Gospel, of whatever nation or country, following the vocation of spreading the knowledge and doctrines of Christianity, and extending the benefits of civilization within the territory of the King and Chiefs of Lagos.

Encouragement shall be given to such Missionaries or Ministers in the pursuits of industry, in building houses for their residence, and schools and chapels. They shall not be hindered or molested in their endeavours to teach the doctrines of Christianity to all persons willing and desirous to be taught; nor shall any subject of the King and Chiefs of Lagos who may embrace the Christian faith be on that account, or on account of the teaching or exercise thereof, molested or troubled in any manner whatsoever.

The King and Chiefs of Lagos further agree to set apart a piece of land, within a convenient distance of the principal towns, to be used as a burial-ground for Christian persons. And the funerals and sepulchres of the dead shall not be disturbed in any way or upon any account.

Article IX Power is hereby expressly reserved to the Government of France to become a party to this Treaty, if it shall think fit, agreeably with the provisions contained in Article v of the Convention between Her Majesty and the King of the French for their suppression of the Traffic In Slaves, signed at London, May 22, 1845. In faith of which we have hereunto set our hands and seals, at Lagos, on board Her Britannic Majesty's ship Penelope, 1st January, 1852.

(L.S.) H. W. BRUCE

(L.S.) JOHN BEECROFT

(L.S.) KING AKITOYE

(L.S.) ATCHOBOO

(L.S.) KOSAE¹⁰

¹⁰ Robert Smith, *The Lagos Consulate 1851-1861*. (London: Macmillan 1979). 135–137 Appendix A. Cited from https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Treaty_Between_Great_Britain_and_Lagos,_1_January_1852.

Appendix 12

Reactions on social media and other public outlets led to an official response from the office of the Executive Secretary of the Nigerian Educational Research and Development Council (NERDC), published online on the 27th of April 2016.

The Nigerian Educational Research and Development Council (NERDC) has come to the notice of certain insinuations and misinformation about the 9 Year Basic Education Curriculum, specifically the Religion and National Values (RNV) Curriculum designed to be taught in Nigeria's Primary and Junior Secondary Schools. The claims peddled on social media platforms and a national daily are to say the least speculative, false and unfounded. It is our conviction that while some of the peddlers operate from the oblivious side of information, many resort to this out of mischief needless of being extended into the critical sector of educational practice and delivery. For the avoidance of doubt, the management of the NERDC hereby state categorically and unequivocally to all Nigerians that the Religious Studies and other components of the Religion and National Values Curriculum under Basic Education are distinct. They are subject listings under one group each should be taught and studied separately based on the existing School timetable. No child should be coerced or compelled to learn or be taught in School any religious studies curriculum but only one (out of the two) that restrictively relates to the belief system professed by the child and his/her parents.

The Religion and National Values Curriculum was needs and policy driven, it was developed with the involvement of critical stakeholders including policy makers, curriculum experts, subject specialist, teachers, parents, faith based organizations and civil liberty organizations. The management of

NERDC calls on all SMOEs, SUBEBS, Public and Private Schools and Publishers to maintain the distinct nature of the components of the Religion and National Values Curriculum. As a Regional Centre of Curriculum Excellence, we are very receptive to good suggestions from all critical stakeholders especially ideas that are policy driven and within the scope of our mandate. Indeed, we sincerely appreciate the organizations, institutions and individuals that considered it wise to contact us on this matter. NERDC stands for integrity and excellence in educational research and development. The management stands for education for human dignity, economic reconstruction and value reorientation.

Prof. Ismail Junaidu

Executive Secretary (NERDC)

NERDC the Think Tank of Nigerian Education ¹¹

From the above, the intention is quite clear that to achieve sustainable peace and harmony children have to be taught a common 'set' of 'National Values' which includes study about other religions that one may not be practicing or believe in, even though superficially. A major theological critique of this proposal is the fact that there has been a historical precedent in the development of education in Nigeria that will guarantee its academic success when introduced. From the extensive study of the missionary approach to education one can deduce that before interreligious education is to be introduced in a school learning environment, those engaging in it should have been previously rooted and trained within their own religious tradition so as

¹¹ Nigerian Education Research and Development Council (NERDC), & Ismail Junaidu. (2016). *NERDC and the 9-year Basic Education Curriculum*. Retrieved from Nigerian Education Research and Development Council (NERDC) website: <http://nerdc.ng/news-details/NERDC%20AND%20THE%209%20YEAR%20BASIC%20EDUCATION%20CURRICULUM>. The basic concern was when Religious Education (Christian and Moslem) was proposed to be taught together within a homogeneous syllabus in the form of 'comparative religion' and with some advocacy for 'inclusivity' by introducing elements of African traditional religions. The practice has now added one more subject to the already independent subjects of Christian Religious Education and Islamic Studies.

to have a foundational base with which the conversation about other people's religion can take place. Perhaps what should be introduced is 'basic' theology within the different religious groups (which in the Nigerian context is mainly two; Christianity and Islam), before introducing a comparative study of both later on. Historically the teaching of Christian Religious Education in Nigeria has consistently been both 'Confessional' and 'Biblical'. The curriculum with the catholic missionaries was primarily confessional (catechetical, doctrinal and ministerial). When the government started investing in education and there was mass enrolment of peoples from different Christian denominations attending the same local school, the curriculum became less doctrinal and more Biblical. The doctrinal aspect was left to the approved ethos of the particular school, their Christian tradition, and general consensus between the local community and the parents. The demand of external examinations and government supervised accreditation of certificates (initiated by the colonial government) led to the standardization of the syllabus for Christian Religious Education. This process was safeguarded by the different Christian churches, reaching a common ground on Biblical theology as the focus of the content of the primary and Secondary School syllabus. In this way, non-Christians and new converts could also study the subject and later decide on doctrinal affiliation later.

Appendix 13

ADDRESS BY HIS EXCELLENCY, MR. PETER OBI, GOVERNOR OF ANAMBRA STATE, AT THE FORMAL RETURN OF SCHOOLS TO THEIR ORIGINAL CHURCH OWNERS AT THE WOMEN DEVELOPEMNT CENTRE ON THE 21ST OF NOVEMBER, 2011

Let me begin this address by simply stating that our Government's commitment to delivering quality education for the good people of Anambra State is total. That is why I have decided that our state shall henceforth be speaking only of "acceptable global standards in education", instead of "minimum standards". By the same token, we are saying good bye to the low quality education that this state has suffered because of the takeover of mission schools by Government.

The collapse of education in Anambra State is directly connected with the takeover of schools owned by the missionaries, churches and voluntary organizations in 1970. That singular exercise signalled the disappearance of morality and the building of character from our school system. This can no longer be allowed to continue.

May I therefore apologize to those whose schools were forcefully taken over. It was one of the biggest and costliest mistakes ever made by the Government. We regret that due to the takeover, these schools have deteriorated in all respects. Academic performance, infrastructure, and simple discipline were all lost. Today, we shall make a new beginning by returning to the point from where we turned into the wrong road.

Only last week, the Hon. Minister of Finance pointed out how unreasonable it is for a nation to keep pumping money into an educational system that

delivers nothing close to what it was set up to deliver. Let me state her exact words, ladies and gentlemen: "Our education system is broken and we cannot continue pumping money into a broken institution."

Not only do I concur with the Minister, I am demonstrating my concurrence by the action I have invited you to witness today. We are hopeful that by returning these schools to their owners, a progressive cleansing of that sector will begin. This is a demonstration of good faith and also of our Government's determination to rescue the education sector, because of its crucial role as the bedrock of development.

We are part and parcel of the modern world and the only way to show this is to always ask ourselves where the rest of the world is going in all that we do pertaining to the life of our people. A few days ago, at the Rivers State Invest Forum in Port Harcourt, the former Prime Minister of Britain, Mr. Gordon Brown, said that one of the major ingredients of prosperity was education. He went further to describe education as the biggest asset for providing skills for the future.

Any society that deliberately allows its educational institutions to fall into stupor has already arranged the burial ceremony of the leaders of tomorrow. A progressive leader who sees danger for his people must take serious, radical actions, even if they are unpopular, in order to bring renewal and re-birth.

Having the foregoing in mind, and after due consultations, we have decided to return all schools, primary and secondary, taken from the missionaries, with the exception of those in dispute. This exercise is continuous, hence those who still have genuine cases of schools yet to be returned are advised to write to the Ministry of Education. In returning these schools, Government

is expecting the type of dramatic improvement in discipline and academic performance that used to be associated with these schools.

We are not abandoning these schools, in the name of handing them over, because the State Government will continue to pay the salaries of all their academic and non-academic staff; while the Missions will be in charge of the day-to-day running and general administration of the schools. This is the subsisting practice in the schools already taken over by the Government.

I want to be on record to have said, again and again, that we are handing over these school because we want to see them return to what they used to be, as centres of academic excellence; as well as strongholds for character and citizenship development.

Being mindful of the urgent need to turn around the education sector, and in line with our commitment to achieve the Millennium Development Goals, the State Government has made special financial provisions to ensure that the churches do not have any initial problems in managing the schools. We have made available the sum of Six Billion Naira (6,000,000,000.00), which shall be distributed to the new owners of these schools over the next 15 months, based on the number of schools each group owns.

Therefore, the money will be shared in four installments thus:

- a. First Installment - N1,750,000,000
- b. Second Installment - N1,250,000,000
- c. Third Installment - N1,250,000,000
- d. Fourth Installment - N1,750,000,000

For the first installment,

- a. The Catholic Church with 453 schools will receive N762,259,615.38;

- b. The Anglican Church with 296 schools will receive N498,076,923.07;
- c. Government owned schools, 291 in number, will receive N489,663,461.53

This money will be released to you once you submit your work plans in the next 30 days. The Churches simply cannot afford to fail us because, as the Bible says: "If gold should rust, what will iron do?"

Let us all resolve today to become agents of positive change in Anambra State, especially now that we have a Government that is ready and willing to work with institutions and individuals that can complement the efforts of Government for the good of our society.

Thank you and may God bless you and our dear State"¹²

¹² 5Nigeria Masterweb Citizen news. (2011, November 24). Address by Governor Obi at the Formal Handover of Schools To Original Church Owners. Retrieved from <http://nigeriamasterweb.com/blog/index.php/2011/11/24/nigeria-address-by-governor-obi-at-formal-handover-of-schools-to-original-church-owners> see also Vincent Ujumadu. (2011, November 22). Obi hands over 1,040 schools to original owners. *Vanguard Nigeria* [Lagos]. Retrieved from <http://www.vanguardngr.com/2011/11/obi-hands-over-1040-schools-to-original-owners/>