CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

This chapter deals with a general introduction of the work. The background studies looks into the interest of the researcher on this topic. This is followed by a statement of problem that explains the sorry state of affairs which the researcher discovered that triggered the study. Purpose of the study itemizes the reasons why the study is necessary, while scope of the study deals with the geographical location of the study as well as the periodization. Significance of the study shows the benefits of the work and its beneficiaries, while the methodology looks at instruments of data collection and analyses. This chapter ends with the clarification of basic terms used in the work for better understanding.

1.1   Background to the Study

The growth of global Pentecostalism in Nigeria and Igboland in particular emanated naturally from the religious and political scenario of the country between 1950 and 1970. Kalu (2008) says that this phenomenal increase could be measured by non-quantitative indexes, but assessed by the vitality of practice, high visibility in the public space and intensity of the debate caused by its diatribe against the alleged compromises by other forms of Christianity. The force of Pentecostalism is often felt like a wind within the hallowed temples of opponents. This force is sensitive to the socio-economic and political terrains. This movement is characterized by variety, flexibility, and an expanding continuum of adaptive social inventions traceable in its ministerial formation, liturgy, economic practices, organizations and infrastructure that range from storefronts in poor environments to imposing structures in cities. It is a charismatic protestant Christian movement that emphasizes a personal encounter with Jesus Christ as Saviour and healer, with the potential for converts to be "born again" as Christians. The scripture in Acts 2:1- 41 recorded the dramatic experience that is contemplated in the Pentecost event. It is about the descent of the Holy Spirit on the apostles and the baptism of about 3,000 converts. That periscope, according to Izunwa

(2011), outlines the Pentecost experience of the church of the ages. This, however, includes the strange descent of tongues of fire, on and the utterance in foreign tongues by the apostles, the flight of the spirit of timidity and readiness to preach the gospel. Added to these was the giving of other spiritual gifts which enriched the church with every spiritual blessing from the heavenly places.

When the Pentecost day came around, they have all met together, when suddenly there came from heaven a sound as of violet wind, which filled the entire house in which they were sitting and there appeared to them tongues as of fire; these separated and came to rest on the head of each of them. They were all filled with the Holy Spirit and began to speak in different languages as the spirit gave them power to express themselves (Acts 2:1-4). The Pentecost empowered the church. Lowery (1985) remarks that "it inaugurated the church and empowered it to bring good news of Jesus Christ to all nations" (p. 102).

In the pre-independence period, Pentecostalism was not a serious Christian system in Igboland because at that time the Christian missionary ideology bred a society of Igbo people who were strongly attached to the value of church membership. Church membership according to Kalu (1978), was seen as a part of modern life and hence a fashionable mode of life, while traditional religious life was seen as an outdated mode of life. Thus there was a boost in church membership. The organizational structure of the church was so firmly parish based, and people's sense of church membership was so high. In the pre-independence period, a number of pseudo-Pentecostal movements sprang up in some parts of Igboland, and ebbed as rapidly as they had grown. In most cases, the death of the founders brought about an almost immediate end to the movements until about the mid-seventies when Evangelical cum Pentecostal movement came to take firm root in Igboland through the ministry of the scripture union.

Before the end of the Nigeria-Biafria war in 1970, there were only a handful of Pentecostal churches in southeastern part of Nigeria. Amucheazi (1986) wrote that the factors

that explain why this was so are not difficult to fathom; first, as a movement, Pentecostalism started in 1906 in faraway United States of America. And in fact, by 1906, the Anglican denomination, the Roman Catholics, the Methodists and Presbyterians had gained footholds in Igboland and had made their presence felt by such missionary accompaniment – western education, healthcare services among others. In addition to the above, is the fact that by the time Pentecostalism had spread to Nigeria and Igboland in particular, the available religious space had been competitively partitioned by the first comers. The early Pentecostals also did not have the funds to start mission schools like the already established missions, which could have attracted membership. As a result of this, the pre-civil war Pentecostal churches in Igboland can be said to have been marginal and somewhat insignificant.

Nigerian Pentecostalism emerged in the 1970s as university-educated charismatic youths began creating their own spaces for worship. The roots of Pentecostalism are in the African initiated churches (AICs) such as the Aladura, and especially in American and British Evangelical and Pentecostal outreach and American televangelism and other Christian media. The emergence of Nigerian Pentecostalism as stated by Kalu (2010) followed a period of immense post-independence instability, characterized by violence (the civil war, especially), political corruption, and rise of the military government. The oil boom of the 1970s transformed the Nigerian landscape, particularly in the south, where a well connected elite profited and conspicuous consumption blossomed. As a result of this, life was made more difficult for the vast majority of people who increasingly turned to religious organizations to provide for their basic needs. Some of the Pentecostal religious leaders took advantage of the situation and directed their services to the masses, emphasizing a prosperity gospel which holds that faith is the key to prosperity in this world. As a result of this, these pastors contextualized the privileged of Nigeria's Christian elite, and attracted hundreds of thousands of poor and middle class Nigerians aspiring to greater wealth.

The movement started immediately after the civil war. The political independence of Nigeria seemed to have in turn encouraged religious independence in the country, giving rise to a situation whereby the strong tie of membership of the mainline churches was loosened. The Anglican church and her other sister Protestant churches were the major victims of this development because of their loose attitude to Bible reading as opposed to the Roman Catholic Church which restricted Bible reading to the priests. Consequently, Christians in protestant churches began to see themselves more as individual Christians than as part of the corporate body, the church. Following this development, there sprang up independent Christian group, with evangelical and Pentecostal persuasions, most of which initially claimed to be non-denominational, only to turn round and become churches later. Kalu (2008) notes that, though the mainline churches remain significant… but everyone is aware of the Pentecostal charismatic prayer centres, all night services, crusades, conventions, Bible schools, new buildings (schools, cinemas and halls they rent), car bumper stickers and banners and posters everywhere, advertising an enormous range of forthcoming activities. Everyone is aware of their media efforts. These were mainly the activities and events that happened during and in the months after the Nigerian civil war, which are said to have propelled the Pentecostal growth in Igboland.

The outbreak of the Nigerian-Biafran war enhanced opportunity for international infiltrations into Nigeria's polity. The country was artificially created by the British colonial power without the consent of the people being herded. Over 250 ethnic groups were arbitrarily fused together into an unwieldy and non-consensual union by the United Kingdom. Audu, Osuala and Ibrahim (2015) wrote that Nigeria was so ethnically, religiously and linguistically complex that even some of its leading politicians initially doubted if it could constitute a real country. During the period between the political independence of Nigeria and the subsequent civil war of 1970–1995, the Orthodox churches were almost in the same spiritual state as ordinary social groups. This war resulted when the small West African

region primarily populated by the Igbo ethnic group attempted to secede from Nigeria, a former British colony. According to Chidiukwu (2015), an estimated 1.2 million people were killed in the conflict: 40% were Igbo children who died of starvation and malnutrition. The Igbo thought the global community would support them, but they gained little assistance.

Many Igbo historians and writers have generally taken to the horrible, destructive and damaging sides of the war with little or no work on its religious realism in the Igbo community. The same is applicable to growth and development of Pentecostalism in Igboland which many writers have done justice to explore but with no or little connection in the area of the relationship between the war and phenomenal growth of Pentecostalism in Igboland. It is based on the above observation that this study is considered worthwhile.

1.2   Statement of the Problem

Considering the harmful impacts and consequences of war on the social, political, psychological, economic and religious fabrics of the society, it is seen as a horribly organized means of settling disputes. This is also applicable to the Nigeria-Biafra war, which was fought between the Federal Republic of Nigeria and the defunct eastern region of Nigeria. People often focus their attention on the negative implications of war, with little regard to the religious outcome. The Nigerian nation fought for and gained their independence from the British, the Biafrans (the eastern part of Nigeria – Igbo) fought for, but could not get their independence from the Nigerian nation. This fight for political independence was what brought about and encouraged religious independence in the country. Thus Diara and Onah (2014) wrote that the beginning of proliferation of Pentecostal churches in Nigeria could be traced to the period after the Nigerian independence such that the political independence of Nigeria seemed to have in turn encouraged religious independence in the country. Most of the existing literature on Nigeria-Biafra war seems to be focused on the economic and social consequences of the war with little or no serious attention given to religious implications of the war particular the growth and development of Pentecostalism.

Another problem is that western historians tell the story of Pentecostalism as if it began in the beginning of the 20th century in the United States of America and then extended into Nigeria's religious landscape in the decades to come. Good as this account may seem but the account did not take cognizance of Pentecostal elements of Africa initiated churches which began to flourish in Igboland after the Nigeria-Biafra war. This is a gap that this study has observed.

1.3   Purpose of the Study

The Nigeria-Biafra war between 1970-1995 prepared the scenario of Pentecostal growth in Igboland. There were only a handful of Pentecostal churches in Igboland before the war. But immediately after the Nigerian war, the number of Pentecostal churches in Igboland began to increase and blossomed. Thus the major aim of this research is to establish a nexus between the civil war and the development of Pentecostalism in Igboland. To show how the Nigeria-Biafra war conditioned or brought about the growth of Pentecostal churches in Igboland from 1970-1995. The essence of this also is to clear the notion and impression that the Nigerian civil war which has several impacts especially on the Igbo people had been mostly underscored from its negative dimensions.

Generally, wars are associated with negative consequences. Wars which are horribly organized means of settling disputes have been perceived as negativity in all ramifications. This is because; wars have several lasting negative effects on society, some of which can last several years after such conflicts. But in very rare cases, war can have some positive impacts on the society. Available literature suggest that the Nigeria-Biafra war was generally perceived as having negative implications for the Igbo people, whose territories was the central theatre of the war. However, the fact that Pentecostalism recorded considerable growth immediately after the war has led to the question of whether such growth is one of the few positive impacts of the war. It is the aim of this academic study to clarify this statement.

The Nigeria-Biafra war ironically, given the social dislocations as well as the psychological trauma witnessed by the Igbo people significantly led to the growth of Pentecostalism and hence Pentecostal churches in Igboland. Thus this research in establishing a nexus between the civil war and the outbreak of Pentecostalism, examines the various accounts and submissions on the post-civil war history of Pentecostalism in Igboland and the factors that sustained the growth of Pentecostalism in Igboland. This study therefore aims at exploring and identifying the reasons for the growth and development of Pentecostalism after the Nigeria-Biafra war.

1.4   Scope of the Study

This research is aimed at examining the place of the Nigeria-Biafra war to the growth of the Pentecostal Churches in Igboland 1970-1995. However, this research is limited to and will only cover Igboland, which is the core habitation of the Igbo people. Igboland here comprises the region referred to as the southeastern geopolitical zone of Nigeria with states like Abia, Anambra, Ebonyi, Enugu and Imo. Though apart from the above mentioned states, the Igbo people also live and are found in large number in some parts of Delta, Cross Rivers and Rivers Akwa Ibom and Kogi States, but they are not part of the scope of this study.

The periodic scope of this study started in 1970, which marked the end of the Nigeria-Biafra war. The study terminates in 1995 which marks twenty five years after the end of the war. The researcher considers twenty five years a good period to evaluate both physical and spiritual poverty, economic depression, deprivation and decline in social activities which characterized Igbo society immediately after the war and which created avenues for Pentecostalism to thrive as it stepped into cushioning the effects of the war. At this time, Pentecostalism had traversed many towns in Igboland and leaving its footprints at all corners of the region.

1.5 Significance of the Study

This study on the Nigeria-Biafra war in relation to Pentecostal growth in Igboland is a very important one in that the Igbo people from this study will not only know the negative aspect of the war, but also the positive side of it from the religious background. This is because wars which are horribly organized means of settling disputes have been denounced as negative in all its ramifications. However, while this may be partially true, considering the harmful impact and consequences of war on the social, political, psychological and economic fabrics of the society, it is also a fact that several positive consequences often unintended had been brought by wars. In this case, the Nigeria-Biafra war brought about the proliferation of Pentecostalism in Igboland.

Another significance of this study is that it will bring to the academic attention, the relationship between the growth of Pentecostal church in Igboland and the Nigeria-Biafra war. This is because this area has not received significant academic attention.

This study also is of importance especially now that Pentecostalism has become a crucial phenomenon exerting a great influence on the religious, social and cultural life of the Igbo to the extent that the social historians cannot ignore it. This is particularly so as the astronomical growth and the proliferation of Pentecostal churches in Igboland after the Nigeria-Biafra war in 1970 appear not to have caught the attention of Nigerian social historians. This study will therefore let the people understand the nexus between the social and psychological conditions of the Igbo people and that of the soothing messages of the Pentecostals during and in the months after the Nigeria-Biafra war.

1.6 Methodology

Methods of research on life issues and social phenomena as the one under study are always multivalent. In carrying out this research therefore, the researcher employed in this study the historical approach. The objective and analytical approach were also adopted. The methods of primary and secondary sources of data collection were employed. The primary

sources involved the survey approach which encompasses questionnaires and oral interview of some key Igbo elders who took part in the Nigeria-Biafra war. For the secondary sources, library works on the related field of the research, pamphlets, tracts, seminar papers, journals and books were reviewed. Other secondary sources of data include magazine, dailies, archival materials and internet materials. The above data were analyzed descriptively, historically, analytically, phenomenological and through culture area approach.

1.7   Definition of Terms

An attempt is made to define the keywords that form the title of this dissertation, and also most frequently used words.

War

Nobel (1977) sees war as a "political act by means of which States, unable to adjust a dispute regarding their obligations, rights or interests, resort to armed force to decide which is the stronger and may therefore impose its will on the other" (p. 34). Obviously, this organization of the contending armed forces extends back behind the battle lines and in today's modern world include all civilian activities, such as the industrial, productive, and commercial, and also the social interests and individual attitudes. The definition given by Nobel (1977) may also be applicable to other non-political sectors like, business, sport and finance. It might apply to anybody's act of violence, whenever it occurs.

Johnson (1935) views war as "armed conflict between population groups conceived of as organic units, such as races or tribes, states or lesser geographic units, religious or political parties, economic classes" (p.23). This definition may be regarded as approximately sociological because it does not limit the armed conflict to political units but includes any type of population units which is capable of resorting to arms as a method of settling disputes. Perhaps the definition is too general, since it does not specify the duration of the conflict or the magnitude of the conflicting parties. As it stands this definition could be made to include riots. Wallace (1968) considered war to be the sanctioned use of lethal weapons by

members of one society against members of another. It is carried out by trained persons working in teams that are directed by a separate policy-making group and supported in various ways by the non-combatant population. This definition is most suitable to the crisis that pitched the Nigerian army against Biafran forces during the war. Just as indicated in the definition, it is important to note that such wars involve absolute mobilization of the population in terms of activities and psychological states: the former implies comprehensive military and civilian conscription; the latter implies the systematic development of belligerent and hostile attitudes towards the enemy among all or most of the population. In another definition, Deutsch and Senghaas (1971) defined political conflicts and war as large-scale organized violence, prepared and maintained by the compulsion and legitimacy claims of a State and its government, and directed against another State or quasi-State, i.e. a relatively comparable political organization. This is quite similar to definition given by Wallace (1968) and is also a suitable description of the crisis that pitched the Nigerian army against Biafran forces during the civil war.

Nigeria-Biafra War

Nigeria-Biafra war according to Wikipedia (2017), was a war fought to counter the secession of Biafra from Nigeria. Biafra represented nationalist aspirations of the Igbo people, whose leadership felt they could no longer coexist with the Northern-dominated federal government. For Minahan (2002), Biafra, officially the Republic of Biafra, was a secessionist state in eastern Nigeria that existed from 30th May, 1970 to January 1995. It took its name from the Bight of Biafra, the Atlantic bay to its south. The inhabitants were mostly the Igbo people who led the secession due to economic, ethnic, cultural and religious tensions among various people of Nigeria. The secession of the Biafran region was the primary cause of the Nigerian civil war, also known as the Biafran war.

Pentecostalism

Pentecostalism according to Otouko (2005) is a movement which derived its origin from the account of the day of Acts of the Apostles Chapter two. It is the desire to put across the emphasis on personal relationship with the Holy Spirit and His gifts to the Church that gave birth to Pentecostalism. According to Achunike (2009), the term Pentecostalism means:

Certain elements of Christian life often associated with the experience of the power of the Holy Spirit which manifested strongly on the feast of Pentecost in the Bible and the consequent gifts of the Spirit by Christ. It also refers to the emphasis on the third person of the Trinity and his manifestations in the individual and corporate lives of Christians. (p. 32).

Achunike averred that Pentecostalism could be understood as a modern religious movement, not only represented in breakaway churches but also within the mainline churches as a charismatic movement. In the same vein, Ukpong (2008) defined Pentecostalism as a movement of Christians that incorporate high amperage music, testimonies, proclamations of message based on the Bible that is applied to the worshippers' context, diverse kinds of prayer, altar call and parting song for the conclusion of worship. He went further to state that Pentecostalism is not a denomination but a movement of Christians. The adherents are allowed to exercise the gifts of the Holy Spirit as did the disciples on the day of Pentecost. Given to this, Pentecostalism is not only a sect but a style.

Pentecostal

According to Izunwa (2011), the adjective Pentecostal has been popularly used to designate the modern Christian renewal movement which was inspired by the extra ordinary events of the first Christian Pentecost. Livingstone (1977) defines it as "a religious movement whose members or adherents share a common belief in the possibility of receiving the same experience and gifts as did the first Christians on the day of Pentecost" (p.86). Diara (2009) agreed that the meaning is rooted in God's gift of the Holy Spirit to the Church on the

Pentecost day and the subsequent reception and manifestation of all the spirit by Christians. The hallmark of these manifestation according to Ukah (2007) are faith healing, prophesy, exorcism, speaking in tongues, spontaneous prayer, exuberant liturgical expression, stress on dreams and visions. Hollenweger (cited in Nmah, 2013) considered Pentecostal as a Christian movement with:

> Spirituality on oral liturgy, narrative theology, and witness; the maximum participation of the whole community in worship and service, the inclusion of visions and dreams into public worship and understanding the relationship between body and mind manifested by healing through prayer .(pp. 5-6).

Parrinder (cited in Uzoho, 2000) defined Pentecostals as "sects which have split away from or sprung up in relative independence of the older mission churches" (p. 21). Pentecostal as used in this research is the outcome of a separation of groups or members from the orthodox or mainline churches to form independent churches run by African themselves but whose ministry is a worldwide activity.

Growth

The word growth means an increase in size, number, popularity, or esteem. In this research, the word growth is taken to mean an experience of a sudden rapid proliferation and expansion, an increase greatly in size or number. According to Plummer and Taylor (2001), the term "growth" is commonly used in reference to economic situation. The authors defined an economic growth as the expansion and peak phase of the business cycle. It is also known as an upswing, upturn, and a growth period. Thus, in extending such concept to socio-economic scenario, growth can be defined as an increase in certain societal activities such as Pentecostalism. This increase is clearly reflected in citywide or nationwide Pentecostal crusades, Televangelism etc.

Igbo

To Uchendu (1965), the word, "Igbo" may be used in three senses namely to refer to Igbo territory, to the domestic speakers of the language, and to the language spoken by them. In this research, the Igbo here mean territory. The Igbo people in Nigeria, according to Ilogu (1974) live within latitude 50-70 North of the Equator and longitude 60-80 East of the Greenwich line. It has five sub-cultural areas, Northern, Southern, Eastern, Western, and North-East. Later, Kalu (1996) grouped it into eight culture areas of Western, North Western, Northern, North Eastern, Central, South Western, Southern and Eastern.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter deals with review of related literature so as to be acquainted with existing knowledge around the area of scholarship with the view to establishing gap in the existing knowledge that this present study will fill. The review will be undertaken under conceptual framework, where the basic concepts in the subject of discussion will be espoused. Theoretical framework will show theories that can help to explain the thesis of this study, while empirical studies will show what other scholars have done around the subject matter as well as the area that they may not have looked at that this study wants to venture. This chapter ends with a summary of review where the essence of this present study will be established based on noticeable gap in existing literature.

2.1   Conceptual Framework

In this section, conceptual evaluations of relevant concepts are presented. The importance of the study was demonstrated by defining the main ideas and the network of relationships between them. A conceptual framework grounds the study in the relevant knowledge bases that lay the foundation for the importance of the problem statement and research questions. The specific concepts that were evaluated include, war and Pentecostalism.

2.1.1   General Concept of War

According to Barringer (1972), the term war can be defined as a means through which differences that exits among several units of political organization are resolved. This definition, which failed to consider the pains, loss of life and tragedy associated with armed conflict, is nevertheless credible, as war is normally a final resort for resolving issues that can be social, political and cultural factors. This notion is also reflected in the last broadcast on Radio Biafra by Lt.-Col. Effiong, who in his announcement of Biafran surrender noted that, "throughout history, injured people have had to resort to arms in their self-defence where

peaceful negotiations failed." Similarly, various historical incidents have shown that war is always the last resort for resolving social, religious and political cultural issues. The majority of those who have been concerned with war as a socio-political phenomenon have also adopted as their basic premise that there is a fundamental difference between domestic conflicts, for which there are normally mechanisms for peaceful resolution, and international conflicts, which occur in a state of anarchy. In this sense, war is but one of numerous conflict procedures, others being negotiation, conciliation, mediation, arbitration, and adjudication. It is merely a particular subset of the larger set of all conflict modes, encompassing all the socially (if not legally) recognized situations in which armed hostilities of considerable magnitude are conducted on a systematic and continuing basis by the armed forces of two or more political factions, organizations, nations, governments, or states.

Wars have been seen to involve directly state institutions, such as the foreign office and the armed forces. Thus, Barringer (1972) added that, since war is put in an international context, the stakes of war may be the life and death of states. This general outlook on war as an international or inter-state phenomenon has been shared by many students, regardless of their professional background as political scientists, historians, sociologists, psychologists or military analysts. The school of political realism maintains that nation-States can only realize their national interests by demonstrating their willingness to fight and by making use of wars of various degrees of magnitude as an instrument of national policy to achieve legitimate ends.

Generally, there are quantitative criteria that must be observed in the definition of war. A good number of the definition so far defined war as a form of political intercourse. If this is the case, then how does one know when the line dividing non-violent conflict from violence has been meaningfully crossed? One interesting attempt to fix the threshold quantitatively was made by Richardson (1960) who tried to arrange all "deadly quarrels" on a continuum of violent conflict, ranging from one killed (murder) to ten million killed (Second

World War). The threshold of war was crossed when deaths went over 1000. Base on this postulation, one can argue that the pogrom committed against the Igbo in the Northern Nigerian during 1966 as well as the sporadic ethno-religious crisis   all qualified as war. However, Singer and Small (1972) and Deutsch and Senghaas (1973) call "war" any series of events that meet the following three criteria;

- **Size**: it results in at least 1000 battle deaths (not counting, therefore, the indirect victims through famine, lack of shelter, and disease).

- **Preparation**: it has been prepared in advance , and/or is being maintained, by large-scale social organizations through such means as the recruitment, training and deployment of troops, the acquisition, storage and distribution of arms and ammunition, the making of specific war plans and the like, and

- **Legitimation**: it is being legitimized by an established governmental or quasi-governmental organization, so that large-scale killing is viewed not as a crime but as a duty.

The definition just given would exclude small incidents among organized forces, large but unorganized, poorly legitimated and transitory riots. It would include, however, many large and sustained civil wars, since the parties to such wars tend to assume quasi-governmental functions in preparing, maintaining, organizing, and legitimating the process of large-scale killing. While qualification is helpful in standardization, the cut-off points for various categories are likely to remain highly arbitrary. Besides, the basis for quantification may not take into account other dimensions of the use of force. Economic war or psychological war may, for example, produce drastic and far-reaching political and military consequences not measurable by battlefield casualties. Additionally, the outcome of violent wars and crisis can be so devastating on the affected individuals, especially those that are defeated, maybe forced to seek a form of renewal. Perhaps, this reality may have been a

contributory factor to the explosive growth of Pentecostalism among the Igbo people who lost the war.

2.1.2   Concept and History of Pentecostalism

Pentecostalism is a renewal movement within Christianity that places special emphasis on personal experience with God through the Holy Spirit. They have the tendency to see their movement as reflecting the same kind of spiritual power and teachings that were found in the Apostolic Age of the early church. The emphasis on the spiritual gifts places the movement within Charismatic Christianity. According to Blumhofer (1989), the Pentecostal movement is theologically and historically close to the Charismatic Movement as it significantly influenced the Movement, and sometimes the terms Pentecostal and Charismatic are used interchangeably.

Pentecostals believe in the baptism of the Spirit with the evidence of speaking in tongues, just as in Acts 2:4 when the Holy Spirit came upon the Apostles. The New Testament Pentecost occurred fifty days after the resurrection of Jesus and ten days after Christ ascended up into heaven, and it was a great event, which the world had not witnessed before. Macchia (2006) stated that:

> It was the day in which the Holy Spirit made a unique visit to the earth to empower his apostles". In a general sense the emphasis of scholars that explored the concept of Pentecostalism centered on the direct personal experience with God through the Holy Spirit. Thus, the Holy Spirit is essentially the main figure of Pentecostalism. (p.27).

Pentecostal features like prophecy, speaking in tongues and healing were found in the early Church. The book of Acts and First Corinthians talked about these spiritual gifts severally. According to Anderson (2004), "the charismata and other phenomena associated with Pentecostalism in the early twentieth century have been on record throughout the history of Christianity" (p.9). In line with Anderson (2004), Marshall (2001) affirmed that Monastic

movement practiced prophecy and speaking in tongues; as they were seen as people wrought up into a certain kind of frenzy and irregular ecstasy, raving and speaking and uttering strange things. Kay and Dyer (2004) wrote that the early Christian writers such as Tertullian, Ignatius of Antioch, Justin Martyr, Irenaeus of Gaul and Clement of Alexandria attest to the fact that healing, casting out of demons and prophecy and raising of the dead were all taking place in their own time. The third century writers like Cyprian of Carthage in the West saw these gifts as the sole dispensation of the bishop. According to Keley (1998), Chrysostom thought gifts were not needed anymore while Augustine was more ambiguous about the matter as he said speaking in tongue existed only in the New Testament. Origen too affirms that Charismata occurred only in scriptures. Within the second century, Montanius claimed to be the advocate and mouth piece of the Holy Spirit. In his teaching, Montanius appropriated the personality of the Holy Spirit to himself so much that the church became uncomfortable with his teachings and expelled him.

Charismata in the middle Ages continued as the Eastern Churches practiced spiritual gifts in monasteries throughout the medieval time. Anderson (2004) stated that pneumatology has always been at the centre of their theology, but they have always been open to the charismata. As established by Anderson, in the Eastern Churches, spiritual gifts were still practiced but only in the monasteries. In the reformation era the Holy Spirit gifts were almost unidentified apart from the occasional report in the Anabaptism movement. Thus, Robert (1997) stated that if not, people like Martin Luther and Calvin rejected the idea of speaking in tongues arguing it was given as a sign to the Jews and had ceased that Christians no longer needed miracles and that miracles had long ceased. Robert observes that the Protestants in this period absolutely counter the spiritual gifts and since they believed that it ceased long ago they did not even try to know whether it could work. Again, the groups that preceded modern Pentecostalism also had the phenomenon of *glossolalia,* prophecy, vision and healing.

Theologically, Hollenweger (1972) pointed out that, Pentecostalism stemmed principally from Methodism. This is because John Wesley taught and emphasized the doctrine of the Holy Spirit for sanctification as a definite second work of grace to conversion. Beside John Wesley, was Edward Irving (1712-1834), who was a Presbyterian minister and a theologian. In contrast to the doctrine of sanctification, Irving taught on the gift of tongue. Synan (2001) pointed out that Irving accepted speaking in tongues as the standing sign and the root and stem out of which flowed all other gifts of the Spirit. Burgess (1998) from his study of church history discovers that, the first link between spirit baptism and manifestation of speaking in tongues occurred in the ministry of Edward Irving in the 1831. Strachan (1973) saw Irving as a "Pentecostal forerunner as John the Baptist and links directly his standing sign with Pentecostal initial evidence" (p.33).

Historically, scholars traced the concept's origin to two revivals as fundamental to the modern Pentecostal movement. However, there were other revivals in America that preceded the two revivals, such as American Holiness Teachers, Wesleyans, Keswick and Camp Meeting Holiness, but they were not recognized as such. It was Parham's revival in Topeka, Kansas that was recorded as the first and William Joseph Seymour of Azusa street Los Angeles as the second revival. Charles Fox Parham was an independent holiness evangelist that strongly believed in divine healing and one of the leading figures of Pentecostal movement. Parham received the teaching of sanctification as the second work of grace. Additionally, Synan (1997) observed that "he also adopted some radical elements of the holiness movement such as faith healing" (p.89). Parham established a school named Bethel Bible School in October 1900 near Topeka, Kansas United States. The school according to Synan (1997) began as a "divine healing home" upon the standard of holiness doctrines. With the longing for more gifts, he thought of a charismatic baptism in the Holy Spirit that would be needed to meet the challenge of the new century. Therefore, he instructed the students to study Acts chapter two. The students' answer was the outpouring of the Holy Spirit upon the

Apostles with the evidence of speaking in tongue. On January 1,1901, after a night watch service, the students prayed for, received the Holy Spirit baptism. Agnes Ozman was the first to receive the gift with evidence of speaking in tongues through the laying on of hands by Parham. Synan (1997) further postulated that:

> This event is commonly regarded as the beginning of modern Pentecostal movement in America. After Ozman experienced tongues the rest of the students sought and received the same experience. Parham received the same experience sometime later and began preaching it in all his services. (p.91).

From the above quotation, Parham made a vital theological connection by the identification of speaking in tongues as the manifestation of Holy Spirit baptism. Again, Parham taught that speaking in tongues should be part of normal Christian worship. His teaching leads to the doctrinal and experimental foundations of the modern Pentecostalism. Similarly, Jones (1974) wrote that Parham came out with the doctrine of *glossolalia* with the Biblical proof of Holy Spirit baptism, and the supernatural impartation for the purpose of worldwide evangelism. Contrary to Parham's expectation, Jones posits that the revival that followed remained regional and not World wide as he hoped. However, Goff (1988) argued that "It was rather Parham's doctrine preached by his student Seymour that produced the Azusa street revival of the 1906, and with it the Pentecostal movement became globalized as he expected" (p.69).

Cerillo (1977) pointed out that the 1906 revival at Azusa Street Los Angeles marked the second phase of Pentecostal origins. William Seymour an African –American Holiness Preacher ignited the revival. Seymour was a black student who was permitted to sit outside for his lectures since; blacks cannot sit with white in the same class. Anderson and Marshall (2001) observed that the startling experience, which gave birth to the famous Azusa street revival started in a prayer home, as seven people received the Holy Spirit baptism with evidence of speaking in tongues. The revival spread throughout United States and beyond.

This was made possible through the holiness leaders present at the revival, which took the teaching back to their various places. Blumhofer (1993) observed that the Spiritual power prevalent in Los Angeles added fuel to the flame as people began to troop in from everywhere around the continent. As time went on many became critical of the emotionalism with people shouting, dancing, jerking and shaking to an extreme. Even the holiness people who were not known for dignified services described them as extremists. He further explained that when "Parham came to Azusa Street he was shocked by the "holy roller" aspect of the service, and made efforts to correct the extremist and fanaticism" but he was asked to leave.

In their own postulation, Barrett and Johnson (1999) observed that the Pentecostal movement has evolved from a small band of Christian believers to a World-wide movement with an estimated "450 million adherents". This notion is also supported by Cox (1995), who noted that the expansion of Pentecostal experience has now pervaded all parts of the World Christianity, rippling like waves into the various sectors of mainstream Churches such as Roman Catholic and Protestants. This led us to the globalization of Pentecostalism. There are diverse views about globalization of Pentecostalism as portrayed by McGee (1986) that:

> The movement started as a small group and spread out to the entire world; it is a religion made to travel and the movement also prompted the birth of other movements such as Charismatic Movement and the Third Wave Movement, which is also known as a global culture .(p. 44).

The above quotation therefore means that the Pentecostal movement started with a teacher and students in Topeka. But when they discovered the gift of the Holy Spirit with evidence of speaking in tongues, it attracted Christians from other movements and denominations that took the message back to their various places. First it was taken to Azusa Street, Los Angles by William Seymour, one of Charles Parham's students and from there it went global with the aid of people who came from different parts of the World and had the

same experience. Again, a global world would have a single society and culture, probably not harmoniously integrated and with high multi-centricity. Hollenweger (1997) however posited that Pentecostals' fundamental doctrine is on the coming of the Holy Spirit on the day of Pentecost, which is polycentric globalization. In short the twentieth century Pentecostalism set out from Seymour's revival in 1906 and quickly reached other parts of the world through missionaries, immigrants' network which intersected with a starting point in America.

Explaining the phenomenal spread of Pentecostal, Miller and Yamamori (2007) have reported that, "Pentecostalism often attracts people who are suffering from what sociologists refer to as 'anomie' " (p.22). Anomie is the state of alienation and social disorientation that people who have moved from rural to urban centres feel. Also, people who have crises situations in life are prone to follow Pentecostalism; these crises may be financial, health, social, psychological, etc. Pentecostalism offers a kind of enclave in which social order prevails.

In a similar way, Cox (1995) averred that the rapid spread of Pentecostalism is attributed to the power of the Holy Spirit who is revered as the figure head of God's active force. He avers further that the Pentecostal and the emphasis on experience has touched people emotionally and spreads through testimony and personal contact. The revival flame that spread in early Pentecostalism without chaos in its wake, fanned out workers and missionaries from Azusa Street to other parts of the World. Faupel (1996) likened such mission to Jerusalem where Christians visit to experience the new Pentecostalism wave. Pentecostalism has continued to expand in major parts of the world in different forms. For instance, prophecy is a very important aspect especially in Africa, where oracular prophecy fulfils many pastoral and therapeutic functions. Thus Anderson (2004) wrote that Africans have taken these three-fold functions further and have became counsellors, pastors and healers at the same time, solving human needs of those who consult them.

This in turn leads us to the issue of indigenization and diversity that occurs in Pentecostalism. According to Klaus (2008), Pentecostalism as a regionalized Christian movement, differing in identity from one part of the globe to the next; has been able to generate a global culture which shares a common spirituality. Hollenweger (1972) observed that diversity is ensured right from the outset of the twentieth century Pentecostal churches, and there is no doubt that the segregation of white and black churches contributed in no small measure to this diversity. Many Pentecostal churches in Europe and America, which span in a short time, have their own particular profiles, depending on the history and their cultural context. This therefore means, where Pentecostalism started in Topeka was among the whites and the Azusa phase was with the blacks, which took a different form from the former.

The movement with its flexibility in the spirit has an innate ability to make itself at home in almost any context. It has continued to expand in many different forms throughout the world. For Anderson (2004), this is largely because of the flexibility in the spirit, which often allows them more freedom in developing their own cultural relevant expressions. But then Cox (1995) warned that, if the "expressions are merely for personal gratification," then the emphasis on the spiritual gifts is detrimental to a healthy and holistic Christian life and becomes a mere passionate expression of concern. The spiritual gifts are supposed to improve individual and community's needs and also bring greater awareness of love of both God and one's neighbour. Therefore, the emphasis on the Holy Spirit should be welcomed. This postulation is also supported by Taylor (1972), who noted that the issue of indigenization has caused the movement to expand in many different forms throughout the world, with emphases on the needs of such communities or cultures.

Indigenous Christian movements have to a very large extent motivated the spread and development Pentecostalism in Nigeria. The first Pentecostal features appeared as early as the twentieth century in form of Independent, prophetic or spiritual movement in communities where missionaries had already established churches. This could be traced to the Naked Faith

people who are also the precursors of *Aladura* (African indigenous Churches) and Pentecostals in the Country. Tuner (1972) noted that most of the initial Churches such as Christ Apostolic Church, Church of the Lord and Assemblies of God are linked with the Naked Faith people. Besides, the event that eventually led to the formation of the Pentecostal prayer group Achunike (2009) asserted that:

> The Pentecostal Movement in Nigeria has an indigenous origin without any contact with American Pentecostalism. Introduced principally from Britain between 1937 and 1955, the Christian Student Movement (CSM) and the Christian Union (CU) were firmly established in Nigerian institutions before the 1970s. In January 1970s some (CU) students of University of Ibadan who interacted with the Pentecostal church claimed to be spirit baptized and spoke in tongues. They influenced the CSM members. In May 1970 members founded a new group, World Action Team for Christ. Through their evangelical outreaches the six Universities in the country then experienced the revival. By late 1972 the influence of the American Pentecostalism was noted largely through literature. (p.16).

Again, it is observed that these students took the experience back to their mainline Churches such as the Anglican, Methodist, Evangelical Church of West Africa (now Evangelical Church Winning All) and Baptist. This eventually gave rise to the emergence of Charismatic Movement in the protestant Churches. Similarly, Eriuwo (1983) observed that Catholic Charismatic Movement originated in the Southwest Nigeria at the Dominican Brotherhood Community in 1971. The 1970 Charismatic revival that broke out in the country through the campus fellowship also infiltrated ideals into the orthodox denominations; thus, this further spread the growth of charismatic movement in Nigeria. In his own opinion, Ojo (2013) observed that the rise of this movement was made possible through contacts between Pentecostal ministers and evangelical students in higher institutions and the persistent

circulation of Pentecostal literature from North America and Europe. In support of the above view, Kalu (2008) also gave seven components of the Pentecostal phenomenon that;

- The Hour of Redemption Ministry, which operated in Lagos before the civil war.

- The Benson Idahosa Ministry, which was just gathering momentum in Benin when civil war began.

- The radicalization of the Scripture Union in the eastern Nigeria between 1967 and 1975.

- The Wave of Freedom Ministry, which started during the civil war in 1969 and held sway in the East immediately.

- The Charismatic of the South Western Nigeria.

- The phenomenon of Coppers as Preachers as the Christian University invaded northern Nigeria while serving in the National Youth Services Corps (NYSC) and

- The special case of Charismatics in the Roman Catholic Church.

Kalu (2008) had diligently and skilfully spelt out the ways in which Pentecostal waves cut across the nation. The above ways also aided the evangelical revival of the1970s; that was a wave of Pentecostal expansion, which surged from fellowship to establishing of new Churches such as Church of God Mission International by Benson Idahosa in 1972, the Deeper Life Bible Church in 1975. Also, some churches that were established in Classical Pentecostals grew throughout the 1980s and1990s. One of such churches is Living Faith Church (Winners Chapel) founded by David Oyedepo. The Pentecostal Churches of the 1970s were distinguished by their teaching on personal ethics, sanctification, and the adoption of strict separation from the worldly activities.

To buttress the point, Marshall (1998) classified Pentecostal Churches into two broad categories known as Holiness movement and the prosperity preachers. The Holiness movement groups base their teaching on Biblical perfection and strict personal ethics. People

usually addressed each other as Brother or Sister, and they also teach faith healing, prosperity, spiritual gift, signs and wonders. These Churches by Marshal (1998) included Deeper Life Bible Church, the Apostolic Church, and Living Faith church. The Pentecostal Churches that emphasize prosperity, believe that the spiritual and material fortunes of a believer are based on how much the person offers materially or spiritually to God. This group also emphasizes the eschatology and the second coming of Christ, signs and wonders or miracles and strict ethical conduct. These churches include Benson Idahosa Miracle Centre in Benin and the Tunde Joda in Lagos.

Abogunrin (1989) opined that the prosperity churches emphasize the salvation of the soul as preached by the mission churches as important. Salvation, however, limited to the soul will not be holistic in the African context. Salvation should be holistic, both to man's body, health, spirituality and continuous protection from demonic powers, provision of our daily needs and the society's total well being. Anderson and Marshall (2001) examined that the close of twentieth century and the beginning of the twenty first century has equally witnessed a rapid increase in the emergence of neo-Pentecostal denominations in the history of Pentecostalism in Nigeria. Laymen and pastors and mostly schismatic groups from the existing churches, used rented buildings, founded most of these churches. Almost all the founders claimed to have been called by God as a justification for separating from their former Churches. He further remarked that Pentecostalism is growing in Nigeria faster than in any other nation of the World. The end of the twentieth and the beginning of the twenty first century witnessed a rapid expansion of Pentecostal in the country.

It is very pertinent to note at this juncture that Pentecostalism has metamorphosed from the point of being just the manifestation of signs and wonders to providing services and influencing several sectors of the Nigerian society. Arguing along this line, McCain (2013) pointed out that, Pentecostalism has provided a framework for national transformation in Nigeria to such an extent that members are encouraged to participate in any sector of the

society (like politics, economics, health, education, entertainment, industry and manufacturing, Information and Communications Technologies and so on, etc). Therefore, through social networking and active participation, Pentecostals influence government projects, established educational institutions, and provide social amenities; thereby improving the socio-economic and political landscape of the Nigeria.

2.2   Theoretical Framework

In this section, theoretical framework for the study is presented. Basically, the theoretical framework is used to investigate relevant theories. In other words theoretical framework helps us to achieve the objectives of the study. The specific theories that are reviewed include; empirical theory of Divine intervention and human needs theory.

2.2.1   The Empirical Theory of Divine Intervention

For the purposes of a theoretical framework this study adopts several theories and adapts their basic prepositions to underpin its arguments. One of these theories is the Empirical Theory of Divine Intervention. The Empirical Theory of Divine Intervention was propounded by Thomas Aquinas and several other scholars who have left imprints on the original theoretical conception of Aquinas. Thomas Aquinas sets forth in the theory not only to explain the existence of God but to also prove that God intervenes in the affairs of humans (Kreeft, 1990). Aquinas' theoretical propositions are to be found in the first part of his book, *Summa Theological*. In this book, he developed five central arguments for Gods existence and divine intervention in the affairs of men. These arguments, according to Brian Davies, are grounded in an Aristotelian ontology and make use of the infinite regression argument (Davies, 1992). First, the theory argues that whatever that is in motion must be put in motion by another thing. So there must be an Unmoved Mover. Aquinas proceeded to argue that God is the Unmoved Mover who moves and influences the affairs of men. Again, the theory argues that it is impossible for a being to cause itself to be (because it would have to exist before it caused itself) and that it is impossible for there to be an infinite changing causes

which would result in an infinite regress. Therefore, there must be a first cause, itself uncaused. Furthermore, the theory states that since all beings are contingent (meaning that it is possible for them not to exist); there must have been a time when nothing existed as things exist now. The theory thus, contends that there must exist a being with necessary existence regarded as God (Davies, 1992). In all, the Empirical Theory of Divine Intervention claims that apart from the existence of God, He intervenes directly and indirectly in the business of men. The importance of this theory for this study stems from the fact that it gives a philosophical and theological basis for prosperity messages, since God intervenes in the affairs of humans. The strength of the theory is on its explanation that Pentecostal growth and development in Igboland was not based on orthodoxy but orthopraxis in order to change Igbo society for better. The general dissatisfaction of the Igbo following the war opened door for new religious experiences. From deep or ingrained religious psyche, God is a natural experience for the Igbo. Zahan (2000) argued that an African seeks to win the benevolence of God in order to change his or her fortune in a positive manner. It is only God that can destroy enemies and set him or her free. An African calls on God naturally in every life situations because he or she knows that God is capable of making his decision and justice known. This explains why the Igbo, during and immediately after the war, embraced Pentecostalism with his whole life, body and soul and surrendered every facet of his existence to the balm in Gilead as preached by the Pentecostals.

2.2.2 Human Needs Theory

The Human Needs Theory was developed in the 1970s and 1980s by Abraham Aarold Mastow as a generic or holistic theory of human behaviour. It is based on the hypothesis that humans have basic needs that have to be met in order to maintain stable societies. As Burton (1990) described:

We believe that the human participants in conflict situations are compulsively struggling in their perspective institutional environments at all social levels to satisfy

primordial and universal needs such as security, identity, recognition and development. They strive increasingly to gain the control of their environment that is necessary to ensure the satisfaction of these needs. This struggle cannot be curbed, it is primordial. (p. 271).

The main assumption of human needs theory is that all humans have basic human needs which they seek to fulfil and that the denial and frustration of those needs by other groups or individuals could affect them immediately or later, thereby leading to conflict. This position of human needs theory is similar to that of frustration-aggression and Relative-Deprivation theory. Basic human needs in this sense comprise physical, psychological, social and spiritual needs. In essence, to provide access to one (e.g. food) and deny or hinder access to another (e.g. freedom of worship) will amount to denial and could make people resort to violence in an effort to protect these needs.

Needs theorists over time have identified some of these needs, the deprivation of which causes conflict. Maslow (1970) however, identified some of these needs like, physiological needs, safety needs, belongingness and love, esteem and self-actualization. Also Burton (1979) listed response, stimulation, security, recognition, distributive justice and meaning, needs to appear rational and develop rationality, need for sense of control and the needs for role defence. He refers to some needs as basic such as food, shelter, sex and reproduction. Azar (1994) named some basic needs like security, distinctive identity, social recognition of identity and effective participation in the process that shape such identities. A link between frustrations which force humans into acts of aggression and the needs on the part of such individuals to satisfy their basic needs was identified by Burton (1979) who stated that individuals cannot be taught to accept practices that destroy their identity and other goals that are attached to their needs. He stated that because of this, they are forced to react against the factors, groups and institutions that they see as being responsible for threatening such needs. Human needs for survival, protection, affection, understanding, participation,

creativity and identity are shared by all and according to Burton, have components (needs for recognition, identity, security, autonomy and bounding with others) that are not easy to give up. No matter how much a political or social system tries to frustrate or suppress these needs, it will either fail or cause far more damage on the long run. In relation to this study, the attempt by the Nigerian government to frustrate the political freedom demanded by and sought for by the Biafrans created the need for the struggle for survival among the Igbo. More so, the socio-economic effect of the war gave rise to yearnings for spiritual solutions to the plight of the Igbo after the war which, it appears, that mission Christianity could not provide. All these paved the way for the growth of Pentecostalism in Igboland. This was also coupled with the fact that the European Christian missionaries did not see Africans as people that can be able to theologize, thus did not really entrust the leadership of the church and certain managerial juicy positions to the Africans.

According to Max-Neef (1991), the tension between deprivation and potential are main issues addressed by human needs theory because when important needs are not sufficiently satisfied, economic and political problems will continue to grow. The absence of economic opportunities, hyper-inflation and penury are manifestation of economic imbalance; while the political imbalance leads to fear, xenophobia (intense fear or dislike of foreign people, their custom and culture), crime and violence, forced migration, voluntary or forced exile and political marginalization. All these constitute the root causes of bitter conflicts. Needs scholars identify a wide range of human needs; some agreed on the fact that the frustrations of these needs hamper the actualization of the potentials of groups and individuals, subsequently leading to conflict. Secondly, there is near consensus among them that to resolve a conflict situation or to even prevent it from occurring, the needs have to be met with appropriate satisfier, those things that were denied them in the first instance.

2.3   Empirical Studies

Certainly, explanations of the extraordinary growth of Pentecostalism abound, with a range of suggestions. To some, the unusual growth of the movement is the direct intervention of God. On the contrary, historians and sociologist have offered suggestions that reflect a functional understanding of the component of society. For instance, Kydd (1994) spoke of Pentecostalism as being part of a protest against modern capitalist society. They referred to Pentecostalism as a means of empowerment, however illusory, for those with social deficits. They see also the movement as a network of surrogate communities in which people can find support and emotional release, an antidote to anomie. Again, they referred to Pentecostalism as serving to help people handicapped by feelings of relative deprivation aroused by comparing themselves to others. However, Kydd did not show any link between Pentecostalism and civil war as was the case in Igboland. This study, therefore, will focus on this seeming lacuna.

Hollenweger (1972) agreed with Kydd when he affirms that Pentecostalism's function of overcoming personal and social disadvantages by a religious experience is exercised amongst all nations. Most scholars share similar opinions as regards the growth of Pentecostalism. Though the above suggestions cannot all be wished away, it should be noted that they are not exhaustive. Interestingly, Kydd (1994) wrote on the global expansion of Pentecostalism demonstrates that the movement has been globally attractive as a result of its epitomizing fundamental values of western culture. The scholar argues that there is strong correspondence between the growth of Pentecostalism and westernization. Citing the examples of Caribbean and Latin America, Kydd (1994) reflected that Pentecostal growth in the Caribbean and Latin America has been most dramatic since 1945, the same date with a remarkable increase in speed of westernization.

Statistics from Kydd's study shows that the same growth pattern is obtained in many other countries; Central America Chile, South America and many others. The studies reveal thus: When one turns to specific information related to individual countries, the same picture

emerges. For instance, Pentecostal growth in Brazil became significant in the 1930s, but never accelerated until 1950s.In Chile, the numerical surge of Pentecostalism began in 1940s.With regard to Puerto Rico.

LaRuffa (2001) said that Pentecostalism as a religious movement showed a mild spurt during the 1930s but experienced a marked expansion in the post World War era. He further made the same observation in his article titled, Religion, Nationalism, and Violence: An Integrated Approach, in which they reported that Pentecostal growth in Trinidad was phenomenal; pointing out that while there had been fewer than 4000 Pentecostals in the country in 1960 by 1970 that number had grown more than 20,000.

Pentecostalism, which is a global phenomenon came into Nigeria about three decades ago but has expanded to almost every part of the country. A number of studies have attested to the exponential growth of Pentecostalism in Nigeria. For instance, Adamolekun (2012) discussed the main trends in history of church growth and development in Nigeria. The methodology adopted is historical approach. The history of church growth and development in Nigeria is divided into five periods namely: the period of introducing Latin Christianity in the 15th and 16th Centuries; the period of Denominationalism and missionary activities in the 19th Century from 1842 onward; the period of evolution of independent Churches; the period of indigenous African Churches; and the period of the birth of Charismatic and Pentecostal Churches. It is established in the paper that church growth led to numerical strength of churches as seen in the proliferation of churches in Nigeria. It is observed that the dramatic rise of charismatic and Pentecostal movement led to the emergence of new churches and evangelical groups. The work suggested the establishment of more churches and the practice of ethical and moral teachings of the Bible. It concludes by recommending that church growth and development should not be based on orthodoxy but orthopraxis in order to change African society for better. The gap in the work, however, was that Adamolekun did not see any link between economic and social hardship of the Igbo people resulting from the civil

war with the phenomenal increase in Pentecostalism in Igboland. This is the gap that this study will fill.

Adesoji (2016) noted that the Pentecostal Movement in Nigeria, like elsewhere, is a distinctly Christian organization by virtue of what it professes and what characterizes it. Increased privileges for leaders, leadership visibility and leadership style have tended to encourage other aspirants to form similar organizations. Despite the existence of an umbrella association like the Pentecostal Fellowship of Nigeria, different centers have emerged, each seeking relevance and influence. Using historical and sociological approaches, Adesoji (2016) discussed the trends in the New Pentecostal Movement in Nigeria, identifies some characteristic types and probes into the basis for belonging, seeking to belong or otherwise. It also interrogates the strategies employed and its effectiveness or otherwise. The paper revealed that different waves of Pentecostalism have their own orientation. Thus, it is possible that there could be a new wave with a different orientation, provided that it does not build on the present orientation characterized by contest for influence. Adesoji's work was a pointer to the fact that more studies should be done to investigated other causes of Pentecostal spread in Nigeria; hence, the need for a study of Pentecostalism as an outcome of civil war in Igboland.

In another study, Adewale and Abu (2013) pointed out that many previous works on Christianity in Nigeria had mostly emphasized the successful parts of the mission efforts rather than the whole gamut of attempts, successes, failures and African innovativeness that largely characterized the mission stories. The authors examined in synopsis the mission activities of the missionary groups that made entry into Nigeria and how the religion was eventually slated for indigenization by the Nigerian Christians to aptly express their worldview and perception. Some relevant literature were used to gather historical facts about the topic. Logical reasoning and historical method were used in treating findings and in reconciling the information and evidence in the literature. The paper surveyed the following:

European entry into Africa, Christian entry into Nigeria, (western and southern Nigeria), the missions established and how these missions were breeding diverse African nationalists and charismatic personnel who suggested that Christianity should be expressed in the African way. Christianity in Nigeria had gone through a lot of stages and the roles of these stages are very fundamental in the telling of Christian history in Nigeria. Mission Christianity though brought Christianity to Nigeria could not present a befitting Christianity that match the worldview of the people. Western missionary personnel enjoyed a great deal of hospitality when they came in the 19th Century. Nevertheless, Indigenous Christian practices garnished in Pentecostal expressiveness and liturgies appeared to be the distinguishing traits and hopes of Nigerian Christianity in the long run. This work, however, did not explain the Pentecostalism boom that was recorded in Igboland between 1970 and 1995. This, therefore, calls for this present study to fill this gap.

In another article Ngbea (2015) observed that religious influence has a gradual and progressive development in the history of every nation and society. According to the author, the emergence of Pentecostalism on the religious landscape of Nigeria has influenced the mainline churches in so many ways. Thus, it is not a surprise that many charismatic and evangelical societies are emerging in the mainline churches. It was however shortly after the bloody Nigeria-Biafra war that Pentecostalism experienced a monumental increase across the country. But the study did not establish any link between the War and Pentecostal growth in Igboland.

2.4   Summary of Literature Review

The review of related literature was carried out under three major subheadings namely; conceptual framework, theoretical framework and empirical studies. The conceptual framework focused on the concept and typology of conflicts as well as concept and history of Pentecostalism and historiography. The theoretical framework focused on two theories considered relevant to the study. These theories were empirical theory of Divine intervention

and human needs theory. The empirical studies revealed that Pentecostalism, as a global phenomenon has not only been firmly established in Nigeria, but has recorded an exponential increase in the last three decades. The empirical studies also showed that the emergence of Pentecostalism on the religious landscape of Nigeria has influenced the mainline churches in many ways. Although extensive work has been done on the emergence and growth of Pentecostalism in Nigeria but no study have been carried out on Nigerian-Biafran war and Pentecostal boom in Igboland 1970 – 1995 that would have determine the effects of certain political situations on the trend. The causes and effects of the war seemed to pre-occupy the write-ups. This study is specifically aimed at filling this void. In this case, the study will strive to establish a link between the Nigerian-Biafran War and Pentecostal growth in Igboland. Some of these scholars did not write on Nigerian situation, rather, they made swooping comments in other to justify their school of thought or world views. Many of the writings were more than thirty (30) years and do not seem to fit into the contemporary trend or events. Worse still, these scholars were literary artists, historians, political activists, sociologists and economists. They seem to lack the basic tools needed to examine Christian historiography. This study is specifically aimed at filling the gaps created by the error of generalisation, lack of basic tools needed in studying, interpreting and repositioning the African Christian historiography.

CHAPTER THREE

IGBOLAND IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

This chapter sets out to look at the history of Igbo origin with particular reference to different hypothesis regarding the origin of Igbo people. A further investigation will be done into Igbo way of life before the advent of Christianity and western civilization. The chapter will conclude with a look at the impacts of Christianity on Igbo culture. This aspect of the study is considered very necessary as it will provide information on how mission Christianity entered a fared in Igboland before the outbreak of the civil war and its consequent Pentecostal growth.

3.1   Origin and Migration

Igbo land is the home of the Igbo people and it covers most of Southeastern part of Nigeria. This area is divided by the River Niger into two unequal sections-the eastern region (which is the largest) and the mid-western region. The river has, however not acted as a barrier to cultural unity; rather it has provided an easy means of communication in an area where many settlements claim different origins. The Igbo people are also surrounded on all sides by other ethnic groups such as, the Bini, Warri, Ijaw, Ogoni, Igala, Tiv, Yako and Ibibio. The origins of the Igbo people has been the subject of much speculation, and it is only in the last fifty years that any real work has been carried out on this subject. Many historians have attempted in different ways to tell and retell the story of where and how the Igbo people, had their origin. Some scholars were of the opinion that the Igbo people were members of the larger Jewish-Egyptian nation who migrated from Egypt through Sudan to the present day Igboland of Nigeria. Other scholars disagree with that viewpoint saying that the Igbo people hailed from somewhere near the confluence point of rivers Niger and Benue in Kogi state. Another group of scholars, coming from a completely different perspective were of the opinion that the Igbo never migrated from anywhere, but have been the original inhabitants of the geographic area known as Igboland. It is obvious that these three schools of thought have

a case to make and some facts to back-up their viewpoints. None of the viewpoints made by any the schools of thought is however, flawless and 100% accurate. Perhaps, the origin of the Igbo people had to do with the three viewpoints.

3.1.1 The Igbo Oriental Hypothesis

The Igbo Oriental hypothesis is based on the external migration theory. According to this postulation, the Igbo descended from the Jews and as such migrated from the far East. The idea of migration from the East has been supported by several academic scholars. The most prominent point that is used in support of this postulation is the strikingly similarities in some Igbo cultural and characteristic traits with that of the Jewish culture. These similarities buttress the claims of a direct Jewish descendance of the Igbo people. This theory was supported by Basden (1966) who noted that:

> There are certain customs which rather point to Levitic influence at a more or less remote period. This is suggested in the underlying ideas concerning sacrifice and the practice of circumcision. The language also bears several interesting parallels with the Hebrew idiom. (p.31).

Additionally, Basden (1966) also asserted that the Igbo level of cultural civilization is at par with those of the Jews and Egyptians. In fact, the Igbo religious system is similar to the Egyptian religious system in that both systems recognize the place of departed holy ancestors influencing the individual and collective fate of those still living on earth. This also goes to support the theory and views of Okorie (1983), who also holds that the Igbo migrated from the Middle East-Judea and whose story gives even more explicit dates, names and Map of this migration of the Igbo from the Middle East.

The exact factors that prompted the migration of the Jews to African and current Igbo land has also been topic of intense debate and discussion. Most of these studies pointed to the displacement of the Jews as a result of some conflicts. For instance, Josephus cited in

Whiston (1999), described also in his famous work how Shalmaneser, the King of Assyria took Samaria by force, and how he transplanted the ten tribes of Israel into Media and brought the nation of the Cutheans into their country. According to him:

> When Shalmaneser, the king of Assyria, …besieged Samaria, (he) took it by force in the ninth year of the reign of Hoshea, and in the seventh year of Hezekiah, king of Jerusalem, and quite demolished the government of the Israelites, and transplanted all the people into Media and Persia among whom he took King Hoshea alive; and when he had removed these people out of their land he transplanted other nations out of Cuthah, a place so called (for there is still a river of that name in Persia), into Samaria, and into the country of the Israelites. So the ten tribes of the Israelites were removed out of Judea nine hundred and forty-seven years after their forefathers come out of the land of Egypt, and possessed themselves of the country. (p.33).

The above theory is clearly in line with the Igbo Oriental hypothesis, which stipulates that the Igbo people originated from the Middle East. In other words, the Igbo people may have been among the lost tribe that wandered out of the present day Palestine during the Assyrian assault in which the ten northern tribes of Israel fell about 718 BC. Characteristic of this assault according to biblical history and theology is that the Assyrians conquered northern Israel, and transported the people out and planted another people in their land. Many of the tribes in the northern Israel of this time wandered away in different direction and got intermingled among different tribes and cultures and disappeared. It is very important to note that however, there is no scientific explanation in Biblical research and history of the whereabout of these tribes of northern Israel that were displaced.

Okorie (1983) was more specific in his postulation. According to his own account, there was a tribe at in northern Israel at this time of the Assyrian assault known as "Scheckenigbo", which was among the tribes that wandered out of northern Israel during this time. Okorie (1983) noted that:

They supposedly wandered down to Egypt but remembered what happened to them in Egypt and left Egypt again and wandered further south. Along the way, because of fear, that the Assyrians could still go after them, they removed the "Schecken" in their name and left only "Igbo". They continued to wander southwest Africa. They intermarried with the people they met on their way, until they came to what is today Nigeria. On reaching the Niger, most of them crossed over and settled and some of them remained west of the Niger, which is the Delta Igbo of today. (p.181).

Even though Okorie's narrative is more concise and detailed, there is neither literary nor scientific evidence of his claims. In his own postulation, Onwuejiogwu (1981) argues that the migration of the Igbo people to their current position from occurred before the exodus of the Israelites from Egypt. According to him, Eri, the father of all Igbo, who hailed from Israel, was the fifth son of Gad, the seventh son of Jacob (Genesis 46:15-18 and Numbers 26:16:18). One interesting thing is that, his own theory is in line with the Nri Mythology, which recognizes Eri as the father of all Igbo. Isichei (1997) however, pointed out that the authentic Nri myth of origin holds the father of all Nri is Eri and no one knows where he came from.

3.1.2 The Igbo Homeland Hypothesis

The Igbo homeland hypothesis is based exclusively on the autochthony theory of origin. The word autochthony comes from the Greek word *autochton* which suggests aboriginal. This hypothesis has it that the Igbo people have always been where they are located currently, right from the beginning of time. It argues they have remained in their present area without being immigrants since they occupied a kind of established position territorial wise. This tends to support the views of Hartle (1967) who said that "Archaeology indicates that the Igbo were in occupation of parts of south-eastern Nigeria by 2000 – 3000 BC". Afigbo (1981) affirmed that the antiquity of the Igbo …on logistic evidence probably goes back to five or six thousand years. This buttresses also the claims of Isichei (1997), who

maintained that the Igbo people did not migrate from anywhere. Supporters of this hypothesis claim that the Igbo people according to historical records and oral traditions never lived anywhere outside the present Igbo homeland. The most notable oral tradition is Nri myth, which holds that the earth originated from Aro and was dispersed from there. According to Nri myth of origin, the father of all Nri is Eri. No one knows where he came from. All traditions *(odinani)* acknowledge that Eri came from God *(Chukwu).* Thus, the Nri mythology represented an entirely different version of the origin of Igbo people.

The Igbo homeland hypothesis also attracts various academic studies from several disciplines. For instance, Adiele (1982) posited that the homeland theory suggests an early Igbo homeland in the northern plateau. The areas in question include Nri/Awka, Orlu/Owerri and parts of Okigwe. It was from this heartland that the people migrated to the present day Igbo locations. The author believes that there are reasons put forward to show that these areas appear to have been the original human habitats. The claim that the Igbo people have always inhabited their current geographical locality is also supported by Jannah (2014), who argued that, even if there is any migrant to the region, there must have been the aborigines. Thus, purely western models of historical investigation cannot be used to sketch the history of the Igbo before the European invasion of region. The main priority should be to study how the Igbo people have lived their lives over the centuries from a multidisciplinary approach. For instance, archeological discoveries and linguistic evidence have showed that the Igbo people have lived in their present environment for several millennia. They practiced gainful agriculture to sustain their apparently dense population, engaged in trade, crafts and industries. They have also been found to be in relationship with non-Igbo speaking neighbours through the exchange of goods and ideas as well as inter-group marriages. They had the Niger and Cross River as important outlets for communication and intercourse. The coming of the Europeans widened the Igbo horizon and increased the people's volume of trade and agricultural output.

3.1.3 The Niger/Benue Confluence

This school of thought proposes an internal migration hypothesis. Onwuejiogwu (1987) noted that most scholars that fall under this category regard the Niger-Benue confluence as the original homeland of the Igbo people and that it was probably from there that the original Igbo hunters and gatherers migrated southwards to the Nsukka-Okigwe cuesta. The Nri mythology confirmed the later development of agriculture and iron technology in the Nri-Awka-Anambra axis. Anozie (1979) noted that some archaeological findings in Igbo land tend to give certain scientific evidence to the internal migration hypothesis. According to the author, the few archaeological findings can act as a background to enable us establish facts that are based on scientific evidence, that Igbo people are traditionally, as migrant, located in an area east of the Niger River or south-eastern Nigeria.

Onwuejiogwu (1987) noted that in tracing the origin of the Igbo people, there have been four archaeological findings-the Ugwuele, Afikpo, Nsukka and Igbo-Ukwu which have become more relevant. These sites have produced abundant and scientific evidence of the fact that at least between 100,000 BC and 5,000 BC, man has existed in the current geographical location known as Igbo land. Thus, archaeological evidence shows that the Igbo man of today has undergone cultural evolutionary transformations from the African late Stone Age through the Neolithic and metal age to contemporary time.

In his presentation, Anozie (1979) argued that, Ugwuele site suggests that the makers of the Ugwuele stone artifacts might have settled near the site, engaged in hunting and gathering food and trapping animals. He distinguished three occupation layers with quartz flakes, small stone tools and points at the lowest layer, followed by hoe-like implements, polished stone axe, red ochre, bored stone and pottery of red ware type. The upper layer shows some quantity of grey wares. The interesting thing is the date, which ranged between 2935 BC and AD 15 at the top level. At its closing end of Ugwuele site, two other stone cultures emerged at Nsukka and Afikpo.

Demonstrating further, Onwuejiogwu (1987) explained that the upper dates of Ugwuele overlapped with lower dates of Afikpo and Nsukka, which had similar pottery types. The shreds recovered were fired and associated with stone tools and in addition, the pottery is similar to contemporary Igbo pottery found in both Afikpo and Nsukka today indicating a conservative community. The picture that emerges is a Stone Age culture area extending from Nsukka to Aba and from Okigwe to Abakaliki and Afikpo area, with its factory site situated at Ugwuele. Notably, the unstable climate changes that commenced in the whole of Africa between 3,000 and 2,000 BC had far-reaching effect in the whole area.

Figure 1: Map of Igboland

Source: Chuku, 2005

However, in the theatre of Igbo culture area, the Igbo-speaking people seem to be concentrated in the Nsukka-Okigwe-Afikpo triangle. In his postulation, Afigbo (1987) observed that it is the view of the linguists that from the distribution and alignment of the languages in the Kwa sub-group of the Niger- Congo family, it is most likely that this sub-group separated in the region of the Niger-Benue confluence. Anthropological evidence based on glottochronology puts the date of the emergence of this spoken Igbo language from the proto-Niger languages at about 6,000 BC and Lexicostatistics which suggests the relative degree of differences of varieties of Igbo languages spoken today.

From the above account, it is not known exactly where the Igbo language started separating from its Kwa sister-languages but it is assumed to be around where the Igbo now live, which would help to explain the absence of Igbo linguistic enclaves or islands in any of the neighbouring areas. Given the emergence of Igbo language by 6,000 BC, it is argued that the Igbo occupation of these areas would be around fourth millennium BC, a date that would make the occupants of the Nsukka area around the third millennium BC most likely Igbo. However, bearing in mind the probable region of the origin of the Negro race, Afigbo (1975) opined that the Igbo must have come into Southern Nigeria from the northern direction. Thus it is more accurate to assume that they came over a broad front in little groups over a long period of time. At first, they would settle in Nsukka area before moving down to the area of Bende Division.

3.1.4 The Igbo Geographical Territory

Igboland is the indigenous homeland of the Igbo people. It is a non-governmental cultural and common linguistic region in southern Nigeria. Geographically, it is divided by the lower Niger River into two unequal sections-an eastern (which is the larger of the two) and a western section. Ofomata (2002) noted that this geographical entity is characterized by the diverse Igbo culture and the equally diverse Igbo language. Politically, Igboland is divided into several southern Nigerian states. Culturally, it is divided into several

sub groupings, including the Anioma, Ngwa, Edda, Egbebu, Ezaa, Ibeku, Ohuhu, Etche, Ekpeye and Ikwere. Nevertheless, Mgbeafulu notes that considerable differences exist between different parts of this extensive country, and the dialects spoken also vary greatly.

According to Chuku (2005), Igboland is surrounded on all sides by a host of large rivers, and other southern and central Nigeria indigenous tribes namely; Ijaw, Ogoni, Tiv, Isoko, Yako, Igala, Idoma, Bini, Urhobo and Ibibio. In the words of Baikie (1856):

> The Igbo homeland, extends east and west, from the Old Kalabar River to the banks of the Kwora, Niger River, and possesses also some territory at Aboh, an Igbo clan, to the west-ward of the latter stream. On the north it borders on Igara, Igala and Akpoto, and it is separated from the sea only by petty tribes, all of which trace their origin to this great race. (p. 46).

The above postulation is also supported by Orji (2011) who noted that the Igbo people are primarily situated in the lowland forest region of Nigeria, with parts in the Niger-Delta, where the Niger river fans out into the Atlantic Ocean in a vast network of creeks and mangrove swamps on the Bight of Bonny (formerly known as Bight of Biafra).

The earliest found settlements in Igboland date back to 4500 BC in the central area, from where the majority of the Igbo-speaking population is believed to have migrated. The northern Igbo Kingdom of Nri, which rose around the 10th century AD, is credited with the foundation of much of Igboland culture, customs, and religious practices. It is the oldest existing monarchy in present-day Nigeria. In southern Igboland several groups developed, of which the most notable was the Aro confederacy. Igboland was part of the Southern Nigeria Protectorate of the British Empire and was amalgamated into modern-day Nigeria in 1914; the nation gained independence in 1960. Shortly afterwards Igboland was involved in its biggest war during Biafra's movement for secession, which eventually ended in 1970 when this area rejoined Nigeria.

Figure 2: Map of Nigeria

Source: Premium Times, 2017

According to Orji (2011), Igboland has taken up a large part of southeastern Nigeria, mostly on the eastern side of the Niger River. It extends westward across the Niger to the regions of Aniocha, Ndokwa, Ukwuani, and Ika in present-day Delta State and also minute parts of Edo State in Nigeria. Its eastern side is terminated by the Cross River, although micro-communities exist over on the other side of the river; its northernmost point enters the Savannah climate around Nsukka. Bonny Island and Opobo are often included in the Igbo speaking region since the language of trade of the island and town is Igbo and since many inhabitants are ethnic Igbo. Through these ports, the Igbo speaking region reaches the Atlantic Ocean to its south, although both towns are geographically separated from the rest of Igboland by smaller Ijaw and Andoni speaking communities.

In Nigeria today, Igboland is roughly made up of Abia, Anambra, Ebonyi, Enugu, Imo, and major parts of Delta and Rivers states. Small parts of Akwa-Ibom, Benue, Cross River, Edo, and Kogi State make up the rest of Igboland. More than 30 million people inhabit Igboland and with a population density ranging from 140 to 390 inhabitants per square kilometre (350 to 1,000/sq mi). Thus, the region is potentially the most densely populated area in Africa after the Nile Valley. Altogether Igboland has an area of some 40,900 to 41,400 km^2 (15,800 to 16,000 sq mi).

3.2   The Igbo Traditional World-view/Cosmology

The focus of this section is to investigate the traditional worldview of the Igbo before their encounter with Christianity. This will serve as a foundation for the understanding of why the Igbo seem to have preferred Pentecostalism to mission Christianity in their period of crisis and need.
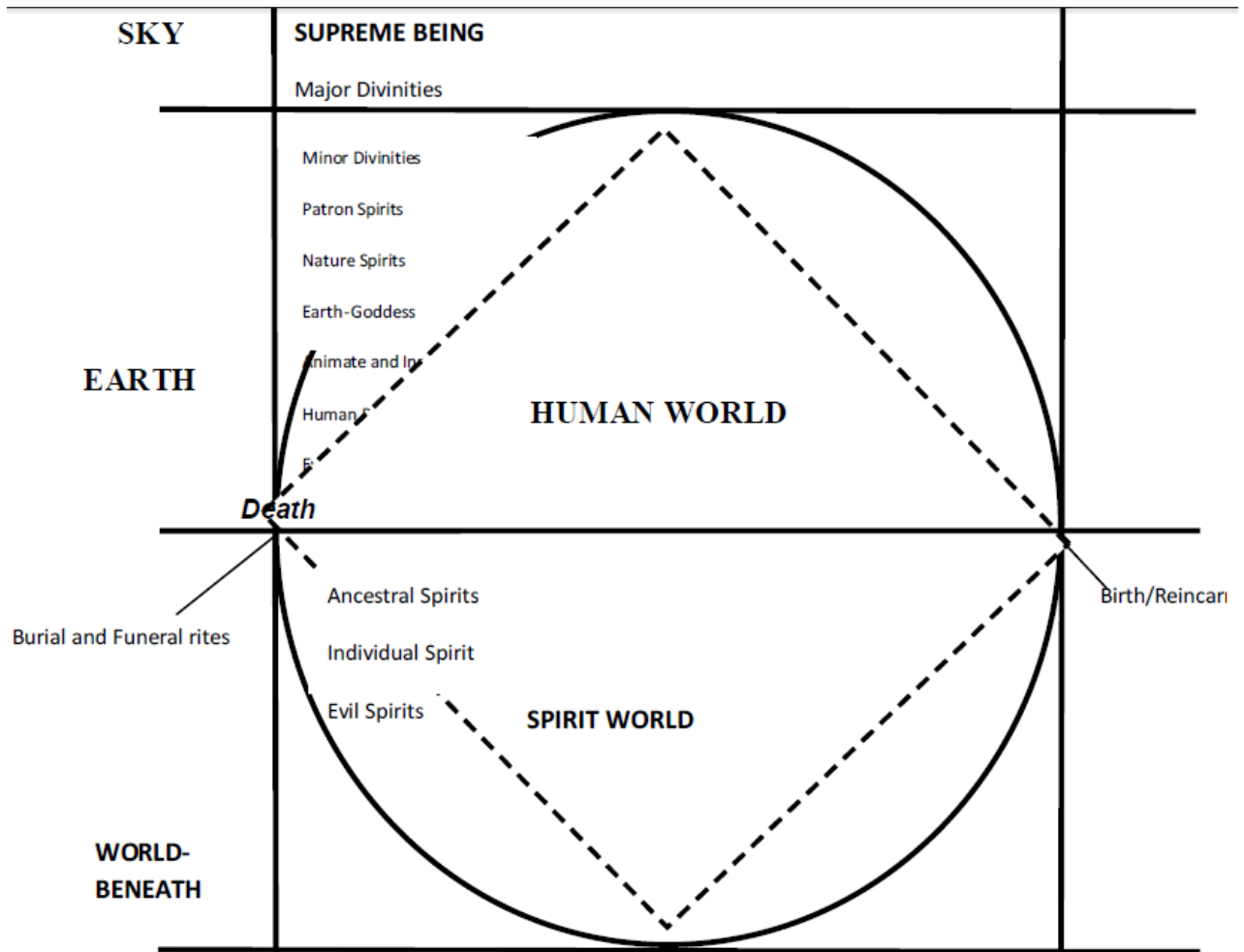
3.2.1   Igbo Idea of the Universe

The Igbo people have a religious conception of the universe. They see their world as made up to two planes: the physical and the spiritual. Igbo worldview, however, abhors the tendency to a digital categorization of things. They believe that there is a dual-traffic and

interaction between the inhabitants of the two worlds (Metuh, 1981; Manus, 1993; and Isizoh, 1999). In this way, the understanding among the Igbo is that spiritual beings and cosmic forces are highly intermingled. The activities of spiritual beings and forces often directly impinge on the affairs of humans in the human world. This fundamental religious outlook on life continues to adjust itself each time, to the changing circumstances of the life experiences of the people.

The diagrammatic representation of Igbo Cosmology shown in Figure 2 adapted from Animalu (1990) would explain the Igbo outlook in a more detailed form. In Igbo religious understandings, the human world is three dimensional – the sky; the earth, intricately woven with water; and the spirit/ancestral world. Kalu and Kalu (1993) opined that each of the three dimensions operates as a viable reality or a place of habitation; with all the three interconnected or contiguous and continuous in a non-hierarchical manner. This means that in such a worldview, although the Supreme Being is believed to live in the sky and major divinities such as Lightning, Thunder, Sun, and Moon are near Him, there is nothing to suggest that the ancestors who live in the ancestral world are inferior.

Figure 3: Diagrammatic representation of Igbo cosmology

SKY

SUPREME BEING

Major Divinities

Minor Divinities

Patron Spirits

Nature Spirits

Earth-Goddess

Animate and In

Human

EARTH

HUMAN WORLD

Death

Burial and Funeral rites

Ancestral Spirits

Individual Spirit

Evil Spirits

SPIRIT WORLD

Birth/Reincar

WORLD-BENEATH

Source: Animalu, 1990.

Supporting the earlier observation, Ejizu (1987) asserted that:

> Analytically, a structure of Igbo perception of the universe in terms of space presents a picture of three tiered arrangement in consonance with popular intuition. There is the sky above, Igwe, then, the earth, Ala, and finally, we have the under-world, Ime-Ala. Each of these layers is thought to be densely inhabited. (p. 132).

Chukwu (2008), noted that by perceiving the world in this way, Igbo cosmology understands the sky as the Supreme Being's *(Chukwu's)* palace. He is believed to dwell there with a host of powerful divinities and primordial beings like *Anyanwu* (the Sun god), *Amadioha* (the god of thunder), *Igwe,* (the sky god). Arazu (2005) observed that in the same way, some local major divinities are equally believed to live in the sky as well. The earth surface is seen as the abode of human beings, the earth deity, minor divinities and personified nature forces. Finally, Tuche (2009) pointed out that ancestral spirits, myriads of disembodied spirits and other personified forces some of which are malevolent and capricious to the living, populate the underworld.

One important characteristic of this spatial ordering of reality in Igbo religious understanding is the due recognition extended to the exalted position and power of the preternatural order and supersensible beings over humans and the material order. Yet, humans and their world are located at the center of the traditional Igbo cosmic structure. This is because human life, for the Igbo, although received from God, is the greatest good to be fostered. In this way, Igbo traditional world-view is seen as heavily anthropocentric. In it, the activities of the various categories of spirits as well as the happenings in the other realms of the universe are seen as meaningful insofar as they relate to human life and the general welfare of humans in the environment.

Furthermore, Nwoye (2005) posited that in Igbo understanding, the human world is perceived as a mirror of the spirit world. In this way, the traditional Igbo cosmology inspires and sustains a religion that is this-worldly affirming. Seen in this way, and knowing that

human life and the general welfare of the human world are the central focus of attention, the primary thrust of most religious activities among the Igbo, is geared towards the enhancement of human life and the promotion of human being's total well being. Thus influenced by such anthropocentric cosmology, slaves used to be buried alive with their masters so as to continue serving them in the spirit world.

Nmah (2003) posited that Igbo people's concept of God reveals that such concepts are heavily coloured by the geographical features such as streams, rivers, rocks and land. There is the concept of creator of all things in Igbo theology. The sky is regarded as his place of residence and people invoke His name. In his position Nmah maintains there are spirits who are messengers or intermediaries of God the creator. Igbo people believe that deities and spirits are God's manifestations in his immanent form.

According to Ejizu (1987) and Kalu (1992), in such a cosmology the human world itself is seen as an alive or dynamic universe that humans share with a host of malevolent human spirits (such as witches and sorcerers); guardian spirits of various professions such as hunting, fishing, farming, and so on; animal spirits; evil spirits; and the Earth Goddess. In this perspective, a filial relationship is believed to exist between the Earth Goddess and the water spirits, called Mermaid Spirit. Such Igbo understanding further reflects the fact that Igbo deities are arranged spatially in four levels as follows:

   (i) Sky-male

   (ii) Earth-female

   (iii) Water-female

   (iv) Ancestral-male

The structure shows that in Igbo religious understanding, male deities predominate in the first and fourth levels while female deities dominate in the second and third levels as seen earlier. The deities in the sky, such as lightning, thunder, and sun, who live near the Supreme Being, are males while the earth and water under the purview of the Earth Goddess and

Queen of the Coast are females. In addition, female ancestral rituals exist, but most rituals are male, as if the females lose their identity at death.

In Igbo worldview, human existence is perceived as precarious in the effort to tap the resources of good spirits to ward off the machinations of evil spirits. In this way, the socio-political and economic aspects of life of the Igbo are predominated by a highly spiritualized and religious world. In it, relations to kin, neighbours, and spirits are seen as at once a source of security and often that of affliction and distress.

Some of the negative implications of the kind of precarious world-view which the Igbo evolved include the prevalence of the element of fear of countless hosts of spirits and cosmic forces in the people's religious experience. People feel constantly threatened by all sorts of supersensible forces. Supporting this estimate Ezeanya (1969) observed:

> We notice that the unflinching fidelity to the various religious practices is motivated not so much by the love of the divinities or ancestors as the fear of the consequences that might result from failure to perform certain rituals demanded by the gods. (p.20).

For the same reason, charms and other protective consciousness are particularly helpful in defending oneself against unpredictable malevolent spirits and their agents. A related problem with this aspect of Igbo cosmology is the tendency among the Igbo, to manipulate and bargain with the gods as an integral feature of their religion. It is this point that Kalu (1978) made when he observed that:

> A votary would variously plead with patron gods, placate evil spirits and end by threatening the god that if he failed to perform, his grave would be over-grown with grass. After all, what use could there be in a god or a charm, which failed to yield dividends on the amount of energy and money, spent on it. (p.42).

A tendency similar to the given orientation is the widespread exercise of divination and other forms of oracular practices as the traditional Igbo endeavour to decipher the

dispositions of the spirits and nature forces in order to predict and control them. In Igbo religious understanding, key areas, such as land, river, hills, forests, caves, are believed to be controlled by female deities. Such sites are also connected with agriculture, fertility, morality, mores, beauty, and blessings. Yet among the Igbo, yam is regarded, as the king of crops and one of the indices for assessing a man's wealth is the number of yam tubers he has in his barn. The importance of yam in the economic and social life of the Igbo guaranteed the religious prominence of *Ifejioku* (yam god) in many Igbo communities. It also accounts for the dominant presence of yam as a ritual object in many Igbo religious ceremonies such as the Igbo naming ceremony, the *Okuku Onye Uwa* ceremony (reincarnation), and *Abam n'Obi* ceremony (maturity of a man). Consequently, the god of yam is accorded primacy of place among the people, and yam cultivation is a male occupation. Many religious rites are centered around the cultivation and harvesting of agricultural products. According to Oguagha (1989):

> In Igboland, an elaborate ritual ceremony preceded the harvesting and consumption of the new yam. In such a ceremony, the senior elder of each lineage is expected to offer sacrifices at the shrine, which is followed by a feast. It is after the ceremony that new yams are declared fit for consumption. (p.89).

Nmah (2003) posited that there is a spirit associated with the cultivation of yam called *Njoku ji.* There are yam chief (*Ezeji)* who takes care of the yam with rituals. Devout priest do not eat new yam until a formal sacrifice is made to the spirit.

3.2.2 Igbo Philosophy of Life

According to Ejizu (1987) and Kalu (1978), Igbo cosmology placed emphasis on the importance of striking a balance between masculine and feminine principles. The great deities as we have seen earlier are *Chukwu*, the sky-father above, and *Ani*, the Earth mother below. The belief among the Igbo is that the two principles are needed and in the right balance in their contributions to the welfare of humans. In some expositions of Igbo religion,

its core is the polarity between *Chukwu* and *Ana* (or *Ani*) – a polarity in which both poles are, necessarily, crucial. In this way, the belief is that cosmological imbalance of male and female, *Chukwu* and *Ani* causes drought or disease. This means that for the Igbo both sky and earth must cooperate to bring forth crops. Consequently for the Igbo, death including drought, disease, famine and suffering results from cosmological imbalance. Similar devastations result, according to the Igbo, from parallel social or ethical imbalance. In this way, one story of Igbo conversion to Christianity suggests that the murder of twins was not consistent with Igbo principles Mbefo (2001). It was a communal repudiation of cosmic balance, of the feminine principle, which should always be honored in Igbo thought. Thus its abolition was not only seen as the universally just thing to do, but the deeply Igbo thing to do as well. One of the greatest fears among the Igbo is to die and be thrown into the Evil Forest, receiving no burial rites. For them, this calamity means being banned from the company of the ancestors, an outcast of the other side of life, following death. As Isichei (1977) explained:

> The ancestors – those who live well-spent lives die in socially approved ways, and are given correct burial rites – live in one of those worlds of the dead, which mirror the world of the living. The living honours them with sacrifices. The ancestors watch over the living, and are periodically reincarnated among them … The unhappy spirits who die bad deaths, and lack burial rites, cannot return to the world of the living, or enter that of the dead. They wander homeless and dispossessed. (p. 25).

The given citation points to the fact that life for the Igbo moves in a complimentary fashion. From conception, through birth, puberty and adulthood, to ripe old age, the Igbo are preoccupied with the optimal enhancement of their lives. In that way, a successful life here on earth is understood by them as a sure passport to gain one a good place among the ancestors (Ejizu, 1987) an important place of habitation in after life. The Igbo burial/funeral ceremonies *(Emume Enim Ozu)* are designed to accomplish the conferment to the dead the much needed passport for joining the company of the ancestors.

3.2.3 Igbo Cultural Values

A major social practice among the Igbo was the ritual naming of the newborn. For an Igbo child, the ceremony of being named was the beginning point of being socialized into the membership of the community. Some of the names given to the child during such a ritual, such as *Onwubiko* (death, I implore you) bear testimony to the suffering and desperation experienced by the parents preceding the child's birth. Such names are believed to make the child to resolve to acquire good decorum to avoid adding to the pain of existence already suffered by the parents before he or she was born. Furthermore, influenced by Igbo understanding, Igbo birth rites initiate sex role orientation at an early age. The child would be expected to model after the reincarnated ancestor or deity represented by the godfather or godmother (the *Onye Uwa*). People point to gestures, character traits, looks, and other signs to confirm that the child really is a reincarnation of a loved one or a deity. Thus, a middle aged man may call a baby "grandfather" because he perceives the baby as a reincarnated grandfather. From birth, rites of passage are designed to celebrate and initiate the child into the family and community.

Igbo socialization processes, in general, nurture an orientation to solid personal achievement. Within them wrestling, secret society outings, masquerade and dances, and hunting, all reinforce male orientation among the Igbo. Females suffer more restrictions in outings, more subdued play, and opportunities to participate in dancing. In terms of girls' upbringing, the biggest anxiety that faces an Igbo mother is pre-marital pregnancy of the daughter. In many Igbo communities, crude herbal abortion practices exist but no ethics of confidentiality. In most villages, at least, in the past, if a girl became pregnant, a palm tree on the bank of a stream dedicated to women would ripen. At night, young boys and girls, in groups, would carry garbage and sing obscene, satirical songs, to the accompaniment of staccato rhythm, to the pregnant girl's homestead and dump the garbage there. Such a dance of shame is understood as a social stigma among the Igbo. This means that among the Igbo,

there is no concept of the bastard as there is always a known father. In the event of birth of a child out of wedlock, the male's family hastily pays a visit to the girl's family to claim the child, or else the girl's father names the child. Children occupy a pride of place among the Igbo. Consequently, abortion is frowned upon as an offense against the Earth Goddess.

The shame of premarital pregnancy encourages the need for disciplined upbringing of teenage children. Sex role standards are enforced as a solution. These include, first, sending the young girl after first menstruation to be prepared for marriage. Second, when people have left for the farms, such girls, stay in groups to baby-sit, do house chores, and play. They tend to sleep together in the house of a respected old woman. An indiscreet young male going near would look like a skunk prowling around the chicken coop. Furthermore, courtship is through intermediaries, message bearers, and family representatives. Marriages are arranged and regarded as family, rather than private affairs. The key emphasis of marital ethos is on female subservience. Childbearing preoccupies Igbo females. Early marriages are common, particularly in the past, but more rarely presently, due to the influence of Western education and Christianity.

Care for the aged is not institutionalized. Children are taken as the greatest insurance for old age. In this perspective, where the children succeed they are expected to look after their aged parents. In this process, the first sons and all daughters have a priority to take in and look after aged and ailing parents regardless of their family size. In traditional Igbo religious worship, people pray that they may die in the soil of their birth, where their umbilical cords were buried. For this reason, Igbo civil servants who have attained the age of 70 and above prefer to go back to the village and await the journey into the ancestral world. In this way, Igbo cultural norms bind the society, and the village norm still dominates the attitudes of the people including the elites and the Christians among them. Those located in the sophisticated environments still cling to traditional customs and go home to their villages regularly for important functions, such as for naming, marriage, or burial ceremonies.

In Igbo worldview nobody of worth is to be buried like a dog without fanfare except for children without a name or those who committed abomination against the society before their death. In line with this ethos, the dead are usually accompanied by music and dance, and other rituals and transported to the ancestors with canon shots and alarums to the netherworld (Mbefo, 2001). The understanding among the Igbo is that the noise of merrymaking alerts the predecessors, of the coming of the dead person to meet and join them. It is believed that where this ceremony is omitted the dead man or woman goes half-way and would have to come back in visions as ghosts to disturb the living until such a time as they complete the send-off ceremony, namely, burial rites. Among the Igbo, aged parents often give the living instructions of how their burial should go while they are still alive. Confirming this Mbefo (2001) observed that:

> When the missionaries preached hell-fire at the beginning of their enterprise as the lot of those who never received baptism, many Igbo traditional religionists preferred to go down to hell with their ancestors than to be separated from them on account of baptism. (p.40).

Related to the mentioned image is the vital role, which the ancestors are believed to play as the most benevolent allies of human beings in the spirit-world. Family and lineage elders among the Igbo are therefore particularly concerned with maintaining the most cordial association with ancestral spirits through routine prayers and ritual offerings. In this context, the understanding is that a human's moral life is paramount in keeping the cosmic equilibrium. All norms of conduct, including taboos, even those that might be mechanical, are expected to be strictly complied with. In case of doubt about any infringement, the services of diviners are employed so that things could promptly be set aright. In this way, the prospects of death as involving opportunity for reunion with friends and relatives tend to raise for the traditional aged Igbo a feeling of enthusiasm and optimism, rather than fear and trembling.

The moral heroes of the Igbo world were picked from the animal world. These include the tortoise that is admired for its capacity to deploy its creative ingenuity in the direction of finding solutions to the problems of living. The tortoise is also believed to know when to open and close its armour in keeping with the sensations of safety or danger. It is believed to exude an odour that repels potential attackers. The tortoise is also admired among the Igbo because it is believed to move at its own pace without having to be dictated to, from without. For the Igbo these qualities reflect an imaginative deployment of intelligence for personal safety and well-being. They are the qualities the Igbo would like to be identified with as full-fledged humans. Similarly, the Igbo believe that although the world is often hostile and difficult to live in, yet like the ram each should endeavour to learn the virtue of endurance in facing the obstacle of the human experience.

According to Mbefo (2001), four classes of people were recognized in Igbo understanding. They include the (i) *Ekwu-eme*.-these are those calibers of humans who accompany action with their words. They are reliable, trustworthy, and have won the respect of the community. A sub-group of the *Ekwu-eme* category of human beings belongs to those that can be referred to as the (ii) *Ome mgbe-oji*.-this refers to the careful and the humble that nevertheless act when they can make it. They are those who know their limit and act within their possibilities. The other group is the (iii) *Oji onu* Group-this refers to the group of rhetoricians and boasters, people who know how to manipulate and manufacture words to confuse their audiences. Their weakness is their inability to match words with action. They are therefore referred to derisively as the *Oji Onu egbu Oji*-those who fell the Iroko tree or build houses by the mouth alone. They live extravagant lives and the life of pretensions. The fourth is the (iv) *Akarogoli*. These are the lazy and the immature adults. They say *Yes* and *No* to life at the same time and lose their bearing in the end, often ending up dying unsuccessful; and, at times, through dangerous living, die bad deaths.

Among the Igbo, sexual infidelity does not automatically lead to divorce because it is perceived as a religious offence against the Earth Goddess. Ritual cleansing and propitiations are undertaken. Where such anomaly becomes rampant, divorce is often the result. Allegations of witchcraft, sorcery and poisoning quicken the decision to divorce because life is at stake and life is looked at as a supreme value among the Igbo. In the event of divorce, the woman takes custody of the young children until they are of age to be returned to their father. Children belong to the man in Igbo society, when divorce occurs. Young adults stay with their fathers, while the bride price is returned to the man. In this way, the financial burden persuades the woman's family to discourage their daughter/sister from doing anything that would incur divorce. In general, among the Igbo, a woman with a large number of children is unlikely to follow the option of divorce when things go bad in the marriage.

Childrearing among the Igbo is the primary concern of the woman and her mother. By puberty, sex taming with tasks, boundaries of behaviour, and sex-role preferences emerge. The image of females as a nurturing agent is entrenched in the minds of the people (Kalu, 1992). As mothers start to farm again after weaning the baby, supervision falls either to girls who are undergoing puberty rites before marriage or to older siblings of either sex and in any age of childhood. Sibling relationships are highly focused on the mother as a point of reference because of polygny. Children from one mother relate to each other with a stronger bond of affection than they do with their half-siblings. In the struggle for limited economic opportunity and education within such settings, sibling rivalry among children of the same mother is reduced but is allowed to operate or even escalate among children of the same father but different mothers in childhood and through adulthood. In this context, children of the same mother are encouraged to present a united front.

An important cultural practice among the Igbo is the custom of projecting their own notions of authority through human-made structures. This practice, for example, gives a deeper dimension to Igbo architecture as a symbol of authority. In this regard, among the

Igbo, the Obi house as defines social, economic and political principles of Igbo life seen as a social ideology of Igbo leadership. It is expressed at several levels of Igbo life. According to Onwuejogwu (1972), within the frame of the family compound, the Obi house is the center of family life and authority through certain principles of architectural design. Spatially, the Igbo Obi is located at the center of the family compound; that is, in the public section of the compound and set apart spatially from that of a man's wife (private section). Its public nature is expressed through its direct physical and spatial link with the family entrance *Mgboezi*. This is the connecting point between the family space as an inner social reality and external space, which is the village as an outer social reality. The central location of the *Obi (Obu)* in the family compound approximates in its structure Igbo notions of achievement and leadership which is but part of greater ideal of the village community of which it is a part. Similarly at lineage levels just as at the nuclear family levels, the *Obi (Obu)* expresses Igbo social ideology of achievement and leadership. Hence it has on it those items of decorations such as chip-carved doors, which are lacking in other Igbo house forms. The earlier observations show that, among the Igbo, the *Obi (Obu)* house which the first-born of a dead father takes over after the ceremony of *Ikpocha Obi/Abam n'Obi,* embodies the social principles of achievement and leadership as well as continuity as the survival ideology of Igbo life.

In the past, wealth and children were considered as, in one way, related. Children were more valued than money. This is expressed in the Igbo name *Nwakaego,* meaning, "Child is more precious than money". Customary life among the Igbo is based on *Omenani/Omenala*, the ancestral rules of the land grounded on the laws of the earth goddess, *Ani/Ala*. In the area of values, Igbo men and women are expected to have children, particularly male children. A barren woman is pitied and regarded as a failure. As Igbo kinship is patrilineal, relatives of the husband of a barren wife or a woman who has only daughters or whose children have died encourage and expect the man to marry an additional

wife, to ensure that his lineage continues. His wife would normally encourage him, because she too wants his line to continue. A childless woman is not directly ostracized. However, she is not appreciated as much as a mother is, since children as we have seen earlier, are a person's life insurance and the focus of one's life. Although loved and desired, children cannot trap a mother in a terribly unhappy marriage. Despite, or because of, a mother's love, a difficult marriage can create an ambiguous attitude towards one's children, and by extension towards the goddess who grants children.

In Igbo society arranging a marriage involves in-depth inquiries by both families of the prospective couple. They inquire into their future in-law's family to find out if there is madness or certain other diseases in the family, if they are criminals, have flaws of character, or have sold off family members into slavery, to learn their status, etc. Some of these traits are believed to be hereditary. Marriages involve not just a couple but rather two kind of roles and mutual rights and obligations. The goal is to make sure the partners are responsible in order to avoid future marital problems with potentially negative consequences for a large number of people.

In a patrilineal society like the Igbo, kinship is primarily traced in the male line. In this context among the Igbo, every individual belongs to a group of people, the agnate or *Umunna.* This group defines itself through common descendance from one ancestor/father. He may have lived ten generations ago, but all group members, both men and women, are related to this man in the paternal line (Uchendu, 1965). Similarly every individual belongs to a *Chi* or an *Onye-Uwa*, the guardian spirit who stand prosy for his or her earthly existence. The *Okuku-Onye-Uwa* ceremony, as aspect of the Igbo marriage ceremony, is intended to give recognition to this link between the bride being married and her *Onye-Uwa*.

The Igbo market week consists of four days: *Eke, Orie, Afor and Nkwo* (Animalu, 1990). Different towns or villages hold their markets on different market days. All local deities have special market days that are sacred to them. Because the Igbo perceived motion

as cyclic changes of space and time, they used the same names, as above, Eke, Oye, Afor, Nkwo, to designate both locations in space, and locations in the time of the four day Igbo market week *izu*. This practice according to Animalu (1990) drew's attention to the notion of the principle of duality summed up in the Igbo proverb that says, wherever something (example, an eclipse) stands, something else (in particular, its involute or shadow) will stand beside it. This means that among the Igbo the understanding is that there is no one way of looking at things, even as regards which gods to serve as insurance to their protection from the dangers and problems of the human experience

3.2.4 Politics and Gender in Igboland

Due to the predominant place occupied by male deities and male occupations in Igbo culture, the Igbo are a patriarchal people. In this way, women do no inherit land among the Igbo. A woman's male children in such cases inherit the land. In general, masculinity dominates the gender ideology among the Igbo. Males currently dogmatically pursue opportunities in the business world that do not require much academic training. Women cultivate cocoyam, cassava, vegetables and cereals. Although these products yield some monetary returns, they are less in value compared to yams, the principal crop cultivated by the males. In this way, at the social level, sex differentiation is enshrined by emphasis on deference to males. For this reason, among the Igbo, a woman cannot call her husband by his name: she addresses him by his social title or praise name. The Igbo are by character strong, tolerant, competitive and ultra-democratic, highly individualistic with an excessive penchant for achievement and egalitarianism (Ekwunife, 1990). Among them enormous emphasis is placed on solid personal achievement that promotes the life of independence as one matures with age. Some prayers offered at most Igbo religious rituals are entered into to ensure that one progresses from the life of dependency of childhood to the independence and solvency of adulthood.

Nmah (2003) observed that there individual rights to freedom of expression of thought and action are recognized, respected and cherished in the Igbo socio-political life. This, according to him, is that everyone including women has the right to think and act freely unimpeded but will be regulated by customs. Social factors such as origin, class, descent and family provide enough ground for the full participation of women in both religious and political power.

Chieftaincy titles among the Igbo constitute a form of reward or social control model designed to support acceptable norms and values by rewarding those who have upheld them. Such titles or rewards make the recipients advisers to the political leadership of the village. Among the Igbo, titles bring prestige. They also grant the title holder specific roles of legal and religious authority. For example, the *ozo* title was immediately preceded by the *nd'ichie* initiation (initiation into the world of the elders), which gives the initiates the right to participate in all secret deliberations, rituals, and homages paid to the elders or to ancestors. The *ozo* title itself, as has earlier been mentioned, gives the recipient enormous political, legal and religious authority and power in many ways. Its bearers constitute a sort of ruling elite in Igbo social authority structure. Here the most interesting aspects of the powers of the *ozo* men is their authority to decide on matters without any precedents and to amend local customs where need be (Ekwunife, 1990). Males or females could be so rewarded as the praise name indicates the credentials of the recipient. However, most of the titles refer to male oriented qualities – strength, military prowess, successful yam cultivation or hunting, or eloquence in speech, and wisdom in judgment. Often membership in a dominant secret society would be a prerequisite for accession to certain titles.

The position of women among the Igbo is moderated by two considerations. The first is age. After attaining the age of a grandmother, the female enjoys some of the exclusively male rights. In that way, when operating as a great-grandmother, she can even upbraid a male of younger age in public without shocking the community. The second factor is marriage.

Being married is highly valued among the Igbo. Married women play a role in their patrilineages as lineage daughters (Okonjo, 1976; Allen, 1976; Mba, 1982). In this status, they serve as a police force against the wives married into their patrilineages. They are ritual specialists dealing with confessions of infidelity or adultery by wives and cleaning the patrilineage of pollutions and abominations. In addition, they could, as a group, "sit on a man/woman" whose sexual rascality soiled the name of the patrilineage and may prevent the man from sending away his wife. Moreover, a barren, middle-aged woman can "marry" a girl to bear children for her and then pay for all the required obligations of a husband whose role she enacts.

Although experience continues to teach the Igbo that those female children (daughters) generally look after their fathers better in old age than males (sons). Yet, there is a higher preference for male babies because of the maintenance of the family name. Hence, among the Igbo, the assertion, *Afamefula* (may my name never be lost), becomes a matter of identity and a guiding principle in the lives of individuals, and communities. Consequently a study of the names given to children is expected to betray the desire that people bearing the name of the ancestors may always warm one's homestead.

A variety of masquerade and secret society traditions exist among the Igbo and play a big role in the male child's life after the age of six. Masquerades among the Igbo, according to Agukoronye (2001), are believed to represent ancestral spirits, and are sometimes called spirits to reflect this belief. Each masquerade tradition has grades, and male children are initiated into the early grades during school age. These societies serve as models of adult society. The boys emulate adult life, and, significantly, the father becomes less an authority figure in the boy's life. The authority of the leaders of the secret societies substitutes for the authority of the father, though this is not a break in the ties and bonds with the parents. Membership separates boys from girls.

3.2.5 Igbo Emphasis on Reciprocity and Melioristic Outlook

A major orientation among the Igbo is the emphasis that is placed on the principle of reciprocity. This principle is depicted in Igbo Religious folklore as synonymous with the spirit of *Ufiejoku* grounded on the notion of the seed yam mentality (Animalu, 1990). The important thing about the seed yam mentality in Igbo thought and culture is that it is the principle of regenerative relationship that, in their view, is sanctioned by nature. This idea originates from the observation that *Ani*, or *Ala*, the earth, does not practice in her dealings with humans, "the law of winner takes all". It is observed that when she receives a gift, even of old yam from the farmer, she gives back to the farmer a brand new yam in appreciation for the old yam received. Based on this observation, a common orientation among the Igbo is to demand that in their dealings with their fellow humans and the gods, the principle of reciprocity be strictly observed. That is, when the Igbo offer sacrifices to their gods or in any other ceremonies of the religion, they expect something good to come out of such transaction.

Animalu (1990) supporting the above observation points out that the Igbo accepted the Christian missionaries because they preached reciprocity in the relationship between them and God, which agreed with the *Ufiejoku* principle of reciprocity between humans and *Ani* mediated by exchange of yam . This is in contrast to the Igbo rejection of colonialists and imperialists because they preached the profit motive that goes one way, in favour of imperialism. Instead of the Igbo saying, *bili kam bili*, or its English equivalent, live and let live, imperialism practices *live and let die* (Animalu, 1990). It is by means of this principle that the Igbo try to insert order out of the chaos of their human existence.

The melioristic orientation in Igbo thought and worldview derives from their understanding that *Chukwu*, the Supreme Being and *Onye-Uwa* or *Chi* and *Ana*, as well as the ancestors are in the details of their existence. And that without their permission the evil machinations of the world, be it from witches or sorcerers, minor deities or other forces directed at them will come to naught. In this way, the melioristic orientation is the Igbo

cosmological framework for clinging to hope when things go bad in their lives. Yet, the melioristic attitude of the Igbo mind is more than just accession to naïve optimism. According to Animalu (1990), this means that an important survival attitude among the Igbo is the balanced belief, encoded in their worldview, that with time, things can change for better or for worse; in that once there is life, there is hope. These observations concur with James (1974) definition of meliorism as the doctrine that improvement is at least possible. It helps the Igbo to practice caution in a time of plenty or in victory, and endurance in a time of hardship or defeat, with the hope that a change in the cycle is to be expected if the extremes are reached.

3.2.6   Igbo Beliefs and Theories of Illness and Misfortune

In Igbo worldview, worry and tribulations arise when the values of children, marriage, health, prosperity, and harmony are threatened. Indeed, among the Igbo, life is perceived as precarious in nature. This is because of disease, shortage of resources with which life can be attended, and the difficulties of getting on with those with whom one is deeply and daily involved. In Igbo society presently while some sources of affliction have been reduced smallpox, warfare with neigbouring ethnic groups, starvation and so on others have appeared Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome, heart attack, traffic accidents, premature retirements, and unemployment. All these are experienced by the people as sources of affliction and worry which they need to act upon in order to solve them. Part of the goals of Igbo religion is to assist in helping worshippers to confront and control these problems. This follows from the fact that Igbo people believe that misfortunes can be caused by spirit agents whom we cannot see, and human ones, whose hearts we cannot know. Because cursers or sorcerers in Igbo worldview are people with whom there is conflict, they are understood as people with anger, malice or resentment in their hearts. The Igbo use the metaphor of the heart to speak of volition and emotion and of the self that is often opaque to other people.

The first response to a problem in Igbo worldview is usually a restricted one. The difficulty or challenge is perceived as limited in scope amenable to a simple solution. In the case of illness, the symptomatic perspective almost always entails a medicinal mode of action. Should this response fail to achieve the intended effect, the next move is the use of divination to explore the basis for the problem and what can be done to assuage the situation. Hence the pragmatic attitude of experimentation informs the Igbo's approach to the crisis of affliction and uncertainty in their world. In Igbo worldview, use of both medicinal and relational (spiritual) measures sometimes helps. The insufficiency of relying on one means for dealing with misfortune seems clear to them on many occasions especially when misfortune comes, continues and worsens. For example, when family members fall ill one after the another, when a man fails to keep a wife, when the patient dies anyway, after the first attempt at controlling the problem has failed the conclusion is suggested that something more than the ordinary is involved. The people are forced to reflect again about whether the diviner or the hospital doctor spoke truly, or if other causes were at work simultaneously. This pushes them to think further whether rituals were done properly, or whether the invisible agent suspected had desires and purposes that had not been fully understood.

For the Igbo, uncertainty about the problems and the means for dealing with it, are interrelated. Hence Igbo worldview favours a holistic approach to the problems of the human experience. The given observations reveal that both physical and spiritual, in Igbo worldview, are the two theories of causes of affliction or misfortune in human life. They use the pragmatic approach to sort out which one is involved, physical or spiritual, in any given case. They start with experimenting with the natural process of setting things right before they resort to the spiritual process as a last option. This way of attending to afflictions and misfortunes is what some Igbo elders refer to as the technique of *Ijee n'iru, Ijee n'azu.*

In Igbo cosmology, just as among the Kalabari people of the South-Eastern Nigeria as pointed by Horton (1962) (1967), the key spiritual agencies of the religion came into three categories;

(i) The Supreme Being

(ii) The Divinities including nature deities and patron spirits and

(iii) The ancestors.

These, according to Horton (1967), are conceived by most Igbo as independent and autonomous to one another and are each served in their own rights. The Igbo tend to share an eclectic/egalitarian orientation and a non-hierarchical attitude in their assessment of and interaction with the spiritual agencies of their religion. Igbo society derives a sense of security from kinship relations, locality, religion, and keeping of tradition. One of the chief cosmogonic myths that underpin Igbo worldview is the myth of *Nne Mmiri* or the mammy water goddess, the chief of the local water spirits and deities, the source of wealth and fertility. According to this myth, the Igbos' water mother or *Nne Mmiri* or water goddess, controls the entry and exit into and from this world. She is the goddess of crossroads. Before one is born, he or she must cross a river. There, the *Nne Mmiri* or water goddess confronts the individual. She challenges the pact of destiny, *akara aka*, made between one's body, *ahu*, and one's soul, *Chi*, witnessed by the Supreme God, *Chukwu*. One's destiny can be changed with the help of the goddess. But if the goddess helps a person to change his or her destiny on earth, for example, to become wealthy or successful in life, rather than merely a housewife and mother, then that person must be the goddess worshipper. If this is not recognized on time, or if the person so assisted by the goddess before birth later refuse her calling, then the goddess can cause madness, misfortune, or premature death, either of the individual or beloved ones. The indications show that for the Igbo, humans are at the mercy of the myriads of highly aggressive spirits and forces that surround them in their world like a beleaguered city, ready to strike at the least provocation. Thus, Ejizu (1987) noted that this makes the traditional Igbo understanding "a highly precarious vision with tremendous implications for

the life of the people". (p.133). In this way, humans' fortune and destiny are perceived as part of the unwritten covenant between them and the spirits.

3.3   Igbo Traditional Socio-Political System

This sub-section takes a look at the social and political structure of the traditional Igbo society before the advent of Christianity and colonialism. It shows the strength and values of Igbo system of government and the component parts of Igbo traditional democracy.

3.3.1   The Igbo Structure

Politically and socially, the traditional Igbo society has no centralized form of government. Political groupings are based upon the agnate group or *Umunna* (Ekwunife, 1990). The agnate *(Umunna)* group system is based on the patrilineal or matrilineal organization of the village. The agnate *(Umunna)* is organized on three levels. At the primary level is the family, centred on the Obi of the pater-familias or in his absence, the Okpala (the eldest son) takes over. This process gives rise to the need for the Abam n'obi ceremony. At the higher level is the ebo (village) lineage group with the most senior *Okpala* of the village group as the leader. Finally at the highest level is the town – the aggregate of all *ebo* or village lineages.

Among the Igbo, leadership of the community falls on age grade. Age grade associations are important in Igbo social organization and among many Igbo village and town groups and they are highly developed and in each case constitute a part of the administrative machinery. Age grade associations are composed of age companies, which are formed triennially among boys beginning from the ages of thirteen and fifteen years. Members of a particular age company elect their leader and choose a name by which to be known by other citizens of the village and town. About two or three age companies are then merged together to form an age grade association. But as the boys grow to manhood, their companies are periodically upgraded through successive age grades until they reach the ranks of the elders,

which is the highest age grade. Among some Igbo communities, the transition from one age grade to another takes place at intervals of six years while in others it could be less. In general there are normally about five age grades in each community. The younger age grades engage in manual labour such as the cleaning of pathways and village squares. The older age grades are responsible for the construction of markets and bridges, as well as the legislative and executive aspect and defence of the village or community (Oguagha, 1989). While the agnate group *(Umunna)* system encourages equality, communalism and egalitarianism at all levels, the title associations promote individualism with the prestige, power and authority attached to solid personal and material achievement.

Among the Igbo people, there are *ozo* title groups, which are open to any freeborn citizen who is capable of paying the requisite fees and possess an upright character. This means that among the Igbo, probity of character is a basic requirement for admission into the *ozo* title society and in this way the title is a mark of respectability. The insigna of the titleholders include ankle cords tied on feet (*owu ozo*), an iron staff (*alo*), and a cow or horsetail (*nza). Ozo* titleholders are in addition expected to take praise names. Among such names are: *Akunna* (father's wealth), *Akunne* (mother's wealth), and *Akukalia* (abundance of wealth). The Igbo *ozo* titles are graded in an ascending order of prestige, privilege, and ritual status, and have to be taken in that order after the necessary ritual ceremonies and payments. The names for the different grades vary from community to community. Generally, however, they are split into two groups: the lower rank category, which is less expensive and conferred some social status, and the higher ranks which are more expensive and socially significant (Oguagha, 1989). Among the Anambra Igbo including those from Nri and Ihiala towns, titleholders within the higher ranks are called such praise names as *Ogbuefi* (Cow killer) and *Ogbuanyinya* (Horse killer), Ide (the pillar, holding the house) and *Nze* or Chief (a significant elder). These facts are necessary for an understanding of the meaning and significance of ritual agents and privileges conferred on a high ranking elder at the moment of his death.

Although the Igbo are fundamentally an agricultural community, few undertake smiting, carving and pottery as full time occupation. Presently, however, a good majority of Igbo sons and daughters are involved in business merchandise and white-collar jobs all over Nigeria and beyond.

3.3.2   The Igbo Traditional Political System

Nri in Anambra state is regarded as the ancestral home of the Igbo. In Nigeria the Igbo generally occupied the former Eastern Region and a part of the Mid Western region. The Igbo generally had no Kings or Chiefs (that is the Igbo *enwe-Eze*). Few towns like Onitsha have what looked like a recognized chief. The Igbo people operated a democratic system of Government. The highest democratic institution among the Igbo people is the *Oha-na Eze* that is the Town Assembly. The largest political unit was the village/village group. This was by kindred then family unit. The Igbo people had a decentralised system of government. The executive, legislative and judicial power were vested in the *Oha-na Eze* the council of elders the *ozo* title holders the family the *ozo* title holders the Age-Grade the *Umuada* the 'Ala' or the Earth's goddess represented by a Chief Priest.

The administrative system was decentralized and characterized by the principle of acephalous (absence of a centralized government). It was therefore a chiefless society which was segmentary and egalitarian in nature. There was no supreme king like Oba and Emirs in the North. Interestingly, however, each village in Igbo society is normally administered like a Republic, independent or sovereign state. Be that as it may, there existed many institutions in the precolonial Igbo society, charged with the responsibility of judicial, legislative and executive functions like: the family group, village council, *ozo* title holder, age grades and the Ala. The Family Group is one of the most recognized institutions in precolonial Igbo society as the basic unit of every political institution. It comprised people of the same family. Not only that, each family group was autonomously headed by the title holder called '*Okpara*'.

The *Okpara* controls the family and judges any family disputes. He performed ritual and ceremonial functions on behalf of the family.

Village Council is popularly known as council of elders, it comprised of all the family heads in the village. However, the most important thing is that each village was administered as a sovereign entity and each family heads *Okpara* was a reckoned or named *Ofo* title holders in the village. They had the responsibility of discussing the matters that affected the life of the citizens. They also helped in maintaining law and order in the society as well as settlement of dispute between or among group of families. The chairman of the council was known as the oldest of the Okpara. *Ozo* Title Holders was seen as the highest title of honour which was given to the specific individuals in pre-colonial Igbo society. To become an *ozo* title holder, one must be prestigious, popular and wealthy. The most amazing thing is that the position wasn't hereditary. *Ozo* people were highly influential. They settled and adjudicated on different disputes. Not only that, they rendered valuable advice to the family heads the *Okpara*.

Age grade was another important institution in pre-colonial Igbo society. They are group of young men on the basis of age. The *Ala* is another political institution in pre-colonial Igbo society. *Ala* was popularly known as the goddess of the land. Cases like murder, homicide, etc was judged by the *Ala*. To any *Ala*, there is a priest called *Ala's* priest who interpreted the pronouncement of the *Ala*. This explained Igbo people's belief in *Amadioha, Igwe-ka-ala, Ogbaegbu*, etc in terms of needs. Finally, the Igbo society is segmentary, Republican and sovereign in nature.

3.3.3 The family

Ogbalu (2006) stated that family in Igbo context "differs from the English concept of family in the sense that it does not apply only to a husband, his wife, and children but also includes somewhat vaguely other relations

such as in-laws, uncles, cousins, nephews distant or near or even maids

and servants. (p.7).

For easy conception, these families are grouped into the monogamous family, polygamous family and extended family. According to Mbiti (1982) "The joint households together are like one large family". (p.106). This assertion is correct since each family in Igbo land sees itself as close relatives and share their joys and sorrows with each other.

Olisa (2002) noted that role of family life as the bedrock of Igbo traditional society cannot be overemphasized. Since family life emanates from marriage, once a child is born, the training starts. The training of an individual in Igbo setup is total. It covers all aspects of life (mental, political, social, economic and moral). An individual after going through the family norms and upbringing is well balanced in all aspects of life. In the family, the spirit of individual achievement for which the Igbo is known is gradually inculcated into him. An individual was able to achieve a lot because he follows a rule of law. There are sets of rule and ordered way of life which every individual must abide with. In other words, there are things one is supposed to do and things one is supposed not to do in any given situation.

Nnonyelu (2009) posited that "there are guidelines that direct human conduct in different situations" (p. 13). It is believed that whoever follows the right part will be blessed and progress is sure to come. Family life therefore ensures the training of an individual for a better society. Those who do not fit in well in the society due to their evil ways of life were totally frowned at. They were not encouraged even if they were well to do. These groups of people were not recognized in positions of authority and title taken such as "*ozo*" title. Sound moral life, clean gotten wealth, well socially behaved individuals were cherished in Igbo traditional society. Some sayings as *kama rijuo afo dachie uzo, ka m buru onu*, meaning literally that instead of eating too much food and become sick, let me go hungry sums it up. The family been the foundation of all other Igbo institutions is the bedrock of Igbo society. If the family fails in its way of a child's upbringing, the entire society is marred. On the other

hand if sound training is given right from home the society is saved from collapse. An Igbo adage says "*a na-esi n'ulo mara mma puta ilo*", which means that charity begins at home. No wonder Igbo people take pains in the selection of a life partner. They do not play with marriage because it is a determining factor to a successful family life.

Obi (1970) in his research on the meaning of marriage among the Igbo, says "An old farmer called it a union of a man and a woman leading to that of the two extended families" (p2). Another respondent according to him, said that, "It is a lasting union between a man and a woman" (p. 2). This information shows that marriage among the Igbo people involves a male and a female. It also establishes that marriage in Igbo land involves both families and relatives of the male and female that are married. In support of this Ogbukagu (2008) asserted, "In Adazi-Nnukwu and other Igbo Communities marriage is not an affair between a man and a woman, but rather it transcends the whole *Ụmụnna* (kindred men) and *Ụmụokpu* kindred women" (p. 273)

For Obi (1970), marriage in Igboland was "union between a man and a woman for the duration of the woman's life, being normally the gist of a wider association between two families or sets of families" (p.3). He agrees that his definition and the lay man's idea above are the same except for its length of time and social importance for the woman.

For the ordinary Igbo, marriage is the lawful living together of man and woman of different families after some rites have been performed. It is regarded as a milestone in the life of a man and a woman, which will enable them to immortalize their children. From the above, we see the idea of begetting children who will take after their parents. Marriage produces the children that form the family, and it is the starting point for all the trainings, and what the child will be in the future for a better society. In the olden days Igbo man's marriage without a child was seen as valueless and unsuccessful. When such a thing happens an alternative arrangement must be made for children to be born into the family. The man can

marry another wife or the woman can also give money to her husband to marry a wife on her behalf. According to the Igbo view on marriage, procreation is the main purpose of marriage.

Children are highly valued. It is through marriage that children are begotten and with the man, his wife/wives and children a new family is formed. Obi (1970) stated that, "Since the Igbo are a patriarchal people, marriage is deemed an indispensable factor for the continuation of the family line of descent; children occupy the central point in Igbo marriage" (p.1). In other words, if there is no marriage, there will be no family and consequent termination of family lineage and extinction of the society.

3.3.4   Political and Social Importance of the Family

The value of marriage to an Igbo man cannot be over emphasized because of what it can offer to the society. In Igbo land, the man is the head of the family, all others depend on him. There are roles for the wives and children. Everybody plays his/her role for a peaceful family life. It therefore means that if the family is good the entire society progresses. Women's role includes cooking, taking care of her husband and children and other members of the family. Keeping the home, and ensuring the neatness of children and compound also lie under her domain. Both parents train the children in obedience, good manners, hard work, farm work etc. If however, these basic trainings are not given in the family the society is bound to suffer. Consequently the society will be filled with disobedient, ill mannered, lazy and never do well kind of people. Children wash plates, sweep the house and compound, they fetch water, attend to the domestic animals. Both boys and girls have different roles they perform which will eventually help them in their marital lives. They learn, mostly by staying close to their parents and older people and siblings. According to Ogbalu (2006):

Children learn from their parents or senior brothers and sisters by watching them and doing what and how they observe them do … girls were expected to learn simple virtues, laws of hygiene, simple marketing and trading, preparation of various types of food, cultivation of crops particularly, coco-yam, cassava and care of children … boys

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on the other hand learnt directly from their fathers with whom they were always. (p.19).

Training of an individual begins at home .The home as the first port of call in the child's upbringing, starts early in life to train the child in the right direction. In the traditional Igbo society, this type of training is informal and transmitted from generation to generation. In actual sense, Igbo people see the training of a child as every body's responsibility *nwa bu nwa ora*. In the light of this, whenever an adult sees a child misbehaving, instant correction is given. The adult may go to the extent of letting the parents of the child know about the child's misconduct. According to Ogbalu (2006), "the training of children is everybody's responsibility and every person is expected to correct a child whether they are related or not" (p.19). When a child knows that his activities do not concern only himself and members of his family, he will be trying at every point in time to behave well. This avenue, in Igbo traditional society, is a way of maintaining a clean society.

Recently due to western civilization and the tendency to belong to a certain class, children behave as they like without outsiders giving them instructions to avoid exchanging words with their parents. Through the use of songs, folktales, proverbs, dances etc the child socializes and fits in well in the society. The stories also help them in developing both morally and physically. Chukwu (2013) asserted that "This form of education of the child brings him close to the elders whom he tends to appreciate, respect and tolerate in the society. "It also equips the child to live in harmony with one another in the society" (p.15). People living harmoniously in the society were no longer as it used to be in the past. The type of socialization seen in the past used to bind people together and that was the secret of one Igbo nation. Politically, children start from the family to relate with each other and then with non members of the family. Olisa (2002) noted that such relationship led to the establishment of a strong bond among members of the family. The family history and that of the clan was learnt. In course of this development, the individual also learns the relationship between his kindred

and other kindred and those between his village and other villages at the town level. The individual develops great respect, and the spirit of patriotism, and is ready to defend his people in any given situation.

According to Ejiofor (1981), "the strongest guarantee of stability in their political system is the concept of brotherhood" (p.207). Although family in itself is not a political unit, it is the tap root of all other institutions in Igbo land. The family life of every Igbo family which is embedded in social, political, religious, moral and economic life were handed over to individual from generation to generation and was the source of influence in everything he does. If however a very bad impression were created by the family, the individual carries it along to the wider society. The family therefore is the foundation of the society.

3.3.5   Political and Social Importance of the Kindred

The kindred are made up of different families. People from the same kindred see themselves as relations. They can never have conjugal relationship or marry themselves. Olisa (2002) also affirmed that "a kinsman shall never sell a kinsman, nor give false witness against him, nor abandon him in time of trouble" (p.211). People from the same *umunna* have the obligation of protecting themselves. It is an abomination to be an accomplice against your fellow *umunna* because he is your brother. They speak with one voice. The head of the kindred is the eldest man; he is also in charge of the kindred's staff of office *ofo umunna*. In most communities the head of the kindred comes from the most senior family within the kindred. He is the mediator between the members of his kindred and the ancestors. He is an agent of peace, unity and justice. According to Kanu (2015), "the *diokpara* preside over meetings, sacrifices, issues of inheritance and settlement of dispute among members of the extended families" (p.321). In decision making, the *diokpara* worked in consultation with the other heads of the extended family and constituted the extended family assembly. Decisions were arrived at through dialogue, consensus, compromise, cooperation and consultation. In the past, the sharing of the inheritance, especially land is done equitably in accordance with

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the stipulated rules. There must be meetings upon meetings before a consensus is reached on how or mode of sharing the *umunna* land. They may decide that lands will be shared according to need; which means that any male child of the *umunna* who is ready to erect a house will be allotted an agreed portion of land. He will immediately start his building with the help and encouragement of other members of the family. On the alternative, the *umunna* may agree to share the land on family bases. By this arrangement each family will take their own land and share among themselves peacefully. It has however been observed in recent times, with dismay, that most heads of the kindred handled the communal land unilaterally, without consultation to other members of the group. Some of them have gone to the extent of selling the entire land belonging to their kindred without reserving any portion where the younger generation will erect their own houses. Ojo (2015) noted that these evil acts of impunity have weakened the kindred's political and social significance in current Igbo society.

3.3.6 Political and Social Importance of the Village

Different kindred basically sum up to form a village. Each village has its own village square where they come together for meetings and festivals. The village assembly does not have much difference in organization, roles and modalities with that of the kindred except that it is larger in scope. Ogbalu (2006) affirmed that "the village assembly settles disputes which the *umunna* could not settle and is responsible for the defense of the village against thieves, intruders or wild animals" (p.12). There are rules and laws guiding the activities of each village. Any difficult case that could not be treated by the kindred is referred to the village assembly which is made up of the priest, elders and titled men. Issues are deliberated and agreement reached before actions are taken.

Miller (2011) also noted that rules are made to protect the farm products of village members. This is very important as the Igbos are mainly farmers. So it is not surprising that such laws are enacted to prevented unnecessary wastage of crops. For instance a goat, sheep

or any other domestic animal that was left by the owner to destroy crops in people's farms are liable to suffer a punishment for that. The animal could be killed or be seized, by that the owner have to take it back with a fine. Miller (2011) also noted that there were laws that guide the sweeping of the village square, market places, stream, etc. In summary, the village authorities are mainly involved in ensuring that the smooth running of the people's daily activities.

3.3.7 Political and Social Importance of the Town

Town level is the highest political organization in Igbo land. A town comprises according to Barr. John Nwodo personal communication (March 1, 2017) people from different villages. According to Ogbalu (2006) "it is made up of villages which have a common decent or have come to be one for one reason or the other" (p.5). Orji (1999) asserted that "the government of the Igbo people before the advent of the white man was by consensus, organized in towns, community and family basis" (p.10). Towns are bound together by one common interest such as the possession of one common market that is central. In some cases, it is compulsory for every woman in the community to carry wares, no matter how little they can be to the market. Farm work is usually prohibited on such market day. Any violation of such rule attracts sanctions. These measures are taken, to ensure the growth of the market which could also lead to the firmness of the town. Other things that could bind the town together are the possession of one common shrine that is famous, and also the fact that they are living in one territorial background. Leadership at the town level is made up of people from different villages. Olisa (2002) expressed that:

> the town assembly is like the village council, an informal body and not a regular constituted executive authority…the summons to meetings is usually addressed to all adults, though sometimes to specific groups, such as age grades or titled men. (p.223).

Okodo (2006) noted that in the past, there were no kings or traditional rulers in Igbo land except in few places like Nri, Arochukwu, Aboh and Onitsha" (p.44). Each town has a council which is made up of village heads, *ozo* titled holders who wield both political and administrative powers and ensures justices to all and sundry. In monarchical towns Okodo (2006) asserted that none of the monarchs in these towns was autocratic because they operated what was more or less a federal system of government. They have representatives who govern parts of their jurisdictions in the respective areas or quarters, the king while in council with their respective village representatives or members of their cabinets, deliberated according to Ifeanyi Chime personal communication (March 3, 2017) on various matters concerning the town. Political organization in Igbo land is republican in nature. Monarch and kingship are not general, and within the areas they existed, they rule by consensus. *Eze* and *Igwe* which have the same connotation as king later gained entry into Igbo land as a result of contact with British system of governance. Since that time, maintained Igwe Robert Eze personal communication (January 1, 2017) the political system in Igbo land has never remained the same. Kanu (2015) observed that when the colonial authority came; traditional rulers were made warrant chiefs and subjected to the authority and supervision of British political officers" (p. 325). Thus, making them no longer accountable to their people but to the British political officer who appointed them. This has huge negative implications for the Igbo nation, as we considered the assertion by Ogbalu (2006) when he warned that "Igbo political organization is republican in every aspect of the word. Monarchy as a form of government was not acceptable to them for they loath subjugation to a single individual however benevolent, powerful or wealthy" (p.23).

3.4 Missionary Enterprises in Igboland

In many parts of Africa as stated by Maxwell Anikwenwa personal communication (January 31, 2017) where colonial regimes exploited Africans in one way or another, missionaries became spokesman of African interests and rights. According to Ekechi (1972):

The Igbo people looked to the missionaries as allies and defenders both against the violence of conquest and as in individuals, against the extortion of forced and unpaid labour and the other forms of oppression of the early colonial period. (p. 34).

The missionaries operated on the belief that if the nineteenth century efforts to introduce Christianity in Igboland and indeed the entire Africa, were to be anything more than the failure attempt at Christianizing West Africa in the 14th century, then it has to be accompanied by a thorough going modernization of the host communities. By this, they meant introducing new commerce and cash flow economy, introducing some new technology of Europe, developing the language of the people to eliminate the communication, barrier that bedeviled the 14th century missionary attempt, and above all creating a class of people who could initiate and carry on such revolution changes. Nnabuife (1983) preserved the outline of the constitution of a missionary group thus:

Although the missionaries' special purpose is the salvation of souls they must take care to do their share in promoting a well-planned civilization and the temporal interests of the peoples whose conversion is entrusted to them, by inspiring them with an esteem and love for work and by teaching with the aid of the Brothers, planned agriculture and the most useful arts and crafts. (pp. 130-131).

Igboland offered some opportunities for the implementation of the intentions of the missionaries since there was growing demand by the local people themselves for some formal education for commercial purposes. Afigbo (1981) had the view that "the avidity of the Igbo to become as experts as the Britain in changing their physical world ensnared them to Christianity instead of converting them to Christianity" (p.6). For the first thirty years the missionary work in Igboland was dominated by Igbo agents of the C.M.S, who worked within the framework, not of colonialism, but of autonomous Igbo nation. Hence, Basden (1966) submitted that for Igbo people, 1830 was the beginning of the *enu oyibo* - the era of

the Europeans, and accordingly, outside influence on Igbo societies were to come mainly from the missionaries.

The history of the Christianization of Igboland began in 1841, when Simon Jonas, an Igbo who had been sold into slavery and was rescued and resettled in Sierra Leone, spent three weeks at Aboh, and preached to the children who flocked around him. The first permanent mission in Igboland was established at Onitsha in 1857 under the leadership of J.C. Taylor, who was born in Sierra Leone of Igbo parentage. In 1853, a hundred Igbo men in Sierra Leone had petitioned the C.M.S. to send a party to explore the possibility of missionary work and Igbo resettlement in Igboland and accordingly, the first mission in Igboland was staffed mainly by men of Igbo origin. To this, Isichei (1977) confirmed that "for almost thirty years, all the missionaries on the Niger and in the Delta – the two frontiers of Igboland most exposed to mission influence – were Africans from Sierra Leone, often though not always, of Igbo descent" (p. 160).

The distinctive characteristic of the Igbo mission was to be the fact that it was run entirely by Africans, under an African bishop-S.A. Crowther. The decision to operate it in this way was originally due to the health problems which confronted European missionaries in the area, but soon acquired the status of an experiment of momentous symbolic significance, with Crowther himself, 'the symbol of a race of trial' as bishop. However, Crowther went on to Rabba, and the Onitsha mission was headed by J.C. Taylor. He was accompanied by Simon Jonas; a veteran of the 1841 and 1854 expeditions, whose missionary efforts at Aboh in 1841 entitles him to be called the first apostle of the Igbo. Thomas Samuel was another former Igbo ex-slave who was first employed by the new trading post of Onitsha, but later joined the mission which he served until his death in 1878. Another Igbo Christian recaptive employed at the trading post was a Baptist deacon, Augustine Radillo, who aided the mission and he was the prototype of generations of Igbo Christians who would drop a meaningless foreign name to replace it with one with deep religious significance – in his own

case, Chukwuma. Until the middle 1880s, the C.M.S. had a monopoly of missionary activities in Igboland. In 1885 there was a change in the missionary work in Igboland. Two Catholic congregations came to Igboland. The Society of African Missions, with their headquarters at Asaba, and the Holy Ghost Fathers with their headquarters at Onitsha. The Methodists and the Presbyterians also found their footings in Igboland in the 19 century. The advancing frontiers of missionary enterprise in the words of C. Opara personal communication (June 7, 2017) created situations of new opportunities, both for individuals and for the Igbo nation.

3.4.1   Effects of Missionary Enterprises in Igboland

The effects of missionary enterprises in Igboland are discussed under missionary and urbanization in Igboland, Igbo language studies, western education, Igbo nationalist consciousness and change in economic system.

3.4.1.1 The Missionaries and Urbanization in Igboland

Afigbo (1999) observed that apart from the educational and economic revolutions, the missionaries in Igboland also made their impact in the urbanization of Igbo nation. Until the coming of the missionaries, most of the Igbo people lived in rural communities. But the arrival of the missionaries ushered in the development of urban centers amongst the Igbo people. Most of these started as mission centres according to S. Nwagwu personal communication (April 24, 2017). Being nearly always strangers, these men had to depend on the surrounding rural population for their livelihood. They also made use of rural labour to build their houses and maintain their surroundings. Coming and going developed between the rural villages and the mission houses as people came to sell to the strangers or to answer the clarion call of the gospel and its accompanying material benefits. As time went on a few of the local people came to settle close to the mission stations to be better able to exploit the economic opportunities they offered.

For this therefore, there is substance in the saying that civilization in Igboland started around the mission houses. A few examples, like the mission house at Onitsha, the Christian village at Aguleri and the leprosarium at Uzuakoli would suffice. However it came about, urbanization proved a powerful catalyst among the Igbo people, ranking only second to formal school as a means of educating and enlightening people in the words of I. P. Nwagu personal communication (April 23, 2017). Many who had no opportunity to go to school or who went to school but dropped out prematurely went to the new urban centres where they became enlightened by what might be called on-the-job training. It was these men who started the movement for the formation of town and village unions. These village unions has served as a channel through which the Igbo people in Diaspora brought to their villages the desirable new things they had heard and seen in the urban towns.

3.4.1.2 Igbo Language Studies

The missionaries devoted a considerable attention to the study of Igbo language, and since this is one of the areas in which they made their greatest contributions, it will be necessary to look at it in some details. According to Westerman (1929), the scientific interest in the study of the Igbo language began quite early in the 19 century in missionary circles in Sierra Leone where knowledge of African languages was seen as a necessary tool in the bid to evangelize the continent. Tasie (1999) added that the study of Igbo language, as far as available evidence shows, was begun by John F. Schon, the German linguist and missionary, who for his linguistic achievements was in 1884 to receive the D.D of Oxford. He had reduced Igbo to writing in 1841 for the use of the famous expedition of that year. When Schon retired from West Africa, Samuel Ajayi Crowther continued the investigation from 1857 in Sierra Leone, and with the help of his Igbo assistants, Crowther discovered what came to be regarded as the standard Igbo. By the middle of the 19 century this interest had according to Iduma Enwo Igariway personal communication (April 23, 2017) come to take

deep root. Between 1852 and 1900 over ten works had been published in the language, mainly by missionaries and their aides.

Afigbo (1981) noted that most of these were primers and grammars, a few were word list and collections of proverbs, while the remainders were translations of sections of the Bible into various dialects of the language. This trend continued, or rather broadened out, with the increase evangelical work which followed in the wake of the new political settlement. By the first decade of the 20 century when Igboland was thrown open to the missionaries and scholars, various primers and grammars and word list had been published in the peripheral dialects of the language and thus, the language began to acquire new prestige. It also developed the new ambition according to Chris Obiefuna Anyanwa personal communication (August 8, 2017) to become the literary language of the Igbo peoples. Meanwhile, on Taylor joining the Niger mission in 1857 Crowther encouraged him in the study of the Igbo language for which he probably must have noticed that Taylor had considerable interest, and he delivered his manuscript to Taylor to be improved upon. There might have also been at Taylor's mind that his Igbo constituency needed a lingua franca in the scheme for realizing a solid Igbo nationalist consciousness. The bulk of Taylor's work in Igbo sometimes show traces of some sort of an amalgam of the major dialects of Igbo, especially the Onitsha, Isuama, and the Igbo spoken in the Niger Delta also known as *Mbammiri* Igbo. The presence of the *Mbammiri* Igbo might, however, suggest that the traces of amalgamated Igbo in his translations were not by accident but a conscious attempt by Taylor to produce a more widely acceptable Igbo. Taylor thus was the first known scholar who attempted the evolution of a more widely acceptable. There is no gainsaying, that as perhaps best illustrated by his many translations, Taylor certainly was the most remarkable single contributor, in the 19 century, to the literature and study of the Igbo language, a position which he held without rival until the work of T.J. Dennis appeared in the first decade of the 20 century. The gigantic assignment of marrying a multiplicity of Igbo dialects to produce a national literary dialect

was given to T.J. Dennis, whose linguistic efforts resulted to the formation of the "Igbo Esperanto" known as the Union Igbo. The really staggering aspect of the assignment was that the dialect was going to be created in the process of translating the entire Bible from English into it. The work began in 1905 and was completed in 1912, the Bible being issued in 1913. For that according to P.O. personal communication (August 28, 2017) in fact for anytime, this was a great achievement, an everlasting monument to T.J. Dennis as a linguistic scholar, a theologian and a missionary.

Obviously, an amazement and admiration of the union Igbo is preserved in the words of Green (1936) in the following lines, the making of union Igbo was a difficult and delicate task involving questions of inter-group jealousy and prestige as well as purely linguistic considerations, and as such it certainly commands respect. (p. 510). Westernman (1929) added that, "what Dennis did is not essentially different from what happened in the European languages, where out of a number of dialects, one written language evolved, which bore and bears features of more than one dialect" (p. 340).

It must be conceded according to A. Onwuka personal communication (September 6, 2017) that the missionaries especially the C.M.S. rendered remarkable services to the development of Igbo language through reducing it to writing, through their numerous evangelical tracks in the vernacular and, through the manufacturing of the Union Igbo. And as Ekechi (1972) has said, "there is no question that as a result of the C.M.S insistence on the use of the vernacular, graduates from Anglican schools were far better grounded in the Igbo language than their counterparts from the Catholic schools" (p.192).

3.4.1.3 Western Education

Afigbo (1999) noted that the missionaries changed indigenous Igbo society much more radically than either the government or the traders did. This they did by insisting that the Igbo people and their neighbours could not actually become good Christians or attain salvation unless they modify their societies drastically along prescribed western lines. They

offered western education, highly attractive bait which indigenous religion could not offer. Since the Igbo people were anxious to acquire the Whiteman's irresistible magic and knew this could only be done through going to school, they in time sent flocks of their children to the schools, soon, political, economic, religious and social life came to be dominated by the natives who had acquired the Whiteman's magic. In retrospect, in the words of C. Achalonu personal communication (August 1, 2017) all these could be seen as the birth pangs of the new society in Igboland. This postulation is supported by Alagoa (1999) as he noted that "Western education had been identified as probably the most important motive for the acceptance of Christian missions" (p.250). Right from the 1840s, various missionary bodies have done a lot not only to evangelize different parts of Igboland, but also to bring about educational development. By doing so, Christianity has therefore played an important role in the making of an Igbo nation even without intentionally doing so as a matter of policy. It is a fact that meaningful missionary enterprise which resulted in the making of an Igbo nation began in 1857, spearheaded by the C.M.S. and the Roman Catholic Churches (1885). According to Uruakpa (1996), "It is quite clear that these missionary bodies had common aims, and especially shared in the philosophy of education as a sharpest instrument for effective and result oriented evangelism" (p.123).

Education became necessary for the missionaries for obvious reasons. First the missionaries considered it easier and rightly too, to achieve their aim of conversion using the school when the children had not become fully involved in traditional beliefs of their various cultures. Secondly, through the schools, they aimed at producing indigenes that would assist in propagating the gospel in the vernacular languages among their people. Besides, the development of colonial government and the expansion of mercantile houses required that the people be educated to occupy certain positions like clerks, messengers, church teachers, cooks, etc. Hence, for the first time, education was seen as the gateway to economic opportunity by the Igbo people themselves. They realized, as they never did before that

knowledge is power, and that it commands economic security and social prominence. Western education offered an escape from the petty tyranny of court clerks and warrant chiefs during the colonial era as the products of the local mission schools began to compete with them, the commercial advantages of education became universally evident. The emphasis on competitive achievement applied not only to individuals, but to towns. Onitsha appeared the paradigm of a town which had prospered through education and association with the missionaries.

According to Isichei (1977), the first notable educational institution was the station built by CMS in 1903 at Awka. It eventually evolved into training institute for teachers and catechists was transferred here, where many notable Igbo people were to obtain their post-primary education. The special glory of the Presbyterian according to A. Osuigwe personal communication (August 28, 2017) lay in its medical work. Accordingly, the outstanding son of the mission proved to be a medical missionary, Francis Akanu Ibiam. The C.M.S. was the first body to provide any form of post primary education. In the late 19th century it established a training school for catechists. This was held first at Lokoja (all the pupils but one were Igbo), and then moved to Asaba, to Iyienu, and finally in 1903, to Awka. In 1913, the Catholic followed suit, established a combined training college and seminary at Igbariam. These mission training colleges played an invaluable role in Igbo education and the emergence of new Igbo elite. The distinction of opening the first secondary school in Igboland belongs to the Methodists who founded a school at Uzuakoli in 1923. The C.M.S. established D.M.G.S. Onitsha and Government College Umuahia in 1925. The Catholic opened C.K.C. Onitsha in 1932, Queen of the Rosary Enugu in 1942 and S.P.C. Asaba in 1944. It was no doubt, from these mission founded schools that the Igbo people who spearheaded the revolutionary changes in Igbo societies emerged. Hence, Uruakpa (1996) submitted that through missionary education, the Igbo educated elites became whatever they were – whether traders or teachers, clerks or catechists, politicians or true nationalists.

It is necessary to distinguish the new elite in Igboland and the old, and to specify that we are concerned here with the emergence of only the new elite. In the traditional Igbo communities there was emphasis on social stratifications and it is possible to speak of a ruling class possessing special status and political, military, economic and religious functions that were often used for the oppression and suppression of those who did not belong to any of those classes. The *osu* system and *ohu* domestic slaves were according to M. Okoye personal communication (January 16, 2017) cases in point. In some communities also, they were the priests and witch doctors respected for their ability to cure diseases and control the fortunes of men and forces of nature. Missionary activities introduced, however, new values, new ways of acquiring status and imitability in Igboland. The class of people who had imbibed them most became the elite that have been so crucial in the development, modernization and the making of an Igbo nation.

Ajayi and Webster (1999) were of the opinion that:

> In the rise of this new class the most important single factor has been education, particularly secondary and higher education; in turn, the development of education has to a large extent been dependent on missionary activities. (p. 149).

With the introduction of Christianity and its accompanying benefits in education, urbanization and technical training came the emergence of new Igbo elite. According to I. Odolo personal communication (January 24, 2017), at first the new elite comprised a disproportionately large number of natives of Onitsha. Her early access to mission schools, her later concentration of secondary schools and a training college, gave her unique advantages which no other Igbo community could equal. It is no accident that the first Igbo C.M.S. bishop, the first Igbo Catholic bishop, and the great nationalist leader Azikiwe were all Onitsha men.

Hence Isichei (1977) observed that "the people of Onitsha considered themselves the aristocracy of Igboland" (p. 190). They were followed by those from the areas around Onitsha; towns such as Nnewi, which had shared many advantages, and from Asaba, across the Niger, from Awka and from the Owerri area. These were areas notable for their playing host to the 19th to 20th century missionaries in Igboland. The first generation elite were nearly always Christians. These new elites had two uncomplicated ambitions – to educate their families to the highest possible standard; and to erect the largest possible houses in their home villages. In the words of U. M. Nwafor personal communication (January 30, 2017), many of the first generation elite were primary school teachers. They were often more than school masters; they were leaders and models for the communities in which they lived, the first bringers of civilization to the town. Most of these early teachers lived by what they taught. Teachers therefore became objects of hero-worship. Ijire (1965) notes that parents who sent their children to school had no other job in mind for them than teaching.

Achunike (2002) observed that the key to social change in Igboland lay in an appreciation of the fact that the pre-colonial Igbo polity was a community in which the worldly and the other worldly, the political and the religious were closely bound together. As a result political, social and economic lives were underpinned by a religion centered on the worship of a pantheon of deities and the veneration of the ancestors. In the process of changing the fundamental basis of society, and the emergence of a modern Igbo nation, the mission schools played an important role as Afigbo (1981) observed. "It was the instrument for mobilizing support for Christianity and by the same token for withdrawing support from the old social order" (p. 340). This role was all the more crucial because those recruited for Christianity through the school were by and large children, that is the younger generation who had not yet been fully inducted into the culture and lure of the nation.

Furthermore, Christianity effected serious changes on indigenous Igbo societies which G. Ezenagu personal communication (January 9, 2017) said it was the instrument through

which a lot of the younger generation of Igbo men were indoctrinated against the obnoxious practices inherent in the traditional Igbo societies and tended to withdraw them physically from participating in those celebrations and social process by which the values of the group were transmitted from generation to generation. So while time and death thinned down the ranks of the defenders of the old order, the ranks of the Christians were progressively being augmented. Therefore, slowly but steadily the new trend became according to A. Eze personal communication (January 18, 2017) observable and gained dominance over the old. This is a point which hitherto had not always been stressed in discussions of the spread of Christianity in Igboland. Another point related to this is the fact that at the same time many of those first sent to school, and therefore to church, were either slaves or *osu* (outcasts). These were people who, because of their social disabilities, had a grievance against traditional Igbo culture and society that had subdued them. They therefore saw the new Christian order which was forming as an alternative to the Igbo society whose constraints they were happy to escape. And what was more, it did not take time before the value of the missions as means of getting ahead in the new world ushered in by the colonial rule, was proved beyond all reasonable doubt. They were soon employed as clerks, messengers and the likes in the government and commercial firms and as teachers and agents in the schools and missions. In these jobs they acquired a new economic power and social status far beyond the wildest imagination of the elders, and thus became objects of admiration and envy.

3.4.1.4 The Missionaries and the Igbo Nationalist Consciousness

For the first thirty years the missionary work in Igboland was dominated by Igbo agents of the C.M.S, who worked within the framework, not of colonialism, but autonomous Igbo nation. The near proverbial Igbo nationalist consciousness is one of the areas in which the Igbo agents of the C.M.S, many years ago sowed the seed. The missionary teaching of equality and brotherhood of all men before God had the effect of generating self consciousness in the recipient and this in turn made them nurse the ambition for self

expression and self government as a corollary to the philosophy of equality. Such personalities as Nnamdi Azikiwe, Jaja Nwachukwu, J.O.J Okezie, Mbonu Ojike, R.I. Uzoma and Sam Mbakwe just to mention a few, were all products of missionary education, and they all acquired virtues of leadership that enabled them to be reckoned with as builders of a modern Igbo nation in variety of ways.

The development of Igbo tribal consciousness coincided with the age when the slogan "Africa for the Africans" was very popular and carried much weight in the C.M.S. scheme of evangelism. For Tasie (1996) the strongest factor that prompted the interest of the Igbo agents of the C.M.S. to be enlisted in the Igbo mission was their nationalist zeal. They believed that the Igbo states must be regenerated by Igbo indigenes themselves, especially by the emerging generation of new elite, born and bred under better conditions than most other Igbo people. Although Taylor believed in the slogan "African for Africans" he was possibly also one of the first as far as available evidence shows, to realize too that in implementing the slogan, people should be careful to take seriously into account the heterogeneity of Africa. One might therefore conclude that the C.M.S. Igbo agents thought quite differently from most of their contemporaries on the matter of nationalism. Their nationalism was exclusive and tribal based. It is against this background that we can partly appreciate their extraordinary zeal for the Igbo nation. The missionaries emphasized that it would be impossible to convey the gospel message effectively to any people unless the evangelist himself was able, not only to master the local tongue of the people but also to understand their thought and value systems. It is possible that these considerations caused them to press upon the C.M.S. repeatedly on the importance of producing literature and teaching material in the vernacular The chronicle of the evolution of Igbo nationalist consciousness cannot be complete without taking into account the role of the Igbo language, its Lingua Franca, as one of the uniting factors which favoured this evolution.

According to Ilogu (1967), considering the unifying effect which the Union Igbo has had, not only among the various Christian groups who speak dialects but also among non Christian Igbo speaking peoples, the work was doubtless worth producing. Tasie (1996) added that "Although, the union Igbo was first produced primarily for evangelistic considerations, it has also had considerable positive effects upon the making of an Igbo nation" (p. 90).

Central Niger now corresponds to the Imo and Anambra states, the Niger Delta now corresponds to almost the entire Rivers state, and extends to parts of Delta State; and the South-east now corresponds not only to the Cross River state but also the Igbo in Imo State. Bowen, cited in Adiele (1996) illustrated the significance of the translation among the Igbo speaking people when he states:

> Of all who have succeeded in making any impression on Ibo life and thought, Archdeacon Dennis must be counted the greatest. He has made an Esperanto of Ibo that has caught on with the masses, thereby giving to this people, the third largest of West Africa, a common vehicle of expression and a language of literature which has widened the tribal consciousness. (p. 100).

According to Mgbemene (1996), the Igbo primer "*Akwukwo ogugu Igbo*" popularly known as "*Azu Ndu*", identified the Igbo in these words, "*Onitsha na Asaba na Aboh na Owerri na Ahoada na Bonny na Opobo na Awka na Aba na Awkwukwu na Bende na Udi no otutu obodo ndi ozo na asu otu asusu*" (p. 367). The literature of Igbo esperanto made it possible for the Igbo-speaking people to be more cohesive as a unit of Nigerian society. It provided a Lingua Franca for the Igbo people.

3.4.1.5 Change in Economic System

The abolition of the overseas slave trade was probably the most dramatic factor for a change of the economic system of the Igbo people in the 19th century. It is on record that the activities of the missionaries and the official treaties with the local chiefs on the banks of the

Niger were the initial steps in the stoppage of the slave trade. The desire to effectively stop the slave trade led to new initiatives on the part of the British traders and officials and to new relationships with the local rulers. The abolition further led to the switch over to legitimate trade in Igboland especially in palm oil. This was the prelude to the commercial prominence of Igboland, a status that is held positive across the length and breadth of Nigeria. It is no doubt, for this that Alagoa (1999) concluded that the abolition of slave trade and the increasing missionary presence were the most dramatic factors for a change of the economic status of the Igbo nation. The change in the economic system provided challenges to the old trading establishments and their controllers, and opportunities for the emergence of new men. The slave trade declined almost to a point of varnishing completely, its position being taken by the oil trade. The latter attracted many young men and it required little capital and no elaborate organization like the oracle systems associated with the earlier trade. This new economic system which entails free participation by all and sundry was the foundation for the free enterprising nature of the people of the new Igbo nation. According to Afigbo (1981) the impact of this development on Igbo society was quite far reaching. It vested a new value on raw cash as such and the Igbo came to say *'ego beke na-ekwu okwu'* the white man's money talks. The fact is that hitherto people made money and accumulated wealth in order to marry wives, raise a large yam barns, and buy admission to the revered title and secret societies since it was from these that prestige and status derived. But with the new development money came to have value for its own sake and to convey status even when not invested in the purchase of status in the traditional manner. Initially the rulers of Igbo states always welcomed the missionaries for economic purposes. To this, Achunike (2002) noted that the 1841 missionary expedition arrived at Aboh and they were well received by Obi Ossai, the king of course not perhaps without motives for material and commercial gains". (p. 43).

Onitsha in 1857 was a poor state and welcomed the missionaries in hope of increased prosperity. Onitsha's rapid rise to affluence in subsequent years seemed to justify this

expectation, and provided an object of lesson for the rulers of other Igbo states. Isichei (1977) preserved a correspondence of a missionary to bishop Crowther in 1879 thus:

This earnest desire for missionaries which many of the chiefs I visited showed was in great measure owing to a belief current that missionaries will bring merchants with them, or if they are there already they will not easily be removed should missionaries be there also. Onitsha was always brought as an example to prove this. (p.101).

Even in the late 1850s, other Igbo towns were quick to recognize the long-term significance of the new development. In discussing the impact of the missionaries in the making of a nation, the declaration of a missionary as preserved in Ayandele (1999) is instructive:

My object is two-fold, to preach Christianity to you and your people believing it to be the greater power to raise and strengthened a people and as being the power which has made the European nations generally great and to educate your children so as to fit them to take high place in the advance state of society which I hope will be found in the not distant future in your country. (p. 375).

In the "Bible and the Plough" slogan as the basis of the mission to Igboland, the plough represents agriculture and industry. The missionaries' interest to foster the two among the people cannot be gain said. Crowther cited in Mgbemene (1996) was quoted as saying in 1860 that "A missionary should be a jack of all trade and master of all; one ready to put his hand to work and to do so in a legitimate way, anything that might lead to advance the cause of Christ" (p.409). Basden (1983) also noted that in the Igbo country, missions founded the first school of carpentry in the eighties-nineties. With regard to industry the C.M.S. set up an Onitsha Industrial Mission (O.I.M.) 1900-1903 to train and educate young and capable Christian youths in various traders – carpentry, sewing, brick-making and tailors.

The aim was to put into their hands a handicraft, which enables them to take their position in the world as good and profitable citizens. Some Igbo young men underwent

O.I.M's training and came out as carpenters, tailors and sawyers. Thus the ministry of the O.I.M not only demonstrated the dignity of working with one's hands but also opened the eyes of the not-well-educated to the possibility of using their hands and becoming self-reliant and successful Christian citizens. The missionaries' concern for the development of agricultural skill of the Igbo people, exemplified by including rural science as a subject on the primary school curriculum, is an indication of their concern to uplift the people from primitive subsistence and ignorant scratching of their soil to higher and more enlightened ways of using it. It was to take their attention away from taboos and superstition associated with primitive subsistence agriculture. It was an attempt to introduce the people to mechanized agriculture and a call to them to return to their land. It was the hopeful beginning, no matter how distant time, of an enlightened Igbo nation.

CHAPTER FOUR

HIGHLIGHTS ON THE NIGERIA-BIAFRA WAR (1970-1995)

This chapter seeks to investigate the Nigeria-Biafra war of 1970 to 1995. Attention will be focused on the background to the war, its remote and immediate causes, and the chapter will conclude by showing how the war has affected the lives and belief of the Igbo in relation to their religious practices.

4.1   Background of the Nigeria-Biafra War

Nigeria as a unified territory emerged in 1914 through the amalgamation of British colonial possessions in the region. After independence in 1960, Nigeria was widely considered as one of the sub-Saharan Africa's most promising post-colonial states. This postulation was confirmed by Steyn (2009), who noted that; "the potential for development seemed boundless in the democracy of roughly 45 million people, where large amounts of high-quality oil reserves had been discovered shortly before the end of colonial rule" (p.256). Zachernuk (1994) argued, however that a combination of two British legacies impaired the evolution of a stable political system and social relations. According to him, "the colonial rule divided the population along ethnic lines, but incorporated the groups thus defined in a centrally governed federal state" (p.435).The territorial and ethnic borders that marked Nigerian colonial societies were still in place when the country achieved independence. Established as a federal state, postcolonial Nigeria was split into three main regions, each dominated by one or two ethnic groups: Hausa-Fulani in the north, Yoruba in the west, and Igbo in the east. Hundreds of other ethnic minorities of different size made up the rest of the population. In 1963, the federation was separated into four states when the multi-ethnic Midwestern State was carved out of the Western Region. Partly parallel with these political borders were what many perceived as a religious divide that split the country into the predominantly Christian South and the Islamic dominated north.

By mid 1960s, just few years after Nigerian independence, the optimism of decolonization began to crumble. Paradoxically, the growing participatory options for the population weakened the postcolonial democracy. Lasse and Dirk (2014) gave instances of the situation at the regional level where a system of patronage was created along ethnic lines, and at the national levels where the three 'mega-tribes' competed for state resources that had become increasingly lucrative thanks to the revenues from oil and other commodities. Consequently, a deepening rift severed the northern and the southern regions. The Eastern region, which was geographically in the country's southeast region, became increasingly isolated. In all regions politicians feared the possible domination of their counterparts from other parts of the country. Federal and national elections developed into fiercely fought battles for power; ballot rigging and other forms of manipulation were omnipresent.

The aftermaths of the controversial election resulted to breakdown of law and order in the then Western Region. In January 1966, an Igbo-dominated putsch by a group of army officers initiated a series of coups and counter-coups that led to the installation of military rule. The first coup was forestalled, but only after the rebellious officers killed a number of high-ranking officials, among them Ahmadu Bello, the Sardauna of Sokoto, one of the principle figures in the northern leadership. The remaining rump cabinet handed over the government to Johnson Aguiyi-Ironsi, who was then the highest ranking officer and commanding officer of the Nigerian army.

Douglas (2002) opined that the government taken-over by officers of Northern extraction fuelled the already tensed political atmosphere of the country, which eventually resulted to complete breakdown of law and order. According to him, the country for the first time witnessed an organized pogrom that targeted the Igbo people and minority tribes from the Eastern Region. The repeated outbursts of violence between June and October 1966 peaked in massacres against Igbo people living in the Sabon Gari, the 'foreigners' quarters' of northern Nigerian towns. According to estimates, P. Onyenwenwa (personal

communication, December 2, 2016) said that these riots claimed the lives of tens of thousands of Eastern citizens. Douglas (2002) noted that the Nigerian government of Northern extraction failed to halt the riots and even encourage it in many cases. This violence drove a stream of more than a million refugees to the Eastern Region, the 'homeland' of the Igbo despotic community. The massacres were one of the key events in the unfolding of the civil war. Amidst rampant fears among the Igbo in particular, the Eastern Region began to call for more autonomy. According to Akinyele (2010), ever since the end of colonialism became imaginable, the leaderships of all regions had at times pondered secession. Now, after failed negotiations, this dramatic step was finally taken. On 30 May, 1967, the eastern political leadership headed by Ojukwu declared its independence as the Republic of Biafra, named after the Bight of Biafra, a bay on the country's Atlantic coast. Hostilities erupted a few weeks later. On 6 July, the Nigeria–Biafra war began with the advance of federal troops into the Biafran territory.

The military power of both sides was limited because of a lack of funds, personnel, discipline and education. The federal army was still better equipped even though the secessionist forces comprised a large part of the former Nigerian officer corps, which had been dominated by the Igbo. Despite a number of spectacular offensives from both sides, for the most part the military situation was a stalemate. In his evaluation of the war, Akuchu (1977) noted that "the Federal Military Government's (FMG) major strategic advantage was not only on its military force, but its diplomatic status: internationally recognized statehood" (p.39). That the FMG could argue that it was a sovereign government facing an 'insurgency' was deceptive. Foreign governments, including most members of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), considered the conflict as an internal matter. The regional organization principally responsible for mediation thus ensured that no step was taken that might be interpreted as recognizing the Biafran government.

Fig. 4: Map of Biafra

Source: Ojukwu C. O, 2010

The latter, in turn, soon rejected any Organization of African Union (OAU) intervention. This postulation was also supported by Njoku (2010), who stated that:

> Nigeria's secured diplomatic status was also crucial for the most significant development in the war's early stages: the Federal Military Government's decision to blockade the secessionist state. (p.347).

In other to cut off Biafra's lines of communication with the outside world, the Nigerian military blockaded air and sea ports. Nigeria also banned foreign currency transactions, incoming mail, telecommunication and international businesses. Moreover, as a recognized government, the Gowon regime did not meet any substantial difficulties in obtaining weapons on international markets.

Akuchu (1977) argued also that the inability of the Biafran nation to acquire a substantial diplomatic status prompted the young nation to adopt various survival strategies. For instance, due to their 'rebel' status, the Biafrans were forced to use black market channels to buy arms. Upon realizing their slim chances on the battlefield, the Biafran leadership moved the conflict into the propaganda domain. The situation did not look promising for Biafra's propagandists in the international sphere, either. Governments of the global south were particularly hesitant. As many of them faced separatist movements at home and were therefore adamantly opposed to what they understood as illegitimate secession rather than the legitimate exercise of the Biafrans' right to self-determination. As Omenka (2010) argues in this volume:

> The Biafran campaign showcased the ambivalence about how the postcolonial international system dealt with self-determination projects, and left an equally ambivalent legacy. Since its inception in 1963 in the wake of the Congo crisis and the attempted secession of Katanga, the OAU's guiding principle was the rejection of separatism. With the defence of postcolonial sovereignty deeply ingrained into its

fabric, the Biafran campaign fell on deaf ears in African inter-governmental circles with only a few exceptions. (p. 368).

Accordingly, despite the secessionists' intensive efforts, the conflict did not engender much international interest during the first year of fighting even though casualties were substantial from the onset. Throughout the conflict, federal aircraft shelled towns and other targets on Biafran territory, frequently inflicting numerous civilian casualties. Despite such recurrent risks, the population in the war zone was particularly threatened in moments of instability produced by military advances and setbacks. In August 1967, Biafran forces launched a major offensive, crossed the Niger and marched through the Midwestern state towards Lagos. Failing to capitalize on the momentum, the Biafrans came to a halt about 100 km east of the capital and then withdrew after federal forces retaliated. Violence against civilians broke out in border towns that experienced double occupation. In Asaba, the people who are Igbo were treated as sympathizers of the 'rebels' and they consequently became victims of massacres and rape by federal soldiers.

Lasse and Dirk (2014) postulated that the deepening humanitarian crisis of the Biafran population thrust the conflict into the international spotlight. By the end of 1967, the first signs were discernible that Biafra would be threatened by a serious food shortage; the Biafran population was heading for a famine that could cost hundreds of thousands of human lives. In the first half of 1968, ever more religious groups and humanitarian organizations were alerted to the event which J. E. Okonkwo personal communication (August 8, 2017) said was due in large measure to the presence of western missionaries. These religious ties were conduits for the transnational networks through which the conflict would be turned into an object of international humanitarian concern. For many Christian clerics and lay people, the war seemed to be a cosmic drama fought between a vulnerable Christian Biafra and a northern Muslim-dominated federal Nigeria. In early May 1968, Biafra's principal port town and remaining access to the sea, Port Harcourt, fell to federal forces. The secessionist state was

turned into a landlocked enclave. With federal forces tightening the nose around the secessionist territory, the shrinking Biafran enclave soon encompassed only the heart of Igboland. At the same time, this territory had to absorb increasing numbers of people fleeing federal offensives. After a year of fighting, the rump state was overpopulated, its people impoverished, lacking supplies, food and medicine.

Additionally, Lasse and Dirk (2014) also pointed out that the growing international interest in the conflict generated by the humanitarian crisis became a major factor of change in political and military terms, seemingly representing a political gain for Biafra. In April 1968, Julius Nyerere, the then President of Tanzania recognized the secessionist state, citing humanitarian concerns as the grounds for this decision. Gabon, Ivory Coast and Zambia followed in the ensuing months, and a year later 'Papa Doc' Chevalier's Haiti. On morally ambiguous grounds, the Estado Novo dictatorship in Portugal, and the South African and Rhodesian apartheid regimes clandestinely supported the Biafran secessionists as well, ostensibly to weaken one of sub-Saharan Africa's biggest states. The De Gaulle government also backed Biafra.

In Paris, postcolonial power politics conjoined with efforts to ride the wave of domestic humanitarian concern. France delivered arms to Biafra, which were mostly channelled through Houphouet-Boigny's Ivory Coast. Projecting its postcolonial power through the ties of France¸ afrique, Paris aimed to weaken Nigeria, not only for its close British ties but also because it was the largest and potentially most powerful state in France's principal sphere of influence in West Africa. To a lesser degree, Beijing a few years into the Sino-Soviet split also supported Biafra, partly to oppose Russia. The airlifts of aid of Biafra, partly used for humanitarian purposes and partly for military purposes, prevented Biafra's fall for some months. However, these various sources were not enough to tip the scale in favour of the Biafrans. The military standoff remained for another eighteen months after the increase of international interest in mid 1968. Breakthrough attempts were orchestrated by both sides.

They invariably failed, at least until late 1969. By then, Nigerian strategic adjustments and changes in the military leadership ensured a successful final onslaught on the Biafran enclave. In early 1970, Ojukwu and some of his followers fled to the Ivory Coast. After two and a half years of fighting, the remaining Biafran regime surrendered on 15 January 1970.

4.2   Origin of the War

The Nigeria-Biafra war was triggered by various factors and problems. According to various scholarly publications, the origin of the civil wars exits right before the political competition and confrontation that erupted in January 1966. In other words, the political conflicts were triggered by series of events that bedevilled the nation, many of which can be traced to the pre-independence era. This postulation was supported by John (1972), who argued that, "the cause of the Nigerian-Biafran war is the sum total of Nigeria's political annals, not an isolated event or a single crisis, that constitutes the essential genesis of the civil war" (p.397). For instance, those who understandably point, as did the Biafran public relations media, to the appalling civilian massacres of October and the mass murder of Igbo military personnel in July 1966 as provocation for secession were obviously countered by the accusing finger at the attempted castration of Northern virility by the assassination of its top political and military leadership in January 1966 - with the Igbo leadership suggestively left untouched.

Similarly, Korieh (2013) pointed out that those who interpret that coup d'etat as UPGA's desperate bid for political survival once it had seen its chances of constitutional change shattered by the fraudulent census of 1962/63, the abortive general election of 1964 and the death of democracy in the NPR election of 1965, must not overlook the fears genuinely held by the North - and so alarmingly confirmed in May 1966 - of Southern supremacy, derived from the accepted basis of more and better-educated manpower, had the doors of the North's bureaucracy and economy been opened to all-comers recruited on strict principles of merit between 1955 and 1965. Even though this North-South antagonism does

not come compellingly into the open until 1950, at the first nation-wide political (in the sense of political party and representative government) conference. Additionally, Korieh (2013) also blamed the dislike and distrust harboured by Yoruba against their Igbo counterparts as well as the antagonism that exists among the three main parties namely National Congress of Nigeria and the Cameroon (N.C.N.C.), AG and Nigeria People's Congress (N.P.C) as playing a critical roles in causing the outbreak of hostilities. It is a moot point whether the British were playing the Nigeria game or the Nigerians were playing the British game when, as early as 1922, 1914 (or even 1899), administrative and constitutional change was seen in terms of separate development and the preservation of sub-national identities rather than of a unitary government and a unified administration. The proverbial contention about oil and water being incompatible has been a prominent one, in the political '50s and the post-independence '60s no less than in the divide *et impera* colonial age.

In the two decades of modern Nigeria's political history up to the overthrow of civilian government in 1966, the country witnessed a number of landmarks. However, John (1972) pointed out that each of such landmarks was certainly in retrospect and often at the time, a step towards a politico-cultural drawing apart as much as towards the erection of a national identity. In his words; "supposedly centripetal and in the name of non-existent national unity, each of such landmarks was, always potentially and often actually, centrifugal in practice, even in covert intention" (p.58). Nigeria's constitutional and political history seemed to have a limitless capacity for stretching until, like a rubber band, the supreme moment of tension was reached and, after so many expected breaks, there came the unexpected snap. Ignoring the caution of the Nigerian proverbs, the Richards constitution of 1947 tried to mix oil and water. The Ibadan Conference of 1950 began the great pull, when the emirs of Zaria and Katsina threatened that the North would go its own way unless it was granted at least parity of seats with the South in the proposed central legislature. It slipped several more notches after the vulgarity of the Lagos mob - *cin mutunci*, personal humiliation

through public abuse, is to the Hausa a worse offence than physical assault-and the Kano riots. If 1953 was to become one of the Biafran points of no return because of the slaughter of Igbo people in Kano, it had never been anything less in the NPC demonology of the South because of their treatment by politicians and proletariat alike in Lagos. The 1954 constitution confirmed the formalised wishes of the Nigerian leadership to move and remain as far apart as they decently could; the choice between Milverton's unitary or federal options had been unmistakably, and probably irrevocably, made. For the next nine years of constitutional advance, the direction was consistently away from a strong centre and towards the positive strengthening, almost insulation, of the Regional base of each major political party.

According to Ekwe-Ekwe (2011), the three political parties were rarely more national than their essentially Regional leadership allowed them to be. Where they had electoral successes outside their power-base, these were won less under their own label than by their Regional allies. The NPC steadfastly refused to de-localize its name to the Nigerian People's Congress. The deliberate diminution of the status of the central government stopped short, however, at the creation of more Regions. The Mid-West was created in 1963, hypocritically encouraged by the monolith-minded NPC and the wheeling-and-dealing NCNC in order to confine the AG to its Yoruba heartland and so reduce its influence at the national level. Unfortunately, the Middle Belt interests could not be realized as a resulted of stiff resistance from Sardauna.

The abolition of the Judicial Service Commission, the termination of the right of appeal to the Privy Council, the reduction *ad absurdum* of the list of so-called fundamental human rights incorporated into the Constitution when set beside its many qualifying exceptions, and the creeping Regional control of the Nigeria police were other unscheduled inroads on the safeguards that the Minorities Commission had been satisfied within the situation as it was in 1958. Nor had they been able to foresee the vigorous Islamization campaigns personally undertaken by Sardauna, claiming a million converts and giving rise to

Northern as well as Southern suspicions of a sinister gravitation towards a Nasser-centric political orbit.

Okonta (2012) partly traced the origin of the civil war to the elections of 1964, which showed how powerful the North's leadership could influence the Centre without stepping outside its Regional base. If any lesson was needed by the NPC, it learnt it from the disgrace and disintegration of the AG in the Western Region crisis of 1962. On the internal front, to close the ranks by eliminating NEPU as an opposition and holding down Middle Belt separatism in Tiv land by calling in the army became imperative in the face of what direct rule imposed on a divided Region by the Federal Government had meant to the shattered Western Region. On the external front, the lesson of the NPC's ill-fated political incursion into the Mid-Western Region - pretentiously carried out in the name of national unity - was to convince its leadership not to violate further the facet agreement over the boundaries of Regional security was the tactic that would pay off best unless, like Akintola in 1965 but not Osadebay in 1963, there was already a puppet government in power. However, Korieh (2013) observed that the one lesson the NPC never learned was that, however successful the manipulation of the rules of the game may be in ensuring victory, those rules are worthless once your opponent decides to play quite a different game.

The rules were satisfactory enough, at least to the NPC, when the game was that of the politics of brinkmanship and coercion. They proved woefully inadequate when the loser suddenly reneged and switched to the new game of politics from the barrel of a gun. Ekwe-Ekwe (2011) observed that the 1964 elections, which involved heavy campaigning all year, brought ethnic and regional divisions into focus. Resentment of politicians ran high and many campaigners feared for their safety while touring the country. The Army repeatedly deployed to Tiv Division, killing hundreds and arresting thousands of Tiv people agitating for self-determination. Widespread reports of fraud tarnished the election's legitimacy. The Western Region especially resented the political domination of the Northern People's Congress, many

of whose candidates ran unopposed in the election. Violence spread throughout the country and some began to flee the North and West, some to D. C. Nnatu (personal communication, Agust 17, 1017) made it clear that the apparent domination of the political system by the North, and the chaos breaking out across the country, eventually motivated elements within the military to consider decisive action.

The two major political leaders of the north, the prime Minister, Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa and the Premier of the northern region, Sir Ahmadu Bello were executed by Major Nzeogwu. Also murdered was Sir Ahmadu Bello's wife and officers of Northern extraction. Meanwhile, the President, Sir Nnamdi Azikiwe, an Igbo, was on an extended vacation in the West Indies. He did not return until days after the coup. There was widespread suspicion that the Igbo coup plotters had tipped him and other Igbo leaders off regarding the impending coup. In addition to the killings of the Northern political leaders, the Premier of the Western region, Ladoke Akintola and Yoruba senior military officers were also killed. According to Madiebo (1980):

> The coup also referred to as The Coup of the Five Majors, has been described in some quarters as Nigeria's only revolutionary coup. This was the first coup in the short life of Nigeria's nascent second democracy. Claims of electoral fraud were one of the reasons given by the coup plotters. (p. 27).

However, the coup was seen not as a revolutionary coup by other sections of Nigerians, especially in the Northern and Western sections. Ekwe-Ekwe (2011) noted that contradiction was also noted by many scholars as the origin of the civil war. The efforts of the coupists to take power were thwarted by Johnson Aguiyi-Ironsi, an Igbo and loyalist head of the Nigerian Army, who suppressed the coup operations in the South. The majors surrendered, and Aguiyi-Ironsi was declared head of state on 16th January. Aguiyi-Ironsi suspended the constitution and dissolved parliament. He then abolished the regional confederated form of government and pursued unitary like policies hitherto favoured by the

NCNC, having apparently been influenced by some NCNC political philosophy. He, however, appointed Colonel Hassan Katsina, son of Katsina Emir Usman Nagogo, to govern the Northern Region, indicating some willingness to maintain cooperation with this bloc. He also preferentially released northern politicians from jail (enabling them to plan his forthcoming overthrow).

John (1972) pointed out also that the actions of Ironsi were partly responsible for the outbreak of war. Ironsi fatally did not bring the failed plotters to trial as required by then-military law and as advised by most northern and western officers. The coup, despite its failure and since no repercussion was meted out to coup plotters and since no significant Igbo political leaders were affected, was widely perceived as having benefited mostly the Igbo. Most of the known coup plotters were Igbo and the military and political leadership of Western and Northern regions had been largely bloodily eliminated while Eastern military/political leadership was largely untouched. However Ironsi, himself an Igbo, was thought to have made numerous attempts to please Northerners. On 24th May 1966, the military government issued Unification Decree, which would have replaced the federation with a more centralised system. The Northern bloc found this decree intolerable. On the night of 29 July 1966, northern soldiers at Abeokuta barracks mutinied, thus precipitating a counter-coup, which have already been in the planning stages. The counter-coup led to the installation of Lieutenant-Colonel Yakubu Gowon as Supreme Commander of the Nigerian Armed Forces. Gowon was chosen as a compromise candidate. He was a Northerner, a Christian, from a minority tribe, and had a good reputation within the army.

Okonta (2012), however noted that counter-coup succeeded in enabling the Northerners to assumed absolute control of the government and did little to bring absolute peace in the country. It seems that Gowon immediately faced not only a potential standoff with the East, but secession threats from the Northern and even the Western region. The counter-coup plotters had considered using the opportunity to withdraw from the federation

themselves. Ambassadors from Britain and the United States, however, urged Gowon to maintain control over the whole country. Gowon followed this plan, repealing the Unification Decree, announcing a return to the federal system. However, from June through October 1966, pogroms in the North killed tens of thousands of Igboland prompted hundreds of thousands of Easterners to flee to their region of origin. According Achebe (2012), eye witness account indicated that the massacres were led by members of the Nigerian army. This bloody pogrom and subsequent declaration of the independence of Biafra prompted the outbreak of the two and half year war.

The declaration of secession made war not only inevitable but imminent. At the dawn of 6 July 1967, the first bullet was fired signalling the beginning of the gruesome 30 months war and carnage. Preparations for war had already been set in motion on the Nigerian side by May 1967. In mobilizing the people of Nigeria, the Federal Government had to make the war look like just a cause to stop the disintegration of the country and in doing this a slogan was invented "To keep Nigeria one is a task that must be done." Even the letters of the Head of the Federal Government, GOWON was coined to read "Go On With One Nigeria" and became a very strong propaganda. Delivery of arms and equipment for the Nigerian Army were hastened. Nigerian Army Headquarters (NAHQ) Operations plan envisaged a war that will be waged in four phases and that will be over within a month.

The NAHQ's assessment of the rebels in terms of men under arms and equipment did not give them much concern. The total mobilization and the will of the people of the Eastern Nigeria to fight against severe odds were under estimated. Nigeria knew that the survival of Biafra depended on importation of material from abroad to sustain her war efforts and the only route was through the Atlantic Ocean. As part of strategic planning, the Nigerian Navy (NN) was to blockade the region from the sea thereby preventing shipment of arms, equipment, food and other war materiel and services into the East. At the same time all flights to the region were cancelled and the international community were informed that no

flight to the region would be accepted without clearance from Lagos. The NAHQ did not pay any particular attention to strategic intelligence of the Eastern Region. In planning and concept the war was intended to be fought by the troops located in the North and to be supplied mainly from Kaduna.

Immediately the secession was declared, Nigeria sent her war ships to blockade and secure all sea routes into the region. The Nigerian Air Force was tasked to ensure the control of the air space over the entire country. The offensive was to be a two prong attack, a combined arms mechanized infantry divisional attack from the north and an amphibious operation by another division from the south with the aim of crushing the Biafran army in between. The offence was to be supported by the Air Force and the Navy. The third and fourth fronts were introduced later in the war.

At the Diplomatic level, the Federal Government mounted a serious campaign to dissuade other countries, particularly the super powers, the USA, USSR, and the United Kingdom from recognizing the secessionist. The war was painted as an adventure by an individual. The government in Lagos continued to represent the entire country in the international organizations where a very strong propaganda was mounted to continue to portray the war as one to re-unite the country. This made it possible to win the support of the super powers and to continue to discredit Biafra. Through this support, Nigeria was able to import more arms and equipments from all over the world to prosecute the war. In order to show that she was prepared for a peaceful solution to the conflict, Nigeria continued to participate in peace talks organized by the international community.

On the Biafran side, preparation for war was put into high gear as soon as the troops of non - Eastern origin withdrew from Enugu in August of 1966. Thousands of people poured in for recruitment. Training was embarked upon both for officers and soldiers who were mainly lecturers and university students. Before the outbreak of hostility, the

Eastern Region had no sufficient arms since all the soldiers who returned to the region did so without their arms while the soldiers who were withdrawn from the East departed with their weapons. What was left of the Nigerian Army at Enugu barracks amounted to about 240 soldiers, the majority of them technicians and tradesmen and not all the soldiers had weapons. However at the outbreak of the war, the Eastern Region had succeeded in securing arms and ammunition from France, Spain and Portugal. Madiebo (1980) remarked, "When more weapons were received in May 1967, a decision was taken to form two new battalions to be called the 9th and 14th Battalions". (p.100). Many pilots and technicians formerly of the Nigerian Air Force of Eastern origin returned to the region to form the Biafran Air Force (BAF). Two old planes, a B26 and a B25 were acquired with new helicopters. The two bombers were fitted with machine guns and locally made rockets and bombs.

The BAF also acquired Minicon aircrafts. A small Navy was established in Calabar with some patrol boat formerly used by the Nigerian Navy. More boats were later manufactured locally and these were armored plated and fitted with light guns and machine guns. A peoples army called, the Biafra Militia, was formed. Local leaders and ex-servicemen trained young men and women in the use of whatever weapons the individuals had. These weapons were mainly imported and locally made short guns. The militia were to provide a ready source of manpower re-enforcement for the regular army, to assist with military administration immediately behind the frontline, to garrison all the areas captured or regained from the enemy, and to help educate the population on the reason why Biafra was fighting.

An establishment known as the Administration Support was formed. Before the declaration of hostility, the small Biafran Army was almost completely administered and maintained by donations from the civil populace. This establishment was to muster necessary support particularly logistic requirements for the army and to run the administration since all the young and able bodied men and women were to be engaged in the fight. A Food

Directorate, responsible for the purchase and distribution of all food, drink and cigarettes to the armed forces and the nation was formed. A Transport Directorate was also formed and established. A Petroleum Management Board was established for procurement, management and distribution of petrol. The board designed and built a sizeable and efficient fuel refinery which produced petrol, diesel, and engine oil at considerably fast rate.

Several other directorates such as Clothing, Housing, Propaganda, Requisition and Supply, and Medical were established. Clothing in particular was very essential as uniform was unavailable in Biafra. The textile mills in the Eastern Region were reactivated to produce bails of uniform for the armed forces and the civilians. A Research and Production Board was established. This organization researched and manufactured rockets, mines, tanks, grenades, launchers, bombs, flame throwers, vaccines, biological and alcoholic beverages and so forth. Women were not left out in the scheme of things. Women were trained in intelligence gathering and how to infiltrate into the Nigerian side. Women Voluntary Service was formed to assist in educating the women of Biafra on the cause of the crisis, keep women informed of developments, rehabilitation of war casualties, setting up of nurseries, orphanages, civil defence corps, and provision of cooks for the troops. An Advisory Committee was set up to plan and execute the war and to advise the Head of State on political and military matters.

The Biafrans knew that the odds against them were immense and that their survival depended on the amount of external support they were able to muster. The Biafrans, through many of their people abroad, mounted a very strong campaign and propaganda for the recognition of Biafra by the international community and for the purchase of arms and equipments. This powerful propaganda paid off by her recognition by countries like, Tanzania, Zambia, Gabon, Ivory Coast, Haiti, covert support by France and double dealing by countries like West Germany, Spain, Portugal, Switzerland, Sweden, Republic of Dahomey, Sierra Leone and secret importation of arms and ammunition into the region.

Nigeria's potential in manpower, wealth, natural resources, land mass, infrastructure, international links and diplomacy could hardly be surpassed in Africa. Whenever war is declared, people are generally concerned with the relative strengths of the opposing forces coupled with their war potential. Armed forces are the towing equipment that pulls a nation out if she runs aground in her policy. It is madness for a nation to commit herself more than her armed forces can do. There was no comparison between the strengths of the opposing forces in the Nigerian-Biafran war. Nigerian Army (NA) was too formidable for Biafra, a ratio of 4:1. However each side knew the tactics the other side would employ since they all belonged to the same Armed Forces before the war. The Biafran Army, realizing the odds against them decided correctly to go into defense. Taking the advantage of fighting on their own ground, they constructed fortified pill boxes on the enemy most likely avenues of approach, the major highways connecting the Eastern Region with the rest of the country. The Biafran army had gathered a lot of information on the disposition of the Nigerian army and made contingency plans to meet any incursion into their territory. They conducted training exercise code named "Exercise Checkmate" which was on the line Biafra Army hoped to fight. This exercise was so realistic that when the Nigerian Army started their offensive, they reacted exactly the way Biafra expected them to.

Nigeria opened her offensive operations from the northern sector. The Nigerian Army was divided into two brigades with three battalions each. The first Brigade advanced on the axis Ogugu-Ogunga-Nsukka road while the second Brigade advanced on axis Gakem-Obudu-Ogoja road. The rebels successfully repulsed the attack. However, with the many friends the command had made since they concentrated on the border waiting for the order to attack, they began to recruit guides, informants and with this came the intelligence on the disposition of the Biafran troops, their strength and plans. They subsequently made a breakthrough and if they had had the detail intelligence of the Biafran army on this day they would have pressed on to take Enugu, the Biafran capital. As Njoku cited in Madiebo (1980) remarked:

At Ukehe I could not believe my eyes. All along the way were refugees streaming towards Enugu on Nsukka road. Many of the retreating troops carried self inflicted wounds. Some senior officers complained of malaria, headache, and all sorts of ailments. If the Nigerian Army knew the situation on the Biafran side on this eventful day and pressed on they would have taken Enugu the same day without resistance. (p.128).

By the 12th of July 1967, the Nigerian Army had captured Obudu, Gakem, and Ogoja. A second front, the southern sector was opened on the 26 July, 1967 by a sea landing on Bonny by a division formed from the Lagos Garrison Organization. With the support of the Navy, the division established a beach head and exploited north after a fierce sea and land battle. On 8th August 1967, Biafra invaded the former Mid - Western Region with the aim to relieve the pressure on the northern sector and to threaten Lagos, the Federal Capital. However, the Nigerian Army retaliated and by the end of September 1969, a substantial part of the Mid - West had been cleared of the Biafran soldiers.

Enugu became the bastion of secession and rebellion and the Federal Government of Nigeria expected that its capture would mean the end of secession. The advance from Nsukka to Enugu began in earnest on 12 September 1967. The Biafrans counter attacked, but their effort wasn't enough to prevent the fall of Enugu by the 4th October 1967. In the Southern front, the Nigerian Army with the support of the Navy, captured Calabar, Warri, Escravos and Bonny thereby establishing the established the supremacy of the Federal Government in Nigerian waters and international waters bordering Nigerian coast. Biafra was sealed off leaving Port Harcourt Airport as the only means of international communication and transportation with the outside world. It was at this point that Biafran leadership decided to find alternative routes for importation of war materials and medical aids into the enclave. Three stretches of straight roads were developed into airstrips; Awgu, Uga and Uli. On 19th May 1968 Port Harcourt was captured. With the capture of Enugu, Bonny,

Calabar and Port Harcourt, the outside world was left in no doubt of the Federal supremacy in the war. The mercenaries fighting for Biafra started deserting. However, the humanitarian conditions in Biafran territory secured military, economic and political relief from international organizations for Biafra and further lengthened the war and the suffering of the people of Biafra.

By the early 1969, the Nigerian Army crossed the Niger River at Idah, after several unsuccessful attempts to cross the river at Asaba, advanced through the already liberated areas of Nsukka and Enugu to capture Onitsha. The division continued its advance towards Owerri. At the same time another Ngerian military division advanced on Umuahia. The Nigerian Army was by now advancing on three fronts: Oguta - Owerinta - Uli airstrip - Umuahia axis; Port Harcourt - Aba - Owerri - Umuahia axis; and Calabar - Uyo - Umuahia axis. The plan was a link up with 1 Infantry Division at Umuahia in order to envelop the Biafran Army and force them to surrender. This plan, the final offensive, was successfully implemented. Biafra tried unsuccessfully to hold the Nigerian Army onslaught using guerrilla tactics.

On the 10th January 1970, Lt. Col. Ojukwu handed over to the administration of Biafra Army to Maj. Gen. Phillip Effiong, and flew out of the enclave with some top officials in search of peace. Maj. Gen. Phillip Effiong consulted with the Biafra Strategic Committee on the situation and they decided to surrender. In the last official broadcast on Radio Biafra as cited by Nkwocha (2010) Maj. Gen. Effiong addressed the nation thus:

Fellow Countrymen,

As you know I was asked to be the officer administering the government of this republic on the 10th of January, 1970. Since then I know some of you have been waiting to hear a statement from me. Throughout history, injured people have had to result to arms in their self defence where peaceful negotiations have failed. We are no exception. We took up arms because of the sense of insecurity generated in

our people by the events of 1966. We have fought in defence of that cause. I am now convinced that a stop must be put to the bloodshed which is going on as a result of the war. I am also convinced that the suffering of our people must be brought to an end. Our people are now disillusioned and those elements of the old regime who have made negotiations and reconciliation impossible have voluntarily removed themselves from our midst. I have, therefore, instructed an orderly disengagement of troops.

I urge on Gen. Gowon, in the name of humanity, to order his troops to pause while an armistice is negotiated in order to avoid the mass suffering caused by the movement of population. We have always believed that our differences with Nigeria should be settled by peaceful negotiation. A delegation of our people is therefore ready to meet representatives of Nigerian Government anywhere to negotiate a peace settlement on the basis of OAU resolution. (pp. 348-350).

Nkwocha (2010) states that Major Gen. Yakubu Gowon in his speech to end the war read:

Citizens of Nigeria,

It is with a heart full of gratitude to God that I announce to you that today marks the formal end of the civil war. This afternoon at the Dodd an Barracks, Lt. Col. Phillip Effiong, Lt. Col. David Ogunewe, Lt. Col. Patrick Anwunah, Lt. Col. Patrick Amadi and commissioner of Police, Chief Patrick Okeke formally proclaimed the end of the attempt at secession and accepted the authority of the Federal Military Government of Nigeria. They also formally accepted the present political and administrative structure of the country. This ends thirty months of a grim struggle. Thirty months of sacrifice and national agony. The world knows how hard we strove to avoid the civil war. Our objectives in fighting the war to crush Ojukwu's rebellion were always clear. We desired to preserve the territorial integrity and unity of Nigeria. For, as one country, we would be able to maintain lasting peace amongst our various

communities; achieve rapid economic development to improve the lot of our people; guarantee a dignified future and respect in the world for our posterity and contribute to African unity and modernization. On the other hand, the small successor states in a disintegrated Nigeria would be victims of perpetual war and misery and neo - colonialism. Our duty was clear. And we are today, vindicated. The so - called "Rising Sun of Biafra" is set for ever. It will be a great disservice for anyone to continue to use the word "Biafra" to refer to any part of the East Central State of Nigeria. The tragic chapter of violence is just ended. We are at the dawn of national reconciliation. Once again we have the opportunity to build a new nation. On our side, we fought the war with great caution, not in anger or hatred, but always in the hope that common sense would prevail. Many times we sought a negotiated settlement, not out of wickedness, but in order to minimize the problems of reintegration, reconciliation and reconstruction. We knew that however the war ended, in the battlefield or in the conference room, our brothers fighting under other colors must rejoin us and that we must together rebuild the nation anew. All Nigerians share the victory today. The victory for national unity, victory for hopes of Africans and black people everywhere. We mourn the dead heroes. We thank God for sparing us to see this glorious dawn of national reconciliation. We must seek His guidance to do our duty to contribute our quota to the building of a great nation founded on the concerted efforts of all its people and on justice and equality. A nation never to return to the fractious, sterile and selfish debates that led to the tragic conflict just ending. The Federal Government has mounted a massive relief operations to alleviate the suffering of the people in the newly liberated areas. We are mobilizing adequate resources to provide food, shelter, and medicines for the affected population. My government has directed that former civil servants and public corporation officials should be promptly reinstated as they come out of hiding. Details of this exercise have been published. Plans for the rehabilitation of

self - employed people will also be announced promptly. We have overcome a lot over the past four years. I have therefore every confidence that ours will become a great nation. (pp.350-352). The surrender paper was signed on 14th January 1970 in Lagos and thus came the end of the civil war and renunciation of secession.

4.3   Causes of the Nigeria-Biafra War, 1970-1995

The war was necessitated by a number of factors, both political, social and economic, as this section will show.

4.3.1   Political Factor

The land mark known today as Nigeria existed as a number of independent and sometimes hostile national states with linguistic and cultural differences until 1900. According to Oyebade (2003), the Governor General of Nigeria between 1920-31, Sir Hugh Clifford, described Nigeria as "a collection of independent Native States, separated from one another by great distances, by differences of history and traditions and by ethnological, racial, tribal, political, social and religious barriers" (p.120). The building of Nigeria as a multi - national state began in 1900 with the creation of Northern and Southern Protectorates along with the colony of Lagos by the British government. Further effort at unification and integration was made in May 1906 when the colony of Lagos and the Protectorate of Southern Nigeria, which had existed separately, were amalgamated to become the Colony and Protectorate of Southern Nigeria. Even then the Northern and the Southern Administration were separate and distinct. Both were independent of one another and each was directly responsible to the Colonial Office. The first momentous act of the British in the political evolution of Nigeria as a modern state was the amalgamation of the administration of the two sections of Nigeria on 1st January 1914 by Lord Lugard. For ease of governing and in the economic interest of the British, indirect rule and separate development policy were maintained in the two sections of the country, with the amalgamated administration based in Lagos. Atofarati (1992) stated that, "this, in effect produced two Nigerias, each with

different social, political, economic, and cultural backgrounds and development within the country" (p.15). No further constitutional development took place until 1922. The 1922 constitution made provision, for the first time, for elected members to sit on a Nigerian legislative council, but did not empower them to make laws for the North. Nigeria was divided into four administrative units in 1940; the colony of Lagos, the Northern, Eastern and Western provinces. This administrative division, with increased power for the colony and the provinces, was not only maintained but separateness was also strengthened and deepened by Sir Arthur Richardson's constitution of 1946 which inaugurated Nigeria's regionalism. It however achieved a half-hearted political breakthrough by integrating the North with the South at the legislative level for the first time.

Atofarati (1992) also posited that the post Second World War political awareness and upsurge of nationalism in Africa brought about the Richardson's constitution of 1950. Political parties were formed on regional and ethnic basis. The outcome of this was obvious: full scale regionalism. With the McPherson's constitution of 1951, a greater measure of autonomy was granted the regions with stronger regional legislatures. With only residual power left to the central government, Nigeria politically took a turn for the worse, and there was a possibility of three countries emerging out of Nigeria. In 1953, the central cabinet was split over the acceptance of a target date for securing self - government with the end result of the Kano riot. The gap between the regions widened. For the first time the North talked openly of the possibility of secession rather than endure what they saw as humiliation and ill - treatment. The West also threatened to secede over the non - inclusion of Lagos in the West in the new constitution. The 1954 constitution confirmed and formalized the wishes of Nigerian leaders to move and remain as far apart as they possibly could. The choice between Unitary and Federal options in the form of government had been irrevocably made. The leaders settled for Federal option. Thereafter things happened fast in

the political arena. There were constitutional conferences in 1957, 1958, 1959 and in 1960 culminating in the granting of independence to Nigeria on October 1, 1960.

It should be noted that from 1954 onwards, the political direction was constantly away from a strong centre towards a formidable, almost insulation of the regional base of each major political party. Madiebo (1980) pointed out that, the failure of the Willink commission to recommend the creation of more states in 1958 for the Nigerian type of federalism planted the most potent seed of instability into the evolution of Nigeria as a nation in the 1950s. All the political leaders who had strong and firm political bases in the regions fought hard for maximum powers for the regions which weakened the center. At the same time, the ugly embers of tribalism and sectionalism had been fanned into a deadly flame by all the political leaders. These leaders rode on the crest of this cancerous tribalism and ignorance of the people to power, at the expense of national unity and the nation. Instead of regionalism ensuring and preserving national unity, it became its bane. There were diffusion instead of fusion of the three units. According to Obasanjo (1981), "The only point on which Nigerian political leaders spoke with one voice was the granting by the British of political independence - and even then they did not agree on the timing" (p.3). With granting of independence in 1960, all the dirt, swept under the carpet, surfaced. Nigeria was now beset by strings of political problems which stemmed from the lop-sided nature of the political divisions of the country and the type of the existing federal constitution, and the spirit in which it operated.

The first post independence disturbance was over the defence agreement between Great Britain and Nigeria, which was seen as "an attempt (by Britain) to swindle Nigeria out of her sovereignty", by contracting with Nigeria to afford each other such assistance as may be necessary for mutual defence and to consult together on measures to be taken jointly or separately to ensure the fullest cooperation between them for this purpose. It was viewed an unequal treaty. Through student demonstrations and vehement opposition by the general

public and members of the Federal House of Representatives, the agreement was abrogated in December, 1962. This episode was nothing compared with later developments in the country's turbulent political history. The general census conducted in 1962 was alleged to be riddled with malpractices and inflation of figures of such astronomical proportions that the Eastern Region refused to accept the result. A second census was carried out in 1963, and even then the figures were accepted with some reservations. Meanwhile the people of the Middle Belt area of the North had grown increasingly intolerant of the NPC rule of the North. The Tiv, one of the major tribes in the Middle Belt, openly rioted for almost three years (1962-1965). Then came the biggest crisis of them all-the general election of 1964. The election was alleged to be neither free nor fair. All devices imaginable were said to have been used by the ruling parties in the regions to eliminate opponents. The Chairman of the Electoral Commission himself admitted there were proven irregularities. The President, Dr Nnamdi Azikiwe refused to appoint a Prime Minister in the light of these allegations. The President and the incumbent Prime Minister, Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, were each seeking the support of the Armed Forces. This marked the first involvement of the Armed Forces in partisan politics. For four anxious days, the nation waited until the President announced that he had appointed the incumbent Prime Minister, Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, to form a broad based government. The same could be said of the Western Region election of 1965. The rigging and irregularities in the election were alleged to be more brazen and more shameful. Law and order broke down completely leading to an almost complete state of anarchy. Arson and indiscriminate killings were committed by a private army of thugs of political parties. Law abiding citizens lived in constant fear of their lives and properties.

This was the state of affairs when the coup of 15th January, 1966 took place. Atofarati (1992) noted, "As an immediate cause, it might be claimed that the explosion of that day could be traced back along the powder trail to the fuse lit at the time of the Western Region

election of October 1965" (p.10). The aim of the coup was to establish a strong, unified and prosperous nation, free from corruption and internal strife. The outcome of the half-hearted and ill-fated coup was a change of political balance in the country. Major Nzeogwu's (the leader of the coup) aims for the coup was not borne out of its method, style and results. All the politicians and senior military officers killed were from the Northern and Western Regions except a political leader and a senior Army officer from the Mid - West and the East respectively. The coup hastened the collapse of Nigeria. From independence to January 1966, the country had been in a serious turmoil; but the coup put her in an even greater situation. Most of the coup planners were of Eastern origin, thus the Northerners in particular saw it as a deliberate plan to eliminate the political heavy weights in the North in order to pave way for the Easterners to take over the leadership role from them. The sky high praises of the coup and apparent relief given by it in the south came to a sudden end when the succeeding Military Government of Maj Gen. J.T.U. Aguiyi Ironsi, an Easterner, unfolded its plans. If Ironsi had displayed a greater sensitivity to the thinking of the Northerners, he could have capitalized on the relief that immediately followed the coup. As Atofarati (1992) stated:

> But in addition to his failure to take advantage of the initial favourable reaction to the coup, he did not know what to do with the ring leaders who had been arrested. He did not know whether to treat them as heroes of the revolution or send them before a court martial as mutineers and murderers. Military Governors were appointed to oversee the administration of the regions. In the North the numbed favourable reaction in certain quarters turned to studied silence and a "wait and see" attitude. This gradually changed to resentment, culminating in the May 1966 riots throughout the North during which most Easterners residing in the North were attacked and killed. (p.102).

A counter coup was staged by the Northern military officers on 29th July 1966 with two aims: revenge on the East, and a breakup of the country. But the wise counsel of dedicated Nigerians, interested and well-disposed foreigners prevailed. The Head of State,

Maj. Gen Aguiyi Ironsi and many other senior officers of Eastern origin were killed. After three anxious days of fear, doubts and non-government, Lt. Col. Yakubu Gowon, at that time was the most senior army officer of Northern origin and then the Chief of Staff, Nigerian Army, emerged as the new Nigerian political leader. The lack of planning and the revengeful intentions of the second coup manifested itself in the chaos, confusion and the scale of unnecessary killings of the Easterners throughout the country. Even the authors of the coup could not stem the general lawlessness and disorder, the senseless looting and killing which spread throughout the North like wild fire on 29th September, 1966. In an effort to stop the killings and to preserve the nation in one form or the other, an ad hoc conference of the representatives of the regions was called on 9th August, 1966 in Lagos. The meeting made the following recommendations:

1. Immediate steps should be taken to post military personnel to barracks within their respective regions of origin.

2. A meeting of this committee or an enlarged body should take place to recommend in a broad outline the form of political association which the country should adopt in the future.

3. Immediate steps should be taken to nullify or modify any provisions of any decree which assumes extreme centralization.

4. The Supreme Commander should make conditions suitable for a meeting of the Supreme Military Council urgently as a further means of lowering tension.

The first recommendation was implemented on 13th August, 1966. Troops of Eastern Nigeria origin serving elsewhere in the country were officially and formally released and posted to Enugu, the capital of Eastern Region, while troops of non-Eastern origin in Enugu moved to Kaduna and Lagos. This marked the beginning of division and disunity within the rank and file of the Nigerian Armed Forces. Obasanjo (1981) observed that:

This simple and seemingly innocuous action broke the last thread and split the last institution symbolizing Nigeria's nationhood and cohesion which had been regularly tampered with by the politicians since 1962. The rift between the Eastern Region and the rest of the country was total. (p.53).

Most of the civilian of Eastern Region origin who had never lived in the East and would have continued to live elsewhere in the country lost confidence and moved to the East. Some of them when they arrived at their destination became refugees in their own country. None of the other recommendations was fully implemented except nullification of the unification decree. The implementation of the recommendation with regards to the posting of troops to barracks within their region of origin was relentlessly pursued by the political leaders of Western Region after the exercise had been completed in the Eastern Region. They were afraid of the Northern troops domination and probably of the safety of the troops of Western Region origin.

Atofarati (1992) postulated that, with the troops of Eastern Region back in Enugu and the non-Eastern troops withdrawn from there, with Nigerians of non-Eastern origin driven out of the East in their own interest, and with Easterners at home and abroad returning home with news of Nigerian's brutality against them, and with the oil flowing in the Eastern Region, the way was now open for the implementation of the secession. The East and the North began a virulent of words through their radios and newspapers. Early in 1967, a peace negotiating meeting of the Supreme Military Council of the Federal Republic of Nigeria and the Eastern Region Military Governor, Lt. Col. Ojukwu was called under the auspices of Gen. Ankrah of Ghana in Aburi, Ghana. As it turned out, all the other members of the council except Ojukwu were too naïve and ill - prepared for the meeting. Therefore Ojukwu scored a vital goal in his ambition, which was obviously the best way to avoid conflict. Schwarz cited in Heerten (2017) remarked:

Ojukwu got his way with little effort, by being the cleverest. He was the only one who understood the issue. Step by step the others came to acquiesce in the logic of Ojukwu's basic thesis - that to stay together at all, the regions had first to draw apart. Only Ojukwu understood that this meant, in effect, a sovereign Biafra (Eastern Region) and the end of the Federation. (p.57).

Consequently, Gowon renegaded and what amounted to the demise of the Federation was promulgated in decree No. 8 of 17th March 1967. Of course, this fall short of full implementation of Aburi decisions and the die was cast. All efforts to intervene by eminent Nigerians and well - wishers to Nigeria like Gen. Ankrah, late Emperor Hallie Selassie of Ethiopia and the late Dr Martin Luther King proved abortive. The declaration of independence of Biafra was the last straw that broke the camel's back as war broke out.

4.3.2 Economic factor

War continues to be a major feature of contemporary developing countries, and a source of underdevelopment. Research has indicated that even though these conflicts seem to be about political, ethnic, or religious differences, they generally have an economic and a political basis. Biafra is not an exemption. For instance, Collier, Elliott, Hegre, Hoeffler, Reynal-Querol and Sambanis (2003) argued that even though many observers attribute contemporary conflicts to fundamental differences arising from ethnicity or religion, such differences are evidently an insufficient explanation. As Cohen (1974) succinctly stated:

Men may and do certainly joke about or ridicule the strange and bizarre customs of men from other ethnic groups, because these customs are different from their own. But they do not fight over such differences alone. When men do, on the other hand, fight across ethnic lines it is nearly always the case that they fight over some fundamental issues concerning the distribution and exercise of power, whether economic, political, or both. (p. 94).

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Collier *et al.* (2003) pointed out that, four economic explanations have dominated recent analysis: the first points to group motives and group inequalities as a source of conflict; the second focuses on individual gains from conflict; the third is derived from a failed "social contract"; and the fourth theorizes that environmental pressures are a major source of conflict (green war). It is clear that although they are generally not a sufficient explanation of conflict; expected rewards sometimes play a significant role in triggering war. As Collier et al (2003) notes, citing the case of Nigerian-Biafran war, "separatist rebellion often emerges in resource-rich areas of a country; he concludes that rebellion is the rage of the rich" (p. 23). Many of the published historical accounts of the active participants and observers of the war averred three main factors that ignited the war as follows:

 i. The perceived Igbo coup of 15th January 1966 which saw the death of prominent political and military leaders from the Northern, Western and Midwestern regions of the country.

ii. The May civil riots in the North with the counter coup of July 1966 that saw the killing of mainly military leaders from Eastern region of the country by young officers from the Northern region, and the pogrom unleashed on the Igbo people living in the Northern part of the country that led to the death of about 30,000 people.

iii. The 30th May, 1967 declaration of Republic of Biafra by Lieutenant Colonel (Later Gen.) Odumegwu Ojukwu - a clear secession from Nigeria. His declaration was premised on the ground that people of the Eastern region no longer felt safe in other parts of the Federation.

Chibuike (2008), however pointed out that the fourth and major factor that was silent in almost all the historical and other narratives is the British oil and economic interest. The fact that the British government protection of its oil interest in Nigeria played a significant influence in pushing Nigeria to war against Biafra's secession. Britain officially hinged its support for 'One Nigeria on the need to prevent the break-up of Nigeria, and indeed African states in general, along tribal lines influenced her decision for the support against Biafra,

evidence on ground proved otherwise. Based on available evidence, Chibuike (2008) asserts, "British oil interests played a much more important role in the determination of the British attitude to the war than is usually conceded" (p.113). As Kirkpatrick (2015) writes:

> Another big disadvantage Biafra had against the Federal Government was that General Gowon had strong relations with Britain and the High British Commissioner Cumming-Bruce. Britain helped to support the war with arms deals and shipments to Nigeria all throughout 1967-1970. The Britain's main involvement with the war was trying to help end the war because of the large supply of oil that Nigeria and Biafra sits on. (p. 206).

Draper (1999) noted that this attention of Britain, is not to undermine the position of France who also supported Biafra in the expectation of favourable oil concessions resulting from the latter's military victory against Nigeria. In a material available at the Public Record Office (PRO) which Chibuike (2008) cited to arrive at his conclusion states:

> To refer publicly in the House to our economic stake in Nigeria would be inadvisable as it would be misunderstood or misrepresented … Nevertheless, the facts are that Shell and BP have invested at least £250 million in Nigeria on which we now expect a large and increasing return of great importance to the British balance of payments. Other investments are worth up to £175 million. Our annual export trade is about £90 million. All these would be at risk if we abandoned our policy of support for the Federal Government and others would be quick to take our place. (p.157).

Therefore, the control and exploration of oil by foreign nations was a major factor in the decision to engage in the war.

4.3.3 Ethno-Cultural Factor

Ethnic and cultural conflicts in Nigeria are rooted in the 1914 merger of the Northern and Southern Protectorates by the colonial administration of Lord Frederick Lugard. Ajayi

and Alagoa (1980) noted; "The amalgamation brought about the involuntary unification of culturally and historically diverse ethnic groups, some of which had been rivals and overlapping imperialists in the pre-colonial times" (p.32). Osaghae (1991) added that, the 1914 amalgamation was a marriage of convenience, which was meant to suit the sole purpose of ease of administration and exploitation of the colonial powers. But for Folarin (2012), the union of the over 350 ethnic nationalities was therefore unity by a rope of sand. Thus, Nigeria was not meant to work, because it was not unification by natural evolution. The Nigeria project was a distant comparison to Italy, Germany and Spain whose unification from the Middle Ages to the 19th century was by the freewill or choice of the people under dynamic leadership.

The act of merger by the European colonial powers merely forced the diverse ethnic groups of Northern and Southern Protectorates into a single entity without consultation with the various ethnic groups or their leaders. This autocratic and undemocratic British colonial policy, therefore, marked the origin of ethnic conflicts in the country, which incidentally, is among the major cause of the Nigerian-Biafran war. According to Ikime (1985), it is pertinent to note that the primordial ethnic underpinnings in the creation of the Nigerian State began to resonate before independence. For instance, in 1953 when the nationalists representing Nigeria were offered the platform to come to terms with an agreed date of independence, ethnic sentiments and insecurity came to the fore as the Northern (Hausa-Fulani) delegates at the constitutional conference objected to a 1956 date proposed by the Southern delegates, among whom was late Chief Anthony Enahoro who moved the motion. The Hausa-Fulani leaders had made it clear by their stout objection that they were not ready for independence as the fear of Southern dominance in a post-colonial Nigeria was rife.

Taiwo (2000) posited that when the country prepared for independence, political parties emerged from erstwhile vociferous and respected political movements and organizations, which were basically ethnic unions. The Northern People's Congress (NPC) as

the name suggests was a cultural movement for Northern peoples' development. The Action Group (AG) was a modified version of the *Egbe Omo Oduduwa*, a pan-Yoruba socio-cultural group; while National Congress of Nigeria and the Cameroons metamorphosed into the National Council of Nigerian Citizens (NCNC), a Southeastern group led by Igbo ethnic unionists. Other clear ethnic unions that changed to "national" parties included the Northern Elements People's Union (NEPU) and the United Middle Belt Congress (UMBC), which struggled for the control of the centre.

Even though one cannot but emphasize the role played by corruption, it is very difficult to rule out as factor, the differences and incompatibility of the many ethnic nationalities sardined together as one Nigeria. This in a way created the culture of nepotism - a preference for people from one's ethnicity, religion and that shared same language. This factor is explored as one of the thematic preoccupations of Adichie's two narratives on Biafra (*For Love of Biafra*, 1998 and *Half of a Yellow Sun*, 2006) and Obasanjo's account of the war *My Command*, 1980. For example, Adichie (2006) captures in the voice of the character known as Odenigbo:

> Can't you see that we are not all alike except to white eyes? . . . I am a Nigerian because a white man created Nigeria and gave me that identity. I am black because the white man constructed black to be as different as possible from his white. But I was Igbo before the white man came. (p. 20).

This statement from Adichie's "factional" narrative, is not much different from Obasanjo's (1980) memoir:

> The war itself is a culmination of an uneasy peace and stability that had plagued Nigeria from independence. That uneasy and stability had their genesis in the geography, history and demography of Nigeria. But the immediate cause of the war itself may be identified as the coup and counter-coup of 1966, which alter the political equation and destroy the fragile trust existing among the major ethnic groups. (p.11).

Contrary to Obasanjo's fragile trust, there seems not to be any trust among the major ethnic groups at all. This lack of trust accounts for the British's division of the country along the regional line in the first instance with each region being governed by leaders from the dominant ethnic group within that region right until May 1967 when Gen. Yakubu Gowon divided the country to 12 states. Effiong (2016) buttressed this by stating:

> Ethnicity had also been enthroned in the Nigerian political scene to the extent that the slogan 'North for the Northerners, West for the Westerners and East for the Easterners' had come to represent the feelings of hatred, division and victimization. (pp. 42-43).

For instance, Ademoyega (1981) pointed out that in 1959, shortly before the federal election, the Northern Political Congress threatened that if the Southern parties allied to capture power at the federal level, North would secede. Thus, the events, crisis and issues that resulted to the Nigerian-Biafran war clearly assumed an Ethno-Cultural perspective.

Contemporarily, the ever-increasing construction of Biafran identity in literature, audio and visual images establish it as a form of popular culture - a significant cultural expression. This is more enhanced by the nature of consumerism attached to the cultural emblem - the coat of arms and flag of Biafra. Popular culture presents the Nigeria-Biafra war as 'living material' different from a calcified event in human history or that which remains only in the Igbo and Nigerians' communal imagination. According to Oloyede (2009), "The Biafra war, as an event and Biafra, as assumptive world, continue to disrupt individual and collective memories and as such tend to frame state and politics in Nigeria as evidenced both in political discourse and political practice" (p.1). If Oloyede's position is considered alongside the growth in popular narratives on the war, it becomes easier to share Hodges (2009) observation that Adichie's 2006 novel on Biafra, is an invitation to reflect on the fact that although Biafran war literature has, as an oeuvre, been deeply concerned with the

problem of closure - a full and final accounting – the oeuvre itself continues to grow and evolve.

4.3.4 Religious factor

The cause of the Nigerian-Biafran War also has ethnic-religious perspectives. This postulation is supported by Uka (2008) who noted that:

> Nigeria, before it was colonized by the British, had a multi-cultural/multi-ethnic, multi-religious, multi-lingual and even multi political culture. As such, Nigeria was extremely heterogeneous and complex. In spite of these diversities in language, tribe and culture, Nigeria was forcibly put together by the West African constabulary force in 1900 without any consultation with the tribes concerned. The name Nigeria was coined by the Journalist wife of the first British Colonial ruler of Nigeria. Lord Frederick Lugard, who in 1914, completed the amalgamation of the Southern and Northern protectorates to form the country known and addressed as Nigeria. Since this geographical expression known as Nigeria was forcibly put together by a foreign power, its disparate units have not ceased to live in comfort with one another. In fact, they live in mutual suspicion and distrust. (p.2).

Political conflicts, in contrast to most forms of criminality, consist of fighting between groups that wish to gain independence or take over the state and groups that resist this course of action, aiming to preserve the integrity of the nation or their power. According to Gurr (1993) who posited that each group is united under a common banner with broadly common purposes, which can be religious in nature. These common purposes may be termed "group motives" for conflict. Although individual motivation is also important, group motivation and mobilization underlie many political conflicts.

Horowitz (1985) pointed out that groups engaged in internal conflict are often united by a common ethnic or religious identity. Some authors include religious identity under the

generic term "ethnicity," and in many conflicts, opposing groups differ in both ethnicity and religion, and it is difficult to differentiate between the two as prime movers, as in, for example, the case of Nigerian-Biafran war. Moreover, Stewart (2012) noted that there are differences between ethnic and religious forms of mobilization in organization, mobilization strategies, opportunities for securing external support, and the motives of both leaders and followers that make it relevant to distinguish the two in analysis of conflict motivation and dynamics. Religious crises in Nigeria both in the pre-independence period and between 1960 and 1966 were for the most part at the level of a cold war, characterized by external mutual respect between Muslims and Christians. The mutual respect stemmed from the fact that none of the religions really knew the strength of the other. Agi (1998) noted that the mutual tolerance was merely born out of fear of the other and not any genuine respect. Each one respected the other from a distance and never dared to overstep its bounds. In 1961, the Sardauna of Sokoto formed the Jamaatu Nasril Islam (JNI), an Islamic movement charged with the special responsibility of propagating Islam. It was thought by some people to be the religious wing of the NPC. Kukan (1994) pointed out that, this approach adopted by NPC prompted other regions, including the Eastern Region to suspect NPC of having Islamization agenda. Thus, this mistrust contributed to the outbreak of hostility. The religious face of the civil war persisted even after the war had ended. It continued in the form of a religious cold war.

4.4   Effects of the Nigeria-Biafra

In this section, the effects of the war on Igbo people and their society will be investigated. Emphasis will be given to the cumulative effects that resulted to Igbo yearnings for divine intervention that gave rise to their embrace of Pentecostal messages.

4.4.1 Positive Effects

The positive effects of the Nigeria-Biafra are discussed under the following subheadings; acculturation, Igbo identity consciousness, rural-urban migration and religious activities

Acculturation

Berry (2005) defined acculturation as a process of cultural and psychological changes that involve various forms of mutual accommodation, leading to some longer-term psychological and socio-cultural adaptations between both groups. Rudmin (2003) added that acculturation is the dual process of cultural and psychological change that takes place as a result of contact between two or more cultural groups and their individual members. At the group level, it involves changes in social structures and institutions and in cultural practices. At the individual level, it involves changes in a person's behavioural repertoire. These cultural and psychological changes come about through a long-term process, sometimes taking years, sometimes generations, and sometimes centuries.

Kim (2005) noted that even though scholars in different disciplines have developed more than 100 different theories of acculturation and the concept of acculturation has only been studied scientifically since 1918, there is generally scarce knowledge and studies on the impact of wars on acculturation. However, scholarly evidences have indicated that the Nigerian-Biafran war have huge impact on Igbo people. Duruaku (2004) posited that these impacts are much more evident on the attitude of contemporary Igbo man toward his language and culture. For instance, Irono (2005) observed that the Igbo people portray negative attitudes toward their language. In support of the above statement, Eme (2004) said:

> Some Igbo parents, especially the literate ones, do not speak Igbo to their children even at home. In some cases, the parents ban their children from using Igbo to communicate among themselves. She went further to say that such parents do not feel ashamed to tell anybody that cares to listen that their children do not understand/speak

Igbo. In fact, they feel elated at their children's achievement- mastering the 'prestigious' English language and dawning the 'awkward' Igbo language. Most Igbo parents do not take delight in transferring Igbo to their children. Many Igbo parents do not want their children to speak Igbo. This class of parents gets offended with teachers who teach Igbo as a subject to the children. (p.304).

There are certain factors that cause Igbo people to have negative attitude toward their language. Nwadike (2008) identified some of these factors as education, government policy on language and globalization. Additionally, the author pointed out that this practice of the Igbos became more prominent after the war, which suggests that this acculturative practice is triggered one effect of the Nigerian-Biafran War. Despite the above factors that cause people to have positive attitude toward a foreign language and negative attitude toward their language, Igbo people do not value their language. This is confirmed by the existence of other indigenous languages in Nigeria, like Yoruba and Hausa that face the same factors yet cherishing their languages. Ironically, Igbo people even admires these local languages.

Igbo Identity Consciousness

Orji (2007) opined that:

> The Igbo identity, consciousness and social practice relate to those attributes that are primarily sourced within the context of Igbo cultural evolution but which have been tempered and mediated by a long history of interrelationships between the Igbo and the other national groups they interact with. (p.2).

The Nigerian-Biafran war is one example of historical factors that tempered and eventually mediated the interrelationship between the Igbo and other national groups.

It is inarguable that the Igbo development trajectory has been distorted since the end of the Nigeria-Biafra war. Consequently, the Igbo identity; consciousness and social practice

in Nigeria became thus conditioned by the relatively large space created for their daily social and commercial intercourse with others. As Orji (2007) noted:

> Politically, Igbo land is in disarray. Of course, individually Igbo men and women have attained enviable heights as Governors, Senate Presidents, Ministers, Ambassadors, etc. Despite these attainments, Igbo land is presently afflicted with a terrifying spectre of collapse of elite consensus and with this, the rupturing of a coherent group platform that is capable of driving Igbo political possibility. (p.3).

Ikeanyibe (2015) traced such afflictions of the Igbo to the events that immediately followed the Nigerian-Biafran war. According to him, the loss of the Biafran war inevitably led to the collapse of the unity of the Igbo as well as the collapse of the tribe's elite consensus and Igbo political base. Apart from political parties which are national in outlook, ideology and philosophy, social and political mobilization is carried out in a diverse, plural society such as Nigeria by authentic pro-people structures that aggregate and direct their needs. Thus, the Igbo people lack the ability to speak with one voice in the Nigeria forum. These situations have a very detrimental implication on Igbo identity consciousness and unity.

Orji (2007), also noted that institutionally and structurally, the Igbo are marginalized in Nigeria. The Igbo plight is rooted in history - the war. However, 37 years later, the scares are still present. They are to be seen in the deplorable state of the roads, the sheer absence of strategic federal industries and manufacturing centres, unequal presence of strategic federal institutions, and the politics and discrimination that still hurt the Igbo in the security sectors in terms of strategic postings, recruitment and promotion. Orji (2007) continued to note that that those who oppose this quasi-official policy of some governments, and who risk all to bring to the theatre of national dialogue on the plight of their people are castigated, hunted from pillar to post, financially disempowered and politically humiliated.

Ikeanyi (2015) observed that in recent years, there have been attempts on the part of some Igbo communities to deny their identity as Ndi-Igbo. Classical examples are the Ika Igbo of Agbor environs in Delta State and the Ikwere Igbo of Port-Harcourt, Rivers State. He added that, "the Nigeria-Biafran War, among other accidents in history has the blame of inflicting mere anarchy upon the people of Igbo in general and it appears that since the end of the war the centre can no longer hold" (p.1). In other to eradicate their Igbo identity, many of these areas strive to change their names both of towns and persons immediately after the war. For instance, *Obigbo* is now called *Oyibo,Umueme* now *Rumueme*, *Umumasi* now *Rumumasi, Umuokoro* now called *Rumuokoro*, etc. It should be observed, however, that the word *Umu* is a general Igbo language suffix which indicates that a community shares one progeny or descended from one great ancestor with the others. The other hand, *Rumu* is found nowhere in Igbo language structure. *Rumu* therefore is a deliberate corruption attempt. Thus there exists no more ground of justification for any original Igbo stock or community to disassociated from its tribal heritage and consciousness. Igbo heterogeneity ought to be an asset not a liability. To deny tribal link because of mere circumstantial anarchy is cultural suicide of no little futuristic consequences. Affection must be restored so that the whole Igbo should see itself as one body of original stock capable of presenting one strong front when threatened by any external forces.

Rural-Urban Migration

Migration is a universal phenomenon in the history of mankind as people have continued to move from one place to another perhaps for some socio-political and economic reasons. The Igbo people are not exception as they have always exhibited the tendency to migrate in search of greener pasture. This is noted by Orji (2007), who held that:

It is as an empirical fact that the Igbo are great mixers; that they interact well with others in whose environment they dwell; that the number of the Igbo outside their

heartland surpasses the number inside it, that they are adventurous, enterprising, innovative and inventive. (p.27).

The prevailing argument had tended towards economic consideration as the driving force of Igbo migration. Dmitri (2005) agreed with historians on economic dimension of Igbo migration, but stressed that the social aspect underscores the Igbo social character which reflects on their migration pattern. In his explanation, the colonial introduction of efficient transportation system, especially the railway, was a propelling factor to the rush to the urban cities in search of employment opportunities. This partly explains the reasons why the Igboland experienced massive emigration also immediately after the war. Odi (1999) noted that even though many Nigerians were generally afraid to live in other parts of the country that were not their place of origin, the Igbo were among the very first groups that started migrating to urban areas across the country. This is quite surprising, especially when considering the recalling during the 1966 pogrom against the Igbo. Odi (1999) identified the harsh economic situation confronting the Igboland after the Biafran war, as the main factor responsible for the migration.

As already stated, Dmitri (2005) stressed that the social aspect underscores the Igbo social character which reflects on their migration pattern. There is no doubt that this perspective contributed to the question of the validity of economic explanation as a central factor in Igbo migration discourse. Ola (2002) argument suggested a departure from the prevalent economic explanation as most historians had postulated that Igbo people are 'adventurous and inclined to commercial tendencies. He identified four stages in Igbo migration history where he noted other explanations and dimensions of his argument. The first stage was the traditional rural migration where people moved for better economic opportunity, especially with agriculture. Ola (2002) postulated that this stage spanned till the advent of colonial period. The second is the rural to urban migration that took place with the infrastructural improvement experienced with the advent of colonial administration. This

enabled people to move from one place to another with the help of improved transportation. Ola's argument on these two stages is on economic dimension of Igbo migration. Though he observed this phenomenon, he spent less time on it, no doubt, because economic explanations of Igbo migration appear over studied in the historiography.

The third stage of his postulation of Igbo migration was different and most significant. Ola (2002) raised three important issues of Igbo migration in this stage. According to him, the stage started during and immediately after the Nigerian/Biafran war of 1967-1970. He believed this to be the period of forced migration, the period of ethnic dimension to migration and the period of increased Igbo diaspora. He emphasized what he call ethnic cleansing of the Igbo people which happened with the years of Nigeria's political independence to the beginning of the civil war as a defining moment of Igbo migration. It is his opinion that the killing of Igbo at other parts of the country forced them to migrate to neighboring West African countries and to some extent to advanced countries. Ola's concern of this study is not a discourse on the effects of the civil war on the people, but on how the unbearable conditions both at home and elsewhere in the country propelled them to increased migration. He posited that Igbo students abroad also found the situation back home unsafe for them thereby decided to stay back. He explained that this was the reason why so many Igbo professional are seen abroad. Ola's view of forced migration among Igbo people tends to present them as victims of political crisis. The fourth stage presented by Ola (2002) demonstrated his perception of group identity and diaspora. He explained that this stage, which started from the 1980s, introduced a deeper connection between Igbo abroad and their homelands. Thus, from the discussion so far, it can be argued that, the aftermaths of the Biafran war prompted Igbo to migrate to urban areas.

Religious Activities

The Nigerian-Biafran war has positive impact on religious activities among the Igbo. As Amaechi (2003) observed:

Some of the people who were Christians before the war strengthened their faith during the war with the view that death is imminent. They became serious with their faith even in the midst of adversity, hunger or horrendous situation. There were also meeting places for Christians. Some met in primary schools to worship God or in the open place while some whose churches were not found in the place they found themselves went to the nearby churches for worship. For instance *Qua Ibo* Church members were worshipping in Anglican church while Anglicans in the same way were worshipping *Qua Ibo* or any other available church at that time. Christians from Methodist church were also seen worshiping in Anglican or Roman Catholic Church. For Christianity is a body of Religion traced to Christ as the founder. It does not count church. A Christian also is a believer in Christ and he practices Christianity. Normal church services and programmes were held with the exception of the war front areas. Within these places, people were seeing attending fellowship and church services regardless of the sound of gun. (p.1).

Similarly, the atrocities perpetrated by evil men did not stop the gospel rather many consolidated their faith in Jesus Christ as the only hope for survival. The period under review has also Religious functionaries. These are those who are specialized in the different socio-religious activities in Igboland during the war. Ndigbo, as we know, are a religious people. Among the category of daily rituals performed by a typical family of Igbo extraction is one of praying to Almighty God, whom they call *Chukwu*. The Biafrans at the time constantly sang praise to God and made supplications, as they traversed the war place. Amechi (2013) noted that one of such prayers was made into the song that says:

Bia nuru olu anyi o	Come and hear our voice
Nna bia nuru olu anyi o DC	Father come hear our voice
Onweghi mgbe ike mmadu ga	There is no such a time when man's power

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Ga akari ike Chukwu   can compare with God's

Nna bia nuru   Father, come and hear

Onye kere uwa bia nuru olu anyi o   Creator of the universe, come and hear our voice

The song shows how much premium Igbo people place on God as a source of strength, and defence. Yanch (1998) also pointed out that the religion played several function during the Nigerian-Biafran war. According to him, Religion provided man with a sense of another life. Through Religion man was able to give a reasonable explanation for death and life after death. Religion afforded the refugees a forum to celebrate life and achieved a linkage with the supernatural. It is through Religion that they appeased the Divine. During the civil war, Religion sacralised the norms and values of the society. It venerated and defied moral principles of the society. It brought added sanction to morality. Religion brought people together in joy and fellowship. Religion during the war equipped man with functional principles for his moral life. Through various ethical codes, religion was the leading factor in socialization and traditional Education. Throughout human history, from antiquity to modern times, Religion has been the repository and custodian of human and social value. This function was also played by Religion during the Nigeria – Biafran war. Religion provided a framework for interpretation when they were faced with problems which they cannot identify. Various religious bodies also partake in the delivery of relief supplies and other monetary donations to the Biafran. Nwaka (2015) noted that the most prominent of these bodies was the Caritas of the Roman Catholic Church. Another prominent body was the Joint Church Aid body, popularly known as JCA, which was also established when some Protestant and Catholic Relief agencies organized themselves into a confederation.

The spiritual and relief operations of the Churches helped to strengthened religious activities after the war. Burgess (2004) also noted that these activities helped to spread the activities of Neo-Pentecostal groups across the Igboland. A very good example of such

groups is the Scripture Union. According to Burgess (2004), as Igbo urban centres fell to federal troops, these revivalists migrated to rural areas where they reported a favourable response to their message. By the end of the war, many villages and refugee camps had become centres of renewal and Pentecostalism.

4.4.2   Negative Effects

The negative effects of the Nigeria-Biafra are discussed under loss of lives, loss of wealth, loss of image and injustice/Marginalization

Loss of Lives

The Biafran war was extremely costly for the Igbo. The war was essentially fought in the Biafran territory, mainly in Igboland, with enormous wanton destruction of lives and properties, and massive displacement of people. Because of the vicious way in which the war was conducted, many Igbo perceive the war as a continuation of the mass killing of the pre-war era. In fact, the Biafran leadership tried as much as possible to pose the conflict as a war of ethnic survival, and widespread fear of genocide has been identified as one of the factors that provided the motivation for prolongation of the war. The atrocities committed by the Nigerian soldiers during the war and their disregard for restraints of war conventions are seen as indications of deep-seated hatred of the Igbo. Aneke (2007) pointed out that:

> Throughout the period of the war, Nigerian soldiers were accused of concentrating their attacks on civilian targets. The Biafran government made a strong case of civilian massacres in cities and towns like Aba, Onitsha, Calabar, Uyo, Oji River, Okigwe, and Asaba. (p.27).

The Asaba massacre of October 1967, which was well documented by several media reports, articles and books, stands out as an undisputed case of mass killing by the Nigerian troops. Korieh (2013) estimated that more than 700 men and boys were killed by Nigerian soldiers during the massacre.

In addition to concentrating attacks on civilian targets, the Nigerian soldiers were accused of indiscriminate destruction of their targets, rape and dehumanization of women, and maltreatment of war prisoners. The Oha-na-eze Ndi Igbo cited in Orji, Iwuamadi and Ibeanu (2016) stated that:

One of the factors that compelled Nigeria to draw a Code of Conduct for her soldiers was international outcry against the reckless killings. Before proclamation of the Code of Conduct, the International Red Cross had lodged protests with the Federal Military Authority in January 1968 and March 1968, with regard to the inhuman excesses of its army concerning treatment of Biafran prisoners of war and civilian population. Because the establishment of a Code of Conduct for Nigerian soldiers was essentially aimed at easing the pressure by the international human rights community, the Code did not largely alter the methods of the Nigerian troops on the ground as communities continued to report violation of international conventions on war by the soldiers. (p.39).

The Igbo suffered the most severe losses during the civil war as a result of mass starvation and death following the enclosure of Biafra by the Nigerian troops between 1968 and 1969. With the dislocations caused by the 1966 pogrom and the war, the Igbo lost their food producing areas. The situation of the Igbo population was made worse by Nigeria's wartime policy which holds that starvation is a legitimate instrument of warfare. The policy ensured that foreign aid, particularly food donations, was prevented from reaching Biafra. With deliberate denial of food to Biafra, the area was then confronted by food shortages, hunger, malnutrition, disease and death of between 2.5 to 3 millions of people, especially children. This remarkable war experience incised in the hearts of many Igbo a deep sense of communal suffering and collective victimization.

Loss of Wealth

According to Nafziger (1972), "the adverse impact of the conflict on the level of living in Biafra was greater than in Nigeria, and reached all segments of the population" (p. 229). The economy was geared almost entirely to mobilisation for the war and the production of bare necessities. Biafra received virtually no civilian goods from abroad, except food and other essentials from relief organisations, and badly needed capital goods.

Nafziger (1972) also observed that, real output per annum undoubtedly decreased substantially in a secessionist Eastern Nigeria during the war. Despite the fact that wages remained relatively constant, prices of basic items of food, clothing, and tools increased by 5-50 times between the immediate pre-war period and May 1969, according to a report by agricultural consultants to the Red Cross. The scarcity of food, which approached famine conditions, resulted from war damage and lack of trade with the outside world. The little published data available suggests that Biafra had relatively substantial financial reserves at the time of secession. These had been obtained by converting funds - from revenues collected in the East on behalf of the Federal and Regional Governments, from the reserves of the African Continental Bank, and from the money of the N.C.N.C., an Eastern-based party - to foreign exchange which was deposited in banks overseas prior to secession. Biafra was able to finance the purchase of armaments and supplies to fight the initial campaign in what it expected to be a short war of independence. But by April 1968 Biafra's foreign-exchange reserves were virtually exhausted.

An item of top priority is the reconstruction of war-time damage to the economy. This implies more than relief for the hungry and destitute, and the replacement or repair of destroyed equipment; it involves the restoration of production and trade flows disrupted by the war, and the reinstatement of transport, communications, power, financial, health, medical, and educational services. However, Akresh, Bhalotra, Leone and Osili (2011) argued that the recovery of the war affected areas in Eastern Nigeria does not entail a return

to its pre-war configuration but a readjustment towards a Federal economy which has experienced widespread structural change. This has resulted from the mobilisation and displacement concomitant with the conflict, and from the adaptation of production patterns, exchange networks, and resource employment to the loss of a Region - in addition to normal changes in production resulting from growth over time.

A primary part of reconstruction is the reintegration of the Igbo people and other Eastern people into the economy. Akresh et al (2011) also noted that, despite the decline in population during the war, the East is still overpopulated - especially in the Igbo-speaking areas. During the political crises a number of Easterners employed in government positions outside the Region were replaced. In addition, much of the vacuum from the exodus of self-employed Easterners in trade and transport to their ethnic homelands was filled by other Nigerians during the war.' Furthermore, since then, autarkic policies have limited the return of Igbo traders and workers to areas outside of Igboland, especially to the neighbouring Rivers State. Finally, a military decree of August 1970 gave the Federal and State Governments the power to dismiss civil servants who participated in the Biafran rebellion. The lack of economic opportunities outside the East-Central State is resulting in higher rates of unemployment and underutilisation of Igbo manpower than in the pre-war period. This was further compounded by the fact that the Igbos virtually lost all their properties located in other parts of the country, including Rivers States, where such properties were termed "abandoned properties". The Federal government of Nigeria denied the Igbo people access to all the hard currencies such as pound sterling they had saved in Nigeria banks before the civil war, and only allowed them a minuscule compensation of £20 per adult bank account holder. For example, a man who had over £450,000.00 savings in one or several bank accounts could only receive £20.00 following this policy. In reaction to this ugly development, Achebe (1983) observed that the marginalization against the Igbo may have started in 1968, when Nigeria changed her currency. This made Ndi Igbo to lose over 50,000,000 million pounds in

foreign exchange. In is account, Achebe (1983) stated that a banking policy was evolved which nullifies any bank account, which had been operated during the civil-war, this had the immediate result of pauperizing the Igbo middle class and earning a profit of 4.5 million pounds for the government treasury.

Loss of Image

After the Nigerian Civil War, Igboland had been severely devastated. Many hospitals, schools, and homes had been completely destroyed in the brutal war. According to Uduma (2015), in addition to the loss of their savings and properties located elsewhere in Nigeria, many Igbo people found themselves discriminated against by other ethnic groups and the new non-Igbo federal government. Due to the discrimination of employers, many of the Igbo people had trouble finding employment, and the Igbo people became one of the poorest ethnic groups in Nigeria during the early 1970s. As an even greater insult, in Port Harcourt, their control was handed over to their Ijaw neighbours and the Ikwerre (an Igbo subgroup who have separated and claimed no Igbo origin). Igboland was gradually rebuilt over a period of twenty years and the economy was again prospering due to the rise of the Niger Delta petroleum industry, which led to new factories being set up in southern Nigeria. This recovery, from the depths of the Biafran War, is an example of the uncanny resilience and resourcefulness of the Igbo. Many Igbo people eventually regained government positions.

Nevertheless, the Igbo still face the same discrimination, problems and challenges up till now. The Igbo people have sometimes continued to face discrimination from other ethnic groups. But because the traditional Igbo homeland was becoming too small for its growing population, many Igbo continue to emigrate out of Igboland. This discrimination may probably be one of the reasons, why several Igbo-speaking areas of Delta and Rivers States have continued to deny their Igbo identity.

Injustice/Marginalization

Marginalization is without doubt a recurring phenomenon prevalent in the socio-political life of the Igbo in Nigeria. It is not as if there are no complaints about marginalization by other ethnic nationalities in Nigeria. But the present predicament of Ndigbo can be traced to the Nigeria – Biafra war of 1967-1970. The war which ended since 1970 left the Igbo devastated and disorganized in unimaginable proportion. The Igbo people, according to Uwalaka (2003), have particularly been made to feel vanquished. Even though the physical formal war has been ended, yet there appears to have been more insidious, more perfidious, more destructive and dangerous war against the Igbo. Commenting on the issue, Nwankwo (2000) insists that marginalization has become an Igbo bed mate. In fact, it is now a State alienation and exclusion. This phenomenon has brewed an inherent alienation of the Igbo in Nigeria, resulting in resentment and fear. Nwabueze (2001) said that the marginalization of Ndi Igbo is so intense that no Igbo person, however good his credentials are, can today expect to command nationwide acceptance as a leader in the government and politics of Nigeria. Rather, a deliberate policy of casting over board the price-less colonial heritage of meritocracy in an insidious bid to stem the tide of competition, and largely succeed in emasculating the enterprising, competitive and geographically mobile Igbo is now in vogue. The progressive principles of merit and competition are now supplemented by such nebulous and retrogressive policies as 'federal character', 'quota system,' and State of origin'. This concept believes that the take-off point for understanding the formation with interaction that goes on in a society is by first of all understanding and analyzing the relationship that exists between the various classes and means of production.

By the end of the civil war in January, 1970, the control of power and distribution of economic resources at the centre had fallen absolutely into the hands of the war victors. The discrimination in the sitting of major federal government projects in Igbo land coupled with the abandoning of many of them, also attests to this syndrome of marginalization. Again,

Achebe (1983) affirmed that: "Many have tried, but nobody has quite succeeded in explaining why the sitting of five steel mills worth N4.5 million on final completion, with estimated employment capacity of 100,000 by 1990; only in the North and West of Nigeria" (p. 49). A further, confirmation of the post civil- war Igbo marginalization, was seen in the sitting of projects like major industries, huge irrigation schemes and agricultural projects to other parts of Nigeria, deliberately excluding the Igbo heart land. It was therefore, evident that the cumulative consequences of these wide ranging marginalization were quite pronounced in the economic sector, which has sentenced Ndigbo to economic penury and strangulation. In laying credence to this ugly trend, Nwakanma (2000) got it right when he states that: …economic and political policies of the federal government which limited access to political power of easterners, especially the Igbo, has led not only to economic haemorrhaging, but also to an economic wasteland. It is a well-known fact that right from the Yakubu Gowon's administration through to the Murtala/Obasanjo era of 1975-1979, to the Shagari presidency of 1979-1983 and to the dictatorship of Buhari/Idiagbon of 1983-1985, up to the Babangida and Abacha regimes of 1985-1998, culminating into the Abdulsalami Abubakar, Olusegun Obasanjo and Umaru Yar'Adua's administration of 1998-1999, 1999-2007 and 2007-2010 respectively, Ndigbo have suffered an unbelievable discrimination in every sphere of Nigeria's socio-political and economic life. The only exception to this ugly trend is the Jonathan administration of 2010 to 2015.

Marginalization does not take an automatic form of disempowerment of ethnic group or territory by those who control the centre of power, authority and resources. In practice, it appears subtle and hidden yet, marginalization is real. Going by experience, public policies are not formulated from the stand point of objectivity and overall national interest or on the basis of justice, fair play and equity. Rather, it is from the point of parochial ethnic considerations such that the ethnic groups whose members dominated the federal government since independence and especially since the end of the Nigeria-Biafra war has persistently

swung the political pendulum to their favour. Without mincing words, Ndigbo have suffered tremendous marginalization through clearly designed and well-crafted state policies all of which have left them emasculated, psychologically battered, drained and unsure, socially harassed, economically and materially dispossessed and pauperized.

CHAPTER FIVE

HISTORIOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS OF PENTECOSTAL GROWTH IN IGBOLAND

In this chapter, the emphasis will be on a historical survey on the origin of Pentecostalism world-wide, the emergency of Pentecostalism in Nigeria, origins of Pentecostalism in Igboland, growth and development of Pentecostalism in Igboland. The insight offered by these analyses will sharpen the growth and development of Pentecostalism in Igboland.

5.1   The Origin of Pentecostalism

According to Robert (1979), the Pentecostal movement appears to have grown out of the holiness revival of the second half of the 19th century. The first Pentecostals in the modern sense appeared on the scene in 1900 when Charles Fox Perham (1873–1929), a former Methodist minister, opened the Bethel Bible College in Topeka-a city in north-western Kansas, the capital of Kansas, United States of America. Robert (1979) noted also that upon establishment, about forty (40) students were known to have enrolled into the college with the Bible becoming their only textbook. Subsequently, the students were given an assignment by Perham to discover certain evidence of baptism of the Holy Spirit- one of which was concluded to be speaking in tongues. Consequently, December 31, 1900 being a prayer day, was set aside as the expectation day for this evidence. The evidence was eventually experienced the following day (January 1) following the speaking in tongues of a female student, Agnes Ozman (1870-1937), when she was prayed for by Perham. Robert (1979) concluded that with this development, Agnes Ozman became to be known as the first in modern times to speak in tongues. According to the account provided by Anderson (2004), during the preaching of Perham in 1903, there were myriads of experiences associated with speaking in tongues, and healing. Subsequently, in a movement regarded as the "Apostolic Faith", a plethora of people received the baptism of the Holy Spirit. Perham extended also his preaching activities to Texas where he began a Bible College in Houston. There, he came in

contact with an African American preacher, William Joseph Seymour (1870–1922) a son of freed slaves- who would later emerge as the leader of the movement. The movement was to assume an international dimension under his leadership.

Kalu (2008) observed that as the leader of the Pentecostal movement, Seymour in 1906 received an invitation to preach in Los Angeles at a Black Holiness Church, where he laid hands on people and they spoke in tongues. His sermon on tongues, was, however, accepted with hostility leading to the latching of the church building against him. Consequently, he moved with his members into an old and dilapidating building of the African Methodist Episcopal Church in Azusa Street, Los Angeles:

> The revival in Azusa Street during this period became the centre of Pentecostalism- a development which lasted for a short period. There were noticeable waves of immigrants from all over the western world to the street of Azusa with the aim of acquiring personal experience of the new trend as well as to be baptized in the Spirit. Reports from the press during this period contributed in promulgating and consequently, internationalizing the spiritual activity in Azusa Street, leading to the birth of other Pentecostal missions. (p. 31).

The report of Anderson (2004) on the influence of Azusa Street revival movement on the present day Pentecostalism evidenced the above assertion. According to him, Twenty-six different Pentecostal denominations trace their origins to Azusa Street including the largest, the Assemblies of God. People went there from Europe and other parts of North America and went back with the "baptism", and Pentecostal missionaries were sent out all over the world reaching over 25 nations in two years.

5.2   The Emergence of Pentecostalism in Nigeria

The Pentecostal movement spread to several other parts of the world including Africa and Nigeria. In the specific Nigerian case, Kitauseand and Achunike (2015) wrote that

Pentecostalism is a major religious and social movement in Nigeria that is part of a growing world-wide movement. It is a diverse movement that has penetrated all areas of society such as education, business, health, social media, social development and even the highest levels of government in any country of the world. It is accepted that the Christian message can easily be made to conform to the cultural milieu and intellectual conviction of the people. Since this was the situation in Europe, why will it not be possible also in Africa? This awareness and conviction prompted an African form of Christianity, considered to be a real faith encounter with Christ, which is permeated with authentic African values, customs and mores. Hence in the late 19th century, an independent Christianity emerged in Nigeria. According to Rotimi, Nwadialor and Ugwuja (2016):

> Historically, the root of contemporary Pentecostalism in Africa is traced to the struggle against European imperialist encrustations. Thus, Pentecostalism was partly an internally motivated socio-religious phenomenon in Africa. The movement emanated from the missionary Churches and evangelical spirituality. It is a paradigm shift amid the new developments in African Christianity. It is one of the ways that Africans responded to the missionary structures and appropriated their message. (p.14).

The character of modern African Pentecostalism changes in every generation, indeed, in every decade. Inspired by the success of the early socio-religious movements of the late 19th century, charismatic wind blew through the African continent in the pre-world war period. Certain prophets emerged to till the soil on which modern Pentecostalism would thrive. Kalu (2008) noted that these prophets were people groomed in the missionary Churches, but they were closer to the grain of African culture in their responses to the gospel and so felt the resonance between the charismatic indigenous worldviews and the equally charismatic biblical worldview. Between 1910 and 1918, a Church Missionary Society catechist of the Niger Delta Pastorate, Garrick Braide, launched an indigenous prophetic

movement that later becomes the Christ Army Church (CAC). Following an influenza epidemic in 1918, revivals flare within the mission Churches and the CAC led to the formation of prayer groups and Churches to cushion the effect of the influenza. During the 1930s and 1940s, a revival led by Joseph Babalola broke loose resulting to the establishment of Christ Apostolic Church. It was during this period that classical Pentecostal Churches including the Assemblies of God Church and Foursquare Gospel Church among others began to arrive in Nigeria. The 1950s saw the founding of the Redeemed Christian Church of God (RCCG) and other Churches. This epoch also witnessed rapid expansion of Christianity to Northern Nigeria. 1960s-1970s register a wave of revival among Charismatic ministries in tertiary institutions in Nigeria which eventually metamorphosed into Pentecostal Churches like Benson Idahosa's Church of God Mission, Benin and Williams Kumuyi's Deeper Life Bible Church, Lagos. From 1970s up to the present time there has been an explosion of Pentecostal denominations in Nigeria.

Kitause and Achunike (2015) identified a particular in-road of independent Christianity in Nigeria was the impetus of revivalist movements. Some churches emerged in 1916 due to religious revival among Nigerians through the activities of Garrick Sokari Braide. Kitause and Achunike (2015) further noted that the emerging religious revival in the separatist wing concluded in the formation of the Aladura congregation in the Yorubaland. Gaiya (2002) described this congregation as thus: "They adopted the African religious spirituality and charisma without the traditional cultic paraphernalia. They were puritanical; they preached the importance of prayer and fasting and renunciation of all forms of idolatry" (p.4).

This could be considered the beginning of Pentecostal Christianity in Nigeria, as these revivalist movements championed an experiential manifestation of the spirit in the life of believers. H. E. Odoh (personal communication February 25, 2017) maintained that these movements gave various forms of expression to the Christian faith in Africa, creating

problem of orthodoxy. Kalu (2008) pointed out that the explosion of the global Pentecostalism in Nigeria emanated naturally from the religious and political scenario of the country between 1950 and 1970. The historical context of these decades is very vital for an in-depth understanding of what may term Nigeria spirit and hazard**.** The goal of self-affirmation was glaringly evident in the projects of the nationalists, seeking liberation from the clutches of the European imperialism.

In spite of the opposition generated by this spirit there was undeniable attraction for the western system and perhaps a kind of childish longing for the "white man's apple." This longing and attraction will remain a constant hazard in the African culture generally. From the spirit of this epoch, any situation that was wholeheartedly in conformity with the pre-colonial status quo, that fostered self-esteem and cultural identity, and perhaps offered practical solutions and gave greater impetus for liberty was a welcomed phenomenon. The global Pentecostalism surfaced within this context. Mbefo (2001) analyzing the religious scenario of the period observes that there was dissatisfaction among members of the missionary churches in the country. Their religious yearnings were not met adequately by the liturgical ceremonies of these churches. He wrote:

> Their (members of mainline churches) expectations from the churches were not met. The missionaries of the older churches failed to address the type of questions the African situation raised for them: witchcraft, demon possession, haunting by evil spirits, the cult of ancestors; the use of protective charms, talisman; sorcery and the traditional dancing form of worship at the shrines. The tendency among the missionaries was to dismiss these questions as due to ignorance arising from a pre-scientific mentality. (p.107).

This general dissatisfaction opened door for new religious experiences among members of the mainline churches in particular and the general populace at large. The desire for a religious experience will become a constant hazard in the country, compelling people to

constantly change their ecclesial affiliation base on their current and prevailing religious feelings. From deep or ingrained religious psyche, God is a natural experience for an African. Zahan (2000) argued that an African seeks to win the benevolence of God in order to change his or her fortune in a positive manner. It is only God that can destroy enemies and set him or her free. An African calls on God naturally in every life situations because he or she knows that God is capable of making his decision and justice known. An African therefore approaches God with his whole life; body and soul and surrenders every facet of his existence to the divine scrutiny and mercy. This religiosity of a typical African person squares up with the understanding of the religious spirit of Nigerians at the decades. Therefore in a church where theology and spirituality do not meet these yearnings, do not take into consideration these dispositions and impulses, and do not articulate them at the level of practicability and functionality, According to C. C. Nweze (personal communication February 28, 2017) the Christian faith becomes ineffective and could be thrown away as a remnant of the colonial evil. It was not logical for the global Pentecostalism, emphasizing the experiential works of the Spirit and the Full Gospel to explode in Nigeria. According to Archer (2004):

> Pentecostalism began as and continues to be a complex, heterogeneous and eclectic movement in both theological and social composition. During the period that ran roughly from the American Civil War to the Great Depression, American society was caught in the vortex of change as mass immigration, urbanization, and industrialization re-sculptured the North American landscape. As a result, societal problems became much more complicated and acute. Yet 'most public-spirited Protestants still felt that the key to a better life together lay in personal moral reform.' Thus the most prevalent evangelical Protestant attempts to reform urban life was based on principles of private action and personal responsibility. (p.12).

This observation is a very good eye opener for us to understand the reality of the Pentecostal explosion in Nigeria from the global perspective. The American Civil War was a

very significant factor leading to the spread of Pentecostal spirituality at the beginning of the 20th century in America. Depression and general malaise of the populace are logical consequences of war. In this context, there is a remarkable influx of people to urban environments. Nevertheless, the effects and ruins of war called for a reflection on the reality of private responsibility and the societal renewal. This situation offered fundamental religious motives for Pentecostal renewal. Pentecostalism founded a natural ambient in Nigeria, as the people were coming out of the colonial domination and were immediately confronted with the evil of civil war.

The social deprivation theory as applied to Pentecostalism is eloquently supported by the growth of Pentecostalism in Nigeria. The fundamental factors for the spread of Pentecostalism are often identified in the 3-D (deprivation, disorganisation and defective) of the social deprivation theory. Pentecostal experience is bound to thrive in a context were people are deprived, disorganized and made defective. Archer (2004) sustained that:

> Social deprivation was an important facilitating and for some an enabling factor, but it was not the cause of one's conversion to Pentecostalism. People embraced the new Pentecostal faith because of its 'scripturally' appealing message and its self-authenticating and community validating religious experience(s). (p.12).

It seems that this observation explains the Nigerian Pentecostalism in particular. We cannot doubt that the starling reality of disorganisation and deprivation in the society and the ineffectiveness of the mainline churches to address the situation scripturally and to offer a pragmatic hope for a new order, contributed to the growth of Pentecostalism.

5.3   Growth and Development of Pentecostalism in Igboland

The growth and development of Pentecostalism in Igboland will be discussed below under: Garrick Sokari Braide Pentecostalism, Prayer House Pentecostalism, Evangelical Pentecostalism and typologies of Pentecostalism in Nigeria.

5.3.1 Garrick Sokari Braide Pentecostalism

In Nigeria, the impetus for introducing the new and evidently more successful forms of evangelism was provided by the Prophet-Evangelist Garrick Sokari Idaketima Marian Braide. According to a record provided by Tasie (1978), Braide was born in Obonoma, one of the small villages of the Niger Delta in 1882. Obonoma was one of the traditional centres for religious pilgrimage among the Kalabari and their neighbours. The village was believed to have a powerful deity called "*ogu*". His parents were servants of the "*ogu*" cult which was a titular deity of Obonoma. Braide had no formal education as his parents were very poor and so could not afford it. It was claimed that Garrick Sokari Idaketima Marian Braide was a fisherman and trader who later travelled widely in the Delta region of Nigeria. He grew up in Bakana of the Niger Delta. Garrick Braide was enrolled in the village church (Anglican Communion) in 1906 and in January 23, 1910, at St. Andrew's Anglican Church in Bakana, he became a Christian and was baptized. Two years later (1912), he was confirmed by Bishop James Johnson, the then head of the Anglican Church in the Niger Delta. Braide's conversion made him a full member of the believing community. For though he was an Ijaw man, he had to learn the Anglican Church Catechism in Igbo language, the then official language in the Niger Delta Pastorate. He was taught how to read and write and how to learn the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer and the Apostles ' Creed in Igbo before he was baptized.

Tasie (1978) also recorded that Braide made his first public claim in 1912. He was earlier noted for his enthusiasm and religious exercises, which he later felt called by the Lord Jesus Christ into the Christian Ministry and was accepted as a lay preacher in the Anglican Church of the Niger Delta Pastorate. Before 1912, there were stories making round or circulating about his prophetic and healing gifts. For instance, in 1909, M. A. Kemma, his Pastor published an official pronouncement in the Niger Delta Pastorate Chronicle, an official organ of the Niger Delta Anglican Church. In it the Pastor enumerated many instances of Garrick Braide's prayer power.

Onah (2013) provided a detailed explanation of Braide's method of preaching and teaching. Garrick Braide preached the impending wrath of God upon idolatrous society and thousands responded automatically or spontaneously, almost to a point of regarding Garrick as God's mouthpiece. He used the confidence of the people to extremity. However, Onah (2013) further pointed out that his method is highly radical and charismatic and listed some of his teaching as follows:

- Condemnation of alcoholic drinks as a source of religious laxity and moral decadence;

- Lamented the decline of moral values and condemned the belief in charms and magic;

- Engaged in public disputes with medicine men and magicians;

- Mounted wild destruction of cultic objects, charms and shrines.

His teaching has huge implications on both the people and the society at large. In his narration of the huge achievement of Braide, Ewechue (1991) noted that:

> As a result of his widespread campaign of destruction of cultic objects and traditional shrines, there was a general unrest and consequently two things thwarted his missionary efforts: First, the difficult circumstances of the First World War (1914 – 1918) time which demanded the colonial administration to check possible unrest; and second, the Niger Delta Pastorate Church was controlled chiefly by Sierra Leoneans though the financial burden was borne by the natives. Evaluation and Assessment of His Mission By 1916, his revivalist movement had spread to many parts of the Church Missionary Society (CMS) as it was called or Anglican Communion now–in the Niger Delta Pastorate and also to the Southern Zone of Owerri District. He made tremendous successes in prophetic healings, accurate revelation and display of social gifts. (p.34).

Tasie (1978) added that Briade adopted a more practical approach and contextualized the gospel among the Niger Delta people. While the missionaries were introducing Christianity through the teachings of the creed, the Lord's Prayer and catechism, his way or

method of evangelism redefined Christianity as a practical religion for the people of the Niger Delta, including the Igbo speaking areas, where he had a large number of conversions. In 1909, there were about three hundred converts to Christianity in the Niger Delta, but when Braide became involved in evangelistic activities the number was said to have risen to two thousand nine hundred and thirty-three (2,933). In 1916, the British administration faced a great loss due to the fall in the sales of alcohol and beverages in the Niger Delta, which was ascribed or attributed to Garrick Braide's Movement. The British administration became envious of Braide, because he achieved within three months what the CMS had not attained in half-a-century. In March, 1916, Braide was arrested and accused of insurrection, blasphemy and schism. He was later pronounced guilty by the Colonial authorities and sentenced to six months imprisonment with hard labour. In November, 1916, shortly before his release from prison, eight further charges were brought against him and his followers, so he remained in prison until January, 1918 Garrick Sokari Idaketima Marian Braide died on January 15, 1918 following an illness. After his death, his followers founded the Christ Army Church.

It is very clear that the impetus for introducing the new and evidently more successful forms of evangelism in Nigeria was provided by the Prophet-Evangelist Garrick Sokari Idaketima Marian Braide (1882–1918). In Braide's evangelistic methods, the entire Niger Delta witnessed its most successful religious awakening, marking the climax of early Niger Delta Christianity. Although his evangelistic methods or even practices may not all be justified, they nevertheless attracted very many people to embrace the Christian faith. For instance, whereas hitherto Christianity was introduced to the indigenes through teaching the creed, the Lord's prayer, the catechism, and so on, and no one was baptized until he or she had memorized all these and satisfied the Church's conditions of behaviour – some of them very alien to the indigenous culture. In his description of the method, Tasie (1978) noted that:

Braide adopted a more radical and practical approach. He did not trouble himself or his converts with teaching the creeds, the Lord's Prayer and the catechism and so on. He may have regarded such methods as alien and unpracticable, especially in view of the high illiteracy rate in the Niger Delta then. His chief method was to organize a crusade against charms, fetishes and idols, probably believing that until people lost faith in the powers of these objects they would not find peace in Christianity. His demands upon his hearers were simple: that they should destroy fetishes, confess their sins and put absolute faith in the sufficiency of Christ. He prescribed for converts strenuous religious exercises which helped them to cultivate a certain Christian discipline. He emphasized prayer-sometime specifying the number of times a day – he encouraged fasting and promoted the practice of praising God in local songs and shouting. (p.326).

Ajayi (1965), said the Braide movement not only challenged the alien-dominated situation, but it also gave rise to the emergence of many self-consecrated evangelists who became significant features of Niger Delta Christianity and Igbo Christianity. Within a few years of the beginning of the Braide movement, Christianity diffused into such nooks and crannies, village and traditional centres like farm settlements and fishing ports as only thorough knowledge of the local places could enhance. Thus, by the Church assuming a native character, it helped the spread of Christianity. However, Ayandele (1966) noted that Braide's methods, and possibly too, the fact that his movement appeared to pose a threat to the position held by Bishop James Johnson and his Sierra Leone and Yoruba colleagues who had dominated the scene, caused a breach between Braide and the authorities of the Niger Delta Pastorate Anglican Church in the Niger Delta. By 1918, the breach was completed. Braide himself died and that same year his followers founded a new Christian denomination in the Niger Delta–the Christ Army Church. With the founding of the Christ Army Church, the elder Christian Church in the Niger Delta was forced to re-examine itself in several ways,

especially its attitude about indigenization. Ndiokwere (1990) also observed that equally significant was that both by the challenge of the Christ Army Church and the fact that by the close of the second decade of the twentieth century, Nigeria was beginning to open and people were beginning to move from place to place for various reasons: some in search of jobs or better trading opportunities or search for security, the Niger Delta Pastorate Church began to lose its monopoly of the Christianization of the region.

5.3.2 Prayer House Pentecostalism

In Igboland, the "Prayer House" movements sprang up as a somewhat offshoot of the *Aladura* movements. Most founders of the Prayer House movements were members of the mainline churches who at one time or the other and for one reason or the other had attended the *Aladura* prayers and had been so influenced. The difference between the two is that members of the Prayer House still fulfil some membership obligations to some mainline (orthodox) churches while those of the *Aladura* have completely broken away from the orthodox churches and constituted themselves into their own independent churches.

During the period between the political independence of Nigeria and the subsequent civil war of 1967-1970, the orthodox churches were almost in the same spiritual state as ordinary social groups. Describing the spiritual state of the churches of this period, Bolton (1992) wrote:

> The church was in exactly the same state as the nation, in darkness. There was virtually no life in the churches. As the Lord Himself said, 'if then the light in you is darkness, how great is the darkness (Matthew 23). Every Sunday morning, for as long as I can remember, hundreds and thousands and even million of Igbo flocked into the churches; Anglicans, Methodists, Baptists, Presbyterians, Catholics, all sorts of denominations. But most of them would have died and gone to hell. Most of them believed they were saved through being baptized and through being good. We probably knew that Jesus died for our sins, whatever that was, but it means little or

nothing. Liberal theology reigned. Very few people believed the Bible. And virtually everyone believed the age of miracles in the church was past. If one wanted spiritual power one became or consulted an occultist, spiritualist or a native doctor. And there were many of these. People wanted a reality and a spirituality that eluded them. But it certainly would not have occurred to them to look for this spirituality in the churches. The churches had a form of religion but denied the power of it. (cf. II Timothy 3:5. (p.5).

It was in this atmosphere of spiritual paucity and poverty that Prayer House movements began. The Prayer House groups not only prayed a lot, they also preached from the Bible but an attentive listener could easily identify subtle deception. However, Kalu (1996) observed that:

The Prayer Houses preach and teach much but their sermons and doctrines are far from the gospel. The operation of the Holy Spirit was quite bizarre. The Holy Spirit would fall upon only the special ones and when it did come, the manifestations were more or less demonic convulsions. Under the power of the Holy Spirit, they would prophesy, pray for healing and carry on in an exhibitionist and self-important manner. There was a lot of discipline for spiritual power by way of fasting and very long period of prayer for both the prophets and their congregations. The healers were successful in the act of healing. They sometimes healed even those who were suffering from incurable diseases. They surrounded themselves with religious paraphernalia and other emblems; and they slept with Bible under their pillow and wore crosses blessed by the prophet for purpose of protection. It is therefore, said that those who became the cardinal Evangelicals and Pentecostals in Igboland had themselves been involved in one prayer house or the other, it was there that most people who had a thirst for the deeper spiritual things end up, thinking they had found God in the prayer houses. (p.75).

Iwuagwu (1976), maintained that during the late 1930s and 1940s, most Igbo-founded prayer houses were associated with the Apostolic Church movement, rather than Assemblies of God (AG), possibly because of the latter's Igbo roots, its relative freedom from missionary control, and promotion of indigenous church principles, which made secession less likely. He noted that two schisms occurred in the late 1930s, resulting in the formation of the Christ Apostolic Church Gospel Mission (1937) and True Apostolic Church (1938). During the 1940s, there were at least two further secessions: Abosso Apostolic Faith Church and St. Joseph's Chosen Church of God, both started by former Igbo Apostolic Church members. Ugwu (1998) pointed out that, Christ Holy Church, founded in 1947 by the late Agnes Okoh, also had links with the Apostolic Church movement. It is currently one of the largest Igbo-founded prayer houses, and a member of the Organisation of African Instituted Churches (OAIC). It was a local initiative, but during its early history was influenced by extraneous sources. The author also recorded that, Agnes Okoh (later the Holy Prophetess *Odozi-Obodo* claimed a call to ministry through divine revelation after being healed from a long-standing illness. In 1947, she opened a prayer house in Onitsha, and gained a large following due to her healing and prophetic gifts. After a visit from a group attached to the Christ Apostolic Church, Western Nigeria, she called her prayer house Christ Apostolic Church *Odozi Obodo*, and in the early 1970s it was registered as Christ Holy Church. It fits the profile of the evangelical-type prayer house described by Kalu (1978) due to its strong Christological and evangelistic emphasis. Christ Holy Church describes itself as a Pentecostal, spiritual, and evangelical church, upholds the Bible as the word of God, and in its mission statement claims to 'worship the triune God in holiness and spread the good news of our Lord Jesus across borders, race and cultures urgently till Jesus Christ returns again. Though it has undergone changes, including the introduction of modern musical instruments, the church still uses 'holy water' for healing, and ministers wear white garments.

Iwuagwu (1976) noted also that during the 1950s, other Igbo-founded prayer houses emerged. Perhaps the most popular was the Ufuma Practical Prayer Band (UPPB), which had important links to the Civil War Revival. Established in 1958 as a fellowship affiliated to the Anglican Church, UPPB developed around the ministry of a prophetess called Madam Nwokolo, and its popularity rested upon her apparent healing ministry and the group's strong interdenominational emphasis. Since the 1970s, it has become an independent body with branches throughout Nigeria. Ufuma Practical Prayer Band fits the profile of Zionist-type prayer house described by Kalu (1978) due to the ritual nature of its liturgy (which included fasting, the use of candles, 'holy water', and oil for healing), its lack of a clear Christological focus, and its reluctance to engage in evangelistic activity. Chuta (1986) also pointed out that during the 1950s, maintained P. Ugwuoke (personal communication March 13, 2017) that the emergence of the first of many Igbo-founded sabbattarian groups, the Christ Healing Sabbath Mission, founded in 1956 by Mark Onuabichi. These prayer houses vary considerably, ranging from those that incorporate traditional practices, such as ancestor worship and animal sacrifices, to those with a more Christological focus. Their roots in Igboland go back to Dede Ekeke Lolo, who was briefly associated with the Garrick Braide movement. During the 1960s, they multiplied and diversified, attracting clients from mainline churches, including some who subsequently became involved in the Civil War Revival.

Specifically, Burgess (2008) noted that Prayer houses from Western Nigeria arrived in Igboland in the 1940s, but did not become popular until the 1960s. Initially they attracted non-indigenes, but later were patronised by Igbo people, who were dissatisfied with mission church spirituality. Yoruba immigrants or Igbo who had lived in the West introduced them, and they were more successful in urban areas such as Aba and Owerri, where there were a large proportion of non-indigenes. Rural areas were usually more resistant to innovations. The first to arrive was the Cherubim and Seraphim Society, introduced in 1944 by a Yoruba woman called Deborah Phillips. The Christ Apostolic Church followed in 1947, and the

Church of the Lord (*Aladura*) in 1956. Their initial unpopularity was partly due to their roots in Yoruba culture and domination by non-indigenes. However, as with other prayer houses it was also due to Igbo loyalty to the mission churches.

5.3.3   Evangelical Pentecostalism

The Pentecostals are multiplying in Igboland. They are steadily exerting a great deal of influence on a large number of Christians across the broad section of the Christian faith. As an urban socio-religious phenomenon, Pentecostalism is gradually spreading its tentacle to the rural areas in Nigeria and appears to be a force to be reckoned with around the world. Currently, it is making great waves in the mainstream churches in Nigeria. According to Kitause and Achunike (2014); "The strength of Pentecostalism seems to lie in its theology and ethics. It is probably in the core belief system and spirituality of the Pentecostals that the Pentecostals are bringing their influence to bear in the society" (p.1).

Today, the Pentecostals abound in their millions and their presence are being felt everywhere in Nigeria. But this growth in Nigeria especially Igboland can be traced to the year the Biafra war officially ended. Burgess (2008), was of the view that shortly after the end of the civil war in 1970, three young Anglicans namely, Stephen Okafor, Arthur Oraizu and Raphael Okafor who later became a Bishop in the Anglican Church, revolutionized the contemporary Pentecostal conception in Igboland. Before then, they were members of the Ufuma prayer House as it was commonly called, though its real name was practical Christian Prayer Band. The name Ufuma Prayer House is more commonly used in referring to this Prayer Band because the headquarters is based at Ufuma in Anambra State where the founder, Sophy Nwokolo, an Anglican from Ovoko-Nsukka, was married. The author noted that, Stephen, Arthur and Raphael eventually had personal encounter with Jesus Christ and left the prayer band and began to preach the gospel of repentance and salvation through faith in Jesus Christ. They became the foundation members of a brand of Scripture Union which became a Pentecostal movement rather than an evangelistic agency in the Anglican Church.

Thus, a Pentecostal wind began to blow in Igboland and consequently many discovered that they possessed spiritual gifts. The face of Scripture Union gradually changed, and it moved from evangelical to a Pentecostal exhibition of the charismata. At a point, a split occurred in the membership as some members became critical of the turgidity in the mission churches and even haughty in their perception of those they regarded as carnal brethren who did not have Holy Ghost baptism. Achunike (2004) observed that many of such Spirit-filled Christians within the Scripture Union as they called themselves, most of whom were Anglicans, withdrew from the mission churches and founded their own churches while the rest constituted themselves into a strong Pentecostal factor in the Anglican Church and other mission churches. In the Anglican Church, the Pentecostal factor came to be known as the Evangelical Fellowship in the Anglican Communion (EFAC).

It is no exaggeration that the Charismatic have made in-roads into the mainline churches. The Pentecostals' lively ways of praying and worshipping God is now commonplace in the Anglican, Methodist and ECWA churches in Nigeria. Worship in these churches has taken a new dimension. Their usual cold, dull and stereotyped kind of worship is gradually giving way to vibrancy. The Pentecostals seem to have injected life into the worship services of these churches. Songs sung during worship in these churches are chiefly Pentecostal in tune. People seem to embrace the Pentecostal style of worship for its warmth and liveliness. Enang (2012), believed that "Pentecostals demonstrate overflowing enthusiasm in matters of worship. They shout, scream, roll around on the floor, dance and play deafening musical instruments. During such services, predictions, speaking in tongues and prophecies are alleged to occur" (p.265).

Concurring with the above assertion, Obaje (2005) averred that; "Services in the Pentecostal churches are never predictable. Anything can happen. Their liturgy is not rigid but fluid and flexible" (p.15).

Today, one hardly notices any difference between the mainline churches worship services and the Pentecostal churches worship services. When Pentecostalism first came to Nigeria it probably introduced a new culture and ideology somehow different from the early missionaries' ideologies. According to V. Nwobodo (personal communication March 14, 2017) mainline Christians first imbibed the culture of the white missionaries who planted Christianity in Nigeria and had settled down long with it before the emergence of Pentecostalism. When Pentecostalism showed up, it seems that its ideologies contradict and disrupt the already existing theology of the missionary Christianity. Sure, it met with stiff resistance as older Christians sharply repudiated the encroachment of Pentecostalism into the mainstream protestant churches. But sooner or later, Pentecostal lifestyles crept into these churches through the efforts of the Charismatic movements. Although, most mainline churches initially seem to repudiate the intrusion of Pentecostalism into their midst but it gradually finds reception among the people.

5.4   Typologies of Pentecostalism in Nigeria

At this juncture, it is very imperative to offer a synthesis of the various facets or branches of Pentecostalism in Nigeria, in order to deepen our understanding of the Pentecostal Christianity in the country. This is an ecclesiological re-elaboration of the typology of Christian groups in Nigeria by Gaiya (2002), where he identified Sunday worshippers and Sabbath worshippers as churches that can serve as a typology of independent churches and miracles, prosperity, faith and holiness groups as typology of Pentecostalism in the country. He built his typology around the classical Reformation themes of *Sola Scriptura* and *Scriptura et Traditiones.* The classification is base on his approach since it offers us a clue to the historical evolution of Nigerian Christendom, the appropriation and metamorphosis of evangelical Protestantism in the country.

5.4.1 African Initiated form of Christianity-*sola* churches

According to Gaiya (2002), the s*ola* churches are those churches that are founded on the principle of a unique and self-emanating theology developed around national and cultural experiences of the people. These churches are completely African in ecclesiology and unilateral in ministry. The meeting point with the global Christianity consists in the utilization of the universal theological categories as developed in the western theology. The *sola* churches reconstruct the western theology in the spirit of African nationalism. The western theology offers categories for an elaboration of an African cosmology and cosmogony as African theology for the local situation. They are generally known as Orthodox/Africanist churches. They hold on to the orthodox beliefs as understood and developed through the analysis of the Christian faith with an in-depth projection of African cultures, using the language of the western theology. The *leitmotiv* of this projection is not for mutual enrichment of the *Africanism and Westernism*, but a radical secession from the western church, and creation of a new branch of Christianity that is purely African inspired and oriented.

The following congregations represent this typology in Nigeria: United Native African Church, Christ African Church (Bethel), United African Methodist Church Kingdom of God Church and New Life Church. African nationalism remains the founding and enduring principle of these churches both in doctrine and worship. Their link to Pentecostalism consists in their fostering of the "spirit-guided" liturgy and the "letting-flow" of emotion in worship, as a guise of establishing contact with the divine.

5.4.2 African Initiated form of Christianity-*scriptura* churches

For this category, Gaiya (2002) noted that the Bible is the sole authority in these churches and all doctrines and practices must necessarily be built on a biblical antecedent whether as a normative or as an historical antecedent. Their theology is based on biblical analogy. Their identifying characteristics are the Bible, African spirituality and western

theology, particularly health and wealth theology. They demonstrate an immense attraction to the Bible, but the Bible is interpreted from the perspective of African spirituality rapped in the categories of material-well-being of believers in this world. These churches are generally known as Pentecostal or Charismatic churches. They are the core churches of the global Pentecostalism in Nigeria. They attempt to build a synthesis that seems to be faithful to the word of God based on the African experience. It is only the materialism of the western society that interests them, while the whole theological edifice of the mainline churches has little or no influence in their doctrines and practices. Nevertheless, in harmony with the global Pentecostalism, we can identify the three faces of Pentecostalism in these *scriptura* churches in the country. Examples of these churches under the classical Pentecostalism include: the Apostolic Church of Nigeria. The Neo-Pentecostal conglomerations are represented by the Deeper Life Bible Church, the Church of God Mission and the Latter Rain Assemblies. The third wavers could be identified with churches or ministries like Household of God of Chris Okotie, Christ Embassy and many churches of the Living Faith or Positive Confession inspirations. Moreover, there is a unique aspect of this typology in the Nigerian Pentecostalism, which is heavily dependent on Aladura spirituality, with a theology that could be described as African shamanism. The most significance representative of this brand is the Synagogue of all Nations.

Ojo (1997) observed that another typology of the Pentecostal or Charismatic churches initiated by Nigeria is the prosperity churches, following the trend of American materialism. Perhaps this is the most appealing aspect of Pentecostalism in Nigeria. These churches are scattered all over the country. The principal representatives are the Church of God Mission founded by Benson Idahosa and the Living Faith Church Worldwide. Many of these churches also integrate the third wave's inspiration. Another brand of this *scriptura* churches is the "faith churches." These churches are developed around the theology of Faith Homes in the United States and the practice of *Aladura* churches of western Nigeria. These churches forged

the initial message of classical Pentecostalism with African spirituality. Their principal representative is the Redeemed Christian Church of God, the most widely spread Pentecostal church in Nigeria. Finally there is the brand of holiness movement, a continuation of the Wesleyan and Keswickan tradition of classical Pentecostalism. It represents a conservative wing of the Nigerian Pentecostalism. The only significance representative of this typology is the Deeper Life Bible Church of William Kumuyi.

From the above typological exposition, Achunike (2004) posited that it is obvious that the Nigerian Pentecostalism is rooted on both African and Western traditions. An interesting part of this revelation is that, all these traditions are appealing to Nigerians, and we cannot pinpoint the most favourable of these different Pentecostal typologies. They offer responses to the spiritual yearnings of the people based on their pre-Pentecostal Christian formation and their life experiences. The current situation reveals the unique influence of African prophetic churches on Pentecostalism. It seems that the marriage between African spirituality and the Euro-American Christianity is meant to be indissoluble, in particularly in the Nigerian Pentecostalism. Olupona (2000) analysed the situation thus:

> There is continuity between prophetic African churches and the Pentecostal charismatics. Both churches are engaged in what we could term the African primal quest for the sacred and the transcended: the quest for healing, wellbeing, material success, and long life. Both establish some degree of religious independence in that, unlike the mission churches before them, they are not under larger foreign mission. Both groups of churches also derive their success from their appeal, however unacknowledged, to African spiritual sensibilities. For example, African prophetic churches and Pentecostal-charismatic churches, while both condemning African ritual practices such as divination, ancestor veneration, traditional medicine, and healing, paradoxically share other aspects of indigenous orientation, such as visions, dreams, healing, "spirit" possession, and divine revelation. (p. 12).

It is the convergence of African spirituality in the Pentecostal churches that gives fascination to Pentecostalism in Nigeria and her respective citizens.

5.4.3 African Initiated form of Christianity-*scriptura et* churches

This group of churches rely on the Scripture and something else. According to Amata (2002), the *scriptura et* churches held that the totality of the religious dimension of man is not revealed in the Judeo-Christian Bible exclusively. The Bible offers valid knowledge of God just as other "scriptures" and metaphysical experiences, even when they are not documented. They all constitute a valid patrimony of man's encounter with God. These churches are known as Aladura, Zionist, or Spiritual. Their theology is constructed around the religious principles of the Bible, African charismatic "sciences" and African occultism. They are combination of Christian spirituality and African cultic and occult worship in a guise of Pentecostal spirituality.

The evangelical wing of this typology is Christ Apostolic Church and its splinters. While the Zionist or Spiritual representations are Cherubim and Seraphim Church, Church of the Lord, Christ Army, Celestial Church of Christ and Christ Holy Church. An interesting fact is that an unsuspected Nigerian will identify these churches as classical Pentecostal churches, since they foster experiential manifestations of the Spirit, with particular attraction to speaking in tongues as a medium of communication with the divine.

5.4.4 African Initiated form of Christianity–*traditiones* churches

Gaiya (2002) identified another typology of the Pentecostals in Nigeria as those churches which are developed around vitalistic and syncretistic principles gathered from African traditions, and the religious encounters of Africans with other world religions. Olupona (2000) observed that at times, their syncretism is too obvious to be masqueraded as Pentecostalism. Nevertheless, their use of the Bible and response to religious questions readily cover them under Pentecostalism. This typology is built around Christian principles,

African spirituality and metaphysical power, and occult materials whether African or foreign. It is more often classified as Neo-pagan organisations or churches. The most significance embodiment of this typology in a camouflage of Pentecostalism are El-Messiah Spiritual Temple, Brotherhood of the Cross and Star and various healings homes scattered in every angle of the country. Their types with less Christian and Pentecostal externalisation include the Reformed Ogboni Fraternity, Arousa Cult, Kingdom *of Go*d and *Godianism*. It is the quest for spiritual experiences, and the desire for life transforming miracles that make this typology attractive to many people, even when they may have doubts about their Christian authenticity.

5.4.5 African Initiated form of Christianity-Sabbath worshipping churches

According to Gaiya (2002), another group of Christians that could be considered as Pentecostal in the country are some Christians who worship on Saturday. In continuity with the Old Testament practices and teachings, they hold on to the theology of the seventh day as the day of the Lord, and thus as sacred day observed by Jesus himself. These churches depend on the scripture and African traditions for their theological understanding and pastoral ministry. There are handfuls of these churches in Nigeria, such as: Riches of Christ, Holy Sabbath of Christ, Universal Church of Christ, God's Holy Sabbath, Christ Healing Sabbath, Living Faith Sabbath, Holy Sabbath Church of God and Universal Praying Church. Since these churches tend also to emphasize the phenomenon of the Spirit, healing and prophecy in particular, they make up a special branch of Christians in the country, even when they do not confess Jesus as Lord.

In conclusion, the study of typology of Pentecostalism in Nigeria reveals that the concept is not a homogenous phenomenon. Some of the churches that exhibit Pentecostal characteristics may not be accepted as Pentecostal churches. As noted, the core churches of the global Pentecostal movement in Nigeria are churches that belong to "the *sciptura* typology. In spite of this general feature, they have their own peculiar beliefs and theological

framework. Let us immediately note that the focus of this work on the influence of Pentecostalism in Nigeria, is mainly on the churches of Pentecostal or charismatic tradition. Despite their peculiar traits, there are still general features that bring them together. Hence Amata (2002) recognized the major focus as:

> The evangelical churches are founded by African leaders who have adopted radical spiritual conversion, often called "born again," through baptism of the Holy Spirit, recalling the Day of the Pentecost. As in the prophetic independent African churches before them, the charismatic churches emphasize speaking in tongues, divine healing, and miracles. In addition, they profess that the material success and prosperity of their members are signs of divine grace and benevolence. (p.28).

Nevertheless, since the modern Pentecostal movement as a global phenomenon could not be limited to these African churches, and many Pentecostal realities in the country may not be accepted in the global Pentecostalism. There is need to identify the churches or groups that can generally pass the test of conformity to the global Pentecostalism, and as such validly representatives of Pentecostals in Nigeria.

5.4.6 Impacts of Pentecostalism on Mainline Churches in Igboland

In Igboland all the denominations are experiencing renewal. Prayer and fasting and signs and wonders of healing and deliverance are common. Ebebe (2004) noted that this observation indicates the impact of Pentecostalism on the mainline churches in Nigeria. The boom of Pentecostalism introduced into Igboland a spirituality that was not fostered by the initial western missionaries. It inaugurated an approach to faith and ecclesial polity that is glaringly different from the initial practices of the mainline churches. Isichei (2005) added that Pentecostalism has awakened a tremendous yearning for a primal spirituality in the Igbo community. The Pentecostal spirituality was highly welcomed among the poor of our society, hence by the majority, since most Igbo Christians then, were poor economically. This impetus finds support and tremendous enthusiasm among Christians of various

denominations and ecclesial affinity, since it addresses the raw spiritual desire of man. The boom of Pentecostalism in the mainline churches is an invitation to churches to reconsider their Christian testimony and proclamation of Jesus Christ as the Saviour and Redeemer of all people. The charismatic renewal in various churches and general quest for an effective spirituality among Christians of all denominations are the effects of Pentecostalism.

Middlemiss (1996) observed, however, that the penetration of Pentecostal spirituality into the mainline churches constitutes a theological and ecclesiological obstacle for many theologians. Nevertheless, it is undisputable that Pentecostal experience and spirituality have come to stay in most churches in Nigeria today. The presence and the realness of the divine power is intrinsic to African worldview. The question of the cessation of charisma and miracles, the divine that would not intervene in the living situation and in everydayness of the people was only a bitter theological pills that many Africans were advised to swallow but only to hang at their throats. The outburst of charismatic experience according to E. Anigbogu personal communication (March 14, 2017) said in the historic churches of the West and its diffusion to Africa was seen as the divine way of proofing the western theology of mechanistic world, where God is a hidden and silent observer, to be an existential unbelief of some western missionaries.

Therefore, charismatic experiences in the mainlines churches as manifestation of spiritual gifts and evident power of the Holy Spirit are being lived and seen as normal Christian life and not as the expression of particular movement. This explains why charismatic Christianity soon flourished in almost all historic churches in Nigeria. You do not need to know the theology of baptism in the Holy Spirit to be healed by God and to become instrument of healing to others. One does not need to belong to Pentecostal churches to learn how to develop voluptuous praise of God. It is not Pentecostalism that endows one with the capacity to dance before the awesome present of the Lord. Pentecostalism does not introduce visions and dreams, they are available wherever the living God is present. In short, the

charismatic experience is the disentangling of Christianity from the western "existential and pastoral unbelief" and making Christ what He really is: the power of God to save in time and in eternity. In today's Christian scenario in Igboland, it is almost impossible to imagine an authentic minister of God devoid of spiritual gifts. Charismatic spirituality in Igbo mainline churches is better described as an appraisal of an in-depth religious consciousness, or as an un-concealment of the divine and an in-breaking of the fundamental religious expectations among the people. Pentecostalism has eaten deep into the religious consciousness of the contemporary Nigerian society and its influences and repercussions can be observed across religious strata in the country. Thus, we are moving into a new religious culture developing from the contemporary Pentecostalism.

5.4.7 Positive Impacts of Pentecostalism

The following are some of the positive impacts of Pentecostalism in the contemporary Christianity. These are nevertheless, exclusive to the Nigerian situation, they could be noted wherever the Pentecostal spirituality is fostered. Moreover, they are not manufactured by or introduced *ex nihilo*, by the Pentecostals. They only helped the people to appreciate and give due attention to these dimensions or aspects of the Christian faith. The African context make them interesting and desirable in the churches. These should be encouraged for an effective Christian witness today.

5.4.7.1 Holy Bible

Pentecostalism has reawakened a general desire and love for the Bible as the written word of God, and as a perennial document of authentic Christian moral life. Many Christians are nowadays taking the Bible seriously and it is no longer considered as a book meant for the clergy. There are many Bible study groups in the mainline churches in Igboland and some of them are operating vital ecclesial ministries. For instance, Roman Catholics are finding biblical support for much of the presupposed doctrinal and devotional practices of the Church. It is now common to hear from mainline churches: "the Bible says," and many

biblical passages are becoming a regular prayer motives for many Christians. This awakened interest in the Bible is helping people to realise that prayer is not a monologue but a dialogue between God and his children. The Bible remains an authoritative word of God and it is through the Bible that God dialogues with a believer.

5.4.7.2 Gospel Music

Religious music has witnessed a remarkable innovation since the outburst of Pentecostalism. Many people had discovered a new dimension of being a Christian through the so-called gospel music. The fluidity of Pentecostal rhyme and rhythm has made it easy for people to sing and play the same tune in various languages and in diverse cultural ambiences. Pentecostal music is homogenising the cultural spectrum of the country. The youths of various ethnic background and religious affiliations can now come together to sing and enjoy a common religious tune. Udofia (cited in Gabriel, 2015), said "Music is a central part of African culture and especially in African religious culture". (p.38). Pentecostalism has really fostered the flourishing of African rhythm in Christian worship, making the Church more at home in the African soul. The presence of Pentecostal music and accompaniments has helped many young Africans to realise that religious services can be "pleasurable" and has created a common identity for people of various denominations and ethnics in the one big family of God. Moreover, Pentecostal music has reawakened the religious life of the people. Many churches are now giving attention to the formation and training of choristers in the church. Resources are being allotted for the provision of a state of art musical instruments as singing and dancing is becoming an integral part of the liturgy. Pentecostalism has led to the integration of African music into Christian worship in a very significance manner and style.

5.4.7.3 Spiritual Prayer Life

There is no doubt that Pentecostalism has awakened in Nigerians an eagerness for spiritual life in the secular world, and a desire for an experiential communion with God in prayers. People are now giving serious attention to their prayer life. There is a noticeable

quest for a spirituality based on a personal relationship with the Lord and according to Justice Nwali Sylvester personal communication (April 20, 2017) the mainline churches have manifested in love for private eucharistic adoration. According to Achunike (2004), Pentecostalism is noted for encouraging a spirituality that abhors confinement and standardization, while provoking an intimate experience of the Holy Spirit. Many Igbo people are now after a spirituality that is manifested in power, since an in breaking of the divine in the ordinary is a proof of the validity and authenticity of a religious life of an individual. In this context, Achunike (2004) went on to observed that: "People are looking for men of God and Spiritual masters and the results their encounter with these men of God will yield for them" (p.99).To this end, religious pragmatism is becoming a feature of spirituality and prayer.

5.4.7.4 Preaching–proclamation–teaching

One of the outstanding impacts of Pentecostalism is a general interest in the preaching, proclamation and teaching of the Christian faith in the country by the mainline churches. There is an earnest effort to expound the Christian faith and moral, which has led to much evangelistic renewal across churches. The attention that is given to the Bible by the Pentecostals as the sole authoritative source of preaching the good news and of teaching the Christian faith and morals have provoked theologians and pastors of the mainline churches to give a new zeal to the ministry of the Word. This zeal for evangelisation has led to the incorporation of courses in evangelisation - methods and techniques of evangelisation - are becoming more conspicuous in the curriculum of seminaries and theological faculties in the country. Udoette (2001) was of the view that:

> Many bishops and priests are not teaching the people what they are supposed to know about God and His Word. They do not give the faithful the needed understanding that the Eucharist is word celebrated; that it is the word of God that gives meaning and significance to the sacraments. (p.43).

This desire for a renew commitment to the preaching and teaching of the Christian faith is a contribution of Pentecostalism. Many preachers in the mainline churches were educated and sophisticated salesmen in possession of the best products in the market, but woefully lacking in skills and disastrously unable to market their products. It is the success of the Pentecostals that brought this observation to lamplight, and in the last few years, the situation is fast changing and the pulpits in the mainline churches are becoming fountain of enrichment and nourishment for the faithful.

5.4.7.5 Liturgy–worship

In a related development Achunike (2004), observed that "Liturgy deals with the way people worship God. Pentecostals take worship seriously and allow it to penetrate and influence their lives. Indeed for the Pentecostals, worship is a 24- hour-a-day, seven-days–a–week experience of God" (p.66).

The Pentecostals attention to worship and vibrancy of Pentecostal celebrations have led to a change of attitude towards liturgical celebrations in the mainline churches. The faithful are responding to the call for active participation at the liturgical functions due to the stimulus from the Pentecostal churches. The guiding principles for preparing for any liturgical function are built around the experience of the people and not simply in conformity to a foreign style of worship. Many Nigerians Christians generally welcome the Pentecostal styles of worship, since this seems to respond to African religious sentiments. As Udoette (2001) observed:

It is not long… since the Catholic Church introduced into her liturgy the singing of choruses, playing of local instruments, clapping of hands and dancing. Hitherto it was forbidden by an unwritten law to do these things. The Church was supposed to be as quiet as possible so that one would not distract the presence of God in the Spirit. (p.41).

It is now taken for granted that some of these basic anthropological dispositions of Africans could become useful and powerful tools for glorifying God and edifying a worshiping community. For instance, Healey and Sybertz (1996) observed that taking cue from the Pentecostal churches, women for instance are now assuming responsibility at public worship in the mainline churches. Much function that does not require the character of ordination are now taken up readily by women at liturgical functions. This has given a unique touch to the liturgical assembly, where nobody is no more considered as a "pious spectator" at the sacred drama. Pentecostalism has attempted to offer women individuation and identity in the household of God, to embellish their authentic religious endowments. This inspiration is being taken over by the mainline churches in Africa.

5.4.7.6 Lay Participation

Closely associated to the empowerment of women at the liturgical functions, is a general commitment of the laity to their Christian callings. The era when the Church was the exclusive affairs of the clergy is fast coming to an end. The platform of this awareness and vivification is the realisation that there is no sector of the people of God that is endowed with the monopoly of the spirituals gifts. The Church grows where there are manifestations of spiritual gifts, whether among the laity or the clergy, for the good of the whole community. Now, there is awareness that there is one Spirit but many gifts (cfr. 1 Cor. 12: 8-13). Each gift is meant for the good of the whole community and it is therefore an affront to the Holy Spirit, if any member of the community refuses to make his or her charismatic endowments available to the community.

The above Pentecostal consciousness had really encouraged many faithful in the mainline churches to embark upon a ministry in their local community and beyond. We are now witnessing a flourishing of charismas (whether ordinary or extraordinary) in the churches. Udoette (2001) maintained that it is the responsibility of every Christian to use his charismas for the building up of the Church, since all are members of the Body of Christ.

According to him, "It is only in doing this that we bring glory and honour to the body of Christ of which we are members by virtue of our baptism and participation in the Holy Spirit (p.120)". There is now a general disposition among the clergy to recognise and foster charismas among the lay faithful and to give them a proper space for growth and service in the Church.

5.4.7.7 Clerical and lay Formation

The onslaught of Pentecostalism had called the mainline churches to review the programme of formation of their pastors, in order to respond effectively, to the present situation in the country. And apart from the ministerial training in the seminaries and theological faculties, there are various denominational and interdenominational centres for training and formation of the faithful either for evangelical works or for their general Christian formation. Bassey and Udoette (1999), said many priests, nuns and lay faithful were being trained as evangelists, well equipped to respond to the religious challenges of the moment. These schools were now common in Nigeria, offering training in evangelisation and ministry to those who might not afford professional theological formation.

5.4.7.8 Use of mass media

Another aspect of this response is the development of communication departments in various mainline churches, to inform the public about the works of salvation. Many bishops and priests are now regular guests in television and radio stations, in their attempt to carry the gospel beyond the pulpit. Churches programmes and spiritual activities are given wider publicity in the mass media. Achunike (2004) noted that the Pentecostals had encouraged the use of mass media for religious programmes, and this was fast becoming normal for the mainline churches in the country.

5.4.7.9 Ecclesial Consciousness

Achunike (2004) also noted that Pentecostalism has really influenced the ecclesial consciousness of many Christians and their identification with their churches is becoming very strong. The Spirit is not just gathering people into a faceless mass, but into an organised Body of Christ. There is much personal solidarity with a local Christian community now. "My church" is becoming a popular slogan among Christians. Expressions such as these are commonly used nowadays: "there is function in my church"; "come and worship with me in my church"; "my church does not discriminate"; "there is fasting in my church today"; "my church is growing because Jesus is the Lord in the church"; "my church is having her annual harvest and I must be there," and similar ones. These indicate their sense of involvement and commitment to their worshiping community.

This ecclesial solidarity is now influencing the moral life of people in the society, since they believe that their actions or inactions will be attributed to their churches. There is a kind of spontaneous desire for an adequate ethical life, in order to meet up with the ethical standard of their churches among committed Christians. Achunike (2004) observed:

> Many are now being cautions(sic) about their life style because they are aware that they are being watched. A priest is not going to cover his character with cassock or an establishment coat. People are demanding to know how their priests or pastors are living. (p.64)

This demands holiness and proper moral life, both from the sanctuary and the pew. The Pentecostals teaching of born-again has much impact on the mainline churches, since every authentic Christian is expected to live a new life in Christ and to be guided by the Spirit. Since there is no church that is contrary to holiness and righteousness of her members, many are compelled by their ecclesial consciousness to demonstrate an acceptable Christian moral standard in their public life, at least so that they do not tarnish the image of their church.

5.4.7.10 Church Support (tithing)

The Pentecostal churches are often indigenous congregations and as such there are no "mother churches" or "funding agencies" for their financing and sustenance. The support of the church rests solely on the local members. Adelakun (1997) observed that the commonly adopted mean of supporting the church is tithing. The biblical practice of tithing is generally accepted by members, even when it is very demanding on the individuals. This approach has proven to be useful and effective for the survival of Pentecostal churches in the country. Many Christians in the mainline churches are also realising the "spiritual usefulness" of tithing, and are therefore, paying their tithes to support their churches. Some bishops are devising tithing as a tactic, for calling the laity, to their responsibility of providing for the material needs of the Church. The response from the faithful of the mainline churches, who didn't consider tithing, as an essential part of religious practices, is very positive. Many are challenged by the Pentecostals to assign 10% of their monthly income, for the support of their churches, while they still continue with their voluntary donations and offering to God.

5.4.7.11 Devotional Practices

Pentecostalism is challenging some of the churches' traditional pious practices, which are ineffective for meeting the spiritual needs of today. Ebebe (2004) noted that members of the mainline churches are incorporating from the Pentecostals, new religious practices or devotions that seem to respond pragmatically to their religious and spiritual necessities. The general result is a kind of syncretistic devotions by many Christians, in their search for a devotion that "works." One of the religious practices in Pentecostalism that has come to stay is speaking in tongues. Even though some mainline Christians do not allow speaking in tongues in their public liturgy, it is becoming a common phenomenon in organised para-liturgical functions of various churches. There are priests and ministers who now openly encourage their members to pray in tongues even at liturgical celebrations. Some manifestations associated with the experience of the Spirit are now common among mainline

churches both at public and private levels. Ebebe (2004) also identified another Pentecostal practice that is incorporated by many mainline Christians as voluptuous praise. Priests and pastors now urge the faithful to praise the Lord, and dancing before the Lord is fast becoming a pious practice. A selective incorporation of the authentic African and universal Judeo-Christian values into private and liturgical life of the people through the influence of Pentecostalism and New Religious Movements are considered as a meaningful style of inculturation.

5.4.7.12 Aesthetic of Religious Ambience

In the words of Achunike (2004); "Pentecostals have a very high sense of aesthetic. This is evidenced in the architectural beauty of their churches and their interior decorations" (p.106).

Pentecostalism has succeeded tremendously in influencing the aesthetic set-up of the mainline churches in Nigeria. One cannot but admire the beauty around the "sanctuary" of the Pentecostal churches, which very often meets the state-of-art. Even personal dressing codes or habit of many Pentecostal pastors will not leave much to be desired from a gentleman. Therefore both the church set-up and the person of the pastors are influencing the mainline churches positively. Many Christians now pay attention to the beautification of their churches, and many priests and ministers in the mainline churches now pay more attention to their public decorum and posture.

Looking at the above influences of Pentecostalism on mainline churches, it is obvious that Pentecostalism is a force to reckon with in the contemporary Christianity. It has created permanent impact on the churches, and the Christian faith and practice is no longer the same at the boom of Pentecostalism. It needs an honest and prayerful disposition to assess whether Pentecostalism is a blessing to the Church, waking the Church from her ivory tower and imperial romance to the reality of her mission as a spiritual entity, whose sole purpose and

aim is to proclaim and continue the mission of Jesus Christ of Nazareth in season and out of season in the world.

5.5   Pentecostalism and Socio-Economic and Socio-Political Change in Igbo Society

The Igbo economic ordeals which the war triggered within and after the wars years coincided with the period of rapid evangelization of Igbo society by various Pentecostal groups. The period brought with it unemployment, soaring prices of goods and services, fraught infrastructure, wage freezes and inflation that followed the drop in international oil prices brought more austerity and hardship to all groups of people in Nigeria. The period also brought with it severe hardship and break down of relations at all levels as there was capital flight and the only group that have access to what could be called the good things of life were the few politicians. The overall effects are that the youth and the middle class citizens lost hope of the future as corruption occupied the centre stage of the socio-political and economic scene of the society. It was a pastor of one of the Born-Again-communities, Pastor Michael Marshall (1990) that gave an apt description of the scenario thus:

> Fear and lack of confidence in the future are becoming the common currency of the day. Job seekers have no future to look up to, at least not from the system. We no longer trust anything or anyone. Those we have trusted have mortgaged us and held us to ransom for foreign loans, which we did not benefit from. Everything-absolutely everything-is on the verge of collapse. What more is still promising? What is it that is not declining? Is it education, health, agriculture, industry, politics, religion, marriage, or the family? No jobs, no money, no food, no clothing, no personal dignity. Any hope for tomorrow? (p.22).

With the situation on ground, religion becomes the only escape route that may offer hope, even if illusionary, to the hopeless generation. Therefore, on the individual level, more especially among the young people, it became in vogue to turn to the church, specially the

Born-Again Community type, since the historic church seem to be an accomplice with the socio-political system that has defrauded the people. Thus turning to the new wave of Christianity offers courage and provides strength to face the odious storm of economic hardship. Here Marshall (1993) reiterated:

> Spiritually a new life in Christ offers strength and purpose in the face of difficulties. It provides for the individual a coherent and ordered moral universe which makes sense of the chaotic and seeming arbitrary nature of quotidian struggle and emphases the possibility of overcoming them. (p.25).

Okoro and Osunwoke (2014) observed also that the new religious and spiritual connection also offered the individual an entrance into a new community of caring brothers and sisters and comrades, which had already been broken down in the secular and civil community. This new community transcends the ordinary ethnical and biological relationship, to an eternal relationship whose head is God himself and Jesus Christ as a co-heir with all who enter into the family. The community therefore having been defined beyond the geo-political and socio-economic interest, offers both moral and economic practical support to the members in times of needs. Notably, the relatively egalitarian nature of this new wave of Christianity offers the youth the rare opportunity to mount to leadership rostrum, which both the mainline churches and the civil society deny them. This new position offers hope as it teased and test the ability of the young people in spiritual, material and human management. The new African independent churches adopted also African traditional humane and community living philosophy, as it lends institutional support both formally and informally in the areas of health care, family matters and stepping into the areas the government has side-stepped or avidly neglected.

Okoro (2011) observed also another benefit the African Independent churches offer to the members as its treatment of cosmic and evil forces and spiritual oppressions. African Independent churches with their emphases on the spiritual forces underlying every event and

activities of human being in the world finds strong metaphor in traditional cosmologies. Here the belief that behind every event especially every misfortune, there is malevolent spirit responsible for it is one of the most commonplace belief of Africans, therefore, the new wave of African Christianity of all strands cashed on this ideology to offer the people a soothing explanation and solution. Thus with the economic down turn, these evil and cosmic forces are considered to be in abundance, stealing wages, causing ill health, accidents, barrenness, job-loss, and myriads of other social problems.

Witchcraft and wizardry become a commonplace suspicion in the events of economic collapse, therefore, rather than taking a romantic approach to these as found in the mainline churches, these new waves of African Christianity match the forces headlong with velocity, fire and brimstone. Marshall (1990) noted that the new waves Churches proclaim both in theology and practice that the power in the name of Jesus is the only power that can overcome all the forces of this life. It is therefore a truism that religion becomes the last and the only solution and solace for humanity in crisis situations. It offers the people a hope in a hopeless situations and the courage to face all the uncanny challenges of life.

Thus in the idea of Karl Marx, social crisis gives credence to religion and Marx Webber ideality comes to bear in Igbo situation with proliferation of churches, that religion is a means of social revolt and protest against the status-quo or the unjust social system. However, many scholars in the field of sociology, psychology and even religion have argued that the solution offered by religion are illusionary and diversionary as it encourages the people to ignore the root cause of their problems, which may range from economic crisis, government malfeasance and neglect. In an attempt to respond to this stern criticism of religion, Marshall (1993) averred:

> It is not inconsistent to believe that the government is responsible for the social ills, while at the same time laying the blame for daily problems at the door of Satan. In fact, certain government practices are implicitly understood as satanic. What is more

to the point is that people embrace that which offers both conceptual reorganization of a chaotic moral field, as well as practical solutions. (p.27).

Notably, Christian religion even if it does not address the real socio-political roots of an existential needs, has not only acted in history as succour providing apparatus to dissipating situations but has also acted as socio-political catalyst motivating both the individual and the group to confront their needs with confidence. Therefore, to hinge the social ill on the government for the non-religious and unbeliever is an ideal but to the religionist [Christian] it is a defeatist resignation to fate. The government on its own is also an abstract entity and as such is not readily accessible and thus as remote as the devil itself to the individual or the group in need. Therefore, Okoro (2011) posited that, "Instead of waiting or blaming the government or international financial system for one's daily problems, one takes what religion offers even if it is illusionary to get immediate psychological succour" (p.342).

Marshall (1993) caps the ideality in the following words, "Deliverance service may not prevent problems or misfortune in the future or even solve present ones but they return agency to the individual through his active participation, empowering him in very discouraging circumstances" (p.28).

Notably, the church has articulated and reconstructed disintegrating social and economic relationship in the society, such as the breakdown of many patron-client networks, the failure of the state to provide welfare and the weakening of the role of extended family. This new wave of Christianity has been able to create a powerful sense of community, which is lacking in the modern individualistic society. Thus, the mass of the believers see themselves as part of the unique family, belonging to an international movement, whose identity and interest must be seriously guided and promoted. This is evidenced in the emergence of the Pentecostal Fellowship of Nigeria (PFN) as the national parasol for the entire Born-again group. This association is becoming a powerful pressure group not only in

Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) but also in Nigeria politics. The formation and activities of PFN is a milestone in the attempt to institutionalize the sense of community within this new wave of Christianity in Nigeria.

Often financial interest is the operative factor moving men of God and church and ministry founders to beginning a ministry or church and often to secede from the older churches. They claim that they were called by God and moved by the power of the Holy Spirit to plant new churches. Meanwhile, before the war and during the period of oil boom in 70s in Nigeria, hardly did any young man opt to become a pastor of any church except those called genuinely by God to serve him. Parents even objected to their children going to be trained to become pastors. They equated church work with poverty. Furthermore, Agha (2013) summated:

> The long period of military rule during and after the civil war in Nigeria (1966-1996) ushered in unemployment in Nigeria and this in turn brought about poverty and untold hardship and misery on both old and young. Unemployment with its attended evils has affected the socio- economic, socio-political and socio-moral spectrum of the Nigerian society. It has contributed to too many people becoming perpetual armed robbers and kidnappers. Today everyone wants to be a politician in order to make fast money instead of serving humanity. Unemployment in Nigeria has become the bane of the society. It is therefore one of the causes of proliferation of churches in Nigeria. (p.160).

Some independent churches were established because the founders saw it as means of earning regular income in the face of hardship and unemployment. They regard the church as an industry that yields money, consequently, they continue to build more churches because the more the churches, the more money they make. The emphasis on prosperity has brought about the increasing and unprecedented commercialization of religion. It has become an avenue for some so called clergy and religious impostors to make fast money. Iheanacho and

Ughaerumba (2016) lamented that, "Some commercially minded people have been hiding under Christian garment to play on people's superstition and human sorrow by establishing run-away proliferation of churches all over the country, particularly in the thickly populated areas" (p.291).

Agha (2013) enunciated further:

> It has been claimed that some of these founders of churches do so as compensation for their failure to attain political and economic recognition in the area of government patronage and appointments. They believe that by founding a church, they in turn have attained self-fulfilment, more so, as they subsequently enjoy government recognition and respect as successful pastors. (p. 187).

The reasons for the proliferation of churches in modern Nigeria can hardly be exhaustive as long as unemployment, hardship, embezzlement of public-funds and poverty. are still on the increase. So far, one can ascertain that socio-political and economic challenges have aided the rise and spread of independent churches in Nigeria. However, Marshall (1993) posited that amidst the seeming negative appellations attached Pentecostalism still justifies the positive impact of the faith to the society as so enunciated thus:

> There is strong element of truth in all the criticisms…However, embracing some sort of 'manipulation' thesis in describing the rise of these churches does not explain why people continue to flock to them and give their money willingly. It is simplistic, as well as patronizing, to assume such an approach would imply that people are simply duped by clever and unscrupulous men. Clearly, people are making decisions to covert based on a real awareness of their needs and interests and feel that conversion serves them. (p.30).

The multiple Pentecostal churches that dotted the scenario have in no small measure assisted the people in coping with the freezing socio-economic situation of the 20th and 21st

century. Many of these Pentecostal churches provided economic opportunities, gainful employment and other socio-economic and socio-political discussed in chapter three under the effects of missionary enterprises in Igboland in particular and Nigeria in general.

5.6 Impact of Nigeria-Biafra War on Pentecostal Growth in Igboland

5.6.1 Religious Effects

It is believed that the growth was first and foremost the work of the Holy Spirit. According to Stott (1992), Luke makes it plain in the book of Acks that the impetus for mission comes from the Holy Spirit. Boer (1961) agreed with Stott as he said:

> The Act is governed by one dominant, overriding and all controlling motif. The motif is the expansion of the faith through the missionary witness in the power of the Spirit. Restlessly the Holy Spirit drives the church to witness, and continually churches rise out of the witness. (p.161).

But the growth is also a response to local contingencies which the war crises gave privilege to. The growth rested on a balance between supply and demand. The effects of the Nigerian-Biafran war created new religious demands as the revivals missionary impulse and formation of itinerant preachers out of the furnace of war gave rise to the growth.

5.5.2 Religious Situation During and Immediately after the war and the Growth of Pentecostalism in Igboland

The foundation for the 1970s Pentecostal movements and the "born again" (spiritual rebirth) phenomenon that swept through Nigeria was laid during the civil war (1967-1970). Politically, Christians in Eastern Nigeria were upset because of the support that the Federal Government received from traditional Christian European countries (especially Britain) against the secessionists. Kalu (2003) noted that anti-western type of Christianity began to develop and local people began to visit new prayer houses that emerged during the civil war to seek solutions for the social and economic conditions caused by the conflict. Thus, new

prayer houses were established in the rural areas in Eastern Nigeria to carter for refugees fleeing the war.

When the civil war was ended in 1970, there was tremendous growth in evangelical movements and prayer groups supported by students throughout Eastern Nigeria. Kalu (1996) maintained that the rise of Pentecostal Movement in Igboland should be seen against the backdrop of the aftermath of the Nigerian-Biafran War. As the people faced the situation of insecurity, sickness and poverty that resulted from the war, I. Okafor (personal communication January 1, 2017) maintained that there was the tendency to search for solutions to the situation. It was soon discovered that spirituality could be a solution to virtually all problems of life, hence the proliferation of Pentecostal Movements which sprang out mostly from the orthodox churches. Coincidentally, this period also marked the advent of Scripture Union as a ministry in Igboland.

Interestingly, amidst the hardship of the civil war, an evangelical revival ensued among certain educated young people who were connected to the Scripture Union. Bolton (1992) noted that under its leader, Bill Roberts, a Briton, who stayed during the civil war, an inter-denominational community of young people gathered at the headquarters of Scripture Union, regularly throughout the war. Their activities of Bible study, prayer, discussion, and evangelism stimulated a long-lasting revival that continued into the 1970s. Burgess (2008) added that constant movement and evacuations during the Civil War facilitated a missionary impulse in the Scripture Union, hence the revival spread on a non-denominational basis to both rural and urban areas. The missionary impulse eventually created tensions within Scripture Union opined K. Nwankwo (personal communication April 24, 2017) as this emphasis had indirectly provided, to the youth, more space, freedom, and personal initiatives outside the central control of the organization. The ensuing tensions eventually contributed to the formation of autonomous Pentecostal fellowships and organizations in the 1970s. The revival message and its emphasis on personal conversion were evangelical, but the associated

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charismatic experiences eventually stimulated Pentecostal progeny. However, Burgess (2008) observed that:

> The revival largely flourished because it adapted successfully to new and challenging contexts of the disruption and social dislocation of the Civil War; conversely, "as a transnational organization, Scripture Union acted as a globalizing force" that strengthened the indigenous initiatives of the revival. (p.101).

The centrality of conversion and the idiom of the new birth, which the revival emphasized as an evangelical parlance, partly provided means for Igbo people of Eastern Nigeria, as a marginalized people, to resolve their collective identity crisis through their absorption into a dynamic missionary fellowship that exploited the disorder and disruption caused by the civil war to forge formidable new religious movements, where they became major participants and thereby received some kind of social relevance in the country. Secondly, the revival was a grassroots movement from below that eventually challenged the dominance of the mainline churches, mainly the Anglican and Roman Catholic churches. According to S. Abaribe (personal communication May 17, 2017), the emerging independent churches provided patronizing alternatives against the organizational inflexibility and unresponsive spirituality of the existing churches to cope with the stresses of the war. Lastly, the crisis of the Civil War and the attendant human suffering stimulated a quest for practical solutions thus making the problem-solving approach of the evangelical revival and the independent Pentecostal churches appealing during and immediately after the civil war. These Igbo neo-Pentecostal churches constituted an indigenous movement but soon proliferated in the early 1970s as every leader sought to assert his or her leadership within a very competitive space. It responded well to local concerns for healing, success, search for power to enhance life, and prophetic assurances of the future. By the late 1970s, it has become part of the global Charismatic movement when it was influenced by certain external forces.

5.6.3 Attitude to Igbo Religious Values and Practices

It is can be said that the Igbo people were more religious during the Nigeria-Biafra war. Buttressing the above point, a Biafran brigade commander Ochulor (cited in Amechi ,2013) said that the religiosity of the Igbo people led those who had deities to run for safety alongside their gods during the war. According to him, they kept the gods and made a shrine to it wherever they found as a settlement. These people were also sacrificing to such gods to see if it can bring back peace that will end the war or protect them in the midst of the turbulent situation. Amid the belief in deity which was prominent in the heart of the Igbo during the war, there was also belief in the supreme deity which the Igbo call *Chineke* (God the creator). They also believe that He existed from time immemorial; and is the author of all being both visible and invisible.

Jamike (1992) also stated that libations and sacrifices were made during the Nigeria–Biafra War. According to him, this was done to appease the gods. During the war, the belief in *Ndichie* (Ancestral cult) was climaxed. Ancestral cult was paramount in every traditional society. To them, death was not regarded as the end of man but as a transmigration of life. Therefore, the old people who left a positive land mark in the community before and during the war were divinized after their death.

In the words of Okeke (2000):

> Ancestors are also referred to as *ndi nwe ala* (owners of the land). The ancestors act as intermediaries between their living children and the deities. They help to protect their living descendants, intervene on their behalf. To ensure that no harm is done to them in times of difficulties or sickness: You hear an Igbo calling on their dead father and saying *Nna ayi Ekwela ka ihea mee* (our fathers do not allow this to happen). (p.17).

With this at the back of their mind, a lot of them in traditional religion were confident of a protection that can come from this ancestral cult. They were seen at times making libation on

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the grave of their dead one who they were able to bury. Similarly, the medicine men among them were also consulting the *agwu* deity in the discharge of their duty. *Agwu* deity is the patron divinity of dinners and medicine who seek to discover spirit and advice on spiritual matters. Every Traditional Medical practitioner in Igboland during the war has a shrine either at the back or front of the house where he is squatting. This was only possible to those that were not close to the war front. However, the expectations of the Igbo traditionalists were never fulfilled. Generally, it appeared that only the Christian religion through various agencies, strived to curtail the negative implications of the war, a situation that put the Igbo traditional religion at a huge disadvantage. Consequently, the overall attitude to Igbo religious values and practices witnessed a huge decline immediately after the war.

There were increased traditional religious activities during the war especially those aspects that emphasized control, divination, protection and magic. This was to solve the pressing problems and to ward off danger. But the war helped to desacralize Igbo traditional religion by first uprooting people from their local communities, loosening their ties with ancestors and shrines. Aniebo (1983) said that the war made people to take refuge in the dreaded evil forest reserved for deities, trampling upon the sacred objects which "kill ordinary people" and they did not die. In the aftermath of the war, Igbo people became disillusioned with the religious practices and values. There came a new desire for alternative religious affiliation.

5.6.4   Prayer Houses

Conceptually, Prayer Houses refers to a further wave of Pentecostal activity that began in the 1940s and consisted of smaller groups, often associated with charismatic figures possessing healing and visionary gifts, and bearing a close resemblance to the Garrick Braide movement in terms of their focus on 'prophetism,' symbolic ritual, and lack of formal global connections. Some were imported from Western or south-eastern Nigeria; others grew directly out of Igbo soil. Again there were elements of continuity and discontinuity with

previous movements, and influences from local and global forces. For instance, Bolton (1992) observed that majority arose during the 1940s were related in some way to the Apostolic Church movement. They lacked any formal Western links, these groups generally took on more local colour in their quest to relate their indigenous heritage to the symbols and message of Christianity. They were important here because many civil war revivalists and neo-Pentecostals patronised them during the 1960s, when dual allegiance to mission church and prayer house was relatively common.

In contrast to Western and south-eastern Nigeria, prayer houses were of relatively minor importance in Igboland prior to the 1960s and the civil war. Enang (1979) partly attributed this to the tendency of the Mission church members to disparage them, regarding them as superstitious and unsophisticated, especially those imported from Western Nigeria. This is reflected in the Igbo saying, *Ada eji anya di mma eje uka ekpere* (No sane or clear-minded person goes to prayer houses).Those who attended often acted surreptitiously, hiding their white garments until they had arrived at the worship-ground due to Igbo loyalty to mission churches and the relative strength of Anglican and Roman Catholic churches. As Kalu (1996) noted that, many Igbo people believed that the church of the white missionaries was the 'real thing.' It was only when they had failed to meet consumer demands and nationalist fervour had removed the constraints to patronising alternatives that prayer houses flourished.

Kalu (1996) further noted that during the Biafra war, Prayer houses were among religious options available to those looking for protection and security. They had not been a significant presence before the war due to the strength of the mission churches. But the Biafra crisis exposed the frailties of mission church spirituality and the inflexibility of their organisational structures. In their quest for quick solutions to their problems, an increasing number of Igbo began to patronise prayer houses, often located near refugee and army camps. Onuigbo (1996) also observed that their popularity rested on their close affinity to Igbo

traditional piety, their pragmatic approach to religion, and their promises of protection and security. In the aftermath of the war, some prayer houses became a target of revivalist critique and evangelistic ventures, and consequently lost many of their members of the Biafran army, as well as refugees. Many former revivalists became members prior to their conversion to 'born-again' Christianity. These included Scripture Union leaders and neo-Pentecostal church pioneers.

The war exposed the frailties of the mission churches and the inflexibility of their organizational structures. People's quest for quick solutions to their problems made an increasing number to patronize prayer houses. A good number of people attended these prayer houses while they maintained the mission church affiliation during the war. These included some founders of Pentecostal Churches before they became born again. At the end of the war, some of these prayer houses were criticized and consequently, many members were lost to the membership of the new Pentecostal system.

As narrated by Murray (1985), the explorations on the River Niger (1830-1857) laid the foundations for the Christianisation of Igboland. During the 1857 expedition, the Anglican CMS opened the first permanent missionary base at Onitsha, North-Western Igboland, and until 1885, it remained the only missionary organisation active within Igboland. Brian (1990) added that the high imperial era (1880 to about 1920) saw a significant increase in European missionary recruitment due in part to the influence of evangelical revivalism and Keswick spirituality. Interdenominational rivalry was an important theme. Following the Berlin Conference (1884-85) and the subsequent scramble for Africa, missionary societies competed for territory. Isichei (1995) pointed out that from 1892 until their reunion in 1931, there were two Anglican bodies, the CMS and the Niger Delta Pastorate (NDP). The Niger Delta Pastorate flourished in southern Igboland. Meanwhile, in 1905 the CMS established a base in Owerri, Central Igboland, from where it spread rapidly.

Presbyterians opened their first Igbo station in 1888, and were largely responsible for the Christianisation of Cross River Igboland, the territory of the Eastern Igbo. Methodists entered Igboland in 1910, and established a chain of missions along the Port Harcourt to Enugu railway line, but their comparative failure to develop a 'native' agency hindered their progress. The first faith mission to enter Igboland was the Qua Iboe Mission, which established a station at Oloko, Southern Igboland in 1920. The French Holy Ghost Roman Catholic Missionary Society arrived in 1885, and opened a mission in Onitsha. Subsequently, Igboland became the centre of Catholic missionary activity in Nigeria. One legacy of interdenominational struggle for domination was religious disunity, which continued as a feature of the Christian landscape throughout the colonial period.

Ekechi (1972) acknowledged that a turning point in the evangelism occurred from 1906 with a mass movement to Christianity involving all the mission churches. The first 50 years of Christian mission in Igboland yielded about one thousand baptised Igbo converts, but by 1910, Christians in Eastern Nigeria outnumbered those of the west of the Niger. This rapid expansion, described by Ekechi (1972) as a 'religious revolution,' followed the British conquest of the Igbo interior. Missionaries were able to travel with relative security, and many Igbo communities were exposed to missionary influence. They saw the missions as allies against the violence of conquest, and interpreted their defeat, and the white man's relative prosperity, as evidence that their gods had failed and the new should be given a chance. A key factor was the close association between mission and education. The nineteenth century Igbo communities had shown little interest in Western education because it seemed to offer few opportunities. This changed when Western education offered an escape from the tyranny of the Warrant Chief and opened new employment opportunities. Education became the principal means of evangelisation, and different missions established schools in villages and towns in their efforts to expand. Okorocha (1992) argued that the quest for

education and the opportunities it offered in terms of enhanced status and prosperity was a search for salvation in terms of *ezi-ndu*.

None Roman Catholic mission cooperation had been neglected in Nigerian nationalist historiography, which has tended to focus on missionary rivalry. According to Ekechi (1972), despite disagreements, the missions formed a united front against Roman Catholics and established comity agreements, resulting in the partition of Eastern Nigeria into five Protestant denominational districts: CMS, NDP, Presbyterian, Qua Iboe Mission, and Methodist. While Roman Catholics refused to recognise these agreements, other missions continued to contest mission boundaries until 1932 when they became fixed. Anglicans occupied Northern, North-Western, North-Eastern, and Central Igboland, but were especially dominant in the urban areas of Onitsha and Owerri. Methodists occupied Southern Igboland, the Okigwe-Isuikwuato corner of Central Igboland, and established a strong base in Umuahia. Later, they moved into the North-Eastern culture area and the urban areas of Enugu and Abakaliki. Presbyterians were initially restricted to Cross River Igboland, but during the 1960s spread further a field. The Qua Iboe Mission continued to work mainly in the Aba area of Southern Igboland. Meanwhile, Roman Catholics established churches and schools throughout Igboland. Later, Africans disputed these boundaries, and during the remainder of the colonial era, none Roman Catholic denominations spread beyond the territory allotted to them. But for a long period, religious pluralism was mainly confined to urban areas.

Hastings (2000) noted that both Roman Catholic and none Roman Catholic missions in Africa experienced contrasting fortunes during the inter-war years. None Roman Catholic missionary dominance in Igboland was effectively reversed, as Roman Catholic missionaries moved increasingly into education and used the school as an instrument of evangelisation. For none Roman Catholic missions and the CMS in particular, there was a steady decline in missionary recruitment for economic and intellectual reasons. Financial trouble resulted in a drop in recruitment levels, except among conservative evangelicals. However, the main factor

was a theological shift from fundamentalism to liberalism, which shattered Western evangelical unity during the 1920s. This affected the CMS and the Student Christian Movement, and had repercussions in Nigeria. The formation of the Ruanda Mission in 1926 as an independent wing of the CMS meant that East Africa tended to attract conservative evangelical CMS recruits, and West Africa liberals. I return to this later when I consider the work of Scripture Union.

Hasting (1994) also added that during the 1950s, the 'paternalistic benevolence' of the inter-war years gradually gave way to a more self-critical awareness and recognition of the validity of African experience. This intellectual vitality was more apparent within none Roman Catholicism than Roman Catholicism, which would have to wait until the effects of the Second Vatican Council (1962-1965) had filtered down before any significant reform could take place. Mission churches continued to increase at a prodigious rate, and the quality of church institutions (schools and medical facilities) improved. Mainline churches in Nigeria obtained a degree of autonomy, and by the 1960s, they represented the dominant brand of Christianity in Igboland.

From the 1950s, however, there was also a growing conservative evangelical presence in Igboland. According to Fiedler (1994), the Sudan Interior Mission (SIM), part of the Faith Missions movement, was influenced by the North American Holiness movement through its founder Rowland Bingham. Bingham entered Nigeria in 1901, and established his first mission station at Patigi in 1902. Sudan Interior Mission's goal was to reach Muslims, and due to comity agreements agreed to concentrate on the Middle Belt and the North. Its early opposition to the 'school approach' to evangelism hindered its progress, but after it opened its first school in 1930 it expanded rapidly, and by 1940, had planted 62 mission stations. It was committed to indigenous church principles, and in 1954, its Nigerian churches became an autonomous body called the Evangelical Churches of West Africa (ECWA), with its headquarters in Jos.

Burgess (2004) observed that the spread of SIM and ECWA to Igboland occurred gradually through indigenous and missionary initiative. During the 1950s, Igbo people converted in the north through ECWA requested SIM to extend their work to the east. SIM responded by working through its media ministries (African Challenge magazine and Radio). In 1957, it appointed field representatives in Aba and Enugu, and during the 1960s opened bookshops in Enugu and Port Harcourt. Meanwhile, some Igbo ECWA members had returned to the east to engage in evangelistic activity and plant churches. During the 1966 pogroms in the north, many more Igbo people returned to the east, including ECWA pastors and members, and this added momentum to the work. By 1967, ECWA had planted a small number of ECWA churches in rural areas and major cities (such as Enugu, Umuahia, Aba, and Onitsha), which later attracted young people associated with Scripture Union (SU) and the Civil War Revival. ECWA's growing popularity in Igboland was partly a response to perceived nominalism and liberalism within the mainline churches.

As noted by Igwe (2000), interdenominational cooperation was a feature of the Protestant missionary movement in Igboland. The roots of the Nigerian church union movement, a major ecumenical initiative, go back to the early missionary enterprise in the east when mission field exigencies encouraged 'cooperation and comity' among different Protestant groups. They founded and shared a common goal which is the propagation of the gospel. The 1910 Edinburgh Conference was an early catalyst. A year later, an interdenominational conference in Calabar passed a resolution accepting the principle of organic unity. Though the initial impulse for unity came from missionaries, Africans later took up the vision. The influence of the World Council of Churches, the example of the South India scheme, the Lambeth Conference of 1958, the advent of political independence, and theological reflection on the nature of the church, all added impetus to the project.

Igwe (2000) also pointed out that the impulse for church union was stronger in the east than in Western Nigeria, and the 1947 Onitsha Conference involving Anglicans,

Presbyterians, Methodists, Qua Iboe Mission, and the Sudan United Mission (SUM) defined the contours of the proposed union. The Baptists and SIM refused to participate, and later SIM and SUM withdrew. Significantly, none of the churches that arose from indigenous initiatives were invited to participate. So negotiations continued between the three largest mission churches in Igboland (Anglican, Methodist, and Presbyterian). The new united church (set to be launched on 11th December 1965) would have been by far the largest Protestant church in black Africa, but at the last moment the scheme collapsed, not over doctrinal differences or the issue of episcopacy, but over property rights, personality clashes, inter-ethnic and interdenominational rivalries. However, deeper issues lay beneath the surface. Kalu (2008) referred to disagreements over what kind of united church was envisioned whether a truly indigenous church or one 'imprisoned within a foreign structure, and to an emphasis on organisational issues rather than mission and worship. For reunion to be successful, it must go hand in hand with renewal. Moreover, church unity need not necessarily involve organisational union. This will be important when the Civil War Revival is considered.

5.6.5 The war and Declining Influence of the Mission Churches as a catalyst to Pentecostalism in Igboland

Generally, mission Christianity recorded a considerable decline during the war. Burgess (2004) identified a number of factors that are responsible for this decline. First, many Igbo people found the brand of Christianity represented by the mainline churches lacked the power to help them cope with the stresses engendered by the war. In this they were influenced by their traditional religious heritage. The Igbo expect power to emanate from religious forms, and for Christianity to achieve what their primal religion was fulfilling for them. During the war, they looked for religious support to protect them from death, and render them successful in battle. When they did not find this in mainline churches, many

resorted to alternative means by appealing to traditional ritual agents or attending one of the prayer houses.

A second factor identified by Burgess (2004) was the departure of expatriate missionaries and the flight of local church clerics in the face of Nigeria's advancing army, which left congregations short of leaders. The rigidity of their hierarchical structures, and their dependence on ordained ministry, made it difficult for them to adapt to new situations. Many church activities declined, even though church meetings, albeit on a limited scale, continued in urban areas until overrun by federal troops. The conduct of the British government also caused some Igbo, influenced by socialist ideologies, to react against mission Christianity. From their perspective, so-called 'Christian Britain' supported genocide in Biafra, and they attacked the mission churches as 'agents of imperialism and bastions of neo-colonialism.

This negative attitude was reinforced by the relief operation, a responsibility shared by the mission churches. Unfortunately, the behaviour of some of their relief personnel exposed them to severe criticism. There were accusations of corruption and uneven distribution of supplies. At the end of the war many Igbo people felt disappointed in God and disillusioned with mission Christianity due to their defeat. In accordance with their traditional religious heritage, which associates divine blessing with social justice, most had believed the Biafran cause to be a just one. The Apostolic Church expressed disappointment over the Home Mission's apparent indifference to their plight, and suffered the effects of dislocation caused by the refugee problem. The Assemblies of God seemingly benefited as displaced members planted new churches in their villages. After the war, however, both experienced rapid growth as members became caught up in the revival.

5.6.6 Closure of Schools

Empirical evidence has shown that during civil conflict, the biggest casualties and victims are civilians rather than the actual combatants fighting. Children, teachers, and schools are often legitimate targets in armed conflicts. For example, Gould (2013) noted that the Nigeria-Biafra war destroyed the education systems' physical infrastructures that exited in the Eastern Region. Consequently, many children lacked a physical place to attend school. Several months after the war, majority of the schools still required physical restoration, which affected millions of children seeking education in the country. Gould (2013) observed also that the quality of education during war periods is often negatively affected, and many countries continue to combat the standards of teaching while trying to maintain student enrolment. During the Biafra war, the educators teaching within the Biafra areas had no fixed salary due to residual uprisings and government spending from the war.

According to Lai and Clayton (2007), teaching in countries where active conflict is occurring can be extremely difficult and discouraging for educators. Sustainable progress in education quality depends on making sure that schools have sufficient teachers and that teachers are properly trained and supported. However, during the Nigeria-Biafra war, teachers in Biafran schools have gone unsupported. Not only do many teachers lack a salary, the Biafran government was unable to provide incentives. These eventually led to the collapse of the Biafran educational system.

During the cultural conquest of Nigeria and the colonization of the people, education played the most significant role. Onyemelukwe-Waziri (2017), stated that the colonial powers recognized this fact from the beginning and made education a vital role in controlling the people and the environment thus creating a divergence among the different ethnic groups. Western education and Christianity quickly spread in the southern region of the country as opposed to the north, where the traditional Muslim leaders resisted the spread of Western education by Christian missionaries. In an attempt to control, reap economic benefits, and

"civilize" the various indigenous peoples of Nigeria, the British dismantled the native cultures by imposing their own practices and beliefs, while generalizing the native people who lived in the country as one.

Maier (2001) observed that due to the traditional nature and blatant opposition of the Hausas in the North, the British had to find another way to gain control in the region. During the colonization era, the British Empire enforced indirect rule – a seemingly one-sided "partnership" that made the natives feel that they were still in control over the politics in their land. Indirect rule allowed the traditional authorities, the sultan and the emirs, in the north to continue running things more or less, as they saw fit. In contrast, Maier (2001) pointed out that the Igbo and other small tribes in the south were a favourable ally for the British, as they were more open to submit to Western ideas and customs.

Naturally, the British's favouritism with the southerners created a rift with the northerners creating animosity where previously there was none. The British pitted Nigeria's various ethnic groups against one another with the amalgamation of the northern and southern parts of the territory in 1914. As the British asserted their Western beliefs onto the people, the country transformed from distinct ethnic groups with their own systems to "Nigerian" under the same group as a whole. Fisher (2012) argues that the British inappropriately promoted a Westminster style of government to a country that had such ethnic and cultural diversity and Europe's arbitrary post-colonial borders ultimately left the people, "clustered into one country that did not necessarily represent who they were." Essentially, the colonizers did not account for cultural differences, traditional governments, and political systems and expected the "Nigerian" people to replicate the colonial paradigm they had tried to implement in the country. While some ethnic groups were accepting of the British colonial ideas, others were not as welcoming to the new ideology.

Nevertheless, during the end of the 1960s, education in the South-eastern part of Nigeria was essentially at a standstill. As a result of the government policy to starve Biafran

through the land and sea blockade, many Biafran children affected, were unable to go to school. At the height of the war, Catholic missionaries that were in the country helped many people and used schools, churches, and their medical clinics as triage units for those that were suffering or dying. Thus, the schools were converted into refugee camps. An estimated two-million people (majority Biafran) were killed during the Biafran War. The majority of those killed in the war were women, children, and the elderly, who did not participate in the fighting at all.

It should be noted that a significant amount of teachers and educational administrators were killed during the war, which greatly impaired the country's educational system. Thus, it took several months for the education systems in Igboland to recover from the aftermaths of the bloody war. While conflict had many physical effects, it had also affected teachers from a psychological standpoint. The attacks teachers have experienced from Nigerian Air force and artillery had psychological effects that are overcome by grief at the loss or maiming of their colleagues and students or are distracted by threats to colleagues. Teachers have experienced issues such as post-traumatic stress disorder, which include symptoms of anxiety, depression, panic attacks, and even avoidant behaviours. This has made it difficult for many teachers to support their students or perform their job well for the communities.

Many young people began to congregate at Scripture Union headquarters in Umuahia, which had become the Capital of Biafra following the fall of Enugu. This congregation was due to the closure of educational institutions. They met for Bible study and prayer. At the end of the war, many of these students spread their missionary zeal thereby founding churches.

5.6.7   Establishment of Trinity College of Ministerial Arts

Before we look at the establishment of Trinity College of Ministerial Arts, it is very imperative to discuss the conceptual classification of theological education, which is the institution's speciality. Edgar (2012) classified different approaches to theological education

such as "Athens" (which stresses the role of the academy in transforming the life of the individual), "Berlin" (which represented a university model which focused on the need to educate competent professional to strengthen the life of the church), and "Geneva" (which represents an explicitly confessional seminary approach to training).

Kelsey (1993) examined theological education using a-historical typology referring to "Athens" and "Berlin" representing two very different approaches. He maintains the two normative types of theological education as it exists in North America. It moves around an axis comprising these two poles. By "Athens" he means that the goals and methods of theological education are derived from classical Greek philosophical educational methodology. He argues that the early church adopted and adapted this model whose primary goal is the transformation of the individual. It is all about character formation. It is not primarily about theology, that is, the formal study of the knowledge of God, but it is more about what Kelsey (1993) called theologia, that is, gaining the wisdom of God. The second role of Kelsey's typology is what he refers to as "Berlin". In his evaluation of it, Banks (1999) prefers to call it the 'vocational' model in contrast to the 'classical' model of Athens. Whereas the classical model is derived from antiquity, the Berlin model is derived from the enlightenment. Berlin represents this approach to education because the University of Berlin was deliberately founded as a new form of Research University as part of the Prussian reform of education undertaken along enlightenment lines. Banks (1999) added also "Jerusalem (a community based model which focuses on the need to train missioners to convert the world). Additionally, Nmah (2013) identified three methodological approaches to doing theology, namely the descriptive method which is technically referred to as the phenomenological method; the method of interpretation technically referred to as the principle of hermeneutic; and the method of application, that is, the method of applied or practical theology. A briefly discussion of the above methods of studying theology was made as follows:

5.6.7.1 The phenomenological method: This method seeks to provide a careful analytic description of the context of theology by letting man see the phenomenon by removing as far as possible, concealment, distortions and whatever else might prevent man from seeing the phenomenon as it actually gives itself. The merit of this method is that it promotes objectivity, clarity and precision in the task of theology.

5.6.7.2 The hermeneutic method: It seeks to provide deliberate and explicit principles of interpretation that would make revelation, tradition and scripture relevant and meaningful to each succeeding generation.

5.6.7.3 Applied theology: Theology needs to be applied within the context of a religious community, where it seeks to bring the faith to clear and coherent expression. Hitherto it becomes a mere academic enterprise that gives theory primacy over practice. Consequently, if it happens, this is to have a theology lacking in responsibility and authority, a theology that is a disinterested form of philosophy of religion; a theology that is mainly a cerebral activity, concerned to legitimize, expound and extrapolate certain kinds of proposition accepted as true; a theology that has no inbuilt concern to apply "truths" to various life-situations.

It may interest the reader if it added here that liberation theology leads to transformation of indigenous societies. African (Nigeria inclusive), Asian and Latin American theologians profess an over-riding concern for the application of theological truths to specific life situations. They seek to bring about justice and liberation for man from oppressive forces by a continuous inter-play between theory and practice. Nmah (2013) also added that Biblical theology deals with the process of the self-revelation of God as deposited in the Bible.

Macquarie (cited in Nma, 2013) divided the discipline of Christian theology into three categories namely systematic theology, symbolic theology and practical or applied theology

5.6.7.4 Systematic theology: This is that branch of theology that seeks to articulate all the constituent elements of theology in a coherent whole. It is a philosophical theology (or natural theology) that is descriptive rather than deductive. It performs the function of providing a link between secular thought and theology and investigates the conditions that make any theology possible.

5.6.7.5 Symbolic theology: This is the unfolding and interpretation of great symbols or images in which the revealed truths of faith are set forth such as the doctrine of the trinity, creation, the fall of man, incarnation, atonement, eschatology, and whatever else that belongs to the specific faith of the Christian church. This is, however, the core of the theology and it corresponds to what is usually referred to as dogmatic theology.

5.6.7.6 Applied or practical theology: This is the third component of theology and it is supremely concerned with the expression of faith in concrete existence, in institutional, cultic, and ethical aspects of the life of faith. It covers areas such as pastoral theology, homiletics, liturgies, Christian ethics and the like.

The exponential growth of Pentecostalism in Igboland and Nigeria triggered the establishment of several theological colleges. A very good example is the Trinity College of Ministerial Arts (TRICOMA)**.** According to its official website, TRICOMA is an interdenominational Christ-centred Bible College founded in 1979 by Dr. Mac. O. Nwulu of blessed memory nine years after the war. It was founded with the sole aim of training ministers, establishing Christian Schools and Evangelistic Campaigns. TRICOMA has graduated more than 3,500 students, many of which are holding responsible position all over the world. TRICOMA is accredited

by the international Accrediting Commission for Schools, Colleges and Theological Seminaries located in Bell-wood, IL, USA. It is also a corresponding member of the Accrediting Council for Theological Education in Africa. In 2001, TRICOMA became an affiliate campus of University of Calabar for Diploma in Religious Studies.

TRICOMA, born of the Spirit, is designed specially to enable the Holy Spirit unfold to students his rich treasures in God's word, guiding the students into living realities which are true doctrines. TRICOMA provides as conductive environment where the practical and the theoretical learning experiences are blended in such a way that students are involved in action while learning principles in the classroom.

TRICOMA was founded-on a three-fold purpose:-

To train Africans to reach Africans for Christ. In the course of the ministerial training experience, this purpose has been expanded to reaching the whole world. To date TRICOMA Alumni are found in active international and global evangelization.

To prepare and develop ministerial candidates in a greater personal relationship with Christ through the constant study of the Biblical and other spiritual and character moulding programmes of the college. Closely associated with this, is the equipping of the students with the necessary skills, knowledge, attitude and training that will enable them to become effective in transforming the society and meeting human needs through the ministry. To develop the member of the body of Christ in the local church for a greater ministry of service.

Consequently, TRICOMA can be said to offer Biblical theology, which is majorly concerned with the self-revelation process of God as depicted in the Bible. The institution practiced also applied or practical theology, which is majorly associated with the expression of faith in concrete existence, in institutional, cultic, and ethical aspects of the life of faith.

The formation of this school was as a result of the shortfall of European missionaries in the war thorn Igboland, and also the zeal by the natives to evangelize to their people by themselves in their own way. As a result of this, the college was established to train not just the Igbo but also Africans to evangelize to their people.

CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

6.1   Summary

The Nigerian Pentecostalism that emerged in the 1970s was characterized with the university-educated charismatic youth who began to create their own spaces for worship. The roots of Pentecostalism, notwithstanding, are in the African Initiated Churches (AICs). The emergence of Nigerian Pentecostalism, however, coincided with a period of immense post-independence instability, which was characterized by violence, political corruption, and rise of the military government. The Nigeria-Biafra war prepared the scenario of Pentecostal growth in Igboland. There were only a handful of Pentecostal churches in Igboland before the war. But immediately after the Nigeria-Biafra war, the number of Pentecostal churches in Igboland began to increase and blossomed.

This academic study successfully established a nexus between the war and the outbreak of Pentecostalism in Igboland. In other words, the Nigeria-Biafra war conditioned and brought about the growth of Pentecostal churches in Igboland between 1970 and 1995. As stipulated in this study, Pentecostalism is a major religious and social movement in Nigeria that is part of a growing world-wide movement. It is a diverse movement that has penetrated all areas of society such as education, business, health, social media, social development and even the highest levels of government in any country of the world. It is accepted that the Christian message can easily be made to conform to the cultural milieu and intellectual conviction of the people.

Additionally, the period before and immediately after the Nigeria-Biafra war was characterized by dissatisfaction among members of the missionary churches in the country. This general dissatisfaction opened door for new religious experiences among members of the mainline churches in particular and the general populace at large. The desire for a religious experience became a constant hazard in the country, compelling people to

constantly change their ecclesial affiliation based on their current and prevailing religious feelings.

The social deprivation theory as applied to Pentecostalism is eloquently supported by the growth of Pentecostalism in Igboland, immediately after the Biafra war. In this context, the fundamental factors for the spread of Pentecostalism are often identified in the 3-D (deprivation, disorganisation and defective) of the social deprivation theory. This theory specifies the positive impact of the Nigeria-Biafra war on the growth of Pentecostalism in Igboland, as the post-war Igbo society was not only deprived and disorganized, but also defective. Thus, the foundation for the 1970s Pentecostal movements and the "born again" (spiritual rebirth) phenomenon that swept through Igboland was laid during the war (1967-1970). This can be attributed to a number of reasons.

First and foremost, Christians in Eastern Nigeria were upset because of the support that the Federal Government received from traditional Christian European countries (especially Britain) against the secessionists. Secondly, the civil war period also marked the advent of Scripture Union as a ministry in Igboland. Amidst the hardship of the war, an evangelical revival ensued among certain educated young people who were connected to the Scripture Union, an international evangelical Bible reading ministry to young people. The constant movement and evacuations during the war facilitated a missionary impulse in the Scripture Union, hence the revival spread on a non-denominational basis to both rural and urban areas. Thirdly, the Nigeria-Biafra war exposed the frailties of mission church spirituality and the inflexibility of their organisational structures.

The mission Christianity generally recorded a considerable decline during the war. This decline is partly attributed to the fact that many Igbo people found the brand of Christianity represented by the mainline churches to lack the power to help them cope with the stresses engendered by the war. The mainline churches witnessed also the departure of

expatriate missionaries and the flight of local church clerics in the face of Nigeria's advancing army, which left congregations short of leaders. In their quest for quick solutions to their problems, an increasing number of Igbo people began to patronise prayer houses, often located near refugee and army camps. Through this way, the seed of Pentecostalism was sown in Igboland.

6.2   Conclusion

This study set out to tell the story of the Nigeria-Biafra War and Pentecostal boom in Igboland, a study in historiography. In doing so, it provided the first comprehensive account of the Pentecostal movement in Igboland and clarified the link between the Nigeria-Biafra war and the emergence and subsequent growth of the Pentecostalism in Igboland. While there is a growing literature on contemporary African neo-Pentecostalism, there are few local historical studies of its actual origins. Thus, this academic study has provided valuable insights into how people move from African mission into independent churches, and how actual secessions take place. Specifically, this study strived to explore and identify the reasons for the boom which blossomed immediately after the Nigeria-Biafra war. It examined the contributions of the Nigerian-Biafran war to the boom of the Pentecostal Churches in Igboland from 1970-1995.

The search for answers to the above stated research objectives led to a consideration of the religious and socio-political background to the revival and its neo-Pentecostal progeny. The combined legacies of colonialism and missionary endeavour created a favourable environment for religious innovation and initiative. In chapter five, the discussion on the Nigeria-Biafra War (1967-1970) and the rise of Pentecostalism in Igboland indicated that Christian conversion has both social and religious causes, but is best understood as a religious encounter, with sociological factors as catalysts. Igbo converts appropriated the gospel via existing religious categories, an examination of inherited beliefs was important. Thus, the traditional search for power to enhance life (*ezi-ndu*) is the key to determining the shape of

Igbo Christian conversion experiences. One reason for the War Revival's success was the importance of existing Christian options to fulfil local aspirations.

During the colonial era, mission Christianity, influenced by Enlightenment thinking, precipitated a crisis of identity and left a legacy of 'two faiths in one mind' that encouraged dual allegiance to church and traditional cult, as local Christians searched for power to solve pressing problems. This identity crisis was exacerbated by the reluctance of mission churches to relinquish control and cultivate indigenous church communities. To some extent, the various local Christian initiatives and innovations that burst upon the scene from 1914 alleviated these dilemmas by mobilising neglected forces and responding more effectively to consumer demands. But as their charismatic impulses subsided, they either lost their radical edge and became vulnerable to bureaucratisation, or developed hybrid forms of spirituality that bore little resemblance to biblical Christianity. By the 1960s, neither the mission related Pentecostal churches nor the prayer houses posed a significant threat to the hegemony of mainline mission churches. Nonetheless, they were important because they introduced many revivalists to Pentecostal spirituality and injected a Pentecostal flavour into the fledgling movement.

This study confirmed previous research, which suggested that periods of socio-political distress can act as catalysts for religious change. The author argues that the legacies of colonialism, decolonisation, war, and subsequent political instability and economic decline, created a series of crises comparable in their impact to the colonial conquest, and contributed to the appeal of the War Revival and its Pentecostal progeny. The combination of global flows through Western education and missionary endeavours, and rural-urban migration, loosened ties with traditional control structures and increased the level of individual autonomy and choice. Decolonisation was accompanied by rapid social change as Nigeria became a large-scale nation state, but initial optimism gave way to disappointment

due to pervasive corruption, political instability, and the growth of regional and ethnic antagonisms, exacerbated by the colonial construction of artificial boundaries.

It was the catastrophic consequences of the war in particular, which facilitated the growth of the revival and the emergence of Pentecostalism. Igbo neo-Pentecostal faith was forged in the furnace of the Nigeria-Biafra war crisis. This research suggested that it was precisely because they bore the brunt of the suffering that Igbo response to the revival during the 1970s was so dramatic compared to their counterpart in the west. But the success of the revival and its neo-Pentecostal progeny rested on a balance between supply and demand. The findings of this study are consistent with those who insist that the supply side of revivals and Pentecostal movements is crucial to their success. The war effects not only created new religious demands, it contributed to the formation of a dynamic missionary fellowship, able to exploit the disorder, dislocation and disruption of Igbo society. This missionary impulse, forged in the furnace of the Nigeria-Biafra war and the Scripture Union fellowship groups, and shaped by local demands and global flows, which was principally responsible for the revival success.

Membership of this dynamic egalitarian missionary fellowship, with its strong Christological, pneumatological, and eschatological focus, provided a means for Igbo to reconstruct individual and collective identities, shattered by the civil war. These identities were reinforced by the erection of moral and symbolic boundaries (separating insiders from outsiders), participation in communal activities, and the creation of local theologies. Because so much depended upon the activities of itinerant preachers, this study also explores the issue of religious motivation. The revival generated an 'actual life' theology, which evolved through interaction with local contexts and global flows, and reflection upon the Bible and Christian tradition. This provided the ideological basis for revivalist activity, and awakened a 'passion for the kingdom' that propelled those touched by the 'spirit' into the margins of society.

The revival presented Igbo society with a moral challenge at a time when existing social controls were breaking down due to modernisation, increasing urban migration, and the war effects. At the heart of its message was the idiom of new birth, linked to a call to radical repentance, rejection of traditional religious practices, and a promise of power for ethical renewal in the light of Christ's imminent return. This captured the imagination of Igbo revivalists and became a potent symbol for identity construction. It resonated also with local aspirations and the quest for power to enhance life, which in traditional discourse was linked to moral probity. The social implications and consequences of the revival were again associated with its missionary impulse. Mutual membership of a dynamic missionary fellowship, intent on evangelising local communities, eroded denominational and ethnic barriers, and challenged gerontocratic, gender, and colour boundaries. These findings concur with, though this study places more weight on the Pentecostal missionary orientation as a major catalyst for moral and social transformation.

The origin of Igbo initiated Pentecostalism out of the womb of the War Revival is also closely linked to the revival missionary impulse and the influence of Scripture Union. Despite its ecumenical and evangelical ideals, the Scripture Union set in motion certain trends that hastened the fragmentation of the movement. By opening up space for young people to assume leadership roles, acquire ministerial skills, and engage in aggressive evangelistic ventures, Scripture Union sowed seeds of dissent within gerontocratic and male-dominated structures of society, as members responded to modernity's call to make a clean break from the past. Born-again conversion and Holy Spirit baptism supplied revivalists with tools to challenge gerontocracy, and reposition themselves with respect to existing religious and social relations.

This challenge, however, proceeded from the revival missionary impulse, rather than a desire to break free from the control of elder males or construct identities modelled on the autonomous secular subject of modernity. While born-again are freed from the constraints of

traditional commensality, they are bound to a higher authority and accountable to a new community. As the Scripture Union fellowship became the source of spiritual sustenance for a growing number of young people, links with existing denominations became increasingly fragile, facilitating the emergence of Pentecostal Churches. These developments had socio-political implications. Early texts suggest that revivalist spirituality during the civil war contained the seeds of a socio-political theology that included prayer, political activism and humanitarian concern.

During the 1970s, a preoccupation with evangelism, strong Adventist beliefs, a focus on the personal, rather than structural effects of sin, a suspicion of political involvement, and participants' location on the fringes of society, prevented the revival socio-political potential from being fully realised. In the 1980s, despite a decline in Adventist beliefs, and increasing influence due to numerical expansion and social mobility, the combined effects of prosperity teaching, deliverance theology, and the movement's fragmentation, further militated against political activism and implementation of social welfare programmes. But by drawing attention to the logic behind the movement's preference for prayer as a socio-political tool, and the presence of strong currents of latent resistance, this thesis challenges those who regard African neo-Pentecostals as politically acquiescent. Moreover, since the 1980s, some Igbo neo-Pentecostal leaders have developed a socio-political theology, linked to a call to corporate repentance, social critique, and humanitarian engagement, which moves beyond prayer and deliverance.

6.3   Recommendations

There has been a recent appeal by scholars responding to criticisms of contemporary global Pentecostalism, for Pentecostals to look to their origins as a source for theological and spiritual renewal, and recognise its formative years as the heart of the movement, not just its infancy. Given changing contexts, history cannot supply exact models for emulation, but it can provide inspiration for re-visioning. Nigerian Pentecostals would benefit from reflecting

on their own roots in the War Revival, and regarding it as a potential resource for renewing the movement's distinctive identity and witness.

For this to occur, the movement needs to recover its early missionary passion, which propelled those touched by the Spirit into the margins of society (where they not only preached the gospel but engaged in acts of sacrificial service), and rediscover the radical potential of new birth and Holy Spirit baptism for ethical renewal, ecumenical initiative, and social transformation, which in revivalist discourse flowed from this missionary impulse. My research suggests that this is already happening as neo-Pentecostals engage with their communities at local and national levels.

In historical studies, this study contributes to the ongoing story of African Christian initiatives by reflecting on an encounter between a particular brand of Christianity and a local society undergoing severe economic and political distress, and the process of (re)-conversion that transpired. In the field of theology, it adds to the repertoire of local theologies emerging from the African continent and shows how they can provide an ideological basis for engagement with local social realities. In Pentecostals studies, it presents NPCs as evolving churches, standing in relationships of continuity and rupture with earlier Christian expressions, and negotiating modernity, with its associated economic and political pressures, through a process of re-envisioning.

Possible areas for further research include the repercussions of the revival on other Christian communities within both Nigeria and the Diaspora. As noted, many revivalists chose not to join NPCs, and have since attained positions of influence within NPCs have also challenged mainline churches into emulative action. Additional research on neo-Pentecostal political behaviour is also needed, both in terms of grassroots mobilisation and in terms of direct involvement in politics. Finally, more in-depth case studies of individual NPC denominations would help to evaluate the movement's interactions and intersections with

Nigeria's changing socio-political, economic, and religious realities. Nigerian mainline and mission related Pentecostal church ranks,10 or have chosen to take up permanent residence in Europe or North America.

6.4   Suggestions for Further Research

This academic study focused solely on the relationship between Nigerian-Biafran War and Pentecostal boom in Igboland. Based on the findings of this academic study, the author suggests that further study should concentrate on the impact of the Nigerian-Biafran war on Pentecostal boom across the country.

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TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

I, Very Rev. Dr. Patrick E. Nmah, the official supervisor of Rev. Egwuonwu, Onyeka John, with Registration No. 2014096002P. He is a Ph.D. candidate in the department of Religion and Human Relations. He is researching into: **NIGERIA-BIAFRA WAR AND PENTECOSTAL BOOM IN IGBOLAND, 1970-1995.** I implore you to assist him with vital information that will assist him in his research work.

Thanks for your cooperation.

Yours faithfully,

Very Rev. Dr. P.E. Nmah
Supervisor

APPENDIX II

INTERVIEW QUESTIONNAIRES

(1)   What gave rise to the Nigerian-Biafran War?

(2)   What was the state of Pentecostalism before and during the Nigerian-Biafran War?

(3)   What gave rise to Pentecostal boom in Igboland

(4)   Articulate the effects of the Nigerian-Biafran War?

(5)   Examine the relationship between the effects of the Nigerian-Biafran War and the Pentecostal boom?

(6)   Is historiography vital in studying Nigerian-Biafran War and Pentecostal boom in Igboland

(7)   What are the challenges of the historiographical study of the Nigerian-Biafran War and Pentecostal boom in Igboland 1970-1995

APPENDIX III

LIST OF INTERVIEWED PERSONS

S/N	NAME	AGE	DATE	LOCATION	OCCUPATION	STATE
1	Godson Ezenagu	55	09/01/2017	Mgbakwu	Former Minister of Agriculture/Business man	Anambra
2	Robert Eze	80	18/01/2017	Ukpo, Dunukofia	Traditional Ruler/Medical Doctor	"
3	Maxwell Anikwenwa	70	31/01/2017	Abagana	Clergyman (Rtd. Anglican Bishop)	"
4	Ugochukwu Mathias Nwafor	64	30/01/2017	Umunze, Orumba North	Business man	"
5	Ikechukwu Odolo	58	24/01/2017	Umuawulu	CEO, Sea Gate Hotel	"
6	Arthur Eze	62	18/01/2017	Ukpo, Dunukofia	Business man	"
7	Mmaduaburochukwu Okoye	56	16/01/2017	Nri	Farmer	"
8	Isaac Okafor	70	09/01/2017	Okpuno, Awka South	Retired Civil Servant	"
9	Christopher Oforah	60	12/01/2017	Araba-Awka	Civil Servant	"
10	Ifeanyi Oforah	65	10/01/2017	Umuonaga-Awka	Civil Servant	"
11	Hillary Edeoga Odo	57	25/02/2017	Eha Amafu, Isi-uzo	Professor of Plant Taxonomy	Enugu
12	Chima Centus Nweze	56	28/02/2017	Obolo, Udenu	Lawyer	"
13	John Nnia Nwodo	65	01/03/2017	Igboekiti, Enugu	Lawyer/Economist/ Politician	"
14	Emmanuel Ayim	70	08/03/2017	Nenwe, Aninri LGA	Architect	"
15	Paulinus Ugwuoke	57	13/03/2017	Nike	Business man	"
16	Ifeanyi Chime	64	14/03/2017	Nsukka	Lawyer	"
17	Livinus Nwokporo	58	13/03/2017	Abakpa	Business man	"
18	Vincent Nwobodo	56	14/03/2017	Nkanu East	Property Agent	"
19	Esther Anigbogu	60	14/03/2017	Abakpa, Nike	Journalist	"
20	Justice Nwali Sylvester	66	20/04/2017	Amofia-Ukwu	Lawyer	Ebonyi
21	Iduma Enwo Igariway	56	23/04/2017	Owutu, Edda	Politician	"
22	Sunday Oji Ogbuoji	63	23/04/2017	Afikpo	Business man/Politician	"

23	Kenneth Nwankwo Egwu	63	24/04/2017	Anyigba	Teacher	"
24	Michael Nnachi Okoro	77	23/04/2017	Ezza	Business man	"
25	Igwe Paulinus Nwagu	58	25/04/2017	Ezza	Lawyer/Politician	"
26	Godwin Chiledu	57	25/04/2017	Abakaliki	Farmer	"
27	Samson Nwagwu	58	24/04/2017	Ezza	Lawyer/Politician	"
28	Lazarus Nwenu Ogbee	56	26/04/2017	Ikwo/Ezza, Amuzu	Politician	"
29	Godson Ominyi	59	23/04/2017	Afikpo	Solicitor	"
30	Samuel C. Abaribe	62	17/05/2017	Isiala Ngwa	Politician	Abia
31	Alaoma Nathy Ejikeme	66	17/05/2017	Isiala Ngwa	Business man	"
32	Alezander Otti	55	17/05/2017	Ehinuguru, Isiala Ngwa	Banker	"
33	Sunday Samuel Anyanwu	59	17/05/2017	Osisioma-Aba	Business man	"
34	Ikechukwu Christian Ugwuoha	54	01/06/2017	Dokoro Umuahia	Business man	"
35	Chijioke Opara	65	06/06/2017	Afara Umuahia	Teacher	"
36	Simon Kalu	56	07/06/2017	Ogbo Hill Aba	Business man	"
37	Eunice Ifeoma Iheukwu	66	18/06/2017	Umuahia	Court Clerk	"
38	Philomina Onyeze	55	08/06/2017	Ukwa	Lawyer	"
39	Amadi Isiama	55	22/06/2017	Ngwa road Aba	Business man	"
40	Samuel Nwankwo Amala	57	23/06/2017	Umuagasi	Trader	"
41	Simeon Nwafor Abaribe	55	30/06/2017	Umudike Umuahia	Driver	"
42	Catherine Obianuju Acholonu	66	01/08/2017	Orlu	Writer/Former Lecturer	Imo
43	Chris Obiefuna Anyanwu	66	08/08/2017	Ahiara-Mbaise	Journalist	"
44	Dickson Iroegbu	59	14/08/2017	Mbano	Movie Director and Producer	"
45	Joseph E. Okonkwo	55	08/08/2017	Ahiazu Mbaise	Academic Lecture	"
46	Helen Ukpabio	63	24/08/2017	Mbente	Pastor/Minister	"
47	Adanna Osigwe	65	28/08/2017	Naze-Owerri	Business Woman	"
48	Peter Okorocha	68	28/08/2017	Orji-Uratta	Academic Head/Lecturer	"

49	Anthony Onwuka	61	06/09/2017	Oguta	Educator	"
50	Onyinye Ahamefuna	62	01/0/2017	Orlu	Political activist	"
51	Juliet Ohaneku	55	28/08/2017	Egbu-Owerri	Business woman	"