

CHAPTER FIVE

DEVELOPMENT OF MUSIC EDUCATION IN NIGERIA

This chapter presents a brief historical overview of the development of western (colonial) music education in Nigeria during the period 1842 – 1959. Music education in Nigeria after 1959 is dealt with in the next chapter – chapter six. For expediency, the period is divided into three distinct phases viz: 1842 – 1882; 1883 – 1925 and 1926 – 1959. The chapter examines the changes that took place during each phase and highlights the various factors and forces working singly or jointly towards the development of modern music education in Nigeria. It begins with what prefaced musical imperialism in Nigeria - racialism.

5.0.1 Theories about evolution and race

One of the rationales justifying the colonization of Africa was based on evolutionary theory of history influenced by the ideas of Darwin, Spencer, Morgan and Marx (See Curtin, 1960). A basic tenet of such theories states that 'societies organized within the framework of the nation-state and industrial capitalism represented the most advanced forms of human organization' (Gellar, 1977:133). Apologists for European imperialism argue that 'it was right, indeed the duty, of the "higher" civilizations to conquer the "lower" civilizations in order to bring prosperity and "progress" to all parts of the world' (emphasis in the original) (Gellar, 1977:133). Apologists for European imperialism did not understand that there is no universal ideal in human systems. Civilizations are not inferior or superior, higher or lower, they are only different. Oblivious of such fact, Europeans went ahead to construe racial theories determined by physiological characteristics which asserts the biological superiority of the "white race" to reinforce their insistence to subjugate people of other races including Africans.

Between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the idea of evolving institutions and civilizations led to the scaling and classification of races and civilizations. The idea of race superiority and inferiority, based upon pseudo science, irrational beliefs, and prejudice, came to the fore. The works of European scientists and scholars were used to prove that Africa was further

down the scale of evolution than the other parts of the world and therefore in dire need of European 'civilization'. Scholars prowled about seeking facts to prove that differences exist between the manners and customs of Europeans and non-Europeans, especially Africans. Scientific experimentation was propped up to prove that fundamental physiological differences exist between races, especially between the Negroes (Blacks) and the Caucasians (Whites). These theories enabled the white race to claim that they were superior to the Black race. Lovejoy's *The Great Chain of Being* explains these theories succinctly (See also Dubow, 1995; Northrup, 2002).

Racialism was used to generate the idea of (African) 'primitivism'. Europeans construed theories of musical evolutions that ascribed a more ample development to themselves than to Africans. Describing Africans, for instance, Darwin (1871:370) writes that 'in their native countries they (Africans) rarely practice anything that we (Europeans) should consider music'. Alfred Wallace says that 'among the lower savages music, as we understand it, hardly exists, though they all delight in rude musical sounds, as of drums, tom-toms; and they also sing in monotonous chants. Almost as they advance in general intellect and the arts of social life, their appreciation of music appears to rise in proportion (Wallace in Wallaschek, 1893:227). Europeans used their formulated theories to fuel a host of mistaken notions about Africans and African music. For example, earliest European writers claimed that African music was distinctive for its 'primitiveness'; that Africans have poser in imitating, but very little of inventing'. Racial theories had profound influence upon both the European missionaries and colonialists that came to bring a lot of fundamental changes to bear on Nigerian life systems. A look at British and Anglo-Saxon 'pride and superiority' is pertinent here.

In his analysis of the Teutonic origins theory, Gossett (1965: 22) observes that 'the central emphasis of the Anglo-Saxon superiority in America was placed on representative government'. Gossett quotes Francis Lieber on his Anglo-Saxon "pride" as saying that Anglican race:

...which carried Anglican principles and liberty over the globe, because, wherever it moves, liberal institutions and

common law of human rights and instincts with the principle of an expansive life accompanied it. We belong to that race whose obvious task it is, among other proud and sacred tasks to rear and spread civil liberty over vast regions in every part of the earth, on continent and isle. We belong to that tribe alone which has the world self-government (Gossett, 1965:94).

The supposed Anglo-Saxon superiority in government and democracy was later translated into the justification of British colonization of other nations (Gossett, 1965:310). The Britons saw themselves as the leaders of civilization, as pioneers of industry and progress. With regard to British claim to superiority, Robinson and Gallagher state:

Upon the ladder of progress, nations and races seemed to stand higher or lower according to the proven capacity of each for freedom and enterprise: the British at the top followed a few rungs below by the Americans, and the other striving, go-ahead Anglo-Saxons. The Latin peoples were thought to come next, though far behind. Much lower still stood the vast oriental communities of Asia and North Africa where progress appeared unfortunately to have been crushed... Lowest of all stood the aborigines whom it was thought had never learned enough social discipline to pass from the family and tribe to the making of State (Robinson and Gallagher in Turaki, 1999:25).

Robinson and Gallagher believe that British involvement in tropical Africa was motivated by 'moral suasion and duty,' that is, moral responsibility. This moral responsibility is seen in terms of the duty of the churches and anti-slavery societies to free slaves and convert the heathen. British colonization of Africa flowed from the needs to free African slaves, convert heathen Africans, bring civilization to Africa and trade with the African.

Between the fifteenth and twentieth centuries, Europeans made a gradual process from the 'Age of Discovery' (explorers) through the 'Age of Mercantilism' (merchants and traders) and the 'Age of Missions' (missionaries) to the 'Age of Empire-Building' (colonialists). Explorers, merchants and traders, missionaries and colonialists were products of the same society. They shared the same socio-political roots, worldview and ethos, but differed in their primary motif, goals, objectives and interests. At different times and different places, the dominant motives that gave rise to European explorations, trade, missions and

colonization included the satisfaction of curiosity, the pursuit of trade, the spread of religion, and the desire for security and political power (Njoku, 2003:49). As such, it is necessary to take a look at Nigerians external relations with European explorers, traders and missionaries and how their activities affected the implantation of modern music education in Nigeria.

5.0.2 Explorers

The explorers were the first set of Europeans to venture into the interior of Nigeria. Explorers - travelers, teachers, anthropologists, missionaries, army officers and colonial administrators - came to Nigeria, 'knowing the reports of their predecessors and theoretical conclusions already drawn from them. They were therefore sensitive to data that seemed to confirm their European preconception, and they were insensitive to contrary data' (Curtin, 1960:479). Curtin observes that those who visited Africa took the European worldview as their point of departure. 'They did not ask, 'what is Africa like?' and 'what manner of men live there?', but 'how does Africa, and how do the Africans fit into what we already know about the world?' European explorers came to Africa with an image of Africa that was more European than African. About the explorers who came to Nigeria, E.A. Ayandele says:

...their relations with Nigerians were of an excellent kind; that they behaved themselves, accepting Nigerian rulers as lords of the territory, having the power of life and death over them; that the law of self-preservation and elementary common sense dictated to the 'explorers' that Nigeria's cultural heritage should be respected; that they must integrate themselves into the Nigerian milieu in matters of diet and shelter; that they must be solicitous of the welfare of their hosts; that they must regard themselves as socially inferior to the rulers. Although the half a dozen explorers - from Mungo Park to Henreich Barth - were ceremonially practicing Christians, none of them dare worship in public or cast aspersions on the religious systems of Nigerians. Although, again, all them were subscribers to the cause of abolition and found slavery offensive to their notions of humanity, none of them dare pass adverse comments on the spot on this institution, or refutes the services of slaves (Ayandele, 1980:367).

The European explorers did not subvert indigenous culture, bully the rulers or interfere unduly in political matters. But the moral, religious, political ideas and cultural bias they held and later applied in giving accounts of their travels did a lot to undermine the indigenous milieu they were earlier constrained to respect. Although Nigerian rulers and people instinctively suspected the real motive of the explorers' intrusion (Ayandele, 1980:367), they heartily welcomed the explorers. They proudly presented their culture and made explorers learn who they were through regular exposure to musical performances that embodied their enlightened worldview. These enabled explorers to give accounts of Nigerian music they observed to the extent they understood it.

M.A.P. D'Avezac's interview with Joaquim Osifekunde, an Ijebu man seized by pirates in his youth and sold into slavery, whom D'Avezac encountered in France, enabled D'Avezac to produce ethnographic narrative on the Yoruba kinship, marital practices, trade, language, ceremony and music. Of Ijebu instrumental music, D'Avezac writes:

Negro instrumental music in general is, to European ears, nothing but a deafening noise, in which one tries in vain to discover something resembling melody or harmony. For the Negro themselves, the music is nothing more than the accompaniment of their chants: the songs must take first place if we are to understand their musical abilities.

Among the Ijebu as among their neighbors, there are songs for every circumstance of life, for every daily event. By singing, they show joy; by singing they express sorrow; they sing to encourage work; and they even sing to make rest even seem sweeter. Songs are mixed in religious ceremonies and in public ceremonies and in public celebrations. They are a continual expression of a lively and careless spirit, which dislikes silence and isolation.

I collected only a few songs. They emerged during my conversation with Osifekunde only a sidelight to a story or a description, and it was only thanks to their brevity that I was able to snatch them from the midst of other matter in which they were embedded. A Negro song, in fact, is hardly more than a phrase, being repeated again and again for hours on end.

I will relate, for example, how two of these songs are presented in their official character within the pattern of a solemn procession made by the king at certain times on the great square of his capital. On such occasions, as

the king's *ofonkpwe*, or trumpeters, place their *oukpwe*, or great horns made of hollowed elephant tusks, to their mouths, his servants are busy covering the ground he is to walk on with tanned cowhides, and they sound forth as from a powerful megaphone with this song, repeated a hundred times.

...The nobles, the chiefs of every rank, the entire people, hasten toward the square to do homage to their prince and follow after him... He walks with a slow and measured step, while the musicians (*oukbedou*, and one of the essential attributes of sovereignty) play a piece in which the *ofonkpwe* sing the words while the other musicians accompany them on a single great drum, each one drumming a special beat so as to perform a concert of indefinite duration repeating the same phrase without end (D'Avezac in Lloyd 1968:277).

D'Avezac's descriptions of the musical instruments are apt but the spellings of the names of the instruments are somewhat confusing as it does correspond with the modern Yoruba orthography. For example, *ipe* is call while a *fun'pe* is a caller and in this context *afunpe* or properly *akigbe* is a person who sings the praises of the prince or king. *Oukbedou* - the word for the royal musicians too is not spelt correctly. *Gbedu* is a kind of Yoruba royalty music while *alugbedu* describes *gbedu* musicians.

D'Avezac transcribes a few of the Ijebu songs, their texts, gives attention to the instruments and writes out their parts. As he goes on to explain:

I must explain how the parts I have just written down are performed. The drum is in the form of a cylinder about three feet in diameter and two feet high and covered by a strong hide. It is hung from the neck of one of the musicians by a double sling so that without touching the ground the upper surface is not raised above the breast of the carrier, whose hands beat out near the rim of the drum head the part marked above the word *aya*. A second musician armed with two short drumsticks is given the part marked *afere*. A third, with longer sticks, plays the part marked *agwaso*. Two others with very long heavy drumsticks take the bass, called *ogwo*. Finally, the whole ensemble is controlled by a musical director, bearing the title of *omono*, who takes the *agwako* jointly with the musician who plays that alone (D'Avezac in Lloyd, 1968:1:280).

William Bosman, in 1701, wrote about the role of music in funeral rites among the Edo of Benin that:

The public mourning commonly last for fourteen days. Their lamentations and cries are accommodated to the tunes of several musical instruments tho' with large intermediate stops, during which they drink very plentifully (Bosman, 1705:448).

In the narrative of Captain Trotter's 1841 expedition to the Niger, Allen and Thompson say that, among (western) Igbo:

Musicians in the king's retinue performed the royal air on the *ope*; a sort of wind instrument formed by hollowing out a young elephant's tusk: an oblong hole is bored at the upper third into which the performer blows strongly, and by compressing the fingers over the lower aperture, several notes are produced of anything but a pleasing character; the tone resembles more the discordant air of a clarinet in the hands of a novice. A native band with wooden drums and reed instruments continued to perform a variety of single airs or what one might properly style a concord of rude sound (Allen and Thompson, 1848:1:206).

Richard Lander describes the music used to welcome him to the palace of the *Alaafin* of Oyo by the *akunyungba* (women chorales) during his second visit to the capital of the old Oyo Kingdom when he writes that:

Each of his half-dressed ladies held light spear in the left hand, with the right leg slightly bent and leaning partially on their weapon, (...) they began their song of welcome and dirge for my master's death. The music of their voices was wild but sweet, and reverberating from the hills, had a singularly saddening, although no means a disagreeable effect and these were the strains they sang ... (Lander, 1830:191).

Henrich Barth, a German explorer remarked about the musical entertainment he experienced during his visit to the Emir of Katsina, when he writes that:

A troop of eight mounted royal musicians (*masukidda-n-seriki*) who had been playing the whole day before the several divisions of the *airi*, came likewise to my tent in the course of the afternoon, and gratified my ears, with a performance on their various instruments (Barth quoted in Vidal, 2002:5).

These are some of the reports of the European commentators (army officers, anthropologists, travelers) who documented aspects of indigenous Nigerian music performance they encountered. The reports registered their views on the music performed, the instruments used and the performers as well as the involvement of the audience. It has formed the foundation of an assemblage of archival materials on Nigerian music. The reports began the dissemination of information about Nigerian musical activities to non-African audience - to the European audience. It continued a written tradition of disseminating Nigerian musical knowledge abroad initiated by Arab scholars some centuries before. The uncritical contemporary view that music in Nigerian society is essentially functional stems from the reports.

The impressionistically written reports, however, gave an insight into what the nature and form of music making in the present day Nigeria was like before the colonial encounter. It shows that in indigenous Nigerian communities, one kind or another of music performance goes on throughout the year. It contains information about instruments (their nature, construction and the kind of music they make, which are analogous to some of the present day Nigerian musical instruments), and the contexts of music making. It discusses aspects of indigenous vocal music in terms of techniques used and the functions of music in an oral society.

The reports proved that music making is a synergistic group activity in traditional Nigeria and gave an indication of the nature and processes of music making on the indigenous instruments. It also showed that the embeddedness of indigenous music performance in its specific culture baffled the explorers. It initiated the misdirection of the published and practiced misunderstanding about indigenous Nigerian music that serves to misrepresent Nigerian music and musicians in Europe. It was a well-meaning but misguided attempt to spread indigenous Nigerian music knowledge abroad. One of the explorers wrote that the indigenous Nigerian music they encountered was 'vile', 'discordant', 'barbarous', 'mere amusement' and 'sheer dissipation' of life (See 2-10-11). Explorers viewed the carriers of Nigerian music traditions and their products as exotica. The accounts reflected clearly Eurocentric biases, as well as the

explorers' misinterpretations of the true nature and form of indigenous Nigerian music as something that affects the essence of life.

The explorers' reports enabled missionaries to have deep misgivings about indigenous Nigerian music. It enabled European missionaries and their functionaries to project an image of a 'primitive' Nigeria in order to source funds for a campaign to convert Nigerians to Christianity and to support the mandate of foreign control. It gave the missionaries an understanding that music is central to traditional Nigerians' life. It sensitized missionaries to the need to plan ahead the banning of indigenous Nigerian music that they learnt is an explicit pervasive and enduring cultural trait that binds Nigerian communities together and gives them an identity.

The indigenous Nigerians did not know that their music for life was being portrayed abroad with uncalled for misunderstandings. They continued to make music to sustain and affirm life as well as propel and transact life in abundant music. They continued to operate their music education for life undauntedly while the uncharitable reports generate misunderstanding of indigenous Nigerian music among non-African people unceasingly.

5.0.3 Traders

Nigeria's trading links with Europeans began with the Atlantic slave trade that depopulated Africa of its viable and valuable human persons. The slave trade took many Africans to the new World via the European supercargoes that were 'as a rule, ruffians of the worst kind, guilty of the most brutal treatment to Africans with whom they dealt' (Njoku, 2003:49). Many Africans died en-route. Those that survived got to their destinations with nothing but the African musicianship they acquired before they were bought. The enslaved Africans used their African musicianship to trade influence with their new musical environments. Their musical interactions led to the evolution of American music epitomized in jazz.

The changing economy of industrializing Europe in the nineteenth century forced the slave trade to give way to the 'legitimate trade' (Njoku,2003: 49). The

legitimate trade enabled Europeans to build a commercial system and empire in which Nigerians were subsumed as commercial minors. Part of the commodity involved in the new enterprise was the importation and supply of European musical instruments by the European traders and those of their protégés among the *Saros*. The importation was necessitated by the need to initiate, develop and sustain European musical idioms among the returning ex-slaves from the West Indies, Brazil and Sierra Leone as well as European businessmen, missionaries and colonial administrators settling down in Nigeria (See Omojola, 1995:12).

Traders supplied the newly established European institutions in Nigeria such as churches, schools, night clubs, concert halls, military bases and missionary and colonial residences with the desired European musical instruments. Perhaps the missionaries' disparagement of the indigenous instruments as vestiges of the heathen past increased the love to acquire European instruments among converts. Some individuals began to see instruments like the piano, the harmonium, and the organ and so on as basic household equipment and socio-personal effects to enhance their status as educated Christians and Europeanized Nigerians. Individuals, societies, corporate bodies, schools and churches eagerly sourced funds to acquire them (Omojola, 1995:12-17). Traders, always at hand, gladly supplied them. Before the end of the nineteenth century, European instruments such as the violins, pianos, harmoniums, fifes, flutes, oboes, and brass instruments including trumpets, trombones, tubas and bugles were commonly found in the coastal parts of Nigeria. Churches, schools, the police and the army, as well as the entertainment industry that trailed Nigeria's encounter with Europeans provided the contexts for teaching, learning and using of the European instruments.

The traders' regular supply of Nigerian markets with European instruments led to a dichotomy of love between the European instruments and the indigenous ones among western educated Nigerians. Indigenous musical instruments if exported that time would have been as exotic materials. While the traders were not important in the cultivation of the European instruments, they were of immense significance in supplying the mesmerizing instruments to satisfy the

perverted musical yearning of the western educated Nigerians and the amusement diversions of the invading Europeans.

5.1 Development of western (colonial) music education in Nigeria

5.1.1 Missionaries activities and the origins of music education in southern Nigeria

The beginning of modern educational development in Nigeria is traceable to the coming of the Christian missions to the coastal areas of the southern provinces. The earliest missionary enterprise was under Portuguese state control as a result of a series of papal concessions granting the Portuguese crown the obligation and privileges of planting and controlling all mission and establishments in their overseas territories. The crown sponsored and dispatched in 1515 the missionaries who visited and obtained permission from the *Oba* of Benin to teach his son and the sons of a number of chiefs the rudiments of Christian faith. The Portuguese seminary established at Sao Tome off the Nigerian coast sent missionaries in 1571 to Warri to teach the Itsekiri to read and write Portuguese (Ogunsola, 1974:3).

Music education linked to religious observances as choral singing must have been an integral part of these sporadic educational efforts. But these earliest attempts were uncoordinated and so made no meaningful impact as far as systematic music education was concerned. It experienced a natural lull when the papal concessions were unilaterally revoked after the creation of Propaganda Fide Congregation in Rome in 1622 (Ogunsola, 1974:3). And there was nothing tangibly done again in the field of western (music) education in Nigeria until the nineteenth century when the work of missionaries in propagating and educating the Nigerian indigenes resumed in earnest.

5.1.2 Precursor: missionary activities and Nigerians' study of western music in Sierra Leone, 1807-1842

In 1807, Britain, the world's leading slave trading nation, passed an act which made it illegal to trade in slaves. She immediately established a squadron with the responsibility of freeing any recaptured persons in Sierra Leone. Other European nations were settling freed slaves from the West Indies and Brazil in

Freetown, the capital of Sierra Leone about the same time. Between 1807 and 1842, the abolition of slave trade facilitated the return of ex-slaves to Africa. This paved the way for the concentration of freed slaves in Sierra Leone, Fernando Po, Liberia and the Gambia. The ex-slaves settled in their new environments with the varied African-American musical experiences they acquired.

In Sierra Leone, especially, Nigerians were in the majority among the liberated Africans the Christian missionaries introduced to British values, religion and cultural practices. Hitherto, some of them had been exposed to European music in West Indies. Some of them were given English liberal education which reinforced the western music skills and knowledge they had acquired. Others were inducted into the European musical life in Sierra Leone. The Christian missionaries saw the role of music as a means of propagating the imperialistic religion of Christianity and the school as its main agent. Literacy in music was emphasized so that ex-slaves could develop the ability to read western music, hymns and songs in the schools.

Nigerians coerced to the study of western music in Sierra Leone, being in a state of emotional shock and alienated physically and mentally from their natural environment, saw the missionaries as the bearers of 'civilization' and their music – western art music - as the golden manifestation of a superior culture. They were presumably too dazed to assert their musical heritages. Missionary-mentors were too arrogant to see anything good in the ex-slaves musical heritages and found it easy to encourage ex-slaves to spurn their musical heritage. The musical aspect of missionary activities among Nigerian ex-slaves in Sierra Leone, it is assumed, laid a substantial base for the commencement of modern music education in Nigeria from 1842.

The ex-slaves' quest for final reunion with their kiths and kin in Nigeria was granted. The Yoruba and Niger Missions that would facilitate the return to Nigeria were successfully established. These events were seen by ex-slaves in Sierra Leone as a realization of an age-long dream, hence their collective decision to resign their appointments as labourers, teachers, traders, musicians,

and interpreters and return home to participate in the missionary activities in Nigeria.

Many of the returnees were descendants of the Yoruba of western Nigeria, and a good number of them chose to go back to their original home when the opportunities arose to do so. The British assisted them and by 1850, at least 3000 had returned to settle in Badagry, Abeokuta and Lagos where local people called them *Saros*. The European missionaries followed the emigrants into Nigeria. Both, in cordial relationship, formed the missionary movement in Nigeria that introduced European music to suppress the indigenous Nigerian musical life systems. The *Saros* formed the core of the first western musically educated Nigerian elite that Europeans trained and equipped with subterfuges for undermining indigenous Nigerian music systems. The end of Sierra Leone era marked the beginning of the western music education in Nigeria.

5.1.3 The early activities of Christian missions and music education in southern Nigeria, 1842 - 1882

In the nineteenth century, the European portrayal of Africa 'as one universal den of desolation, misery, and crime...degradation, wretchedness and woe' (Stock in Onwuka, 1985:153) was common. Christian Missions most of which were founded in Europe and America towards the end of the eighteenth century were conversant with such portrayals. Christian missions unilaterally recommended Christianity, European hymnody, western classical music and accompanying attraction such as school education, European languages and culture as well as western science and technology for Africans. These they believed would enable Africans emerge from their 'state of darkness and debasement' and raise their intellect and morals to realize the 'monstrous impolicy' of the slave trade (Fowell in Onwuka, 1986:153).

Europeans claim they sent missionaries to Africa to rescue Africans. Many scholars have realized that missionaries were sent to Nigeria to establish European cultural Christianity, check the spread of Islam and to civilize Nigerians. Christianity entails the exportation of an emigrant culture, religion and civilization, including the superimpositions of Western music on indigenous

music systems. The missionary's enterprise was as such not driven primarily by the need to evangelize the world; it was a by-product of the European spirit of expansion and colonization of the world. Missionaries came to replace indigenous Nigerian spiritual and socio-political bases with the Europeans'. As Neill observes:

Missionaries in the nineteenth century had to some extent yielded to the colonial complex. Only western man was man in the full sense of the word; he was wise and good, and members of other races; in so far as they became westernized, might share in the wisdom and goodness. But western man was the leader, and would remain so a very long time to, perhaps forever (Neill, 1964:259).

European missionaries and returnees (Africans) came to Nigeria with this mental arrogance at the back of their minds that they were infinitely superior to the indigenous Nigerians. They therefore sought to propagate the British life systems – including the Anglo-version of the European musical tradition and culture in Nigeria.

Fafunwa (1974) provides a detail history of the establishment of Christian missions in Nigeria. Between 1842 and 1892, eight Christian missions were established in different parts of southern Nigeria. The Wesleyan Methodist Mission blazed the trail when they started both Christian and education work in Badagry in September 1842. At Badagry, the mission established the first school with the help of Rev. Thomas Freeman and Mr. & Mrs. deGraft. In 1843, the Christian Missionary Society (CMS) established its first school in Abeokuta and expanded its influence to other parts of Yoruba land. It monopolized the Niger Delta, minus Old Calabar, until 1892, and the Niger valley until 1885. The CMS opened the first institution for the training of teachers at Abeokuta in 1853 and founded the first Secondary School, the CMS Grammar School, Lagos, in 1859.

The Presbyterians Church of Scotland established their mission in Calabar in 1847. The Church founded the Hope Waddell Institute in 1895 and concentrated its efforts in Calabar. The Southern American Baptists opened its mission in 1853 in Lagos and expanded its influence to Ogbomoso and

Abeokuta. But the evangelistic work of the mission was weakened and then abruptly cut off because of the American Civil War of 1861. After 1900, the mission resumed its missionary activities particularly in Oyo, Abeokuta and Ogbomosho.

The Roman Catholic Church which had made a brief appearance in the sixteenth century came to Nigeria again 1862 in two factions. The first was the French Order of Catholic Priests (*Societe des Missions Africaines Missions*) that took up a permanent residence in Lagos and established her first mission there in 1862 using Portuguese as language of instruction rather than English in catholic schools before it spread its sphere of influence to other parts of Yorubaland. It taught in Portuguese because the main body of the indigenous Roman Catholics in Lagos consisted of emigrants from Brazil who could not speak English. The second Roman Catholic mission, with strength from Ireland, was the Holy Ghost Fathers that started its evangelizing mission among the Igbo in 1885. In 1887, there emerged the non-denominational and indigenous Qua Iboe mission founded in the eastern areas of Nigeria. In 1892, the Primitive Methodists started work in Oron, among the Ibibio. Before long, 'the humble effort made at Badagry in 1842 was later to metamorphose into complex and complicated National education system as witnessed today' (Aghenta, 1984: 1).

Between 1842 and 1882, the Christian missions established a number of pioneering churches, schools and colleges in southern Nigeria with their main interest for long in primary education. The yearning of Nigerian educated elite for higher and better education expedited the setting up of secondary schools. No mission took interest in tertiary education except the senior seminary and theological schools.

Oladele Taiwo writes that the programme of the Methodist Mission for Nigeria in 1840's was made of 'singing, scripture, prayer, reading, spelling, writing, ciphering, catechism...and arithmetic' (Taiwo, 1980:7). He notes that 'at the Yoruba mission of the CMS the day school curriculum comprised mainly, and sometimes entirely, reading, writing, arithmetic and singing' (Taiwo, 1980:7). At the CMS Grammar School, Lagos, 'the subjects taught included Scripture

reading, writing, dictation, English Grammar and analysis, English composition, arithmetic, algebra, geometry, Latin, Greek, English, English History, Roman History, Greek History, book-keeping, physiology, geography, singing and recitation' (Taiwo, 1980:13).

Singing in this context was tantamount to teaching students to learn and perform Christian religious songs, songs in praise of colonial masters, songs about sceneries in the metropolitan Europe or songs that depict episodes in the colonial master's history. This gave students a lot of unfulfilled aspirations and self-pity as they did or could not experience what they were singing about in their daily lives. The emphasis on singing was intended to correct 'what has been described as the African's faulty ways of singing' (Omibiyi, 1987:3) which was solely determined from the European perspectives. Every convert grasped at cultivating the mastery of singing as a way of modeling the European. Many imitative singers of Euro-Christian music were produced.

The timetable of many of the pioneering schools showed the inclusion of such subjects as singing, musical drills, and music. Music teaching and learning from then became timetabled affairs done in a specified place called classroom at fixed hours of specified days taught by a special class of people dubbed teachers to a group of community members called students. Music teachers taught music as a curricular subject and evaluated it with specified measures for a standard i.e. marks or grades and certificates to identify those who have 'passed' or 'failed'.

Between 1842 and 1892, all missions' schools taught music as one of the primary school subjects. This was possible because many of the personalities that dominated the social space of Lagos then 'had been trained by the Church Missionary Society of Freetown and had had a solid background of English liberal education with an emphasis on English, study of the Bible and music, before coming to Nigeria' (Omojola, 1995:12). While it can be reasonably assumed that music teaching progressed with the further opening of more missionary schools the number of students who studied music at the time and the extent to which music was taught in the schools would remain uncertain.

From all available evidence, the genesis of European music teaching in Nigeria dates from the establishment of the first school-church in Badagry in 1842.

The foundations for music teaching were solidified in Nigeria between 1859 and 1905 when rudiments of music were introduced on the time-table of some missionary secondary schools and teacher training colleges /pastoral institutions. Notable among these institutions were the CMS Grammar School, Lagos founded in 1859 (the first secondary school in Nigeria), CMS Girls School, Lagos (1869); St. Gregory's College, Lagos opened by Roman Catholic Mission in 1876; Methodist Boys High school, Lagos (opened by Methodist Mission in 1878); Baptist Boys High School, Lagos and Baptist Training College, Ogbomosho (opened in 1885 and 1897 respectively by the Baptist Mission); St. Andrew's College, Oyo and CMS Training College, Awka (opened as teacher training institutions by the CMS in 1896 and 1904 respectively) and the Wesley Teacher Training College established by the Wesleyan mission in 1905. These schools and colleges were contexts for teaching and learning as well as staging of European music concerts (See Omojola, 1995).

The policy of the missionary music education was simple: to evangelize through the teaching and reading of the Bible and singing of European hymns and performance of western music. Hence, music education was used as an instrument of converting so-called "heathen" Nigerians to Christianity and to train them for missionary work. As Boyd sees it:

The church undertook the business of Education not because it regarded Education as good in itself but because it felt it could no longer do its own work properly without giving its adherents, and especially its clergy as much of the formal learning as was required for the study of the sacred writings (and sacred songs) and for the effective performance of its religious duties (Boyd, 1968:100).

The church missionaries quickly discouraged 'heathen' practices and their belief was that 'only by splitting the generations and interrupting the passing on of the cultural life would it be possible to civilize and Christianize' (Rowley, 1972:88). A common policy of the new education was the attempt to teach elements of

Western music culture in place of the indigenous music culture. As Otonti Nduka relates:

...And what about Nigerian music? Time there was when, for instance the only songs taught at school were 'The British Grenadiers', 'Early One Morning', and hymns and anthems composed by European musicians. It was unheard of for anyone to sing native songs either at school or in the church services (Nduka, 1964:152).

The school as an institution that underlies the European social, cultural and economic value system was imported to westernize Nigerians. Its curriculum was made a vital instrument for the implantation of western musical civilization as well as disparagement of indigenous Nigerian music. Its overall objective was to subject the Nigerian modal personality to an abrupt and enforced change. As such products of the school were imbued with the capacity to perpetuate evangelical work, enhance the survival of Euro-Christian musical life in Nigeria, and discouraged to give continuity and update to the indigenous Nigerian musical heritage which they were coerced to abhor and regard as rearward.

Missionary music education programmes were operated in the different ways each of the missions considered fit. If there was any consensus among the missions at all, it was to coerce new converts to accept European music as the 'real music' and to discourage African music. Otherwise, there was lack of coordination among the missions. They had no agreement on a common set of books or repertoire for use, no generally accepted music curriculum for all the missions' schools. There was no uniformity in qualifications for music teachers but they were taught how to teach in newly introduced European institutions and successful candidates received certificate that enabled them to teach. The pupils were of a wide-ranging age and unrecognized different musical backgrounds. The transplantation of Western European music tradition by missionaries into Nigeria brought revolutionary influences on the concept and practice of music in Nigeria.

From 1842 to 1882, the missions established and administered their schools without interference from the colonial government. Mostly financed by foreign

missionary sources and local church members, each Christian mission fashioned a curriculum to meet its own needs that was denominationally inclined, Euro-centrally biased and circumscribed in scope. Nigerian converts were treated to music that was denominationally oriented and coerced into predilection for European music and its accompanying trappings (See Fajana, 1982).

The earliest music education programmes of the Christian missions did not take the interests of the local population into considerations. It was discriminative as only the converts benefited from it. Among the Yoruba, Yoruba Muslims scared of being converted to Christianity if they attend Christian missions' schools distanced themselves from it. The local population suspicious of the Europeans' antics kept a distance from the invaders and continued to protect their cherished traditional socio-musical values and practices

Initially the indigenous people were reluctant in embracing the new religion but its accompanying attractions – school education – and the new opportunities it offered were simply irresistible. Western education became powerful and irresistible with the establishment of schools and colleges that were aimed at stabilizing and accelerating the expansion of Christianity and European culture. Through the church and school European music culture spread among the educated elite like wild fire.

5.1.4 Missionaries, Christianity and music education in northern Nigeria

The accounts of the travelers like Hugh Clapperton, Henry Barth, and others, of Hausaland were public knowledge in Europe, especially among merchants, colonialists and missionary bodies. The glowing reports of scholars, statesmen and religious men about the Islamic-based Hausa civilization lured Europeans to Hausaland. The agitation among the Christian missions was how to evangelize this vast Muslim area of Nigeria which before 1900 they found extremely difficult to penetrate because of its interiority (Turaki, 1999:10).

Ogunsola (1974: 5-10) provides a historical background of missionaries in Northern Nigeria. Missionaries' penetration began with the pioneering work of

the CMS Hausa mission in 1875 but could not advance beyond establishing two stations around Lokoja and the Nupeland, northwest of Lokoja. The main problem was: the Muslim hierarchy in the northern frowned at the Europeans entreaties to force upon them a new religion (Christianity) and the western system of education. The British colonialists too soft pedaled in order not lose control of northern Nigeria to competing European powers. British colonialists however adopted gimmicks to outwit the formidable cultural and religious resistance of northern Nigerians.

Among the missions abroad, Hausaland was declared 'the worst manned mission in the world' (Turaki, 1999:61). Canon Robinson, a traveler who visited Kano in 1894, gave a deceptive account of northern Nigeria and the Hausa people's readiness to accept Christianity. This fostered an illusion that the Nigerians in the north 'would be easy to convert' (Crampton, 1975:36). The missions had little knowledge that northern Nigeria was not an easily definable mission field. It contains two broad-based ethnic groups: the peoples of the Middle Belt (non-Muslim groups) and the Hausa – Fulani (Muslim groups). While the former were united by the ideology of indigenous Nigerian ways of life, the latter relied on unity enforced through the impact of the Jihad and Afro-Islamic heritage as discussed in chapter four. The existing inter-ethnic relationship between these two groups, which the Christian missions and the colonialists had to contend with, was, to large extent, based on religious stratification.

The Sudan Party led by Graham Brooke made a significant missionary entry to the Northern Nigeria in 1890. His group came with the policy of 'cultural surrender' (Turaki, 1999:75) in which members indulged in wearing the turban, learning Hausa language, eating Hausa food and generally comporting themselves like the Hausa in order to facilitate conversion. They adopted the policy because they thought the overt expression of European culture could constitute an obstacle to evangelization. But the policy of cultural surrender failed as the British Foreign Office viewed it with disfavor and the indigenous people regarded Brooke group's cultural gimmicks at best as their own conversion and at worst simply ludicrous' (Gbadamosi and Ajayi, 1980:351).

Christian missionaries and colonialists entered northern Nigeria fully at the same time, roughly after 1900, challenged by the problems of prejudice and discrimination engendered by Islamization policies of the Hausa-Fulani group. The Muslim groups in northern Nigeria were less inclined to adopt the Christian faith than the non-Muslim groups. Among the Muslim groups, the practice of Afro-Islamic heritage progressed unabated while western music made little impact. Among the non-Muslim groups, in few places, the missionaries' stigmatization of indigenous music and encouragement of western music led to abandonment of some indigenous music forms and adoption of European music. The missionaries served as musical models for the non-Muslim Church musicians. Some of the non-Muslim Church musicians were weaned from indigenous musical life and inducted into European musical way of life.

The advent of Christian missions in the mid-nineteenth century ushered into Nigeria an era of tripartite system of music education: the indigenous Nigerian system, the Islamized Nigerian system and the Christian cum western-oriented system. The tripartite system resulted in inter and intra-religious musical rivalry mostly between the adherents of Islam and Christianity. This development had an adverse effect on music education in Nigeria in that the indigenous Nigerian music education, which was for all, was undermined by music education for different groups based on religious beliefs and sects.

4.2 Colonial music education in Nigeria, 1861-1959

4.2.1 The implantation of military band music education in Nigeria

The first European official interference in the affairs of the Nigerian people was with the imposition of an *Oba* (king) on Lagos in 1851. The subsequent declaration of Lagos as a British colony took place in August 1861, during which '300 boys of the Mission Schools led by their missionaries sang the British National Anthem in ceding Lagos to the British colony' (Burton, 1863:126). This may be the first public performance of European music (British National anthem) by a Nigerian choir ever formed by missionaries. It may be the first time that a piece of Western music first filled the air of Nigeria. The choir was

made up of boys because for many centuries, in Western Judeo-Christian myth of creation:

the very voices of women were believed to distract or tempt men away from their ceremonial duties, and singing by women in public places was banned (Robertson in Carignan, 2003:45).

This marked the beginning of discrimination in which musical training were given more to boys than girls in Nigeria. Consequently, the earliest musically educated Nigerian musical elite were predominantly male (See Omojola, 1995).

The whole of Yorubaland by the middle of the nineteenth century was engaged in fratricidal wars. The British administration was entreated by pressures from European merchants and missionaries to intervene in the domestic affairs of the Yoruba towns so that peace, commerce and 'civilization' might thrive. By 1900, the British imperialists had made Yorubaland the Colony and Protectorate of Lagos via the signing of some spurious treaties with rulers of different Yoruba towns in disguise to bring about law and order. The colonialists paid scant attention to education and concentrated more on the establishment of colonial rule. As Omosini writes:

Colonial rule was not accepted with complacency by the African states and peoples. Throughout the length and breadth of West Africa, the indigenous states put up stiff resistance against the alien domination. But the colonizing powers took advantage of their superior military technology (Omosini, 1975:25).

The colonialists' near annihilation of indigenous military forces almost destroyed indigenous musical forms associated with indigenous warriors' associations. The subsequent evolution of European military institutions led to the introduction of military, police, navy and prison band music in Nigeria. It began in 1863 when Captain John Glover founded the Nigerian army with initially 18 strong men allegedly trying to escape from slave dealers. In 1865 the British Government gave it official recognition as Hausa Constabulary. It was designated as the West African Frontier Force in 1897 with initial 2,000 soldiers and re-christened as the Nigeria Military Force in 1956 (Omosini,1975:26). The establishment of the force led to the teaching and learning of military band

music, European musical instruments and music for parades, military functions and official state parties using staff notation. The military offered a good pay and the opportunities to learn music as a trade in the categories of bandsmen and bandmasters.

The first and second world wars helped the growth of military band music in Nigeria. Many Nigerian soldiers learnt music when they were on military campaigns abroad and brought their wealth of military band music to Nigeria after the wars. Military bands playing European military music featured prominently in Nigerian major towns and cities especially during the celebration of annual Remembrance Day in memory of soldiers who lost their lives during the wars. Demobilized Nigerian soldiers taught their kinsmen how to play European musical instruments they learnt when they were in service (McDonald, 2005: pc).

These led to the spread of band music culture in Nigeria. Band music was taught at schools and used for marching parades before the morning and afternoon assemblies, during Empire days, CMS anniversary celebrations, for celebrating at Christian weddings and funerals. Some of the school and church band players later became members of popular music bands that emerged in Nigeria in the post-World war years. The present band music associated with the Nigeria Army was born out of the various colonial military music organizations (McDonald, 2005: pc).

European military musical traditions were of two categories: the field music and the dance band music. The former, consisting of the regimental music and military calls, encapsulates all forms of music that deal with the day-to-day functions of the military. The latter, consisting of the military concert bands and the military dance bands, includes all forms of entertainment music performed for the officers and men of the military; for concerts and social occasions such as sporting activities and dance. Concert band musicians learnt to play strictly according to 'sheet music' (music score) while the military dance band members were taught to play improvisatorially (McDonald, 2005: pc).

Nigerian military bands at their inception were founded and conducted by the British officers. From the 1960s, it became a tradition to send some Nigerian officers - conductors and senior non-commissioned soldiers - abroad to study music at military schools. Some of the products of the European military music training have included James Olubobokun, Wole Bucknor, Bendict Odiase, J. MacDonald and Timothy Eru (McDonald, 2005: pc).

4.2.2 The 1882 Education Ordinance: the beginning of government's participation and continued missionary efforts in music education

The Christian missionaries before 1882 were the sole determinant of the type of formal (school) music education Nigerians received. They put in place various 'boards charged with responsibility of regulating curriculum, teacher training, teachers' salaries, conduct of pupils and teachers, supervision, opening of schools etc' (Okeke, 2001:264). A few individual philanthropists also paid some attention to the needs of music education. But unhealthy rivalry and unsystematically organized missionary activities in the field of music education called for a more nuanced regulation.

Ezewu, Fasokun, Akpe, and Oluduro (1981:13) traced the beginning of the participation of colonial government in education to the visit to Lagos of Commissioner Ord in 1864-65 during which time he observed with surprise that neither the local nor the imperial government made financial contribution to education in Nigeria. Yet the colonial administration wanted schools to produce various categories of minor clerical workers for her use. The observation and the need to have cheap labour motivated the colonial government's participation in the provision of education in Nigeria.

The colonial government in order to guide its involvement in education enacted the first educational ordinance in 1882. The ordinance was applied to the four British West African territories – the Gambia, Sierra Leone, Gold Coast (now Ghana) and Nigeria. The ordinance, among other things, raised hopes of improving educational standards through ensuring effective supervision, enforcing higher criteria of efficiency, increasing educational opportunities by establishing government schools, providing some financial support to

missionary educational effort and encouraging secularization of education (Ezewu *et al.*, 1981: 13).

The ordinance categorized schools into 'Government schools' and 'Assisted schools'. The former were fully maintained and controlled by government. The latter were qualified to receive government aids worked out on the principle of 'payment by result' and subject to favourable reports of the government inspectors. Payment by result was a system of giving grants to schools on a capital basis depending on the performance of pupils in prescribed examinations. The assisted schools were also given grants based on the number of pupils in regular attendance and good organization and discipline of the schools (Ogunsola, 1974:12). The government financial commitment enabled assisted missions' schools to fund their musical instruction instead of relying on proceeds from concerts and donations from philanthropic organizations.

The ordinance made teaching of religion optional in 'assisted schools' and totally prohibited in 'government schools'. The assisted mission schools found this clause of the ordinance unconscionable as the foundation of their educational content was based on Christian religion (Ogunsola, 1974: 13). Music education became unjustifiable only on Christian religious ground. The ordinance called for secularization of music education in assisted schools – a practice that missionaries were less conversant with. This clause of the ordinance seems to have marked the beginning of the conflict between the government and the church in the determination of the content and purpose of music education in Nigeria throughout the colonial period.

Before 1882, the quantity and quality of available teachers varied. Music teachers were of sorts. The 1882 code introduced the certification of teachers and empowered inspectors to conduct examinations that would certify teachers' qualifications (Okeke 2001: 263). Music was one of the examination subjects. The code introduced the possibilities of having certificated music teachers and passing examinations became a goal of music education.

The 1882 ordinance laid a legacy that has since become a big problem in Nigerian music education. 'In daily instruction in schools, emphasis shifted from teaching of subject matter with practical utility to drills in "questions and answers" lecture method and cramming of bare facts. Sound (music) education became synonymous with success in examination' (Okeke, 2001:264). Music teachers began to prepare students for examinations rather than educating them musically in accordance with the needs of their society, a problem that still continues to this day.

The colonial government however had no school where this policy could be put into practice. Hence the colonial government legislation had little effect on the colony (Okeke, 2001:265). The missionaries continued to be guided by two policies: (1) the propagation of the Anglo-Christian life system; and (2) the spreading of the European musical tradition.

5.2.3 The 1887 education ordinance

Some Europeanized Nigerian educated elite in Lagos grew disillusioned with the attitude of European missionaries to them and championed the movement for cultural nationalism. They criticized heavily the 1882 ordinance and agitated successfully for Lagos to be separated from the Gold Coast Colony basing their argument on the uniqueness of Lagos. In 1886, the colonialists separated Lagos from the Gold Coast and made it a colony and Protectorate of Lagos.

This necessitated the enactment of 1887 education ordinance which was enacted to consolidate and amend the laws relating to the promotion of education in the colony. It sought to control the sporadic expansion of education by the missionaries. It created "Assisted Schools" and "Non-Assisted Schools". The former had board of managers that were given money for running the schools while the latter received nothing. The ordinance was mute about the missions but it was obvious that only mission schools could be assisted as only mission schools had board of managers. Private schools came into being and belonged more to the 'non-assisted schools'. Government continued to support the missions' educational efforts by giving grants.

The provision of the code defined various levels of institutions - infant, primary, secondary and industrial schools. This meant that the standards of music instructions required at each stage became progressively higher. The code also introduced four classes of teachers - schoolmasters, assistant teachers, pupil-teachers and monitors. These encouraged mission trained teachers to read and progress from one grade of certificate to another deepening the European music knowledge and skills they acquired. Music educational paradigm became hierarchical and remained the handmaid of the missionaries despite government legislations. The missionaries and their converts continued to subvert the indigenous musical life systems.

5.2.4 Music in the early secondary grammar schools

Above the primary school level, secondary grammar school represents one of the most crucial sectors in the development of music education in Nigeria. As soon as school education was introduced in Nigeria, the educated Nigerians in Lagos began to agitate for a kind of post primary academic education that would enable their children become doctors, lawyers, engineers, civil servants and the like. There was a general awareness among the missions too that education, especially at the secondary level, was crucial to train people for socio-political leadership. The missions' plan was, in the words of Henry Venn - the then Secretary General of the CMS in the 1850s - 'to train a body of natives who may form an intelligent and influential class of society and become founders of a kingdom which shall render incalculable benefits to Africa (Nigeria)...' (Venn to Robin in Ajayi, 1969:199).

Partly in response to the educated Nigerians yearning for post primary education in Lagos and partly in translating the general principle stated above into practice the protestant missions took the lead in the establishment of secondary grammar education in Nigeria. The result was the establishment of the CMS Grammar School now Lagos Anglican Grammar School in 1859.

The early curriculum of the school was wide ranging (See page 5 – 19). Music was a part of the liberal education meant to train the mind by access to a range of different categories of knowledge which could be turned to almost any

exploit. Other grammar schools established at that time – the Methodist Boy's High School (1878) and the Methodist Girls' High School, (1879) all in Lagos - followed similar highly academic curriculum as that of the CMS' (Taiwo, 1980:13) in which music instruction featured prominently. The Christian missions provided the earliest secondary music education in Nigeria which was aimed at producing musically educated Nigerians in the likeness of the Europeans.

In the 1908 education ordinance provision, government expanded its involvement in education to that of establishing schools. Colonial government began to participate in the development of secondary education when it established its first secondary school, King's School, (now as King's College), Lagos to serve as a model in secondary education in 1909. It became the first government secondary school to offer music instruction in Nigeria and remained for many years the only school which consistently offered music to the standard of Cambridge University Senior Local Examination in Nigeria. In the school, emphasis was on Western music content and methods. Fela Sowande picked some musical knowledge and skills at King's College before he went to London to study music. Tunji Vidal notes, while writing on Fela Sowande, that 'by the time Sowande left King's College in 1924 he was so good a pianist that he got a school recommendation which stated thus: 'an accomplished pianist'' (Vidal, 1998:94).

In 1928, Queens College, Lagos was established by the government. Other government secondary schools were later established at Ibadan, Bonny, Benin City, Umuahia and Warri. In these schools literary education was pursued. Music curriculum was tailored to create distaste for anything African music and adore anything musically European.

From 1908, the education Department began to encourage the missions, voluntary organizations and individuals to establish secondary education outside Lagos and its environs. The various Christian missions, through their adherents were spurred to establish and maintain secondary grammar schools in different parts of Nigeria. From 1916 onward educational programmes in

Nigeria witnessed an unprecedented expansion. By 1925 secondary grammar schools in Nigeria numbered seventeen, including Abeokuta Anglican Grammar School (1908), Ijebu-Ode and Ibadan Grammar Schools (1913), Abeokuta Baptist Boys' High School and Uzuakoli Methodist College (1923) and the Dennis Memorial Grammar School at Onitsha (1925) (See Fafunwa, 1974).

Some colonial secondary schools were notable for teaching western music of some sort to their students. For instance, Bode Omojola notes that:

Fela Sowande had his first contact with Western music at St. Andrew's College, (Oyo), and the mission's teaching institute where his father was working as a priest and music was taught. (...) Ayo Bankole's mother taught music at Queen's College, Ede, Western Nigeria. (...) In 1945, Ayo Bankole entered Baptist Academy Secondary School, Lagos where he received music lessons. (...) Samuel Akpabot, at the age of eleven came to Lagos for his education at King's College, a school often referred to as the 'Eton of Nigeria' and where music was taught. (...) Akin Euba later attended the C.M.S. Grammar School (now Anglican Grammar School), Lagos where he continued lessons in the rudiments of European music... (Omojola, 1995:49-60).

Some Nigerian youth took private lessons from literate musicians in Nigerian schools and churches. In Omojola's observation, 'one of the most important achievements of Ekundayo Phillips was that he trained many of the prominent composers of modern African Art Music including Fela Sowande, Ayo Bankole and Samuel Akpabot' (Omojola, 1995:28). Fela Sowande gave Ayo Bankole 'advanced organ lessons'...'Euba had private piano lessons from Major J.G.C. Allen, a colonial administrator in Lagos' (Omojola, 1995; 28, 60).

Other enterprising Nigerian youths continued the tradition of exploiting the prospects for music education abroad beginning with Robert Coker who studied music in Germany in 1874, Ekundayo Phillips who went to London in 1911 'to study piano, organ and violin' and Fela Sowande who went to London in 1934 'to study European classical and popular music' (Omojola, 1995:28,42). In 1952, 'On Major Allen's recommendation, Euba secured a government scholarship to study music at Trinity College, London. There he studied

harmony and counterpoint...composition... and piano...' Akpabot, in 1954, went to London, to the Royal School of Music, to study organ and trumpet. In 1957, Ayo Bankole left for the Guildhall School of Music and Drama, London where he 'studied piano, composition and organ for the G.G.S.M. - the graduate diploma in teaching'. In 1960, Okechukwu Ndubuisi went to London to study music at the Guildhall School of Music and Drama, London where he took some courses 'in piano playing, singing, acting and composition' (Omojola, 1995:50,55,60,71). Other Nigerians who could not go abroad to study music took advantage of correspondence courses and external examinations in Western music offered by institutions in London, including Trinity College of Music and the Associated Board of the Royal School of Music (ABRSM). As Laz Ekwueme notes:

David Okongwu studied privately, teaching himself with textbooks and taking examinations up to Grade VIII (final) of the Trinity College local examinations in music... Felix Nwuba studied privately, obtaining the Grade VIII (final) certificates of the local examinations of music of both the Trinity College and the Associates Board of the Royal Schools of Music...(Ekwueme, 2004:236, 238).

It was the CMS that invited the first overseas examination body, the College of Preceptor, to Nigeria in the nineteenth century. Omolewa (1981:127) notes that 'some Nigerian schools began to enter their students for the College of Preceptor's examinations from the 1880s and it was in 1903 that the Cambridge Syndicate was invited into Nigeria to conduct its examinations and assist in the promotion of Western education in Nigeria'. The College of Preceptor, which examined candidates in various subjects including music, had its examinations in three stages: preliminary, junior and senior. Many of the early Nigerian church musicians must have taken part in the College's examinations.

The Cambridge syndicate introduced its preliminary and junior examinations. For its junior examination level, candidates sat for four literary and four science subjects. Omolewa (1981: 128) notes that, 'two subjects were added to the eight subjects on a somewhat different footing: Drawing and Music. These could not be treated as quite similar in character to the others; yet it was thought desirable to encourage them generally as useful elements in a liberal education'. Music in the secondary school curriculum was as such a "add on"

subject. The independent teaching of music and drawing officially marked the introduction of separating the artistic disciplines of music, dance, drama and drawing (visual arts) according to the rigid Euro-American disciplinary paradigms.

In 1928, the School Certificate examination was introduced into Nigeria with the University of Oxford and Cambridge Boards serving as moderators. Secondary schools in Nigeria began to adopt syllabus of English high schools in the teaching of music. Music was one of the subjects in a fourth group containing other optional subjects like Art, Handicraft, and Housecraft. The colonial government in 1937 decided to use one examination body for the conduct of overseas examination in Nigeria. As from 1938, only Cambridge continued to conduct examinations in Nigeria as a body whose work has been extensive, 'which has shown great willingness to adapt the form and content of its examinations to the requirements of overseas schools' (Omolewa, 1981:130). In 1952, the colonial government substituted General Certificate Examinations (GCE) for the School Certificate Examinations. The GCE was two-tiered: the Ordinary level and the Advanced level. Music was among the GCE subjects.

In 1955, the colonial government established a Local Examination Board, the West African Examination Council (WAEC) that was accountable to the University of London, for the English speaking West African countries. The WAEC took over the conduct of SCE and GCE examinations in Nigeria from the Cambridge syndicate. It was charged to determine the examinations required in the public interest in West Africa, empowered to conduct such examinations and to award certificates that do not represent a lower standard of attainment than equivalent certificates of Examination Authorities in the United Kingdom. WAEC greatly influenced the music curriculum of schools in Nigeria. Its curriculum was modeled on the British's. Its music syllabuses even after independence continued to mimic former colonial ones, which at the secondary school level focuses on training students for academic study of Western music. The WAEC's syllabus of the West African School Certificate (WASC) examination in music up to the 1980s, as New states:

...is the London Matriculation syllabus of colonial days, which is based on an academic study of Western classics and requires recordings and scores generally unavailable in Nigeria. Not surprisingly, very few students attempt it (New, 1980:41).

What that means is that secondary music education programme in Nigeria was Western in form and content and overwhelmingly imitative of the requirements for entry into a British university. WAEC promoted the study of Western music and discouraged the study of the African music tradition in its examinations until very recently.

The colonial educational experiments in Nigeria entered a new phase when the colonialists introduced Overseas Examinations to Nigeria. Music was one of the examination subjects that became the determining factor in the assessment of individuals for jobs or social and political esteem and for entry into all institutions of higher learning (Omolewa, 1981:128). Students strove to pass the British external examinations by memorizing a set of specific information about Western music transmitted to them. This invariably turned secondary school music during the colonial era into a mere bookish exercise aimed at passing British examination in music.

By 1960, the number of secondary grammar schools in Nigeria rose from seventeen in 1925 to two hundred and twenty seven (Adeyinka, 1974:378). In addition to the works of the Christian missions and the colonial government, the rapid growth of secondary grammar schools during the colonial period was enhanced by the various local communities who opened and maintained their own schools.

With the establishment of more secondary schools, the teaching of music spread in the southern parts of Nigeria. But only a few students aspired to offer music at the external examinations which dictated secondary grammar school music curriculum of the colonial period. There was also a general belief among the Western educated Nigerians that higher educational studies outside medicine, law, pharmacy, and engineering were not worthy of the pursuit of anyone of some intelligence. So, many Nigerian students avoided the study of

music. The consequence was that by the time tertiary music education began in Nigeria, there was no steady supply of qualified music students.

5.2.5 Music in the early teacher training colleges

There were three types of post-primary institutions in Nigeria by the opening decades of the twentieth century. These were the grammar schools, the teacher training and pastoral institutions as well as the vocational and agricultural schools. In the early days of western education in Nigeria, the educational structure terminated at the teacher training colleges. There was no music instruction in the vocational and agricultural schools. Music education at the teacher training colleges cum pastoral institutes was stronger than that of the secondary grammar schools. Musical products of the teacher training occupied the upper echelon of the colonial musical set up.

The need for trained teacher-catechists in various parts of the country where the missionaries operated was deeply felt right from the inception of western education in Nigeria. The training of teachers and catechists was based on the apprenticeship system in which children of village Christian converts lived with the missionaries in the missions. In and around the mission residences a new European musical culture developed in which the missionaries served as music teacher educators. Some musically talented converts were recruited as pupil teachers. These pupils' were prohibited from participating in traditional music activities and culprits were dismissed for bringing their "satanicized" and polluted bodies to defile the holy enclaves of the missionaries. Music teacher educators introduced their students to hymns, chants, psalms, canticles, masses, brass bands and other types of Western classical music. Students interested in any western instruments were encouraged to learn them using staff notation. But more emphasis was placed on learning the harmonium and the organ. Apprenticing to the missionary music educators and learning to make and appreciate as well as acquiring how to teach Western classical music was on for decades even after the establishment teacher training colleges in Nigeria.

The first teacher education programme was established in 1859 by the Christian Missionary Society (CMS). 'The Training Institution', as the school was known,

was established at Abeokuta. When the Europeans were expelled from Abeokuta in 1867, the school was moved to Lagos. It was finally moved from Lagos to Oyo in 1896 to become St. Andrew's College, Oyo. In 1897, the Baptist Mission established the Baptist College at Ogbomoso. The Wesley College, Ibadan, established by the Wesleyan Methodist Mission came into being in 1905. Other teacher training institutions were later established in different parts of Nigeria mainly by the missions (See Fafunwa, 1974).

The dominant need for these institutions was to train teachers and catechists for the church, and the curriculum was tailored to meet this need. Prospective teacher-catechists received training in Bible studies and church-school management and administration. To satisfy the musical needs of the church, teacher cum catechists in training were also groomed in the formation and management of various musical groups – church choirs, brass bands, youth music groups and various singing bands. This was meant to prepare them adequately to make music an integral part of the European festivals and church anniversaries imported to Nigeria. Teacher training students were given intensive training in the art of hymn singing and conducting as they were expected to teach both their pupils and adult members of their congregation the singing of hymns and conduct the choirs and other singing groups. The hymn books of the various denominations were the primary textbooks for teacher training colleges in Nigeria. The hymn books also became a model for students wishing to write hymns the European way. As a result, quite a number of competent hymn writers such as T.K.E Phillips, Reverend Canon J.J. Kuti, Rev. T.A. Olude, G. B. Oriere and Nelson Okoli – products of the missions' teacher training colleges - were produced in the southern parts of Nigeria. Some of these hymnologists later produced compilations of their hymns and introduced their students to the art of hymn writing, teaching and performance.

Students who showed interest and demonstrated aptitude in the study of harmonium, organ and any other western instruments were given extra tuition in music literacy and the art of playing them. But because harmonium and church organ were very essential to the church music life, overemphasis was laid on training students to play these instruments to accompany hymn singing. Robert

Coker is recognized as the first musical product of the earliest music teacher training efforts and the first known Nigerian music teacher educator who became a music teacher in the CMS's Training Institution after studying music in England. After Coker, quite a large number of competent organists who showed their prowess in manipulating the instruments were produced in the southern part of Nigeria.

The curricula of the teacher training colleges in Nigeria were adjusted to accommodate the teaching and learning of indigenous Nigerian music when the cultural nationalism of the late nineteenth century caught on. Some of the missionaries had to demonstrate interest in the promotion of indigenous Nigerian music although the earliest Church was still hesitant in recognizing it. In the teacher training curriculum emphasis shifted to a combination of Western and African music. There emerged many Nigerian composers who combined western music theory, western musical forms, chord progressions and four-part harmony with indigenous Nigerian music idioms in choral and organ music. Their efforts laid a foundation for what is now known as Nigerian church music and formed a nucleus of western-derived art music in Nigeria. Christian missions continued to provide teacher education in which the curriculum was designed to meet a definite purpose or policy that the teachers were supposed to be the torchbearers of European religion, musical knowledge, and were to be the obedient servants of the missionaries and colonial masters (See Omojola, 1995).

Although the missionary agencies of the nineteenth century implemented serious music teaching, available evidence indicates that there were some constraints to music curriculum development and implementation. Some of the constraints include:

- Lack of qualified music teachers;
- Lack of interest or enthusiasm shown by the colonial government towards encouraging and supporting the music educational efforts of the missionaries;
- Lack of instructional objectives in music teaching;
- Lack of funds to promote music education;

- Lack of music textbooks;
- Lack of any uniform curriculum in music;
- Overdependence on western music paradigms;
- Under-emphasis on Nigerian music;
- Missionaries' lack of understanding of the oral-aural nature of Nigerian music;
- School music's irrelevance to the students' background;
- The missionary objective of music education for evangelism;
- Lack of music rooms and equipment;

5.3 British colonial educational policies in Nigeria

The Europeans encouraged many schools and colleges in Britain between 1884 and 1891 to advertise in the then Nigerian Newspapers such as the Lagos Observer and the Lagos Weekly Record for Nigerian students who are interested in receiving instructions on music, dancing, painting and sound English education (Echeruo, 1977:25). The colonial government encouraged Nigerians to go to Britain and study western music as a matter of priority. The idea was that future Nigerian musicians of the British schools of music would acquire habits, tastes and thought patterns of the European classical musicians. Some Nigerians went to the British music schools where they were tutored according to the traditions of European bourgeois aesthetics throughout the colonial period.

In 1898, a British government's special committee took a decision that recommended that the British's 'Niger Territories' be ultimately amalgamated (Tamuno, 1980: 395). The British government adopted the policy of gradually amalgamating its various administrative units in Nigeria (Tamuno, 1980:394) to secure central policy and pool of economic resources. She established colonial state in Nigeria by removing all visible Nigerian oppositions through the imposition of British officials who used coercion and diplomacy to outwit the indigenous rulers.

The colonial government in 1899 yielded to the Lagos Muslim's pressure to establish for them schools of their own. She established the first government primary school meant primarily for the training of Muslim children in Lagos where secular education was emphasized. Music was officially excluded from the curriculum of the first government school because of its overt association with Christian missions and the lack of government teacher training colleges to train music teachers without Christian religious undertone. Quranic chanting was encouraged in the Muslim school.

In 1903, an education ordinance was enacted that established a Department of Education for the purpose of administering education in the protectorate of southern Nigeria. The code spelt out rules for the provision of primary and secondary schools in the protectorate. In 1906, the British government merged her territories to form the colony and protectorate of southern Nigeria. The 1908 education ordinance was enacted for this territory which was divided into the western, central and eastern provinces. The code made the general rules that were applicable to the three provinces. The Department of Education was reorganized to cope with educational demands of the expanded territory. The ordinance allowed each of the provinces to experiment on any form of education desired by the local community. The provision of music education became a matter of *laissez faire* in the provinces.

The ordinance stipulated certain conditions for grants to missionary schools established in areas outside Lagos. This encouraged the establishment of schools in other parts of the protectorate. The 1908 code also provided for teachers' certificates, power to forfeit teachers' certificates and the classification of teachers into 'Schoolmaster', 'Assistant Teacher' and 'Pupil Teacher'. The principal teacher (schoolmaster) expected to be certificated, was meant to devote all his time to school duties during school hours. There was a distinction between the teachers whose preoccupation was entirely school teaching and the evangelist-teacher to whom school education was an appendage to evangelization.

The colonial government relied on teachers produced by the missionary schools. Music teacher education, with mere government funding, remained an integral part of mission based education. Teacher training institutions continued to equip teachers to teach music at the infant, the primary and the secondary school levels with its very narrow, very irrelevant curriculum to Nigerian setting. There was a major shift from the production of the church musicians to classroom music teachers.

The 1908 ordinance specified subjects of instruction for each level of education. At the primary school, 'the optional subjects for the boys were history, geography, physical exercises, musical drill, singing, typewriting and shorthand; and for girls, moral instruction, singing, drill and physical training, colloquial English and nature study' (Mkpa, 1986:88). The separate curriculum was meant to produce 'school masters who were to graduate to catechists, deacons and then priests, while girls' schools were established mainly for the wives and fiancées of their male workers' (Ayandele, 1966:286).

At a teacher training institution, the subjects to be offered included 'reading, recitation, writing to include composition, and dictation, English literature, arithmetic to include menstruation, algebra and geometry, history, and geography, hygiene and sanitation, shorthand, drawing, vernacular language, school method, practical teaching, nature study with agricultural work, industrial or manual training, science of common things and musical instruction' (Mkpa, 1986:88).

The code affected an appreciable uniformity in the programmes of the schools. It made music education, albeit as musical drill, singing, and musical instruction, an optional subject outlined for school boys and girls, and for a teacher training institution. Being an optional school subject, music in the estimation of many Nigerian students was low in status.

In Eastern Nigeria, the Catholic Mission predominated. This is not to say that other missions were not established there but the Catholic Mission was the most visible. Significantly, from 1906, Rev. Father Shanahan, embarked on the

plan to take the school to the village. With his other Catholic priests of the Holy Ghost Congregation they dotted the Igbo villages with primary schools and used them essentially as a medium of evangelization. It was through the primary schools that the masses found allegiances to the Catholic Church. To their pupils, Catholic mission's teachers and priests taught mainly tonic solfa for the production of church choirs and recreational school music. In their schools vocal tuition prevailed over instrumental one. This ushered in the production of village choirmasters who became composers of 'native airs'. Some of the 'native airs' composers include Nelson Okoli, Harcourt Whyte, Godson Okara, Ofili Kerry and Uzoma Asiji (Ekwueme, 2004: 223-235). Initially, the Catholic mission in the East placed less emphasis on secondary education.

In 1914, the British government amalgamated the northern and southern protectorates into a country - Nigeria. In 1916, an ordinance – 'Colony and Protectorate: An Ordinance Relating Education No. 50 of 1916' - as amended by Colonial office was passed. This marked the beginning of giving one ordinance for the whole of Nigeria. But this did not result in the establishment of a unified Education Department for the country. Each of the two provinces had its Board of Education. The ordinance introduced the giving of grants-in-aid to voluntary agencies. Grants-in-aid was a system of giving grants to schools maintained by agencies other than the government to help them buy school equipment and to pay teachers' salaries. It reorganized the school system into three types of education: literary, rural and technical. Music was part of the literary education meant to provide cheap musical labours – musicians and music teachers - for the colonial administration.

The 1916 ordinance restricted the missionary activities in the field of education to the southern part of Nigeria. According to Article 13e of the code:

No grant shall be made to any school or training institution which is a Mission or other Christian school or training institution situated in a District of the Northern Provinces in which no Mission or other Christian school or training institution is established at the commencement of the Ordinance (The Education Ordinance No. 50 of 1916).

This ordinance officially served to restrict missionary activities in the field of music education to the southern part of Nigeria. Government established a few schools in the Muslim areas of northern Nigeria; she did not introduce western music education system there so as not to offend Muslim's susceptibilities. In the non-Muslim areas, the main educational aims of the missions (the Southern Interior Mission and the Sudan United mission) were industrial and agricultural (Ogunsola, 1974:10). The missions did not emphasize music education so as not to incur the wrath of the colonial government. Since then modern music education has taken marginal role in northern Nigerian schemes for socio-cultural modernization.

The 1916 education ordinance strengthened the principle of dual control of education between the colonial government and the mission, increased financial participation by government and introduced measures aimed at curbing the mushrooming of schools by Christian missions, voluntary organizations, societies and individual Nigerians especially in southern Nigeria. In terms of school music, the 1916 ordinance revised and expanded the music curriculum. Compared with the preexisting programmes, the prescribed scheme of work for the infant and elementary school showed more demanding Western music content. The required knowledge of the rudiments of western music, vocal exercises and repertoires included in the schools' scheme of work were expanded. There was a remarkable exclusion of music from the secondary curricula for which no official reason was provided (Omibiyi-Obidike, 1987:6).

The economic depression that followed the First World War affected Nigeria greatly. Many European missionaries who left for their country were the bulwark of music education in Nigeria. The teaching of music in Nigerian schools shrunk. The onus fell on Nigerian church musicians, such as T.K.E Phillips, the Rev. Canon J.J. Kuti, Akin George, T.A Olude, Emmanuel Sowande (the father of Fela Sowande), and much later, Nelson Okoli, Ikoli Harcourt Whyte and W.W.C. Echezona, who were already trained by the missionaries to encourage and train a younger generation of church musicians and teachers.

Between the years 1920 and 1959, the British administration specified the aims of education in different documents like: The Phelps-Stokes Reports, 1922; Memorandum on Educational Policy in British Tropical Africa, 1925; The Educational Ordinance, (for Southern Nigeria) 1926; the Educational Policy for Nigeria, 1947. The aims of education as made out in these documents include the following:

- (a) the adaptation of education to native life;
- (b) development of the sense of religion and character training;
- (c) provision of education for women and girls; and
- (d) the teaching and learning of vernacular languages.

The aims were based on the adoptionist theories of the 1920 which advocated that education of Africans should be 'along their own lines'. According to Abernethy (1969:94) this was meant 'to consolidate the British position in Nigeria'. It was envisaged through these documents that African music would be introduced into schools' curricula. Throughout the colonial period, however, all efforts were concentrated on promoting the European music culture rather than the African.

In 1920, the African Education Commission under the sponsorship of Phelps-Stokes of USA which later visited some West-African countries was set up. After the Commission's visit to Nigeria, it expressed 'that the educational policies of government and missions alike seemed inadequate and largely unreal so far as the vital needs of Africans are concerned' (Ogunsola, 1974:75). It criticized the view that 'a curriculum well suited to the needs of a given scale of civilization in one country is not necessarily the best for other groups on a different level of advancement in another country' (Ogunsola, 1974:75). The Commission suggested how education could be adapted to the needs of African society, 'so as to promote its development without causing its disruption' (Ogunsola, 1974:75). The import of the Commission's report is that modern music education must be adapted to suit local needs and environments of the Nigerian people.

After the First World War, there was rapid increase in number of unassisted schools, especially in southern Nigeria. The 1926 ordinance was enacted to enable government control and coordinate the efforts of the various voluntary agencies in the opening of schools, especially secondary schools. Many more secondary schools were established but the teaching of music there was meager. The ordinance did not pay attention to any of the Phelps-Stokes Commission's recommendations. In 1929, the two hitherto separate Education Departments were merged but no uniform style of educational administration developed in either of the provinces until 1939 (See Okeke, 2001:267).

The 1948 education ordinance was the first comprehensive publication of an educational policy and practice in Nigeria. It was primarily aimed at putting into effect the educational provisions of the 1947 constitution of Nigeria which put the country on the path to political independence and divided the country into three regional administrative units – the western, eastern and northern regions. The ten-year development plan for Nigeria was revised and its items regionalized. It also decentralized educational administration by classifying education as a regional service. This led to regionalization of music education in which the provision of modern music education relied on the whims and caprices of the ruling class of a region. The voluntary agencies continued to shoulder the greater responsibilities for music education (See Ogunsola, 1974: 16).

In 1955, the Western Region of Nigeria introduced free Universal Primary Education (UPE) which led to massive expansion in primary schools enrolment and in the number of pupils exposed to music at the primary school level. The same year, it also established secondary modern schools along with other types of post-primary institutions such as secondary grammar school, comprehensive modern schools, secondary commercial schools, technical secondary schools and government trade centres. Music as recreational activity featured in some of these schools as teachers involved some of their students in such activities as choral music, drama, and indigenous Nigerian dances that were presented during the annual schools and culture competitions organized at both local and national levels. In 1957, the Eastern Region initiated its own free UPE. The

educational expansion embarked upon by the two regions further promoted students' involvement in 'cultural activities' which was designed to amuse and enhance the public's enjoyment of music, thereby making school music seem more accessible and fun for students. The shortage of trained music teachers however limited the widespread systematic teaching of music.

In the education ordinance of 1956, the ministry of education was reorganized in connection with a process known as 'integration' (Ogunsola, 1974:56). As a result the Department of Education which existed in the north since 1910 ceased to exist as it was merged with the ministry of education in the south. A new seven-year primary school syllabus was introduced. The former four-year primary followed by the three-year middle school syllabus previously used in the northern region and the 'southern' eight-year syllabus which was broken down into Infants I and II and Standards I to VI were abandoned. Music, albeit as singing, was part of the primary school syllabus.

The movement for cultural renaissance and regionalization of education in Nigeria took place concomitantly in the 1950s. Nigerian nationalists at the helm of affairs in the regions introduced free primary education programmes that attained varying degree of success. The highly politicized educational schemes failed to clinch expected cultural attitudinalization as the ruling elite were unable to divest themselves of the European-based educational thinking and practice they have imbibed. The revivification and advancement of indigenous Nigerian cultural heritage were merely touted while the regions maintained vague separate cultural identities.

In the field of British policy, Curie (1934:363) notes that 'in the educational sphere the theory of laissez-faire reigned supreme'. A basic feature of British colonial policy:

was free scope for private enterprise, a suspicion or mistrust of rigid official control, arising, no doubt, from the absence of clear educational ideas on the Government's part, as well as from lack of belief in education, and a feeling that more important matters demand their time and energy (Mayhew, 1938:39).

Though British policy lacked clarity and certainty, the implication of these views is that her educational policy was determined circumstantially. The British colonial administrator exhibited a measure of indecisions as to what the music education policy in Nigeria should be throughout the colonial period. In different parts of Nigeria, for instance, her music education systems and policies differed. While some of the colonial administrators felt it was necessary to introduce music education in colonial schools others felt that music education is peripheral to their colonial interest. As such, school music education unevenly spread throughout the country was available but not for all. The regional governments inherited the *laissez-faire* approach to education that marginalized systematic music education at the center stage of its politics.

Music taught in schools was bereft of indigenous African music content, thereby making Nigerians attend schools to learn to escape from their musical environment. The curricula represented a partial view of the range of available and possible music knowledge in Nigeria. This partiality disadvantaged and alienated schools musically educated Nigerians by not allowing them to take active part in the creation and recreation of indigenous African music. Music teaching emphasized teaching methods based on an instructional design which regards musical knowledge as both culture and value-free. This view led in many ways to the institutionalization of music teaching as musical processes limited to propositional, notational and verbal mediation solely in the classroom. Throughout the colonial period, the musical knowledge and rich musical experiences from Nigerian students' background and environment were not incorporated into schools and colleges' music curricula. The introduced one-track method of music teaching (in the classroom with talk-and-chalk orientation) did not favour the music learning styles of Nigerian students.

Between 1882 and 1959, ordinances enacted by the colonial government laid the foundations of the Western music education systems in Nigeria. In order to prevent total resentment to the new socio-musical order, British authorities permitted the interaction of Western and African music outside the school system. In Nigerian urban areas, much of the entertainment presented for the colonial audiences was patterned after English music halls. Ballroom dancing,

listening to European classical music, producing English drama and watching English films became a popular fair.

The colonial music education inculcated in Nigerians certain ideological and philosophical mentalities such as the worship of anything socio-musically European. It alienated Nigerian recipients from their musical culture and tradition and created in them the attitude of looking disdainfully on non-European musically educated counterparts and showing of little or no interest in the out-of-school musical lives of their students and the cultures that delineate them. The introduced mass media system and urbanized life styles created high impetus for the performance and appreciation of European pop music among Nigerian youth. European music via the electronic media was allowed to dominate the Nigerian music landscape so that Nigerians could indiscriminately adopt European aesthetic standards. The latent musical powers of most Nigerians were not given vent because of the selective denial of access to the benefits associated with the study of music. Consequently, at independence, music education in schools and colleges had several undesirable features that needed surgical operation.

This is not to deny the fact that the impetus gingered into music education by colonialists created opportunities for some Nigerians to become musically literate and for some more to qualify to serve in the civil service and thereby enjoy a comparatively high standard of living. The colonialists' involvement in education enabled the growth of music in teacher and secondary education, and subsequently post secondary education. It also enabled the growth of urban popular music genres in Nigeria.

British colonial policies in Nigeria with reference to music education in Nigeria may be treated in three phases. The period up to the creation of the Protectorates (1842-1882) is the first phase. The second phase covers the period 1882-1925. The final phase was from 1925 to the granting of independence.

5.3.1 Phase I (1842-1882)

This phase began with the gradual introduction of Christianity and a highly selective western-style system of (music) education in mission-based schools and churches. The missionaries' main aim of music education was to cultivate in Nigerians the kind of musicianship required of civilized persons in European terms, that is, the mastery of European musical thinking and being. Both goals and methods of mission-based music education were influenced by European musical way of life.

By 1880s, the Bible and some European hymns and songs had been translated and sung in Nigerian languages such as Yoruba, Efik, Igbo, and Nupe. For example, Akinwumi Ishola notes that:

The first attempt to record Yoruba poetry in written form was provided by the activities of the Christian missionary workers. The first attempts were poetic writings in Christian hymn form. One of the first collections was Henry Townsend's Yoruba Hymns published in 1848 (Ishola, 1985:9).

Likewise, in 1859 a Yoruba language newspaper intended for evangelism, *Iwe Irohin*, was published. Parallel effort to develop the indigenous music forms were wanting because its performance dynamics were not understood. Brainwashed to regard indigenous music with scorn and condescension, converts living in missionary enclaves or attending boarding schools had little opportunities to participate in traditional music events. They were made to sing European hymns translated into various Nigerian languages when the missionaries realized that converts were not responding well to their hymns in English. The congregation learnt to sing vernacular hymns to the organ/harmonium accompaniments and appreciate choir renditions as non-participating audience. Listening to, writing, singing and playing of as well as coping with western-style four- part harmony were encouraged. Performing by ear and improvisation was discouraged. The first Nigerian schooled elite formed voluntary philanthropic societies that organized and promoted European classical music concerts for pure entertainment or to raise funds for new church or school building (See Omojola, 1995: 18).

The mission schools however trained Nigerian musicians who later became pioneers of indigenous Nigerian church music education. The schooled Nigerian musicians were trained in the use of hymns for worship, how to perform instrumental and vocal items from the classical tradition, especially the music of Handel and Mendelssohn, using staff and tonic solfa notation. They learnt how to perform the European musical items along with plays and poetry of European playwright like Shakespeare. The missionaries, however, generally discouraged all forms of social amusements such as indigenous music making, dancing and theatre works because these were seen as “paganistic”, “evil” and as such immoral. The music education system they introduced created a chasm between community music practices and school music programmes. This is because the missionaries never thought it was their business to establish schools to provide opportunities for the transmission of heathen music cultures. As Anowi (1964:4) observes, ‘If culture was to be transmitted, it was to be Christian culture and white man’s culture’. Thus, the introduced music education system required Christian converts to deny the value of their culture.

At the tail end of this period, a major schism occurred within the Protestant Church in Lagos. The erstwhile cordial relationship, which had existed between the European missionaries, black immigrants and the emerging Nigerian educated elite, broke down due to the racial crisis that engulfed the world then. The educated Nigerian elite who had had peripheral relations with their own people experienced disillusionment and alienation in the hand of their European masters and mentors who denied them a respectable place in the scheme of things. They therefore revolted against the very Western culture that had nourished them.

This led to the establishment of some fourteen-secessionist ‘African’ churches in Lagos and its environs wherein a policy of incorporating traditional African music into Christian liturgy began as an integral part of cultural nationalism. Thereafter, the European missionaries, after some hesitation, were ultimately persuaded to accept and advocate the use of African music in Christian liturgy, as an integral aspect of concert shows and as an important subject in the school curriculum through the adoption of a policy of “tolerance”.

The Nigerian church musicians had to imbibe the art of creating, performing, appreciating, teaching and learning European and Nigerian hymnodies and music. It could be stated that in the entire history of school music education in Nigeria, this period was the only one in which the missionaries somewhat adapted the content and methods of music education to suit the envisaged (church) needs and environments in Nigeria. The missionaries were able to establish the hegemony of western classical and church music traditions and make western music and methods the basis of music education in Nigeria. As such, the level of success attained by school music programme of this period has been the highest so far, albeit an alienating one

5.3.1.1 Missionary activities, Christianity and music education

The missionaries came with the church and Christianity as a historical religion that believes that God decisively intervened in human affairs through the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus Christ to Nigeria. They made converts to hold to the mystery that God is a tri-personality consisting of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost in which the three are at the same time one and separate and yet they are but one God. Jesus Christ, they made believers believe, came and presented Himself to the world as the Son of God, the articulate image of the invisible God. The church considers its lord, Jesus Christ. Converts were made to learn music associated with the tri-personality.

Missionaries see God as always guiding the whole course of human affairs by trusting in providence. To them, since God created the world, He continues to care for it. They claim, as the Lord reigns, history will come to an end, with Christ's return. The divine purpose will be brought to a triumphant conclusion in the last things. Christians have therefore held a linear view of history as a process moving towards a climax predetermined by God. The missionaries imported the European linear mental systems and products, superimposed it on Africa's cyclic-spiral mental systems and products and made their converts to adopt a foreign worldview that rationalizes issues linearly and advances knowledge in linear growth. They introduced their converts into a way of viewing indigenous Nigerian music and music of other cultures and musical genres

different from the Western classical high-art tradition as inferior and of secondary importance.

Although the primary mission of "The Church of Jesus Christ" is to sell Christ to people; to make Christ known so that people believing in Him and following Him may obtain eternal life, the aim of early missionaries was to bring Nigerians into the membership of denominations to which they themselves belonged. Converts were made not merely for Christ but for a highly denominational and sectarian church. The church, highly Europeanized, directed her concern towards a 'civilizing mission' aimed at making Nigerians live and behave like Europeans, than with an 'evangelizing mission' geared to selling Christ and His Gospel to Nigerians. An objective of missionary's music education through Christianity was to induct Nigerians into the European musical civilization.

Christianity is the spiritual aspect of western culture imported to Nigeria. Since its implantation in Nigeria, the Church has made many Nigerians to hold God and the Cross as holy or sacred objects. The Cross in particular has been given a divine significance as a symbol through which God is worshipped and salvation is sought. Christians have been made to believe in the Ten Commandments as having come from God. They have been made to hold the belief in the sole efficacy of written Christianity-based prayers. Indigenous ways of praying were discouraged as rearward. There are countless church songs that Nigerian Christians are made to sing reinforcing in them and imbuing them with these ideas. Missionaries used Christianity to undermine the indigenous spiritual base of people of Nigeria.

The church introduced into Nigeria new cultic patterns, rituals, religious symbols, moral and musical systems. It came to Nigeria with its own set of rituals such as church service (the mass), the 'holy communion' and the fasting during lent. Christians learn to sing differing and appropriate hymns related to these rituals to revere and supplicate the sacred or the holy and to ask for direction, forgiveness, blessing or even vengeance.

The Church came with a moral code in which 'the commitments on the part of the adherents are to an external, definable, and transcendent authority' (Hunter, 1991:44). The Church took the Bible as its only authoritative, inerrant guide. It came with a religion, which basically emphasizes rivalry, self-righteous, the pre-eminence of an omnipotent personal God who can exercise grace even if human beings err or sin. It has an intention for universalism and a vision of an eternity where the good and the evil are correspondingly rewarded. The missionaries aver that they brought to Nigeria the church that presents standard truth for the whole spectrum of life. Christ, it is said, brought to mankind the gospel of peace and love and by this He said that people should know His disciples (Mathew 5:9). Christianity came to repress the spiritual and moral base of Nigerian society by discouraging converts from participating in the making of indigenous Nigerian music.

The church as planted in Nigerian is however by no means unitary. It is extremely denominational. Each denomination shares common beliefs and practices in forming a moral community. Hymns are learnt denominationally and music functions in each denomination as a potent influence in the construction and corroboration of such values as mores, ethical codes, aspirations, hopes, fears, ideals, and all that the people of the denomination at any given time enjoy. The enforcement of the mores is simplified through denominational hymns that make emotional appeals to Jesus' mysterious powers as the all-seeing eye of the spirit world. Composers brought up in each of the denomination's musical way of life are legitimized.

The consequence of these was the emergence of the ethnic variants of European musical culture in Nigeria. The ethnic variant of European musical culture that dominates a particular area of Nigeria depends on the Christian denomination that is dominant in a given area. For example, in Western Nigeria where the Anglican Church is dominant, the translated Anglo versions of European chants, hymns, and songs and adaptation of indigenous musical instruments to Anglo-European sounds and tunings prevail. The Roman Catholic music ethos and aura dominate the eastern part of Nigeria.

But Christianity, as a religious culture with an institutionalized way of doing things, spread to Nigeria through coercion and colonialism. The church in Nigeria came as a religious institution in which the God of other people is regarded as no God and God is projected as living in the church building rather than in the lives of His people. It came with European culture, which was consciously taken as authoritative source of truth higher than or equivalent to biblical authority. The Bible's meaning was therefore molded to fit the priorities and premises of European cultural thought. Music in elitist terms rooted in the European cultures was introduced to provide a framework for legitimizing certain European cultural thought.

Most missionaries offered a little distinction between Christian doctrine and European culture. The church came with European music culture and a developed use of music in its worship, celebration, participation and communication in which most of its services consisted of a collection of words in a prayer book or of notes and words in a musical score – hymn book. Missionaries taught western educated Nigerians that western music and hymns as written are “complete” as such they do not require its performers to improvise or extemporize on the spur. Spontaneity in church music performance became an aberration. Idiosyncratic improvisation and extemporization in western music performance was viewed with disgust. Creative spontaneity was killed in early Nigerian church musicians and school music graduates.

European musical ways of life became dominant through the church. Christmas and Easter festivals are sumptuously celebrated by Nigerian Christians. In the Roman Catholic communities throughout Nigeria, for instance, the feast of the “Corpus Christi” became mandatory annual event with processions, prayer and music after the celebration of the Holy Mass. The Marian Congress, which had originated in Rome in 1854 following a declaration made by Pope Pius IX, also became popular among the catholic faithful.

The church introduced music competitions into Nigeria in which church choirs struggled to surpass themselves in performing European classical music of composers like Bach, Handel, Mozart, and Mendelssohn and theatrical works of

Shakespeare. Music competition that produced joyous winners and saddened losers was institutionalized. Church choirs learnt to see each other as competitors to be destroyed. Church music introduced a culture of rancor among choirs.

The church since its introduction in Nigeria has been a major agent of musical socialization as it deliberately inculcates certain musical knowledge, values and practices into its adherents. This is used by the Church to promote certain ways of music making that encouraged solidarity within each church community. Church music based principally on biblical teachings acts as a kind of 'social cement' that binds church members together and regulates their conduct in society. It has, for example, helped to regulate behaviors and thus shape the personalities of individual Nigerian Christians.

Christianity however did not bring that which is entirely new to Nigerians. Nigerians have been using music anciently to mediate relationship between the various forms of unseen sacred beings such as God, deities, spirits and ancestors which Christianity now hoist as God, angels and saints. Thus the church has merely confirmed the indigenous rational use of music to harmonize the corporeal and spiritual experiences of life; although the church has somewhat uprooted the spiritual disposition and creative originality of its Nigerian adherents.

5.3.1.2 The church's policy of denationalization

The church's initial policy via the activities of the missionaries was denationalization whereby Nigerians were prevented from getting an education in their own cultural, social, religious, scientific, historic and musical knowledge. Missionaries avowed that a convert becomes a good Christian if he/she denationalizes. The church missionaries promoted Christian religion and western education so as to embed Christian faith in their converts for the advancement of western civilization and atrophy of African civilization.

The missionaries made converts to imbibe a belief in European supremacy, despise their ancestral heritage, dress in European-style clothes, pick European

names and drop indigenous ones, live in mission stations away from their unconverted Nigerians, converse in English language, adopt European habits and manners, sing and dance European music, violate indigenous traditions and tabooed the playing of traditional musical instruments. The church divorced converted Nigerian Christians from their culture and the earliest Anglicized Nigerians were ridiculed properly as 'geographical and psychological monstrosities' (Ayandele in Brooks, 1998:403).

Converted Nigerians were denied an understanding of what music is in Africans' term as they were made to stigmatize the indigenous idea of music as a collective and social activity. They were introduced to the European worldview that regarded music as absolute music, which could only be interpreted as musical waves of sound with no extra-musical meaning. The missionaries and their converts formed and lived in their own musical communities which were isolated and segregated from those of the indigenous people's music performances. The indigenous populations regarded as 'pagans' could not attend church music performances and afford exorbitant prices often charged at missions' organized concerts (Brooks, 1998: 402; Omojola, 1995:15).

Converts were thus 'denationalized', rendered impotent to take part in perspicacious and meaningful performance of their ancestor and disempowered to generate shared knowledge. Music education for the masses, designed to energize cultural rootedness, as such was evolved in traditional African society, did not interest the missionaries or their Nigerian converts of the time. Hence the earliest Nigerian music elite wallowed in false music living.

5.3.1.3 The church's naturalization/Euro-Christianization and 'anti-African music' policies

The church superimposed its European music system on Nigerians and summarily condemned indigenous Nigerian music unfit for a new religious (Christian) life. The church, aware of the deeply rooted intertwining of Nigerian music with indigenous religion tried to obliterate indigenous musical way of life so as to perpetuate its own. As such, converts were stopped from participating in indigenous music performances so as to become good Christians and the

use of traditional Nigerian music and its related arts in churches and parochial institutions were discouraged among Christian converts.

The early church presented music as a static or even a passive pastime. Being a church member then meant coming into the company of people whose musical style of life and values were utterly foreign. It meant being dislocated from the ties where one had felt able to develop as a person. The indigenous musical system outside the church persisted unperturbed as negligible sections of Nigerian communities were involved.

5.3.2 Phase II: (1882-1925)

This period was characterized by commercial and trade activities of the European chartered companies in the economic scramble that later turned out to be a colonial and political scramble for Africa. The colonial government imposed a colonial rule over a section of Nigeria and the Christian missions settled within the colonial context. The missionaries and the traders were under the protection of the colonial administration that introduced the system of indirect rule. Lord Lugard's ideas most ably presented the colonial government's policy. Lugard defended the British occupation of Nigeria using as justification the benefits of wealth and civilizing mission in his philosophy of "Dual Mandate":

Europe is in Africa for the mutual benefit of her own industrial classes, and of the native races in their progress to a higher plane. That the benefits could be made reciprocal, and that it is the aim and desire of civilized administration to fulfill this dual mandate (Lugard, 1970:72).

A major policy that guided the British colonial administration was the declaration that that her aim was not to disrupt the pre-existing system of government, but to make it more humane and democratic (Perham, 1960:12). Her policy, as she claimed, was to support the traditional rulers, their councils and their courts, their customs and tradition as far as these were not repugnant to the British ideals of humanity and justice (Perham, 1960:20). In pursuance of this policy, virtually all treaties and agreements the British signed with the different Nigerian people stipulated the abolition of all customs and practices that the British found

objectionable. The British cultural norms overrode Nigerian ones during the colonial period.

The policy of indirect rule led to the use of education and 'Native Administration' to produce serviceable subordinates, in which the emirs and the traditional rulers became mere agents of the British, to whom they had to render proper services and be paid fixed salaries, with specified, different duties and obligations, far from the ones they were accustomed to. The colonial government usurped the power of the emirs and the chiefs. In particular the emirs lost control over the economy of the emirates as the colonialists continued her policies of economic exploitation. Many emirs could not maintain the services of musicians in their courts, and musicians who were previously supported by the courts had to seek for alternative patrons in the emergent colonial urban centers.

The colonial administration in the north signed a pact of religious non-interference with the Muslim rulers - a pledge to support the Muslim rulers and exclude Christian missions from the Muslim areas. She feared that the Christian missionaries being against the Muslim faith if allowed into the Muslim areas might provoke uprising of the Muslim rulers against the British. She was scared that the Christian missionaries and their African converts might introduce bourgeois values into a modern and aristocratic Anglo-Muslim civilization they sought to create. As such colonial education in Northern Nigeria became the handmaid of administration, which sought to create 'by the quickest means available a supply of competent assistants to the administration to take the place of imported clerks and tradesmen' (Vischer in Turaki, 1999:238).

The colonial government introduced dual educational policies for northern Nigeria in which she established government schools in Muslim areas and allowed missions to establish schools among the non-Muslims. This led to the polarization of educational provisions in Nigeria. It took over the control of western education and introduced an education secularization policy. Islamic education received limited official encouragement but flourished unofficially. This enabled Islamized indigenous music education system to thrive with

promise. The government also refused to give free and liberal Western form of education because doing so would amount to the 'transmogrification of the dignified and courteous Moslem into a trousered burlesque with a veneer of European civilization' (Ayandele in Abubakar, 1980:476). Western music education was officially barred in northern Nigeria so as not to introduce the Christian missionaries' dominated music education system. The developed Western-oriented Muslim Middle Class that emerged out of the government schools were made to have aversion to school music in northern part of Nigeria till today.

The colonial government introduced secularization policy that diminished the influence of religious groups from her socio-political organization. Religious thinking, practice and institutions were made to lose social significance. The orthodox churches' influences lessened due to the effect of World War I and the colonial government secularism. Church music that was once relevant became somewhat irrelevant and the church musicians that were once important became little of importance. The process of urbanization was going on too. The urbanizing Nigerian society became favorable to the emergence of *Aladura* churches where policies of Africanization of Christianity and the radical use of African music within the Christian Church were encouraged.

African music entered the "spiritual" churches full-scale and full-blown. Beyond the singing of written and newly composed oral vernacular hymns, the 'spiritual' churches incorporated dancing and drumming for worship. They featured 'praises' and 'choruses' that are deeply influenced by local popular music like highlife, *juju* and *fuji*. Musicians of the 'spiritual' churches learnt how to make music that can enhance church ceremonies that 'included features of an African type such as spiritual healing, exorcism, divination (i.e. prophesy) and possession (by the Holy Ghost)' (Asimeng in Collins, 2004:410). Some of the "spiritual" churches introduced their musicians to playing church music using a mixture of dance band and brass band instruments such as guitars, trumpets, saxophones, trombones, and bongos in combination with African musical instruments. The "spiritual" churches legitimized African music in the church and allowed the congregation a high degree of participation with the musicians.

The emergence of Nigerian urban communities where the capitalist, cash economy dominates stimulated the growth of urban popular music. Nigerian pop musicians used the flourishing tradition of Nigerian social and festival dance music to assimilate European derived popular dance forms and establish a Nigeria night club music culture. The local Christians in Lagos frowned at the early forms of popular music. However, Waterman (1990: 39) notes that 'the use of the tambourine-like frame-drum, rather than the "pagan" carved drums, made *asiko* (a pan-African, popular music style played on guitar, accordion, musical saw and frame drum) acceptable to the local Christian of Lagos in the early 1900'.

The government gave grants that helped the missionaries to carry on educational work. The missions and the government tried to cooperate in doing educational work. The colonial government used its few schools, as model of what a good school should be for the missions. The aim of the western education partially shifted from the purely religious to the preparation of a certain number of minor administrative personnel and middle class clerical assistants. She aided the missionaries in making the foundation as well fundamental knowledge of the school music extraneous in concept and content. Babs Fafunwa (1982:20) describes the school curriculum as 'bookish and examination oriented'. The collaboration between the Christian missions and the colonial government restricted school musical activities to the southern part and non-Muslim areas of the north. Musical activities sponsored by the colonial government to entertain colonial audience became common in almost all Nigerian urban centres.

The European colonialists in this phase encouraged the inquiring activities of many scholars and researchers particularly the missionaries, colonial administrators, anthropologists and comparative musicologists whose main duties covered various aspects of African culture and music. Their findings were sent back to Europe not only for documentation, retrieval and archiving but also for satisfying the curious interest of European reading public. This initialed a

process of investigating the African and African music from European perspective. Some African musical knowledge became available in Europe.

However, not many of the western scholars that came were cut out to make a meaningful study of African music culture because of the widely held but largely unexamined preconceptions about Africans and African music. Many formulated the study of indigenous African music as a way of keeping colonialism and imperialism in place by emphasizing that it is 'primitive' and 'inferior'; that African musical way of life needed the developmental enlightenment of the European. Many engaged in spurious comparison of traditional African musical data with modern Western ones. Indeed, the oral-aural nature of African musical tradition was a barrier to the understanding of its life and diagnosis by western scholars. Ignorance of the basic principles and practice of African music led to the formation of certain Western opinion, admixture of factual and bogus ideas, about African music knowledge.

5.3.2.1 Lagos elite's policy of using music as symbols of status and culture

Lagos and other Nigerian coastal towns by the second half of the nineteenth century hosted a sizable large population of British expatriate civil servants and freed slaves notably from Sierra Leone and Brazil who had acquired some form of Western education and culture and lost some contact with indigenous African music. The settlers' need to nurture a taste for European concert music they had developed generated a desire 'to demonstrate an interest in and appreciation of music and theatre in so far as these were symbol of status and culture' (Echeruo, 1981:357). The elite formed a number of sporadic voluntary philanthropic societies for the promotion of music and theatre that were Western in content, form and structure. 'Black Christians', Bender notes:

became the nucleus of new, native elites, willing, on the one hand, to conform servilely to their mentors' way of life, while on the other hand, considering themselves the chosen ones, surpassing their own people, who persisted in "the darkness of ignorance." (...) They organized concerts, social dances and similar festivities. Following British models, drama clubs performed plays, often on Biblical subjects. Theses plays were frequently intended

to parody and ridicule traditional culture...choral societies practiced English melodies (Bender, 1985:7).

One of the earliest societies the elite formed was The Academy, which organized the first European concert ever to be held in Lagos in 1861 (Gwam in Omojola, 1995:12). Members of The Academy included top Lagosians like J.A. Otunba Payne, Bishop Ajayi Crowther, Robert Campbell, Charles Foresythe, J.L.P.Davies and others. Between 1861 and 1910, other societies like The Anglo-African, The Philharmonic, The Lagos Glee Singers, The Lagos Espirit de Corps, The Brazilian Dramatic Company, and The Mechanics Amateur Dramatic Association among others emerged to cater for the recreational needs of their members. Members of these societies took steps to increase their knowledge of Western music. They provided music education for the newly converted Nigerians in their churches and schools.

Some of the Lagos elite studied music privately as aristocrats who had time to spare. Others encouraged and offered converts immense opportunities for formal musical training in schools and colleges so that they could learn to present elite, written music in concert halls and earn their living as concert musicians. Emphasized was on learning to read and write music as well as the theory and history of European classical heritage. This was aimed at developing westernized Nigerian musical minds and practice.

The need for elite music making in urban areas of Lagos motivated the building of concert halls based on the European models in which European classical music could be learned and performed. Concerts were organized either to raise funds for new church buildings or for pure entertainment or to commemorate important high society events that took place in newly built concert halls like the Philharmonic Hall, (later known as Phoenix hall), the Glover Memorial hall, church halls and schoolrooms with high priced tickets to fence off the local population and poorly remunerated Nigerian workers.

Concert promoters, such as Robert Coker and Dr. Nathaniel King, who had had some experiences in European classical music concerts promotion, tried hard to keep concert items within the imitative paradigms of the European practice.

European and Nigerian concert musicians collaborated in performing concert music intended to promote European music culture. A leading organist/pianist of the period was Robert Coker, popularly referred to as the Mozart of Africa - who became famous for his annual Handel Festival christened "Coker Concerts". Nigerian students who attended missions' schools were trained to enjoy music for music's sake as well as to glorify the composer for his work of genius.

The Lagos Press provided coverage for these high society activities and nurtured a cream of newspaper critics who often put premium on the need to uphold very high standards in the performance of European music in Nigeria (Echeruo, 1977). The reception of European musical influence made some bourgeoisie Nigerians to believe in the superiority of European musical practices. As such, the earliest attempts to Africanize European concerts were rebuffed by the Lagos Press. As an editorial opinion of the Lagos Observer of March 2, 1882 states:

The object of every performance should be to elevate the moral and intellectual tone of the masses rather than pander to low and vulgar tastes (Lagos Observer, March 2, 1882).

Africanizing the European classical heritage was regarded as pandering to the "primitive". Oppositions to the Africanization of the classical heritage were enormous. 'The Ibadan Choral Society' defied the oppositions in its first concert on December 29, 1886. It attempted the Africanization of European music successfully. Its concert succeeded in attracting a large number of Ibadan people and it was reported that many paid extra amount just to have a seat at the concert (Echeruo, 1977:45).

Some churches complemented the concert activities of the philanthropic societies. For example, the Catholic mission introduced and promoted concert as a means of evangelization. As Ogunbiyi notes:

Faced with the complex challenge of having to conduct church business in Yoruba to a predominantly Yoruba-speaking community and a Portuguese-speaking Brazilian emigrants group, in an English-speaking colony, the French order of Catholic priests (Societes de Missions Africaines) which arrived in Lagos in 1867, was compelled

to rely on the power of the theatre for a more effective communication. So that from 1881 when the French priests founded St Gregory's School, to the end of the century, annual end-of-year performances were held (Ogunbiyi, 1981:18).

The concert performances organized by the French Order of Catholic priests were used as tools for promoting catholicism. Sectarian concerns dominated the Catholic Church's concerts. Other missions like the CMS grew suspicious of the catholic's concert activities. As Echeruo states:

Soon after the Catholic mission built St. Gregory's infant School, they were (sic) attacked by the C.M.S. mission on the grounds that the intention was to attract Protestant converts to the Catholic faith through the regular concerts; the argument was that the regularity of the catholic concerts was intended to win converts to Catholicism (Echeruo, 1981:358).

From the 1880s onward, concert performances became mediums of propaganda by various contending denominations. This constrained the protestant church to experiment with indigenous materials in the church and concert shows. Some Yoruba, who had been trained as missionaries in Sierra Leone and could still speak and understand Yoruba language experimented with juxtaposing European and Yoruba culture at concert shows. Bender quotes a newspaper review of the activities of the Yoruba missionaries that:

European and Yoruba culture met in a particularly evident manner at a concert in 1898, given by the Abeokuta Choral Society under the direction of Reverend Olubi of the Church Missionary Society ...The first part of the concert consisted of Handel's "But thou didst not leave my soul in hell," translated into Yoruba by the Reverend E. M. Lijadu. Mr. Lufadeji sang his own composition *O ye ka fope f'Olorun*, and a piece by E. Sowande of Ebute Metta was performed on the harmonium. The greatest success of this part of the concert was a Yoruba translation of Evangeline, sung by Flora Wickliffe. The second part of the programme was presented in English. It consisted of the third act of Julius Caesar, played by J Akinanmi. The highpoint of the evening, however, was a Yoruba version of The Merchant of Venice, performed by D.O. Lijadu, J.Peters, J Adegun, J. Ephraim, and others (Bender, 1985: 76).

In the post 1880s, the Africanization policy of the Nigerian elite led to the introduction of indigenous musical materials to the concert stage form. The church-school on its own developed a new music form known as “musical entertainment”. This evolved, much to the chagrin of the nineteenth century Europeanized Nigerians. The “musical entertainment” consisted of the use of native airs to narrate Biblical stories such as the Birth of Christ, His Nativity and His Crucifixion. It fore grounded today’s contemporary folk opera. Musical entertainment was used as part of the socio-religious activities marking the celebration of festive period such as Christmas, Easter, or Harvest. Though the musical entertainment was often filled out with Nigerian songs and dances that were easily learnt by students, the church never forgot its “civilizing” mission.

Church-owned schools and colleges sought to educate for entertainment as recreational school music became the main content of music education. Famous practitioner-teachers of the musical entertainment were A.A. Layeni and A.B. David. Partially from “the musical entertainment” and the indigenous *Alarinjo* theatrical practices, Yoruba Opera (also called Yoruba Traveling Theatre) emerged.

5.3.2.2 The emergence of the African church and the policy of cultural nationalism

The closing decade of the nineteenth century witnessed the emergence of the movement toward cultural nationalism which questioned the dominance of European culture. Mission-educated Nigerians launched a policy of affirmation of traditional African culture by staging a revolt against the very Western culture which they had learnt to prize.

They turned towards their ancestral cultural heritage for renewal of pride and saw possibilities that they might have something to learn from the indigenous culture they learnt to denigrate in the church and school. They reasoned that their indigenous culture should have a place in Christian liturgy and impressed it upon their European colleagues that the culture of their forbears demands a more positive approach and deeper respect in the church and society. At first

the European missionaries felt uneasy about what was happening but eventually when schism occurred within the church they concurred.

Before the schism, many discerning Nigerian converts had noticed some problems with the imported church music. The European hymns in vernacular and sung to European tunes had conflict of intonations. The translated religious texts were considered good if they fit the meters well. The texts of the imported hymns did not present life as Africans understand it and the linguistic tones of the translated hymns obscured the meaning of text in indigenous Nigerian languages. The imported church music was not intended for dancing; hence its use in worship did not encourage the total involvement of Nigerian converts with the new religion.

There emerged a sect - the African Church - upon the schism where a policy of adapting the imported Church liturgy and music was pursued. The African church made strenuous efforts to adapt the imported liturgy to suit the Nigerian environment. The sect encouraged a few of her musically gifted members to learn and teach others techniques of creating new Africanized church music. Techniques used in creating the new form church music included: the creation of melodies that fit intonation of sentences used in the prose sections of the Christian liturgy akin to the indigenous chanting modes; the adaptation of existing indigenous Nigerian melodies to Christian lyrics; the creation of new melodies and new texts based on Biblical stories and Christian way of life using indigenous musical forms like the call and response, the theme and variations as well as the thorough-composed style sung in unison to the accompaniment of the organ.

Consequently, the African church musicians turned some traditional (oral) African music into literary form. Both in and outside the African churches, nationalistic musicians made the indigenous hymnody they had written popular. Some forms of traditional African music were not only incorporated into the Christian liturgy but also made an integral part of schools music lessons and concert activities. It became necessary for choirs and soloists who wanted to remain relevant to expand their repertoire to include written African songs.

Written music began to shape a form of historical consciousness on different aspects of Nigerian culture - identity, politics and religion.

Nigerian intellectuals created new contexts for orally based African music. This ushered in the interpenetration of musical orality and literacy in Nigeria. Both new and old churches turned music into a vehicle of propaganda among themselves while the missionary-educated Nigeria elite combined oral and written African music to confront the hegemony of the European missionaries. 'Around 1902', Alaja-Browne (1981) says 'Yoruba musicians started composing original tunes to Yoruba hymns'. From thence, many Nigerians have written in tonic solfa or staff notation, compiled and published a host of hymns as musical resource materials. Some of the pioneering ones include J.J. Ransome-Kuti's *Awon Orin Mimo Ni Ede Ati Ohun Wa* (sacred songs in our language and intonation); A.T.Ola Olude's *Mayokun* (lit. provider of full happiness) and Yoruba hymns and Yoruba wedding music; T.K.E Phillip's *Awon adura kukuru ati idahun won* (Versicles and Responses); G.B. Oriere's *Imole okan* (heart's light). The African churches, in the nationalistic spirit, also produced some volumes of hymnals: the Hymnal of Native Baptist Church (1906), the Hymnal of West of Africa Episcopal Church (1913), and the Hymnal of United Native African Church (1914). Important contributors to these hymnals included A.K. Ajisafe and J.W. Vaughan. The African church movement also evolved a dramatic tradition called 'native drama' which blended European and traditional Yoruba theatrical elements. A famous pioneering native dramatic work was "*King Elejigbo*" by D.A. Oyedele. Churches formed dramatic organizations that provided experiences in learning native drama.

The hallmark of the indigenous hymnody created by Nigerian music intellectuals remains the writing of music with correct intonation as it does not involve much aesthetic innovation and creative experimentation. The composers' strict adherence to the tonal inflection of the texts however restricted their creative flair. The composers did not, for example, learn to see anything good in the use of traditional vocal polyphony but continued to prioritize European harmony as something inherently superior to the indigenous type. Because of their singular failure to explore deeply the indigenous musical resources, their efforts have not

had spectacular effect. The indigenous hymnody, Euba (1992:49) notes, 'did not attract many Yoruba converts. For one thing, the church remained staid and genteel'.

This repertoire, for its writtenness, still dominates music education in Nigeria. Since the importation of the European hymns and the creation of the indigenous hymnody, the music teachers in church-schools have placed little emphasis on the teaching and learning of music outside the church and school. Emphasis in the teaching of music was placed on the European church music and the indigenous hymnody. Since the creation of this indigenous hymnody, there has been a tendency among music teachers in Nigeria to prioritize written music as something inherently superior to music of an oral tradition.

5.3.2.3 The *Aladura* movement's policy of Africanizing the church music

Toward the end of the 1920s, the nationalistic fervor of the African churches slowed down. Spirituality also waned in the church. The general upheaval and pestilence that followed the First World War caused many Nigerians to seek alternative route to relevant spiritualism. There emerged in Nigeria an indigenous movement, *Aladura* 'the owner of prayer' churches, which combines prophesy, possession, baptism and healing to regenerate age-old collectivities. The movement exists under denominational names like the Cherubim and Seraphim, the Church of the Lord, the Celestial Church of Christ, and the Christ Apostolic Church. It adopted a policy of Africanization in its attempt to attract both the grassroots Yoruba of the interior and the coastal civil servants.

It infused several African elements into the imported Christianity and gave it an African outlook to ensure its proper assimilation. This movement for example allowed polygamy, the practice of traditional Yoruba medicine and maintained a basic belief in divine vision and prayer. It adopted a traditional African life world that sees music as essential in socializing members into spiritualistic conceptions of existence.

The movement sang European hymns with Yoruba texts without bothering about the conflict of intonations, and borrowed tunes freely from folksongs,

secular songs as well as popular recreational music. It also developed original hymns in which both indigenous and European musical influences were blended innovatively for use in church music. It allowed the use of certain musical instruments like the *bembe* (one of several Yoruba double-headed drums), the *samba* (a quadrangular, wooden-frame drum introduced by Brazilian returnees), *agogo* (bells), *sekere* (rattles). It initially frowned at the use of the *dundun* and the *bata* because of their overt association with traditional deities. It now has a favorable disposition to use of the former in its music making than the latter.

The indigenous musical instruments are combined with other Western musical instruments like the organ, the brass instruments and the guitars. Members of the movement are tolerated to freely sing, clap, and dance during the performances of its musical forms. The *Aladura*'s dance and drumming help to generate in the church an African religious environment similar to that encountered in the traditional worship situation in which 'mass musical cognition through active participation is engendered' (Nzewi, 1998: 458).

Music in the *Aladura* churches is taught and learnt aural-orally. The worshippers are free to react to sermons, songs and rhythmic beats with spontaneity and the music makers are giving ample room to improvise. Church members know music by participating actively and creatively in its making. But music associated with the *Aladura* movement despite its popularity finds no place in schools and colleges curricula in Nigeria because it follows an unwritten tradition.

5.3.2.4 Colonialists' policies of westernization, industrialization and urbanization and music education

African societies have experienced unprecedented changes through the colonialists' policies of westernization, industrialization, and urbanization. The colonial regime was imposed. Western patterns of consumption were transferred, western lifestyle and tastes were acquired, the profit motive and the materialist greed for economic development were internalized. Colonialists established structures and institutions that shape the attitudes and behaviours

of many Nigerian people. Western system of education with well laid down curricula that prescribe new norms and rules of conduct for Nigerians was introduced. The colonialists imported the Western music education system to Nigeria in disregard of Nigerian indigenous music knowledge systems which were perceived to be inferior. They introduced the rigid compartmentalization of the creative arts into music, drama, dance and drawing in education and professional practices, and did not accord essentiality to all these categories of the creative arts. Exotic western-oriented music knowledge systems permeate the entire spectrum of the Nigerian school education curriculum. Western music education became a powerful weapon of inducting school educated Nigerian into European musical life.

The colonialists embarked upon extensive promotion of Western popular music programmes and used major forces such as mass media and live popular music shows to shift Nigerians attention from the existence of the indigenous Nigerian music. The colonialists supported Western popular music which encapsulates Euro-American aesthetic values, socialization, traditions, economic arrangements and dominant discourses on entertainment and information in Nigeria. The mass media were used not only to present the images of western popular music as transcending geographical and cultural circumstance but also to make it enthralling aspects of social life for many Nigerians. As such, Nigerian children and youth are being imbued with the idea that Western popular music constitutes the basis of entertainment on global scale. Through a mixture of articulation, imposition and collaboration western popular music has been entrenched in Nigeria to displace indigenous Nigerian music forms. It was meant to herald the demise of indigenous music in Nigeria: to subvert and pre-empt the revitalization of the interactive, the festive, the performative, the commemorative and the inventive forms of indigenous Nigerian musical activity. The pervasiveness of western popular music in Nigeria is not only alienating and undermining Nigerian musical diversity but also imbuing many Nigerian with cynicism towards Nigerian music forms.

Western systems of knowledge were used to suppress those of Africans. The school systems based on western ideology and models were imported into and

implanted in Nigeria. A music education system that undervalues school's role in nurturing Nigerian students' self-esteem was introduced. Nigerians were made to imbibe the ideas that values relative to western classical music are universal. The idea that artistic seriousness is not compatible with social function was introduced along with the view that certain few are naturally endowed to perform and make sense of music.

Outside the school, many Nigerians continued to make indigenous Nigerian music. Some Nigerians too who came in contact with Western music culture were unable to abandon the indigenous music culture completely. They acquired as much as they could from both indigenous and western musical knowledge and practices. As such, the school and Nigerian communities have entered a long process of pulling the Nigerian child in different directions. There arose a situation in which many highly educated Nigerians are torn between two cognitive and cultural worlds, neither of which they fully comprehend and nor identify with. The legacies of such tensions are still characteristic of the Nigerian music life today.

The colonialists in their efforts to effect economic change introduced a policy of industrialization to achieve economic development. The division of labor as a way of structuring wage labor markets was introduced. Music labor became what took place in the church, concert hall, nightclub, school, theatre, and stadium. Many Nigerian families seized to revere music making in the home front and resort to mere music listening and passive performance viewing via the radio, cassette player, television and compact disc player. Many Nigerians imbibed the Western idea that music job is excluded from the domain of social life rather than as socio-technological process. This led to a situation in which the differentiation between music labor and leisure are categorically marked and acknowledged.

Many urbanized Nigerians were made to regard music as merely an entertainment, a diversion cut off from the political and economic environment which sustains it, and in which it develops and transforms. Music making become a leisured activity taught only to those who were to earn a living as

musicians or educated elites with time on their hands. Music making begins to function less in what many urbanized Nigerians do to keep alive. The disconnection of music from the socio-political and economic spheres of life in modern Nigeria provides an overarching reason for the curriculum crisis in which music finds itself within school education in Nigeria.

Waged musical jobs that vary according to what is being produced musically emerged. Music performers became the self-employed as they began to earn a living by playing music. For example, a contemporary Nigerian 'pop' musician, in an urban environment, only compo-performs for whatever purpose or patron who could pay him/her a (fixed) fee and 'spray money' on stage. Often, his job is to use his art in humoring the whims of individuals in the society who could pay a fee. His jobs might also be to make music for tourists or people who frequent hotels, bars, and restaurants at leisure for relaxation and entertainment.

The colonial experience initiated Nigeria into an industrialized society in which occupations are highly structured and specialized. There merged a new attitude to music work and new organization of music work. Saleable musical skills and knowledge are gained in and outside the school settings. The colonial economy expanded and generated demands for all kinds of skilled musical personnel ranging from teachers, performers, composers, instrumentalists, session men and women, studio engineers, sound engineers, music contractors, song writers to music producers and marketers.

Waged musical labor has generated a system in which musicians are ranked as amateurs or professionals from the western perspectives. An amateur is a musician who combines musicianship with other forms of occupation and the arts. The professional is a musician who has the technical and specialized bodies of theoretical and applied knowledge associated with musical practice. As such the indigenous life systems are said to produce the amateurs while the modern Nigerian society created by western education and civilization produces professional musicians that follow no other cognate professions.

Many Nigerians are now propelled by the ambition to make fame and earn a living. They join the commercially oriented pop music industry which uses a modified indigenous apprenticeship system for training of its practitioners. For example, if a young person wishes to join a dance band group to learn an instrument, he begins by selecting a group that has the instrumentalist he admires. If he is lucky to be taken on by the group, he attaches himself to his mentor and starts to learn through performance. He may choose to live with the mentor or come from his home but he is expected to be with the group from time to time participating in all its activities. The flexibility and adaptability of the indigenous music apprenticeship system, has enabled many Nigerians to acquire a large variety of indigenous and foreign musical skills.

Colonialists also introduced into Nigeria occupational ranking in which non-manual occupations rank higher than manual ones. In Nigeria, for example, lawyers rank higher than musicians, composers rank higher than performers, vocal bandleaders rank higher than instrumentalists because occupational ranking in Nigeria is governed by the Western value system. And, because Nigerians have imbibed the idea from the West that music is merely entertainment, a diversion, cut off from the political and economic environment which sustains, and in which it develops and transforms, they have come to view music as socially insignificant and impotent and musicians unimportant to the ongoing process of modernization.

The injection of British colonial rule and economy as well as western type education into the ingenuous Nigerian social life led to a rapid urbanization of many Nigerian towns and cities. The colonial government put in place a new transportation system (rail, road and ports), a market oriented economy and a new network of administrative centers which did not coincide with age-old centres of power and influence.

A significant colonial government's urbanization policy is embedded in the Township Ordinance of 1917. The ordinance did not only class Nigerian towns and cities into major and minor urban centres, it also formed the basis for the distribution of what Mabogunje (1968:113) describes as 'governmental

amenities' (modern social amenities). The fact is, modern social amenities are often found only in modern government administrative centres. Such amenities include pipe-born water and electricity supply, hospitals, schools and colleges, radio and television stations.

The provision and concentration of such modern amenities in some favored urban centres to the almost total exclusion of the rural communities engender the escalating phenomenon of migration of Nigerians from minor to major urban centres and from rural areas to both kinds of urban centres. The rural-urban migration indulged in by many Nigerians with any measure of Western education has led to the progressive impoverishment of cultural life in the rural communities. The ratio of young people who are to sustain traditional Nigerian musical practice has diminished in the rural areas as many of them moved to urban centres to savor modern ways of life. The organizations of much traditional music, festivals, dances and ceremonies have continued to dwindle in the rural Nigeria.

Over the years, the rural-urban migration has created a high incidence of unemployment, marginal employment and begging. This is consequent upon the low absorptive power of the centres that are unable 'to absorb the influx of immigrants physically and psychologically' (Osoba, 1969:53). Many immigrants in the urban areas with the musical skills and knowledge they brought from the rural communities disregarded their low western educational attainment and turned to pop music industry that flourishes in Nigerian urban environments.

Some attached themselves to their favorite practicing pop music exponents from whom they picked up 'vamping' knowledge of Western musical instruments of their choice. Others who had been 'fortunate' in learning to play one Western musical instrument or the other in school brass bands or colonial military outfits, also teamed up with other fellows in forming pop music groups that thrive on the earning from night club engagements, private engagements and productions of disc recordings.

In the urban areas, many immigrants faced not only frustrations resulting from problems of housing, gainful employment and adjustment to their new environment but also a crisis of identity. As Osoba and Fajana suggest:

It was the search for identity in an environment, which they considered essentially hostile and inhospitable that drove some of the 'stranger' elements in Lagos (like the Ibibio, Igbo, Urhobo) to form in the 1930s the ethnically based and oriented 'progressive' unions, which later spread all over the country (Osoba and Fajana, 1980:590).

The 'stranger' elements in urban areas formed music and dance clubs to negotiate and assert their ethnic identity. The clubs were primarily conceived with socio-cultural orientation to provide a forum for coming together for important events such as weddings and burials of members, performing music at various holidays and for self-help projects. The organization of town union music ensembles often reflects sex, age, occupations and special interest. Town union clubs use the contexts of music making as a cultural medium to articulate their identity. Town union members in the contexts of music making learn to draw life from their community's music and performance system and borrow from other music cultures including the European to transmit and transform their community's musical heritage.

Urbanized Nigerians, who are less conversant with the reservoir of cultural and musical heritage the rural Nigerian environment embodies, get informed in the musical and cultural practices of their rural base by joining urban music ensembles. In joining a group, a new entrant must demonstrate his knowledge and skills of his town's culture and music through singing and dancing before an appointed committee of recruiters. A person may belong to as many cultural groups as he deems fit. In the 1950s there were some Nigerian schools and colleges that encouraged performance of and participation in traditional music making for 'cultural week shows'. These often make do with whatever musical ideas they could garner from the school's environment.

Urban groups often engage renowned indigenous musicians from their towns to give them expert knowledge and skills for a period of time for which the

experts are well paid. Alternatively, a group may explore the skills and ideas of a visiting guru to exchange and update their musical ideas. Knowledge and skills gained are reused in expressing old and new experiences of life. In this way, the unions not only played a very important role in the transmission and transformation of Nigerian musical heritage during the colonial era but also continue to do so since independence.

Some immigrants in the urban areas only find solace in joining schismatic Pentecostal Christian sects, like the *Aladura*, which proffer them seemingly quick magical solutions to their socio-psychological problems that they cannot unravel otherwise. They often take their musical traditions into the church, introduce African music behavior, idioms and cultural wisdoms into church service, learn to sing church hymns and play some western musical instruments associated with the church. They use the indigenous musical heritage to domesticate the imported ecclesiastical postulations. Music made in the contexts enables Nigerian Christians to prove their Christian identity and a Nigerian identity at the same time.

There has been a general trend to go more spiritual and christianly in Nigeria. This has led to a remarkable growth in the number of modern churches (especially the protestant spiritual, charismatic, Pentecostal and “born again” ones) that provide a more individualistic approach to religion than what is available in traditional Nigerian settings. These churches use dance bands for worship and outreach purposes. Music is used to combat witchcraft accusations, cast out devils, combat anxieties and paranoias, which have increased remarkably in the past few decades due to the stresses and strains of class stratification and the break-up of the extended family in Nigerian urban centres.

These churches encourage their members to avail themselves the opportunities of learning to perform gospel pop music to sustain their use of live-format popular band music. Pop oriented music teachers are hired or church members who are pop musicians are approached to help in teaching pop music systems to interested church members. The church provides the

venue and the musical instruments (indigenous and foreign) needed by the learners. The church may pay for the service of the teacher or the learners may tax themselves to pay for it.

Gospel music is often learnt after the day's job has been accomplished. But those who are jobless are free to move into the church premises to learn anytime of the day when the church is not engaged in any of its major activities. It is taught and learnt oral-aurally over a period of time. Texts of songs are most often copied and memorized. Learning to play some of the musical instruments begins with drawing the diagrams of the instruments, learning its fingering systems, and memorization of the gospel music's common stock phrases and harmonic patterns. A church group perfects the acquired musical skills and knowledge during the church's activities. The church may organize an elaborate ceremony to launch the group and raise funds. New members join and learn their instrument(s) of choice from members that are good in it.

Many private gospel bands that charge fees for their performances are proliferating in Nigerian urban centers as spin-off. The rise of gospel popular music in Nigeria since the mid-1980s has also led to a remarkable entrance of enormous number of women into the (sacred) popular music sector. This has enabled many Nigerian women to develop their musical gifts for the good of the church and the glory of God. Churches in Nigeria were hitherto against pop music and musicians because of their association with nightclub life. Presently, many Nigerian churches are located in hotels and nightclubs. People as such no longer have intense ill feeling towards Nigerians who attend churches in these new settings. Church ladies are encouraged to perform music publicly in mixed meetings as people no longer consider it absurd for women to music publicly. Women as a consequence have become preponderant in the popular music (albeit in the field of gospel singing) in Nigeria. Thus, the rise of women in Nigerian music scene has its root in the emergence of modern churches in Nigeria. Young Nigerian women are prominent in singing pop gospel in the live context of church while the young men are making waves outside it. Emergent then is a kind of gender spilt in the performance of the two forms of popular music - sacred and secular - in Nigeria.

5.3.2.5 Nigerian popular music and musicians' Africanization of Western music and westernization of African Music

Colonialism opened Nigeria to Europeans - administrators, merchants and missionaries who flooded Nigeria and became aware of her immense potentials. They settled down and concentrated their presence in some Nigerian towns they designated and developed as their colonial administrative headquarters, commercial centers and spheres of socio-cultural influence. They enticed many Nigerians to their settlement areas and structured themselves in such a way that they depended on surrounding rural populations for their livelihood. They mesmerized and enticed Nigerians with their flashy lifestyles and employed some Nigerians to make music for their recreation. This coerced Nigerians to develop a 'borrow-borrow' mentality in emulating the Europeans.

They introduced hotels, nightclubs, restaurants, drinking bars, formal ballrooms and dance halls which provided contexts with which Nigerians learn to perform guitar band and dance band music. This implanted the commercialism of indigenous Nigerian musical heritage. The emergence of dance-bands in Nigeria necessitated the learning of European ballroom dancing. As Vidal notes:

By 1938, the Lagos Academy of Ball-room dancing had been established. Its object was to teach the arts of ballroom dancing to Nigerians. Other schools such as the Colony School of Dancing, the Goodall School of Dancing and the Trinity Academy of Dancing later joined it. By 1947, an association of Nigerian Dancing Teachers was formed to cater for the interest of ballroom dancing (Vidal, 2002:10).

Many school-educated Nigerians learnt to dance to European music that lured them away from indigenous dance. Dance band music served its aficionados as alternative to the traditional Nigerian music practices. Repertoires of dance band music included waltzes, tangos, foxtrots, Latin dances, American ragtime and later arrangements of Nigerian popular songs and West African highlife. Dance band music is performed on wind instruments (clarinets, trumpets, saxophones and trombones), string instruments (violins, double bass and guitars) and percussions. Dance band music and ballroom dancing in colonial Nigeria were completely European in concept and practice.

'The tradition of highlife dance bands originated in the early 1900s in Accra, capital of Gold Coast (Ghana). Before the 1940s, Ghanaian bands (such as the Cape Coast Sugar Babies) had traveled to Lagos, where they left a lasting impression on local musicians' (Waterman, 1998: 477). The pioneering effort of the Ghanaian musician, E.T. Mensah, was particularly remarkable. He toured Nigeria several times and set standards that dictated the pace for many Nigerian highlife bands. 'Between 1927 and 1948', Vidal says, '23 urban popular (highlife) bands were busy transforming the social urban music scene in Nigeria as resident dance bands were established at major towns and cities in Nigeria' (Vidal, 2002:10). Of the 23 bands, Bobby Benson's Jam Session Orchestra was perhaps the most influential. Bobby Benson became a culture-hero for other Nigerian musicians like Victor Olaiya, Roy Chicago, Eddy Okonta, and Fela Ransome Kuti. They apprenticed themselves to Bobby Benson's band before they fanned out to form their own bands.

Highlife bands drew inspiration from the popular music industries of other parts of the world. The sound of British and American dance bands was the main model of Nigerian highlife bands. 'Emphasis was on (acquiring) Latin American repertory, rather than on (acquiring) swing arrangements' (Waterman, 1998: 477). Nigerian highlife bands copied the pop music styles of the central Africa too. A typical highlife band of those days usually consisted of Nigerians from different ethnic groups. This enabled highlife bands to perform their songs in several Nigerian languages, including Yoruba, Igbo, Hausa, Efik, English and 'pidgin English'. Highlife bands declined during the Nigerian civil war that forced many musicians from the eastern part of Nigeria to flee Lagos. The popularity of soul music among the urban youth in 1960s also retarded its growth. In the 2000s, only few highlife bands exist in Nigeria.

Waterman (1990:4) and Alaja-Browne (1987:1) trace the emergence of juju music in the early 1930s to a group of 'area boys (and girls)' of the *Saro* (Sierra Leone) Olowogbowo quarter of Lagos who had been playing together from the late 1920s. Alaja-Browne says that although the competing groups of Lagos 'area boys (and girls)' who created *juju* music in the 1930s were of low status

with deviant behavior', they are also respected and feared for their courage in championing their districts' cause. Waterman observes that in the western Nigeria, the urban migration of large number of rural primary school dropouts in the 1950s and 1960s was a factor in the dramatic rise in the number of *juju* music groups, the popular dance band genre of the Yoruba (Waterman, 1998: 472). Among the Islamic community however Europeanization was less effective as the children brought up according to Islamic way of life were less prone to European artistic ideals. Among the Yoruba popular music forms like *sakara*, *apala*, *waka* and *fuji* developed. Now under the aegis of world music, Nigerian popular music is packaged authentic music not minding its syncretic nature.

European administrators collaborated with traders and merchants and flooded Nigeria with new methods of musical documentation, production and dissemination. European music and the instruments and equipment for making it colonized a significant portion of Nigerian musical landscape. More widespread Europeanization of indigenous Nigerian music heritage happened via the importation of gramophones and records into Nigeria. As Basden observes:

These are days when gramophones and records are being imported in ever-increasing quantities, and the modern and foreign form of concert is now coming largely into favor... With their inherent instinct for music, the young Ibo people quickly master the latest ditty. They are also adepts at making some sort of music from the instruments they are able to purchase. (But) little, if any attempt had been made to bring into service any of the native tunes (Basden, 1927:363).

The emergence of gramophones and records in Nigeria further enticed many Nigerians away from their indigenous musical forms. The broadcast of recorded music from the British Broadcasting Corporation and United States of American radio stations as well as the staging of imported film shows also took many Nigerians away from their cultural mores. Nigerian youth became conversant with international popular music from United States of America, Western Europe, India and China via mass media. Young Nigerians in towns and cities took to urban pop music forms but had no formalistic approach to its learning.

Broadcasting stations created a new breed of traditional musicians whose products fed the foreign oriented broadcasting programmes. The commercialization of traditional Nigerian music increased due to the broadcasting stations' musical demand.

5.3.2.6 The commercialization of African music

From about 1900, there emerged music mediated by a complex network comprising companies that record, manage, advertise, publish and broadcast music in Africa. This enabled movements of musical styles and musicians become the norm between African urban centres and other non-African countries. The introduction of gramophone records from about (1907) offered Nigerian musicians countless opportunities to be conversant with imported musical styles. Among these was the hybridized African music - African-American musical styles such as jazz, Negro Spirituals, gospel music, Latin American *rumba*, Dominican *merengue*, Cuban *salsa*, Anglo-American rock and country, African American soul, and Jamaican *reggae*. Nigerian bands borrowed from some of these styles and absorbed them into the Nigerian cultural framework. There emerged Nigerian urban popular music genres fostered by the juxtaposition of Africanized European musical instruments and musical concepts and African American musical styles with indigenous Nigerian music and culture.

Many Nigerian urban musicians who can perform superbly on indigenous and European musical instruments emerged. One of the most successfully adapted western musical instruments in Nigeria is the guitar which has become a major, social instrument, and guitar bands have become very popular. However, most Northern Nigerian musicians have not adopted European musical instruments because they regarded such instruments as vestiges of Christianity. They continued to emphasize the indigenous aspects of their culture and among them, indigenous and adopted Arabic musical instruments are more popular.

The availability of facilities for commercial recording and manufacturing enhanced the commercial production of Nigerian popular music. The commercially successful musicians visit overseas for popular music shows.

Radio and later television stations established in Nigeria gave ample time to music broadcast and became vital to the development of Nigerian popular music. The cassette makers succeeded the vinyl makers and the compact disc market is rapidly expanding. Then with the ubiquity of the global communication, Nigerian pop music has become a global phenomenon.

European entrepreneurs made arrangements for African musicians to visit centres of music production in Europe, especially London and Paris, where technologically sophisticated studios exist for recordings; where performance arrangements are well established for exhibiting African musicianship. Visiting Europe for performances and recording sessions became prestigious for most Nigerian popular musicians. European merchants have introduced Africans to instruments of modern technology in Europe and many Nigerian musicians have become heavy importers and users of it.

In the urban areas, the questioning of the age-old parental authority became a common phenomenon. Some young Nigerians who veered into the urban pop music did so in opposition to parental authority. As Collins notes:

The Edo State born Nigerian highlife musician, Victor Uwaifo played with Victor Olaiya's Lagos band as a school boy, as did the creator of Afrobeat, Fela Anikulapo-Kuti. Segun Bucknor who pioneered Afro-soul in the late 1960s had prior to this been a schoolboy member of Roy Chicago's highlife dance-band. Famous Nigerian juju music exponents of the 1950s and 1960s also began their career early. For instance both Ebenezer Obey and I.K. Dairo began their professional playing at twelve. Both Waterman and Alaja-Browne talk of this Yoruba popular music genre emerging in the 1930s from a group of "area boys" of the *Saro* (Sierra Leone) Olowogbowo quarter of Lagos who had been playing together from the 1920s (Collins, 2002:64).

Many of the Nigerian popular musicians ventured into the enterprise in opposition to parental authority because they were convinced more than their parents that popular music performance was commercially oriented enough to guarantee them a financial mooring in modern Nigeria. The fact was that many parents did not like the idea of their children venturing into popular musicians

night performances and traveling entertainment. Collins notes how some Nigerian parents registered their disapproval of their children undertaking popular music enterprise:

The Yoruba comic actor and popular theatre leader Moses Olaiya or "Baba Sala" began his professional stage career as an instrumentalist with the Empire Hotel Dance Orchestra of Lagos, which his father did not take kindly to. The father of the Nigerian *highlife* musician Victor Uwaifo even wanted to smash his son's first guitar (Collins, 2002:64).

This attitude to choice of making popular music a career is changing because of the success story of many popular musicians but many Nigerian parents are still using their view of the torrid life styles associated with some Nigerian popular music to dissuade their children from studying music in tertiary institutions. Some Nigerian students who studied music academically have had to do it in opposition to parental authority.

5.3.3 Phase III: 1925 - 1959

Nigeria embarked on Western-styled democracy and the doctrine of individualism - the hallmark of the political philosophy of the West - was imported into Nigerian society. The British administration then enforced a social space in which individuals are upheld as persons who 'are free to plot our course, plan our course, plan our lives, choose a career, a partner (or a succession of partners), a religion (or no religion), a politics (or an anti-politics), a life style' (Walzer, 1994:85). Colonial music educators introduced the contrivance of music for personalized appreciation in line with the introduced worldview of individualism. Western educated Nigerians were made to see music as what is presented in concert halls (restricted venues) for nonparticipating persons (restricted audiences).

The imposition of the European educational ideal that placed stress upon the individual as an autonomous personality on Nigeria led to a scenario in which the abstract, atomistic individual (the psychological self) is stressed rather than the person (the social being). There emerged in Nigeria European socio-

musical systems in which dependence on specialization and talent entrusts the making of music to the professionals and the vast majority exist to idolize the “superstar” musician and the co-performers regarded as subordinates. Western educated Nigerians were piped into a system in which a person (composer) writes a totally fixed music that some others (performers) have no right to imbue with their own interpretive spirit on each occasion of performance and the vast majority listen to in isolation as a-cultural, a-social and a-contextual.

There emerged in Nigeria a western education system in which music curriculum is determined by a few western musically educated persons regarded as experts. The experts include or exclude musical tradition(s) of their choice in the curriculum. They made Western music the cultural forte of the content of music education in Nigeria and repressed Africa musical tradition in it. This resulted in the gap between music learnt at home and in school. There came an education system in which there is no entitlement to music education for all. The indigenous Nigerian belief that every person is naturally endowed with musicianship capabilities and qualities was discountenanced. Music teachers imbued with the powers to label Nigerians according to western musicianship capabilities as “musical” or “unmusical” appeared. While the musical growth of the former were supported and encouraged, the latter were marginalized and denied the opportunities to develop musically. The western-music-oriented music teachers emerged as a group that saw themselves as transmitters of music knowledge, regarded students as passive recipients of musical knowledge and used textbooks that portrayed European musical life.

The indigenous evaluation procedures in music that are formative, performance-based in real life musical situation and involved a range of stakeholders were discontinued. The emergent music teachers acquired the skills to operate western music examination systems that are focused on the musical achievements of individual students, summative evaluation of musical learning in artificial musical situations and marginalization of roles of stakeholders in determination of music education programmes viability. The examinations mirrored those of the European countries in format and content; they were music-based, externally set and taken under controlled conditions at

the end of a period of formal study. Nigeria has had a close tie with British examining boards in the evaluation of individual music students since the colonial period. The terminal music examinations, devoid of school-based assessment, were set and marked in Europe for a considerable length of time.

Formal certification of musical achievements became important for music students in gaining access to employment or training. Western-type music examinations with narrow range of assessment techniques, exclusion of practical music assessment, in which assessment merely requires recall, in which tasks are for the most part presented in abstract contexts and assessment strategies and curriculum are tension filled, became an acceptable way of allocating scarce educational benefits. It became a key element of the imported music education systems of Nigeria to which high stakes are attached, and to which what is taught and learned are to a large extent based. Consequently:

(By) 1914, the end of the comparative security that traditional music and musicians had till then enjoyed looked imminent. The dice became heavily loaded against the traditionalists, and serious traditional music gradually withdrew behind an impenetrable cloak of anonymity, away from the reach of an increasingly skeptical new generation of (disaffected) Nigerians, who despised their traditional patterns and thought that they were thereby emancipated (Sowande, 1967: 258-259).

From 1914 onwards, the influence of the colonial powers via the music education systems they imported to Nigeria began to over-ride the indigenous music culture and put in its place a western view of the music world and what it considered to be musically worthwhile, "correct" knowledge. The music education provided was there to educate certain selected people to assume relatively low-level positions of authority in order to sustain the musical enterprise of colonization and create a class of persons Nigerian in blood and colour but European in musical tastes, opinions, and in intellect. Many Nigerians who attended schools and colleges, wishing to be considered "musically educated" and wishing to attain the apparent benefits accruing from such a music education (and their parents, wishing the best for their children or, vicariously, for themselves), participated in the imported music education being

offered. Thus, over time, elements of western music knowledge were adopted and embraced by certain Nigerians who were made to believe the inferiority of indigenous African music knowledge. At best a musically educated Nigerian become someone who could read, write and talk about Nigerian music using European terminologies to describe indigenous musical thought and practice.

The only discernible change regarding the role of African music in the curriculum flickered in 1959. That was when J.W.A Thorburn recommended in his *Suggestions for West African Primary Schools* that African music should be taught before 'English songs and music' (Thorburn, 1959:82) in primary schools. However, this opportunity was not seized until today as attempt to make available materials for African music in form of textbooks has been very little.

Outside the colonial schools, most Nigerians continued to create, practice and develop their own forms of musical expression and values based on mutual tolerance and respect for each other's values. In Lagos, for example, the Oshodi and Tapa immigrants continued to observe the annual *igunnuko* festival; the Awori and Egbado immigrants continued the performance of their *gelede*, the Lagos indigenes continued to reenact their *adamu orisa*. The Brazilian Roman Catholic community in Lagos continued to observe the *bomba me boi*, a Brazilian carnival, introduced by the Roman Catholic emancipates in Lagos and performed during the fourteen days spanning the Christmastide to the feast of the Epiphany. The Nigeria of the 1920s to 1940s was one in which updated indigenous music policy enabled social and cultural interaction, mutual coexistence among ethnic groups and working class Nigerians who came from different parts of Nigeria living together in the Nigerian urban centres.

5.3.3.1 The emergence of second cultural nationalism in Nigeria

Africans in the Diaspora notable among who were Edward W. Blyden and J.P. Jackson who lived in Lagos until 1910s preached that the educated African elite should not emulate other races. They advocated that Africans should seek the regeneration of their own by studying their own culture and highlighting its contribution to human development. The colonial onslaught crushed the spirit of

the first cultural nationalism. The first cultural nationalism fell out of favor in Nigeria after 1910s as reformist zeal waned in both church and society due to the rampaging tide of British cultural imperialism.

Nigerians by the end of the Second World War had moved from a period of placid protest against and compliance with British administration to an era of more positive and forceful groups demanding not only for independence but also for the rehabilitation of Nigerian institutions and cultures. The West African Students' Union (WASU) in 1925 under the aegis of a distinguished Nigerian in London, Chief Ladipo Solanke, acted as a center for 'information and research on African History and culture' (Coleman, 1971:185-207). This put many Nigerian students abroad in the mood for cultural revival.

It set pace for the growth of a radical nationalistic tradition, which permeated Nigeria from the 1940s. The unbearable political subjugation of the colonial period, the humiliation of being treated as inferior beings and the open contempt of British administrators rejuvenated nationalist feelings in Nigerians. The world war experiences of some Africans primarily served to puncture the myth of European invincibility and superiority which many Africans had been led to revere. The racist's ideologies petered out. The original rationale for colonization was discredited. Aspirations for self-rule heightened among the Western educated Nigerians.

Nigerians forthrightly demanded for more formal education and fuller role in the economy of their country. They became disenchanted with British educational policies which were consciously designed to prepare them for subservience. Many Nigerian intellectuals returned home from overseas and joined in mobilizing the people against colonial rule. The colonial government had to set up commissions on constitutional reform.

The revivification African music in Nigeria in the 1940s moved from the church, mosque, nightclub and school into the public arena generating vigorous debates and appeals. One Martin Akin, in particular, published an article in the West African Pilot of September 14, 1943 in which he pleaded for public interest in

'native music'. He recommended that the nationalistic works of A.K Ajisafe, T.K.E Phillips, A.T.O. Olude and Ebun Ogunfume be loved. The *West African Pilot* published an editorial comment that backed up Akin's appeal:

Several eminent authorities have expressed great confidence in the possibilities of African music and we are genuinely convinced that there is much room for research and improvement in this sphere. Before our society was overrun by the wave of current music, mostly bourgeois, Africa knew and enjoyed a highly developed form of music, which may probably never be completely retrieved. According to Mr. Matins, our forefathers who made fine melodies were illiterate. They were unknown to fame and they knew nothing of the theory of music, (in the western modern sense), yet the melodies of their time were very inspiring, spiritual and at the same time challenging. All lovers of African music will no doubt be touched by the appeal for union. We urge them to unite and preserve what little we have left of an art which we cannot afford to let lapse into disrepute (West African Pilot, September 16, 1943:3).

The appeal stimulated many Nigerian musicians to search for ways and means of reflecting African music in their works to preserve our nationality. Many Nigerian church musicians like W.W.C. Echezona, Udemuzue Onyido, Godson Opara, Ikoli Harcourt Whyte, Ofili Kerry, Pope Dopemu and Olaolu Omideyi and others worked very hard at giving church music in Nigeria an African character by using traditional musical elements in their works. Many of them trained other Nigerians in the art of composing Church music with the use of indigenous Nigerian elements.

Some other Nigerians opened private music schools that enabled the development of syncretic forms of music which juxtaposed African and Western music as reflected in native airs and folk operatic music. Such private music schools that emerged in Lagos include the Pratt School of Music and the Lagos Center of Trinity College of Music (London). These local music schools enabled some Nigerians to transcribe and notate some African songs. Tunde Oloko voiced an appeal for literary musical approach to Nigerian music when he admonished that:

Efforts should be made by those connected with native music to bring their songs into script for the use of posterity (Daily Times, 28th, September 1951:12).

This engineered some Nigerians who had received European musical training to conduct researches into music of their ethnic communities. Some others began to put down their musical creation in the literary style akin to European classical music. Others imitated European classical music tradition but incorporated indigenous melodic strains or characteristic rhythmic patterns into their compositions. For example, Fela Sowande used an Egbado song, *Eyin Eda, e ma ra ropin*, (you earthlings do not view any one with contempt) as central material in one of his compositions. W.W.C Echezona used some Igbo folk melodies he had transcribed as the basis of his compositions: *Egwu Obi* and *Olu Ije*. Akin Euba used the piano to evoke the textures of traditional *dundun* drumming in his "*Scenes from Traditional Life*".

There was nationalistic band music too. Both the Nigerian Police and Nigerian Army bands arranged Nigerian folk songs as marching band music. Their favorite tunes included *Nike-nike* and *Old Calabar*. Nationalism also permeated the works of some Nigerian popular musicians. Nigerian popular musicians composed highlife music in several Nigerian languages and *pidgin* English as a national musical style. At independence, Nigeria was heir to a variety of musical styles and traditions that developed along parallel continuum.

Hubert Ogunde with his company from 1945 onward developed musical drama that incorporated indigenous music forms as a way of updating Nigerian musical heritage. His main works of national inspiration include '*Bread and Bullet*' and '*Strike and Hunger*'. The Nigerian Institute of Music was formed in Onitsha in 1949 with the primary purpose of promoting Nigerian music (Nketia, 1998:14). The Institute participated actively in the organization of the Festivals of the arts that dominated the Nigerian musical life in the 1950s but it did next to nothing about the systematic study of Nigerian music.

Government functionaries of Nigerian origin in the 1950s also made tentative efforts to revivify and empower Nigerian cultural virtues. But their effort at using

the school education for cultural sensitization was inchoate because of the prevalent European-based educational thinking. They turned their attention to the establishment of modern mass media which began to dictate and determine how Nigerians should see their music tradition in relation to the invading western popular music.

5.3.3.2 Festivals of the arts and the policy of musical exhibitionism

Interest in European-style concert continued to develop among school educated Nigerians. The opening of British Council Centers in Nigeria was a stimulant to the development of Festivals of the Arts. The Council organized from 1949 onwards annual Festivals of the Arts in which competitions in drama, oral renditions, music and dance were included in the festival syllabuses reminiscent of performance traditions in western educational contexts. The music competition consisted of categories of selected and specially arranged pieces of classical music, folk dances, folk music arranged for solo voices, instruments, and choirs - sacred and secular. Trained music teacher-choirmasters, students and music enthusiasts yearly looked forward to winning trophies and being entertained at the competitions. Each of the British Council Centers organized its own arts festival competitions on knockout basis. The winning group in each centre assembled in Lagos for a national competition. Lawrence Emeka writes about the annual festival that:

The Festival of the Arts inspired or encouraged several people to pursue music as a profession or serious hobby. As the number of musicians grew, musical trends multiplied... Schools embraced the Festival with religious fervor; the Festival provided the only exposure and incentive some groups and people had for certain types of music...Every Festival brought out new discoveries - discoveries of both materials and talents, and our education about our music and musician grew richer. The Festival opened to us our indigenous musical life and enabled us participate in it (Emeka in Okafor, 1997: 130).

'The All-Nigeria Festivals of Arts of the 1950s', Adelugba observes:

...however, did not reach down to the roots of traditional and folk performance traditions like their latter successors. They were organized largely within the ranks of formal educational institutions and were geared towards Western-trained artists and audiences, and the flavor of

the annual competitions, organized by the British Council and the Ministries of Education, at the regional and national levels was decidedly Western...the language used at the Festivals was largely English (Adelugba, 1985:63).

The Festivals of the Arts forced many churches and schools to organize their own festivals albeit proprietarily. Anglican or catholic mission schools in an area, for example, organized their own music festivals and competitions attended by their faithful. The churches also organized their own choir festivals and competitions in which parishes, districts and dioceses participated. The normal items for such music festivals and competitions were drawn from Western art music forms such as hymns, anthems, chants, canticles, airs, cantatas, oratorios, motets, masses and the Nigerian version of these. Pieces were written in staff or solfa notation, taught by rote and performed with conductor(s) to restrained audience. Often church and school's choral societies operated as training grounds for potential musicians. Judges at the festivals were mostly Europeans and Nigerians with European music-sensitized backgrounds who judged the competitions using European criteria. Winners and losers at music festivals depart yearly with animosity in their minds.

Most music teachers concentrated on and nurtured only the musically able - those who had specialist support through private teaching, choir training, or musically inclined. By criteria solely determined by the music teachers as music masters, experts or choirmasters, students were recruited and trained as members of would-be trophy winning school choirs, church choirs, choral societies, soloists, instrumentalists and dancers, for music festivals and competitions. The majority of Nigerian students who had no such extra support were less encouraged. The teachers got satisfaction not from teaching music to all persons in their school or church but from directing one choral society or the other as extra-curricular activity and offering themselves and talented individuals, they have identified, opportunities to be the stars of their own shows. Consequently, many Nigerian students grew to perceive music as specialist subject, available only to a select minority. There was no attempt to make music for all a veritable route to collective wellbeing in Nigerian schools

and colleges until fairly recently. The festivals of the arts in the 1950s and the subsequent church and school's music competitions were intentioned to develop in Nigerians inordinately competitive attitudes.

5.3.3.3 The beginning of higher education in Nigeria (1930 - 1959)

The colonial administration for a long time did not concern itself with the provision of higher education for Nigerians in Nigeria. The lack of concern seems to stem from the fact that colonialism or imperialism and education, especially higher education, are contradictory in terms. The latter has the capability to challenge and subsequently destroy the former. The colonialists considered the provision of higher education in Nigeria quite unnecessary and irrelevant. Schools merely aimed to produce an educational core of subservient people. 'Education of the dependent people', Margaret Mead notes, 'was for the purpose of their successful exploitation by more advanced economies' (Mead in Ukeje, 1979:60). Okeke retorts, 'How true it is that menu designed for the slave is not to make him look fresh or well fed but just enough to sustain him for maximum exploitation by the master' (Okeke, 1964: 4).

Schools curricula were used to support these assertions. Music as a discipline throughout the colonial period played a colonizing role. It was premised on European intellectual, cultural, artistic and philosophical perspectives. It was based on "modern" western classical music knowledge imported from Europe and embedded and sustained in Nigerian education systems. It offered a restricted access to certain music knowledge. The colonialists imbued their music students with imitative tendencies and dependency attitude.

Western educated Nigerians kept on demanding for higher education when it became obvious from the 1920s that those who did not acquire a measure of western education would have limited opportunities for social and economic advancement in the virtually closed colonial economic system. They mounted persistent pressure on the colonial government not only for mass education but also for quality higher education to reduce the serving of subordinate roles in the socio-economic systems of their country. The demand for higher education, in particular, by few Nigerians who had studied abroad was aimed at ensuring

that Nigerians would ultimately replace British officials in crucial decision making positions in the colonial socio-economic systems in Nigeria. The colonialists understood this demand for higher education as potentially subversive of their own political and economic hold on the country.

E.R. J. Hussey, Nigeria's Director of Education in 1930 in reacting to the Phelps-Stokes Commission's admonition proposed a programme of expansion in the Nigerian education system. The acceptance of his proposals led to the establishment of the Yaba Higher College which was officially opened in 1934 (upgraded in 1963 as Yaba College of Technology). Yaba College became the first post-secondary education institution in Nigeria. It offered sub-degree courses in medical studies, survey, veterinary science, agriculture, arts and teacher training. The prevalent colonial ideology of the time, which saw tertiary music study in Nigeria as peripheral, dictated the exclusion of music in the curriculum of the college. Neither Western music nor African was music included in Yaba College's curriculum.

The continued clamor for more higher education provisions in the British colonies made the British government to set up two commissions - the Elliot Commission and the Asquith Commission – to examine the prospects of higher education in West Africa and the colonies. The Elliot Commission on Higher Education in West Africa produced its blueprint in 1945 for the development of higher education in the sub region. There was no specific mention in the document of music as a subject of study in tertiary institutions. The nearest it came was to urge research in the ancient traditions of the people. The Commission hoped this would help indigenous West African peoples to hang on to their traditions and unify in the face of the rapid changes taking place in West Africa.

Both the Elliot and Asquith Commissions' reports submitted in 1945 favored the establishment of a University College in Nigeria. This led to the official opening of the University College, Ibadan, as an outpost of the University of London, in 1948. The University College, up to 1960, was the only institution of university status in Nigeria. The College, being a British academic toddler wrapped up in a

colonial toga and dumped in Ibadan, adhered to the prevalent colonial ideology that placed low priority on university music study. Peter Dckinson provides a reason why music was neglected:

Although British universities have granted music degrees as a professional qualification since the 15th century (and were, indeed, the first in Europe to do so), it was not until after World War II that music was accepted as a subject suitable for full-time study. Undergraduate music degrees were instituted at Cambridge in 1945 and at Oxford in 1950 (Dckinson, 2001:145).

If music did not win esteem in British universities until 1940s, then it could not have been considered worthy of academic study in the first university college the colonial administrators established in Nigeria. But the colonialists did not establish any conservatoire (the type they have had) in Nigeria too. The low priority the colonialists accorded tertiary music study in Nigeria made parents and students to regard music study as an un-lucrative academic pursuit for a long time.

A delegation of Inter-University Council of the United Kingdom visited West Africa around the same time. Its recommendations led to the introduction and establishment of polytechnics in Nigeria. The Nigerian Colleges of Arts, Science and Technology (NCAST) with branches at Ibadan, Enugu and Zaria were established in 1952. In these colleges music was not made a discipline.

Some enlightened families who recognized the indispensable values of music encouraged their children to study Western music. There were students too who in spite of parental opposition picked music as a college discipline mainly because of their talent and interest which their parents refused to recognize and respect. These formed the nucleus of teachers and students who became trail blazers of higher music education in post independent Nigeria.

5.3.3.4 The clamor for liberalization higher music education in Nigeria

Edward Blyden was one of the first Africans who advocated that Africans should be discouraged from going abroad for their higher education. Some of the reasons he gave for the discouragement include – the great damage done to

their soul by the contents of the education received, the great inconvenience to their parents and the fact that such education was not adapted to the peculiar needs and necessities of the African society. He then advocated for the setting up of West African Higher Education Institutions - a West African university institution in Sierra Leone, and a training college and industrial institute in Lagos to produce modern African intellectuals who can undo the damage that was being perpetrated against the African personality. As he puts it:

Now to give the people the opportunity and power of a free and healthy development – to bring out their individuality and originality of character, which is one of the sure results of an advancing civilization and culture, the university is most important. The presence of such an Institution with able African teachers brought, if necessary, from different parts of the world – even a Negro Arabic Professor from Egypt, Timbuctoo or Fudah – would have great influence in exposing and correcting the fallacies upon which our foreign teachers have proceeded in their utter misapprehension and, perhaps, contempt of African character (Blyden in Nketia, 1998:17).

Through Blyden's efforts Fourah Bay Training Institute was raised to the status of a university in 1876. Blyden also sought a liberal education that could liberate the African mind, making it proficient in various duties and tasks that a citizen is called upon to execute. As he advocates:

It is our desire and purpose to teach not so much knowledge of useful things as useful knowledge. By useful knowledge I mean such knowledge as shall serve as a stepping stone to other knowledge – knowledge, the process of acquiring which will so strengthen, form, and enlarge the mind so as to enable it to grasp and utilize the knowledge of such things as shall be useful in the development of the moral and intellectual, as well as material resources of the country (Blyden in Nketia, 1998:17).

The curriculum of higher education in Africa, in Blyden's conception, should include the study of the customs and institutions of African societies. He urges that Africans root themselves in:

The songs of our unsophisticated brethren as they sing of their history, as they tell of their traditions, of the wonderful and mysterious events of their tribal and national life, of the achievements of what we call their

superstitions; we must lend a ready ear to the ditties of the Kroomen who pull our boats, of the Pesseh and Gollah men who till our farms; we must read the compositions, rude as we may think them, of the Mandingoes and the Veys (Vai) (Blyden in Nketia, 1998:17).

The import of Blyden's ideas was the need to integrate African and Western music systems and indigenize music curriculum in Nigeria. Blyden's ideas, however, did not receive any serious considerations in Nigeria until after her independence. Two major factors hampered the supreme confidence Blyden had in the African, and the role he assigned to (music) education in that all-important task. The colonialists promoted the view that African musical heritage was inferior in all respects to that of the European. They fostered a music education system that methodically excluded the learning of Africans' musical knowledge and practices. Only few educated Africans understood and supported Blyden's ideas. Blyden's recommendations remained largely inert until a generation of Africans who were committed to research and education in African music emerged and generated interest in the study of African music.

The appointment of Murray as an art teacher was quite significant in the development of cultural arts education, particularly in the teaching of art, in Nigeria. Though the appointment of Onabolu, the first Nigerian to be trained in the Western academic art tradition predated Murray's, it was Murray's empirical approach that began a new reorientation to art teaching in Nigerian schools and colleges. About Murray, Ola Oloidi writes:

The activities of Christianity challenged his (Murray's) conscience. He became more convinced that the impressions created particularly by Christian literature on Africa were not at all captured but manufactured. He became inebriated with the Nigerian cultural traditions and rebelled against his people's cultural improbity and irreligious approach to the Nigerian heritage. (...) His students at the King's College were shocked when he started advocating traditionalism, rather than Europeanism or conventionalism of Onabolu, in art. His students had expected him to continue the academic perfectionism of Onabolu; the achievement in European Academy standard, which would make western aesthetic canon in art glaringly manifest. Rather Murray urged his students to be "local" (Nigerian or African) in their

conception, interpretation, characterization and general attitude to art. He told them to reconcile themselves with traditional subjects, to make their drawings, paintings and sculpture look like the traditional art forms of their parents. He discouraged them from taking subjects from modern or European experiences, which he regarded as superficial to their heritage and cultural sell-out (Oloidi, 1989:100).

As Murray advises his students:

The real creative impulse is stimulated by close association with visible experiences in one's environment and not by imagined ones one has not personally experienced or felt. I think it is more proper for pupils to be able to draw "themselves" first before drawing others. In fact, the Nigerian experiences are by far richer than the Western ones. Instead of you to make your local subjects Western, try as much as possible to make Western subjects local (Oloidi, 1989:102).

The crux of Murray's argument was that the traditional artistic practices should be re-invigorated in Nigerian schools. He aimed at stopping the use of Nigerian schools to produce artists and musicians whose musical interest ran contrary to the traditional artistic-musical practices. What Murray advocated was that art or music education should be based on indigenous Nigerian creative philosophy and principles as well as artistic practices. Murray's advocacy was for an indigenous ideal as a foundation on which to harmonize foreign creative thoughts, studies and practice in modern Nigeria. School art/music education should be a socio-political mechanism for liberating Nigerian cultural values from the gripping tentacles of colonialism.

Some of his students understood his message, and developed an awareness of their indigenous material culture which was decisive for the emergence of the Nigerian schools of art. They demanded a total radicalization of their training. They forced a reform of their art education programmes to reflect meaningfully the Nigerian situation. Music was not all that very lucky to have its own Murray during the colonial period. Therefore, the liberalization of music education in Nigeria did not begin until after independence.

The liberalization of colonial policy began when the Nigerian Antiquities Service was established in 1943. The growing awareness among Nigerian government

functionaries in the 1950s of the importance of their indigenous cultural heritage led to the enactment of the Antiquities Department law in 1953. The Department was charged with the responsibility of 'discovering, preserving and researching into the traditional cultures of the diverse people of Nigeria and of making the results of this work known to the public in Nigeria and the world at large' (Oditia, 1983:25).

This legislation gave official stamp to the propagation of Nigerian culture. The importance attached to the Nigerian cultural heritage, particularly its material culture, led to the collection of some traditional Nigerian musical instruments that are now housed in Nigerian museums. Many research reports of the 1950s and 1960s too were on Nigerian musical instruments (See Vidal, 2001:103-127). For instance, W.W.C Echezona's, the first PhD holder in music in Igbo land, dissertation submitted to the Michigan State University, was on *Ibo Musical Instruments in Ibo Culture*. Despite the clamour and the advocacy for liberalization of music education during the colonial period music was only introduced as a discipline at the University of Nigeria, Nsukka in 1961.

At the instigation of Nnamdi Azikiwe, who had had the vision that one of the goals of a university in Nigerian is that it 'shall cease to imitate the excrescences of a civilization which is rooted in African' (Azikiwe cited in Chinweizu, 1979:157), the first Department of Music in Nigeria was set up at the University of Nigeria, Nsukka in 1961. In line with the University's motto "To Restore the Dignity of Man", the department became the first to embark on the daunting and onerous tasks of understanding and knowledge construction of African music in Nigeria in a modern way.

5.3.3.5 Racialization of modern music education in Nigeria

The racialization of modern music education in Nigeria began with the colonial school when its theorizing and practices became 'racialized' (McCarthy and Crichlow, 1994: xiv). A phenomenon is racialized when it is viewed through the distinctive lens of a racial group's experiences of the world. The colonial school engendered the viewing of music education in Nigeria through the distinctive lens of Euro-American's experiences of the world and the deprecation of the

African's experiences of the world. School music education in Nigeria most frequently cited concepts that purport to define what is distinctive about it, as a field practice, and what constitutes its dominant discursive boundaries – self direction, critical reflection, and transformative learning - became valued positively and identified mostly with scholarship conducted from the perspectives of the European and American life world.

Eurocentric music thought in schools was held to be epistemologically superior and mostly constrained and shaped by the blandishments of teachers and others in positions of power. Western music educated Nigerians were virtually indoctrinated into a way of thinking that considers the African conceptualizations and mechanism for production and dissemination of musical knowledge and the forms of thought that flow from these as insignificant. Even when the African perspectives were represented it was as the exotic to enhance diversity perspectives, to 'give voice' to the margins. Attempts to racialize critically in favor of Africans' by Africans in pre- and post-colonial periods were not much evident in accessible literature (See Nzewi, 1997:4, 8; Agawu, 2003). The need arises as such in the postcolonial Nigeria to put in place a tertiary music education system to educate the Nigerian music intellectuals who can provide socio-musical leadership; ground modern music education in Nigeria on African hopes, aspirations, dilemma, and predicaments; liberate themselves from the shackles of colonial music indoctrination and think in creative ways that differ from the "required" norms of inherited colonial music education system.

5.3.3.6 The scholarly study of African music in Nigeria during the colonial era

It was not until twentieth century that Nigerians began to participate in the scholarly study of Nigerian music although the earliest articles on Nigerian music using European languages can be traced to the nineteenth century. The scholarly study began when the early European writers were in search for Nigerian music performances to prove their racial theories of primitivism. But the earliest European music scholars were unable to comprehend fully the traditional African music philosophies and creative principles because of their cultural background and educational training as well as their reliance on

preconceived constructs of regarding African music as being inferior to Western music.

Comparative musicology was later institutionalized and its mission spelt out by Guido Adler (1885). European music scholars like von Hornbostle, Carl Stumpf and Robert Lach, in pursuing regional interests along Adler's outline, besieged Africa to find evidence in African music generally to broaden human understanding of what constitutes music in "elementary" terms. They made recordings of African music, collected musical instruments and ethnographic data to give an indication of what African music is like, in their perception, using Western terminological framework. The beginning of historical perspective to African music, for example, is evident in Hornbostle's (1928) work.

Colonial governments embarked on policies of developing the human and material resources of their colonies to further their knowledge and understanding of colonial people as soon as Africa was fully colonized. They employed many anthropologists (teachers, colonial officers, and military personnel) some of whom took interests in producing accounts of the Nigerian musical practice. There emerged the founding of international journals devoted to the propagation of knowledge of Nigerian people. Some of the early journals in Nigeria included *The Nigerian Teachers' Journal* (1932) and *The Nigerian Field* (1948), which provided writers a forum for discussing emerging facts. The information gathered by foreign scholars was often sent back to Europe. It was around this time that the concept of "traditional" music and even "ethnic" music, rooted in Western ideological stance, were fashioned to describe indigenous music categories of different parts of Nigeria.

The availability of written archive on Nigerian music in European languages encouraged some international scholars to visit Nigeria. American scholars from the 1940s began to study Nigeria music and established programs of ethnomusicology in their country's universities that enabled a few Nigerians to study music there. Trained Nigerians were made to see African music as an explanation rather than the study of music in the broader context of lived activity. This led to the implantation of a European epistemological frame on

music study in Nigeria. It also initiated Nigerian scholars into a field of discourse, an intellectual space, defined by Euro-American traditions of ordering knowledge.

Although the depreciation of a stance that regards Africa as a continent without a history has begun, scholars continue to use the word *traditional* as a euphemistic proxy for *primitive*, in much the same way as the earlier writers had used primitive. Scholars with this line of thought claim that traditional African music comes from the past and remains the same (Latin *trado*) from one generation to another in an unchanging manner. The consideration of African music as rearward made some Euro-American trained Nigerian scholars to cease to know the African music tradition and to cease to feel any identification with it. Systematic music research that begun after that has since made few Nigerians scholars to know how indigenous African music embraces and directs Africans whole life, including their understanding.

In this thesis, the sum total of what Africans have made, are making and will still make as music makers and music users is regarded as African music. It is a living tradition – a heritage from the past and a patrimony to tomorrow that remains an integral part of African identity. Its current repertoire which is rooted in the past, which also has inherently immense capacity for advancement, is still making cultural insiders proud of who they are and what they know. Its future however depends on the rediscovery of its intrinsic and often intangible values and the transmission of African musical thinking to a new generation.

Hitherto, Nigeria's formal educational system was very similar to that of British, both in structure and content, and the musicological discipline was generally neglected in the educational programmes of the colonial Nigeria. The colonial education planners and policy makers did not consider it necessary to train Nigerian musicologists because there were foreign musicologists who could satisfy the needs for musicology in Nigeria. Moreover, the earliest academic Nigerian musicians studied more of composition and performance than music scholarship because their incentive was more on the personal prestige,

individuality, uniqueness that they learnt accrues to Western art music performer, composer or conductor of the time.

Hence, the scholarly study of music even for decades after Nigerian independence remains inchoate. It depended much on what the foreign writers as travelers, explorers, anthropologists, missionaries and music enthusiasts observed about African musical practices. There from emerged 'colonial African music knowledge' or colonially constructed versions of African music cultures. This consisted of knowledge about African musical practices European writers, as "outsiders", could gather, interpret, evaluate and use as they came in contact with Africans as avid music makers and users. It also consisted of Western musicological knowledge of African music based in part on early contact knowledge, and also scientific observations and research often made with the assistance of knowledgeable African "informants" or "research associates".

Both have become the conventional African music knowledge - African music as Euro-American music experts' opinion declares it. This involves describing African music practice, generally using Western concepts, terminologies, categories and definitions – i.e., with European terms of reference. This exogenous knowledge about African music, constructed in European and American academies, which reflects Euro-American pre-occupations, perspectives and priorities, has for some time now formed the bulk of what is paraded as authoritative African music knowledge perpetuating some myths that later African scholars have had to contend with.

The volume of research and studies published since Europeans contacts with Africa on various aspects of African life and in relation with foreign contacts today is quite colossal. The Euro-American views, however, predominate. A body of African knowledge of African music is however slowly emerging. Making a survey of *Musicology in Nigeria* between 1705 and 1975, Vidal notes:

Between 1705 and 1975, the study of the science of music (musicology) was yet to be firmly entrenched in Nigeria as a scholarly discipline. Music, dance and drama, indeed the performing arts, had always lacked behind other disciplines (until 1970s) as areas of academic

research and study among Nigerian scholars. A survey of bibliographic publications on African music and dance since 1705 reveals that only twenty-six contributions were made by Nigerian scholars between 1705 and 1964. The number is taken from a total of some three thousand, four hundred and seventy two listings of articles, books, and monograph on music and dance in Africa, published in many widely read international and local magazines, journals and references (Vidal, 2001: 103).

The point is that the originators of the idea of African music studies programmes have been non-Africans. Foreign (European and American) scholars dominated the field of scholarship about African music, and the primary audience of African studies has remained Europeans and Americans. Few Africans during the colonial period were encouraged to forage into African music scholarship because the European scholars of the time believed that intellectual matters are their prerogatives. Describing and defining African music explicitly in writing as such, in foreign languages, is a relatively new task for Africans who for most part of their history have felt no need to make explicit definition of their musical way of life in writing.

In Nigeria, even though the history of the acceptance and development of musicology is somewhat confused before Nigeria's independence, certain landmarks are worthy of consideration here. T.K.E. Phillips who produced his book *Yoruba music* in 1953 pioneered music research by Nigerians. In line with the musicological practice of the time, Phillips compared Yoruba music with Western ecclesiastical music on evolutionary scale.

Interests in scholarly study of Nigerian music increased after 1950s when some Nigerians who had trained abroad came home and were employed as music producers by the Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation in Lagos to collect, broadcast and preserve indigenous Nigerian music and dance that were in danger of going into extinction. Involved in such music research were Fela Sowande, Akin Euba, W.W.C. Echezona, Ayo Bankole and Samuel Akpabot who from their regular encounter with indigenous Nigerian music while collecting materials for broadcasting developed a flair for researching it. These music scholars later trained as ethnomusicologists from the 1950s.

Ethnomusicology as at that time had just emerged as a discipline that drew from anthropology and ethnology and was devoted primarily to the study of non-Western forms of musical practice and expression in contrast with what constitute the Western musical tradition. These pioneer Nigerian ethnomusicologists were trained in America in the art of studying music in its ethnological context. In other words, they were trained to place more emphasis on the part that music plays in culture and its functions in the society than on the analysis of the structural components of music as sound. This inducted them into the practice of ethnomusicology in Nigeria through this Euro-American window, and made them earliest Nigerian music scholars that perpetrated “colonial knowledge about African music” in Nigeria. Some later had some intimidating experience that forced them to acknowledge the viability of African musical knowledge (See Akpabot, 1972).

The colonial attitude to scholarship Nigerians have imbibed continued to hamper interests in scholarly studies of African music in Nigeria despite the cultural awakening and revival that created enthusiasm for music and dance in the 1960s. The need to satisfy the cultural development needs of independent Nigeria led to the institutionalization of music in academia at the University of Nigeria, Nsukka and stimulated interest in scholarly study of African music in Nigeria.

Between 1882 and 1959, the pace of development of music education in Nigeria was retarded to some extent by the following factors:

- (i) The uncooperative attitude and reluctance of both the colonial government and missionaries to allow Nigerians to study African music in schools and colleges as both believed that African music is inferior to Western music;
- (ii) Lack of clear aims or agreed synthesis of how Nigerian students learn music;
- (iii) “Top-down” development of the colonial music education curricula;
- (iv) Inadequate financing of music education;

- (v) Insufficient and inappropriate time devoted to music teaching on the time table;
- (vi) Lack of suitably qualified music teachers;
- (vii) Absence of music textbooks in schools;
- (viii) Lack of musical instruments and items of equipment in schools;
- (ix) Undue emphasis on Western music and method;
- (x) Lack of African music teaching methodology at the formal school level;
- (xi) Emphasis on the development of a musically literate population;
- (xii) Repression of Africa's philosophy, modes and models of music education;
- (xiii) Irrational adoption in Nigeria of the Western music education system;
- (xiv) A callous attitude to Nigerian musical legacies;
- (xv) Students' lack of any familiarity with musical ideas they were to meet outside the school;
- (xvi) Drift away of school educated Nigerians from indigenous music;
- (xvii) Lack of attention on integration of indigenous, Western, and Islamic forms of music education;

