

THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF JUJU MUSIC: 1900-1990

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Abstract

The Europeans introduced various forms of Western music which intermingled with indigenous music resulting in neo-traditional and syncretic forms of music including popular music genres. Until the early 1980s, Nigerian popular music was largely neglected and many key areas such as its history remained unaddressed. Although the history of juju has received some attention, there is a growing need for various perspectives and the advantages that go with such to be investigated. This paper is a contribution in that direction. It examines the development of juju from its early beginnings in the early 1900s to when it ceased being a major popular music genre in 1990. Findings revealed that juju is indebted to several musical traditions: western folk songs, European sea shanties, church hymnody, soldiers' songs, minstrelsy and Yoruba traditional music. Through social intercourse, these traditions fused and produced juju. Until the early sixties its patronage was within Yoruba land but by the early 1960s it had made inroads into other parts of the country and so by 1970 it was a dominant popular music genre in Nigeria. It produced several hits and mega stars arising from the oil boom economy of the early 1970s before it was eclipsed by the rising wave of gospel music.

Introduction

The ascendancy of popular music amidst other music types from the late 1940s has resulted in its being the most patronised music type in Nigeria. Contrary to expectations that the types of music that receive scholarly attention is predicated on its social significance, popular music remains the least researched among the various types of Nigerian music. There is therefore a pressing need to research key areas, such as its history, to provide understanding of its evolution as basis for more in-depth studies. As music is 'humanly organised sound' (Blacking 1976: 10), a study of the origin and development of Juju should essentially be how its sonic configuration came to being. Arising from the preceding, this paper discusses the evolution of Juju music from when its prototypes were in the offing in the early 1900s to 1990 when it effectively ceased to be in vogue. The fact that Juju is syncretic of African and Western music is adequately explained by Merriam's (1955: 28) contiguity theory that it was employed as theoretical framework for the paper. However, the application of this framework was conditioned by Smith's (1962: 11) assertion that entertainment music is more amenable to change than music associated with social institutions. Primary data were obtained through: interviews of key players in the music industry and participant and non-participant observations of the phenomenon, participant observation wherein the researcher played with 'The Freshers Band' from February to November 1990. Secondary data were

obtained from books, journals, newspapers and magazines, commercial recordings.

As Lagos occupies a central place in the history of popular music in Nigeria, it is necessary to examine, cursorily, the social conditions that made it the hub of popular music in Nigeria. It is noteworthy that before the 18th century, Lagos was an inconsequential Island inhabited by Awori fishermen but with the advent of colonialism, its population increased tremendously that it became an important commercial centre and a haven for those fleeing persecution and injustice. Apart from internal migration, there were external migrants from Brazil, Cuba and other parts of the Caribbean, Sierra Leone, the Gold Coast, and the Gambia occasioned by the creation of British West Africa, as a result of which Lagos became cosmopolitan and a melting pot of several musical traditions/cultures. The British presence which ensured security of life and property made Lagos a haven for those fleeing persecution and other forms of human rights violation. With the intensification of legitimate trade, it became the export terminal for produce from its agriculturally productive hinterland that it developed a thriving economy that attracted those seeking prosperity that its population rose rapidly from 25,000 in 1866, to 85,000 in 1901 (Aderigbigbe, 1975; Echeruo, 1977; and Verger, 1976). Its multi-ethnic and multinational composition manifested in the cultivation, practice and patronage of various types of music and also made it a musically vibrant city where the seeking of musical entertainment was a life style. The intermingling of musical traditions that this engendered had, by the end of the 19th century, resulted in neo-traditional forms of entertainment music out from which Juju evolved.

Definition and Etymology

Juju has been described or defined as a 'commemorative and panegyric music' (Vidal, 1983: 2); 'a guitar-band music derived from the various palm-wine styles' (Collins, 1977: 54); 'a regional style of Nigerian urban popular music, developed by the Yoruba from Ghanaian-derived 'palm wine' styles popular in Lagos in the 1930s and 1940s' (Waterman, 1982: 59) to 'a local variant of the urban West African palm wine guitar tradition' (Waterman, 1990: 55). However it may be considered as a popular music genre of the Yoruba.

Commenting on etymology of the word, Collins (1992: 34) stated that it was 'coined by mandolin player Tunde King in the late 1930s while Vidal (1983: 2) opined that it stemmed from the corruption or mispronunciation of the French "Je Jeu" as "Juju". Aig-Imuokhuede (1975:213), however, noted that it was derived from the name of 'a single-membrane tambourine drum with a . . . frame of hexagonal design'. Furthermore, there is also the view that the term derives from the manner members of the Salvation Army played the tambourine which interested members of the public who often requested an encore with the Yoruba word 'ju' meaning 'throw it'. Contrary to uninformed opinion that connects the term with fetish, Aig-Imuokuide (1975) and Vidal (1983) stated that there is no such connection. Indeed, the words that refers to fetish is pronounced Ju (mid) ju (high) while the popular music genre is pronounced Ju (low) ju (mid).

Origin

Aig-Imuokhuede (1975: 213) opined that Juju originated from 'the minstrel tradition and perhaps derived from the need to entertain at drinking places.' Alaja-Browne (1985) traced its origin to Tunde King and a small group of friends who assembled in the evenings at Till Nelson 'Akamo' David's motor mechanic workshop¹⁵ for music making. However, he was quick to add that:

In its early years (c. 1929-33) it was not known as Juju music, but a kind of "native blues" which centred on reflective songs that are accompanied on the box guitar and struck idiophones, and which provided a means of self-expression and a basis for social interaction among a group of boys...in the area of Lagos known as Saro Town or Olowogbowo (Alaja-Browne, 1986: 1).

Palm wine music developed from 'an antecedent tradition of indigenous recreational music' (Omibiyi, 1981: 152) that was 'known as Abalabi [which is] a recreational type of music and dance similar to the Agbadza in Ghana and Togo (Vidal, 1977: 84). It is certain that Tunde King and his friend played palm wine music that was 'popular among guitarists in Lagos around 1925' (Azikiwe, 1970: 87). However, they transformed it by composing songs in Yoruba and grafting them to a largely strophic and call-response format, in a narrative song technique, spiced with proverbs, anecdotes from Yoruba culture and accompanying them with the mandolin, banjo, ukulele, guitar, sekere or a combination of them. Hitherto, palm wine songs were in Kru, Fante, and Ewe languages. Nonetheless, juju was not widely known in Lagos society despite the fact that Tunde King and his group made unsolicited appearances at social events. In fact, societal attitude during the period did not encourage the cultivation of music as a profession albeit popular music. As a low status profession even Tunde King practiced music a hobby alongside his full-time employment as a clerk in a mercantile company and wore a face cap to conceal his identity during performances. Commenting on the status of musicians in Lagos during the time, Ita (1984) noted that:

At that time music making in the country was part-time. In that era of Christian respectability it was unconceivable for mother's sons worthy of their families to be full-time musicians. The music-makers were professionals in other fields lawyers, clerks, teachers, etc. To this class Jazz was played with relish but not with flare (Ita, (1984:15).

In the 1940s Juju performances were held in private events and 'the celebration of the events of the life-circle such as marriage and death constituted occasions for inviting Juju musicians especially by the Yoruba Christian community in Lagos' (Vidal, 1983: 7) who were usually people of means. But the context limited the clientele and other benefits to the musicians so it was self evident that the Juju musicians needed to expand their clientele to enable them subsist by music. Thus, in addition to private events, they began playing for the general public, on radio, and made recordings and these assured them of regular income than the indeterminate

earnings from irregular and unpredictable private parties. The airing of his records on Radio Lagos in 1932, made his music widely known and thus began his rise to fame. According to Alaja-Browne (1986: 10) 'it was after 1933 that Juju attracted the attention of the influential and respected members of the Lagos community' who began inviting Tunde King and his group to perform:

During the late evenings in family compounds and drawing rooms, but never in the streets of Lagos and with "TK" as Tunde King was affectionately known, supplying the desired music (Ereefaaji ti o pari wo) while they (the hosts) enjoyed themselves with their women friends over the game of cards or billiards (Alaja-Browne, 1986: 12).

The state of the economy equally contributed to his emergence. For the group was in its formative years when the 1929 stock market collapse which resulted in the worldwide depression that affected the world economy and leading to the fall in the price of commodity products which was Nigeria's main foreign exchange earner. The depression, which ran up to 1933, led to decline in social celebrations that most popular musicians lost their livelihood. It was after the economy recovered that the elite were able to resume their social activities for which popular musicians such as Tunde King, were engaged.

However, it was the coincidental and unsolicited performance of Tunde King and his trio at the obsequies of Dr. Oguntola Odunmbaka Sapara (1861-1935), on June 5, 1935 that the music became popular and thereafter became known as Juju music. As Tunde King was indigenizing palm wine guitar music, there were other musicians who were playing a similar style. These included Irewolede Denge (Veteran palm wine guitarist), Ambrose Campbell (1919-2006), The Jolly Boys Orchestra led by Sunday Harbour Giant, Alabi Labilu, Ojo Babajide, J.O. Oyesiku and his Rainbow Quintet and Julius Araba. They and other Juju groups of the period, performed in hotels situated along the Marina, Lagos during the 1930s until the outbreak of World War II. They, in several ways, contributed to popularizing, spreading and sustaining Juju as a genre. Thus, the transformation of palm wine guitar music to Juju was not the exclusive effort of Tunde King but the collective efforts of several musicians many of whom are unknown and unsung. However, it was through Tunde King's ingenuity that the music flourished and became known as Juju.

The restrictions of World War II, especially the curfew imposed on Lagos during the time, affected the social life of the city and most Juju bands including Tunde King and his group. The Jolly Boys Orchestra, disbanded for lack of patronage thus, ended the first phase in the history of Juju.

Development

The development of Juju is presented in terms of the major factors that impinged on it and the changes that occurred in terms of instrumentation, themes, performance context and practice. After World War II, Juju spread outside Lagos but was patronized mostly in the Yoruba speaking areas of south-western Nigeria where most of the musicians were located. However, in 1959, following the competitions organized for Juju bands by the Western Nigeria Television which was won by I.K. Dairo, Juju became widely known across south-western Nigeria. Shortly thereafter, it evolved from a localized to a nationally recognized genre through I.K. Dairo's hit

records especially 'Salome' and 'Angelina'. He was the first Juju star and he was the dominant Juju musician from 1959 up to 1965.

The emergence and dominance of Juju on the Nigerian music scene occurred at an auspicious time and several factors are responsible. The mass exodus of people from the eastern region was the 'straw that broke the camels back'. As majority of highlife musicians in Lagos were from the eastern region, their departure created a vacuum in the Lagos music scene which was ably filled by Juju musicians (Ekwueme, 1983). However, Juju became a nationally recognized genre following the excess liquidity of the oil boom period, 1972 to 1977. During the period, Nigerians increasingly engaged bands, purchasing musical equipment and recordings that by 1972, Juju had become a widely known genre. It is noteworthy that Ebenezer Obey's 'Board Members' and Sunny Ade's 'Shehindemi', both hit records released in 1972, were also instrumental in the ascendancy of Juju to the national music scene. This benefited Juju musicians immensely that some outstanding ones, such as Ebenezer Obey and Sunday Ade, became and mega stars.

In the late 1980s, when Juju was in decline, Shina Peters recorded the very successful album, 'Ace', in which he fused an up-tempo Juju with elements of Fuji and afro beat into a style he christened "Afro-Juju". The success of 'Ace' was influenced by the highly sensual dance, Ijo Shina, which he created to accompany the album. While still in the euphoria of 'Ace' he released another equally successful album 'Shinamania'.

It is note worthy that Juju continued absorbing musical elements from indigenous and foreign music throughout its history. From Yoruba traditional music and culture it adopted 'the structuring of song melodies to conform to the patterns delineated by the speech tones of song texts (Euba, 1989:3) and the celebration of events of the life cycle. In respect of the latter Vidal noted that:

As commemorative music, Juju music, through its text, reflects an important events occurring in the lives of individuals and the community. The occasion of the death and burial of an important personality in a Yoruba community inspires a new Juju composition in which the Juju musicians captures the event of the day and record such in sound for posterity. This is hardly done without some delusions to the quality and virtues of the individual that is being remembered, hence, the "praise" or "Panegyric" elements, which always accompanies the "commemorative" element. The concept of commemoration and panegyricizing has its roots in the Yoruba cultural matrix and reflects the value system operating in any Yoruba community. The Yoruba people have a special penchant for celebrating or

commemorating important events of the life cycles, from birth and naming ceremonies through marriage in the praise institution known as Oriki (Vidal, 1983: 4).

From palm wine music it took the finger-plucking guitar playing style, from church music, it derived its strophic form and harmonic schemes. Juju is also indebted to minstrelsy tradition. Vidal explicates the place of minstrelsy in the origin of Juju when he stated that:

Minstrelsy is not new to Yoruba culture....The minstrel of the forties was usually a one-man vocal band such as the Kokoro and Denge band. The Kokoro band for example, makes use of the tambourine drum with vocaling. Kokoro, who was popularly known as the "blind minstrel", cultivated the habit of parading the streets of Lagos, singing ballades and songs in his powerful metallic voice and accompanying himself with his tambourine....Several of these one-man minstrels paraded the streets of Lagos in the forties (Vidal, 1983:3).

Juju also borrowed from Ashiko drumming. In its early years, Juju ensembles consisted of ukulele-banjo, guitar, tambourine, and a sekere. During the 1930s and 1940s, there emerged more innovative and daring musicians who began to expand the ensemble through the addition of more instruments. For example, Tunde King introduced sekere; Sumbo Jibowu the banjo after seeing with sailors on a ship, Kruman Sunday Harbour Giant, alias "Atari Ajanaku", introduced the samba (a framed drum), the melodica and the tambourine; Akanbi Wright incorporated gangan, the penny whistle, organ and mandolin (Alaja-Browne, 1985:19). In the 1950s, more instruments were incorporated into Juju ensembles but the most significant was the electric guitar by Ayinde Bakare in 1950. In 1957, I.K. Dairo introduced the harmonica, the accordion and varieties of traditional drums.

During the mid 1960s, Ebenezer Obey introduced the bass guitar, which he used as a low-pitched drum in generating rhythm while fluctuating between the tonic and the dominant tonal degrees in contrast with its conventional role as a harmonic bass. By the mid 1960s, it had been integrated into the Juju ensemble. However, it was in the late 1960s that Juju established a standard ensemble format consisting of lead guitar, rhythm guitar, bass guitar, gangan, conga, clave, sekere, and agogo.

In the early 1970s, there was further ensemble enlargement, as more instruments such as synthesizer, the steel guitar, vibraphone and a barrage of percussion instruments were incorporated. For example Sunny Ade incorporated the Congolese guitar technique into his brand of Juju music and in the 1980s, more electronic instruments were freely used and this contributed to making his music more acceptable to the youths. Sunny Ade's band, which consists of between twenty and thirty musicians, epitomized the peak of ensemble expansion in Juju. These adoptions were attempts to retain their fans who regarded such moves as innovations. The ensemble expansion also led to change in the sonic presentation of Juju from the eerie and hollow sound of the 1930s through the percussive Juju of the 1950s, to the multi-layered timbre of the 1980s. The changing tone

colour made Juju attractive and reflective of trends in preferred sonic palette during the period under consideration.

Performance context played an important role in the development of Juju. As was mentioned earlier, during the 1930s to the mid 1940s, Juju performances took place during celebrations of life-cycle events 'especially by the Yoruba Christian community in Lagos' (Vidal, 1983:7). This context, despite its elite disposition, limited the clientele and income of the musicians. It became self evident that the musicians needed to expand their performance context and financial base, if they were to subsist from music. Thus, Juju musicians expanded their performance context to the numerous pubs and hotels in Lagos during the 1940s (Ogisi, 2008). However, before the oil boom (1971-1976), Juju bands did not receive residency in nightclubs. With the establishment of Lagos Radio in 1932 and television in 1959, the performance context and clientele of Juju musicians were expanded. But when Juju came to national prominence in the 1970s, it attracted the attention of promoters who began organizing gigs, festivals and mega shows for Juju musicians and saw them playing in stadiums and parks for mixed audience. This further expanded the performance contexts of Juju and assured the musicians of regular income than the indeterminate earnings from irregular private parties of the earlier periods.

The performance practice constitutes an important aspect of the development of Juju that a brief comment is appropriate. It is noteworthy that during its early period, Juju musicians sat down while performing and are strategically positioned amidst the group and identified by his different and elaborate costume. He plays the lead instrument, in this case the guitar, and he is the lead singer. Although limiting their scope for performance, the sitting position enables them to perform for upwards of three hours uninterrupted. However, it made the musician to rely on their playing and singing skills than showmanship to entertain their audience. This appropriately explains the skilfulness of the Juju musicians of the up to the 1960s in contradistinction to those that emerged later who rely more on electronic devices and gimmicks.

The relationship between sound and movement was exploited by Juju musicians realizing that their fame partly depended on their ability to create dances to accompany record releases. Tunde Nightingale was one of the earliest Juju musicians to exploit this devise when he introduced sowambe rhythm and an accompanying dance into his style of Juju. The idea was quickly taken up by other Juju musicians and the use of other synonymous terms sprang up. For example, Ebenezer Obey christened his style Juju miliki after the hotel popularly known as "Miliki Spot" where his band was resident. Sunny Ade came up with 'Syncro System' representing the introduction of the Hawaiian steel guitar into his ensemble and which later evolved into 'Apala syncro', adawa system by Dele Abiodun, apola system by Idowu Animasaun, yankee system by Jide Ojo and others such as sabada system, kososi system, sedico system. While these terminologies may be regarded as public relations gimmicks to manipulate their fans, clients and the general public, they were also indicative of trends during the time. As dance music, performances of Juju music went on for a long time without interruption

so as to allow the audience ample opportunity to enjoy the music which made it necessary for songs to be linked in a medley or chain-song. According to Omojola this device created:

an atmosphere of continuous festivity and dance, Juju musicians often perform for hours, non-stop; as different people take their turns in the dance arena. This format of performance directly evokes Yoruba chain-song tradition. This format is also adumbrated in Juju recordings whereby a single track may last for about thirty minutes (Omojola (2006: 70)).

Within the chain-song, it also became necessary to demarcate songs by various means one of which was the 'harmonic procedure discernibly adopted from European music like the strong, some would argue overstrong, cadencing typically used to mark out the sections of a Juju song' (Collins and Richards, 1989:34). It was quickly adopted as stylistic device during the early periods when Tunde King used textual phrases as 'sito', or 'bonza pana daba ye' from the kru language to signal end of songs (Waterman, 1991). Before the 1950s, Juju musicians composed their interludes but by the 1970s copycatting became widespread. However, some musicians such as Ebenezer Obey and Sunny Ade developed stylized interlude phrases amidst pervading parody of hymn tunes, folk songs, Negro spirituals, and even the Nigerian National anthem.

In the early 1970s, Juju was in stiff competition with Afro-fusion genres such as afrock, afrobeat, afrofunk, and they responded by introducing attractive performance practices in order to retain their fans. These included standing to perform a change that allowed them to introduce showmanship such as spectacular dancing, and the use of show dancers including females into their stagecraft.

Developments in electronic technology that resulted in cordless microphones and guitars were, by the late 1980s, affecting Juju performance as they allowed the musicians to dispense with lead cables and mingle with their audience while performing. Apart from bridging the performer-audience divide, and strengthening the bond between them, it brought the musician within reach of 'spraying' by his audience. Thereafter, Juju musicians began employing elaborate lighting, costuming and choreography.

During the period under consideration, the themes of Juju songs were context and client dependent. From the early 1930s to the 1940s, the songs eulogized the sponsors and patrons who were mainly the elites of Lagos society. By the 1950s, there was a trend towards songs that commemorated remarkable events in Nigeria's history but when Juju moved from the context of private parties to hotels, nightclubs and dance halls in the mid 1950s, the emphasis became 'the praises and adoration of the rich, and powerful people in society, and passing social and philosophical comments on trends and events in society' (Vidal, 1983:15).

The rise of Pentecostal Christianity in the late 1980s affected the Nigerian music scene in various ways, but more remarkable was that Juju, an erstwhile secular genre, began to engage in overtly religious songs. For

example, Ebenezer Obey, the Juju superstar, became an evangelist and thereafter refrained from secular Juju.

The development of Juju was the efforts of several musicians many of whom are unsung while a few of them receive accolades. One of them is Tunde King, the quintessential Juju musician who dominated Juju music throughout the 1930s and imprinted his name on the annals of Nigerian popular music. In respect of his contributions, Idonije noted that:

He established a format for Juju music and established it as a social music form...By this feat, Tunde King inspired and influenced the first generation of Juju musicians including Irewolede Denge who walked the streets of Lagos, playing his guitar and singing at the same time, Akanbi Wright, Togo Lawson, Theophilus Iwalokun, Ayinde Bakare, Tunde Nightingale, among many others...[In] 1936, after the music had been christened Juju music, Tunde King recorded some songs for parlophone records on the EMI group - and became the first artiste to establish "Juju" music as a recorded work (Idonije, 19981).

Most importantly he 'fused these three imported styles (gombe, kokoma and ashiko) with traditional Yoruba praise music to create this style' (Collins 1977:54). His recordings, which were more than thirty (30) hit records, established Juju as a major genre in the Lagos music scene. Furthermore, he formalized functions within the Juju ensemble. For example, the leader composes the songs, plays the lead/master instrument (the guitar-banjo), sings the lead vocals during performances while other members of the ensemble play the instrumental accompaniment. This format has been retained by Juju musicians throughout its history. In the 1930s, there were other major juju musicians or groups including: Ambrose Oladipupo Adekoya Campbell (1919-2006), who made a name playing Juju locally in the 1930s but left Nigeria at the outbreak of World War II in 1939 and later formed the first Juju band by an African 'The West African Rhythm Brothers' in Britain; Akanbi Ege, Alabi Labilu and Ojo Babajide. The prominent Juju musicians and groups of the 1940s were the 'Jolly Orchestra', led by Sunday Harbour Giant popularly known as "Atari Ajanaku", Ayinde Bakare and his group. During the 1950s Tunde Nightingale (Tunde Thomas), Julius Araba, J.O. Oyesiku, and Ojoge Daniel (Daniel Ojoge Aleshinloye) were the stars. I.K. Dairo dominated the Juju scene until the mid 1960 when Ebenezer Obey and Sunny Ade emerged. Both of them remained the dominant Juju musicians throughout the 1970s and into the 1980s. During the late 1980s, Sina Peters became a major Juju musician until the end of the period under review.

By 1995, Juju was in decline following the emergence of gospel and other neo-traditional genres at the national level. This notwithstanding, it continued absorbing features from other genres such as gospel Juju, fuji and so on. Whether this trend will result in new genres is yet to be seen. However, going by recent trends, it is certain that Juju music will remain a major influence in Nigerian popular music for several years to come.

Conclusion

In discussing the social conditions from which Juju evolved, it was outlined that the cosmopolitan composition of Lagos from the mid 19th century, resulted in intermingling of several musical traditions out of which Juju evolved. Early Juju was performed at private events but by the late 1940s, it was being performed in hotels and night club for a fee paying audience. Themes of Juju songs were wide ranging but eulogies alongside social commentaries were abiding concerns. The transformation of Juju from a largely contemplative music to dance music gave ample opportunity for showmanship through dancing and stagecraft. Several juju musicians rose to stardom including Tunde King, quintessential Juju musician; Ayinde bakare, the master eulogist; I. K. Dairo, the neo-syncretiser; Ebenezer Obey, the melodist; Sunny Ade, the maestro and Sina Peters, master guitarist and exponent per excellent.

In recent time there has been decline in creativity and originality among Juju musicians as seen in the level of parody which is symptomatic of declining musicianship. This is a serious cause for concern. Rather than being second best, Nigerian popular musicians should be encouraged to derive their inspiration from traditional music and adapt foreign ideas to local musical sensibilities. In so doing, Nigerian popular music genres will not only be unique but will contribute to world music in a world that is increasingly being dominated by western musical thought and practice.

Notes

It states that the level of interchange of musical elements between cultures is dependent on the similarities of their musical elements.

A band based in Ibadan and led by Segun Ojo.

It had a united civil service with staff drawn from the four member countries viz Nigeria, the Gold Coast, Sierra Leone and the Gambia. In 1874 the Unified British West Africa was split and the colonies of Lagos and the Gold coast were placed under one administration with Accra as headquarters. This decision intensified migration, social intercourse between both countries as Accra was then the commercial and social 'capital' of West Africa.

They were a Christian denomination that arrived Lagos in 1920 that widely known because of the manner they employed music in their religious campaigns that they held in the island up to the late 1930s.

The recording that he made with Parlophone in 1926, and released in 1933.

They included such men as Messers E. Oladipo Moore, Peter Abisoye Wright, J. I. C. Taylor, Lawyer Odunsi, Agbabiaka (Assistant Superintendent of Police), Tesilinmi Fuja Raji Etti, Olaseinde Oshodi, Asogbon, the Ariyos, the Jobowus, J. K. Randle and M. S. Adewale (Vidal, 1983).

Generally, the history of juju could be discussed under the following phases. The first which is the early beginning, 1935 to 1945; the period of development, 1945 to 1971; and the period of vogue 1971 to 1980; and the period of decline, 1980 to 1995.

An arm of the Western Nigeria Broadcasting Corporation, WNBC.

Gourd rattle.

This is a phrase from the Yoruba anecdote 'Atari ajanaku kin se eru omode' meaning 'The occipus of an elephant is not a load fit for a child.'

The tambourine was not new to Lagos society. It was introduced by the Brazilian returnees in the mid 1880s. The Salvation Army, under the leadership of Rev. Southern, had arrived in Lagos in 1920 and was active from that time and throughout the 1930s and utilized music profusely in their evangelistic campaigns. They developed a unique technique of executing flourishes on the tambourine which caught the fancy of juju musicians and they incorporated it in their ensembles.

After it had been introduced into music making by Bobby Benson in 1948.

Ebenezer Obey played at Miliki Spot

A Nigeria term for the act of appreciating a performance by sticking currency on the forehead of a person.

He later expanded the ensemble to a quintet by adding the gangan.

He dominated juju music between 1940 and 1959.

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