

The Impact of the United Missionary Church of Africa in Kebbi South Senatorial District, Kebbi State, Nigeria.

By

ZAKA, Ahuche Peter

B.A REL. STUDIES (IB), BTh (UMCATC), M.A (Ilorin), PGDE (Sokoto)

(Matric No: 08/68CO015)

July 2018

The Impact of the United Missionary Church of Africa in Kebbi South Senatorial District, Kebbi State, Nigeria.

By

ZAKA, Ahuche Peter

B.A REL. STUDIES (IB), BTh (UMCATC), M.A (Ilorin), PGDE (SOKOTO

(Matric No: 08/68CO015)

A Ph.D Thesis Presented to the Department of Religions,
Faculty of Arts, University of Ilorin. In Partial Fulfillment of
the Requirements for the Award of Doctor of Philosophy in
Christian Studies.

July 2018

CERTIFICATION

This is to certify that this thesis, The Impact of the United Missionary Church of Africa in Kebbi South Senatorial District, Kebbi State, Nigeria. was written by ZAKA, Peter Ahuche with Matric No: 08/68CO015. It has been read and approved as meeting the requirements for the award of the degree in Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D.) in Christian Studies, Department of Religions, Faculty of Arts, University of Ilorin, Ilorin.

Name	Signature	Date
Prof (Mrs) Oyeronke Olademo Supervisor	_____	_____
Prof. R. W. Omotoye Head of Department	_____	_____
Dr. I. R. Adebayo Post Graduate Coordinator	_____	_____
Dr. J. O. Fayeye Internal Supervisor From Relevant Department	_____	_____

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to the loving memory of Revd. Ishaya Noma, former President of the United Missionary Church of Africa (UMCA), who slept in the Lord on 20/12/2014.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I remain eternally grateful to the Most High God for the grace and provision to complete this research. May all the glory, praises, thanks and adoration be ascribed to Him throughout all eternity. My mentor and incidentally my supervisor - Prof. (Mrs) Oyeronke Olademo, I thank God for bringing you my way. My thanks goes also to Rev. Prof. Samuel P. Ango, Prof. Rotimi W. Omotoye, who really encouraged me to continue my studies; and Dr. J. O. Fayeye who was my Internal Supervisor. Prof. P. O. Abioje, Prof. Y. A. Quadri, Prof. I. O. Oloyede, Prof. Y. O. Imam, Prof. H. A. Abdulsalam, Prof. Tersue Aben, Assc. Prof. Mark Hopkins, Dr. R. I. Adebayo, Dr. C. O. Ogunkunle, Dr. O. R. Ogunade, Dr. A. G. Alamu, Dr. P. U. Nwosu, Dr. A. I. Ali-Agan, Dr. (Mrs.) L. B. Akande, Dr. (Mrs.) A. O. Adeyeye, Dr. (Mrs. A. T. Dopamu, Dr. D. O. Ogunbiyi, Dr. P. U. Nwosu, Dr. A. D. Shitu, and all other lecturers that have contributed in one way or the other to my life and in this research work, I am grateful. I do appreciate the President of UMCA - Rev. Dr. Moses Tswana, all CDSs and other ACC chairmen, and all ministers/members of UMCA Birnin Kebbi District.

Mr. and Mrs. Benjamin Dikki, Gen. and Mrs. Ishaya Bama, Revd. Sunday Chini, Elder Filibus Zange and Mr. Anthony Mikah Audu (my co-labourers in this research), Yakubu Maikyau (SAN), Capt. And Mrs. Yakubu Sukam, Mark Dudu, Baba Bulus Doroh, and all those I interviewed and interacted with in the course of this research; your contributions to this success cannot be underestimated. The Church Committee/Board of Deacons and the entire members of United Missionary Church of Africa, Unity Church, Badariya, I remain grateful. To all and sundry whose name I cannot mention, it is not because you are neglected but, God who knows and keeps record of all our deeds will reward you openly in Jesus name. My dear and ever supporting wife Mrs. Ruth Olayemi Zaka and our blessed children – Godiya, Alheri, Lawrence and Favour, I do appreciate your patience and understanding while I carry out this research work.

ABSTRACT

The United Missionary Church of Africa (UMCA) was introduced to Kebbi South Senatorial District (KSSD) of Kebbi State in 1925. Though the Senatorial District is a predominantly Christian community, Islam, Christianity and African Traditional Religion are being practiced by different members of the same family without prejudice. Being the first Christian organization in the District, her impacts on the people of the area have not been properly documented. The aim of the study was to assess the activities of UMCA in KSSD from 1925 to 2017 and document some of her significant contributions in the socio-economic development and promotion of peace and harmony in the region. The objectives of the study are: (i) to give a concise history of UMCA as it relates to her role in establishing the Christian faith in KSSD; (ii) examine the contributions of UMCA to the socio-economic life of the people of KSSD; (iii) analyze the contributions and activities of the leaders of the denomination as it affects the growth of UMCA; (iv) examine the influence of other religions and other Christian denominations on the activities of UMCA in KSSD; and (v) access the challenges and prospects of UMCA as a denomination in KSSD.

Historical and Descriptive methods were adopted for the study. Historical method was used to dig into historical antecedence of UMCA and KSSD, while descriptive method assisted to give the description of various contributions of the UMCA to social changes in the area of study. Data were collected through interviews, observations and archival and library consultations.

The findings of the study were that:

- i. UMCA is the first Christian denomination in KSSD and it came through the United Missionary Society (UMS) from Salka;
- ii. UMCA played leading role in the socio-economic life of the people by establishing educational institutions, hospitals and introducing modern mechanized farming in KSSD;
- iii. Some leaders of the denomination are sustaining the legacies of the founding fathers, though denominational hierarchy and internal squabbles impeded its growth in some places;
- iv. Influx of religious fanaticism from some religious groups impacted negatively on the activities of UMCA in KSSD as this bred suspicion, intimidation and jealous in the area; and
- v. UMCA was affected by many challenges including lack of funds, ethnic crisis, media propaganda, religious bigotry, syncretism and leadership tussles.

The study concluded that the UMCA had contributed immensely to socio-economic life of in spite of numerous challenges facing it. The study therefore recommended that the UMCA denominational leaders should be more proactive for greater achievements by reaching out to donor agencies and solving the problem of leadership within members of UMCA. It should also explore the information and communication technologies (ICT) to harness her potentials; establish more schools, cybercafés, hospitals, and seek other viable sources of income.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AMRM	Annual Meetings of the Representatives of Missions in Northern Nigeria
BTBS	British Foreign Bible Society
CBM	Church of the Brethren Mission
COCIN	Church of Christ in Nations
CRC	Christian Reformed Church
CRCN	Christian Reformed Church of Nigeria
CUMP	Cambridge University Mission Party
EKAS	<i>Ekkliyyar Kristi A Sudan</i>
ERCC	Evangelical Reformed Church of Christ
EUB	Evangelical United Brethren
EYN	<i>Ekkliyyar Yanuwa a Nijeriya</i> , meaning Church of the Brethren in Nigeria.
IDPs	Internally Displaced Persons
KLP	Kambari Language Project
KSSD	Kebbi South Senatorial District
LCCN	Lutheran Church of Christ in Nigeria
M.B.I.C	Mennonite Brethren in Christ
NASR	Nigerian Association for the Study of Religions
NBER	National Bureau of Economic Research
SIM	Sudan Interior Mission
SMA	Society for African Missions
SUM	Sudan United Mission
TEKAS	<i>Tarrayar Ekklesiyoyin Kristi a Sudan</i> , meaning Fellowship of Christ Churches in the Sudan
TEKAN	<i>Tarrayar Ekklesiyoyin Kristi A Nijeriya</i> , (meaning): Fellowship of Christ Churches in Nigeria
TCNN	Theological College of Northern Nigeria,
UMCN	United Methodist Church of Nigeria
WAFF	West African Frontier Force
WMS	Women Missionary Society

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Title Page.....	i
Certification.....	ii
Dedication.....	iii
Acknowledgements.....	iv
Abstract.....	v
List of Abbreviation.....	vi
Table of Contents.....	vii
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1 Background to the Study.....	1
1.2 Statement of the Problem.....	3
1.3 Purpose of the Study.....	4
1.4 Research Methodology.....	5
1.5 Justification of the Study.....	5
1.6 Scope and Limitations of the Study.....	6
1.7 Definition of Terms.....	7
1.7 Literature Review.....	8
Notes and References.....	26
CHAPTER TWO: THE PEOPLE OF KEBBI SOUTH	
SENATORIAL DISTRICT (KSSD).....	32
2.1 The Geographical Location and History of Kebbi State.....	32
2.2 Kebbi South Senatorial District (KSSD).....	39
2.2.1 The People and Tribes in KSSD.....	40
2.2.1.1 Yauri Emirate.....	40

2.2.1.2	Zuru Emirate.....	43
2.2.2	The Traditional Religious Practices of the People of KSSD.....	45
	Notes and references	69
	CHAPTER 3: CHRISTIANITY IN NORTHERN NIGERIA.....	74
3.1	Missionary Enterprise in Nigeria.....	74
3.1.1	Mission at a Glance.....	74
3.1.2	A Brief History of Nigeria.....	77
3.1.3	Mission Agencies to Nigeria.....	79
3.1.4	Early Missionary Efforts to Nigeria.....	79
3.1.5	The Roman Catholic Mission (RCM).....	87
3.1.6	Church Missionary Society (CMS).....	88
3.2	The Church in Northern Nigeria.....	88
3.2.1	Northern Nigeria: an Overview.....	89
3.2.2	The Advent of Christianity in Northern Nigeria.....	96
3.2.2.1	Church Missionary Society (CMS).....	98
3.2.2.2	Sudan Interior Mission (SIM).....	98
3.2.2.3	United Missionary Society (UMS).....	99
3.2.2.4	Sudan United Mission (SUM).....	100
3.2.3	Colonial Policies and the Missionaries in Northern Nigeria.....	105
3.2.3.1	Regulatory Policies.....	107
3.2.3.2	Religious Policies.....	108
3.2.3.3	Educational Regulatory Policies.....	109
3.2.3.4	Missionary Strategies and Responses to the Colonialists Policies...	110
	Notes and References.....	115

CHAPTER FOUR: THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED MISSIONARY

CHURCH OF AFRICA (UMCA).....	122
4.1 The Background of UMCA.....	122
4.2 The Birth of UMCA.....	123
4.3 Contemporary UMCA.....	136
4.3.1 Articles of Faith.....	136
4.3.2 Doctrinal Beliefs.....	138
4.3.3 Fundamental Principles.....	140
4.3.4 Organizational and Administrative Structure.....	140
4.3.5 Growth and Expansion of UMCA.....	143
4.3.6 Present Membership Status.....	143
4.3.7 National Leadership Profile.....	144
4.4 The Contributions of UMCA as a Denomination.....	144
4.5 Challenges Militating against UMCA as a Denomination.....	154
4.5.1 Internal Conflicts.....	154
4.5.1.1 Transfers.....	154
4.5.1.2 Finances.....	155
4.5.1.3 Leadership.....	156
4.5.1.4 Commitment of Leaders and Members.....	157
4.5.1.5 Elections.....	158
4.5.1.6 Ethnic Differences.....	158
4.5.1.7 Inadequate Manpower.....	158
4.5.1.8 Indiscipline and Lack of Uniformity.....	160
4.5.1.9 Reactions to Change.....	161
4.5.2 External Challenges.....	162

4.5.2.1	Undue Government Interference.....	162
4.5.2.2	Challenges of Islamic Fundamentalists.....	162
4.5.2.3	Unhealthy Competition with other Denominations.....	162
4.5.2.4	Mistakes of the Founding Fathers.....	163
4.6	Relationship with the World Partners.....	164
4.7	Prospects of UMCA.....	164
	Notes and References.....	168

CHAPTER FIVE: CHALLENGES AND PROSPECTS OF NATION-BUILDING

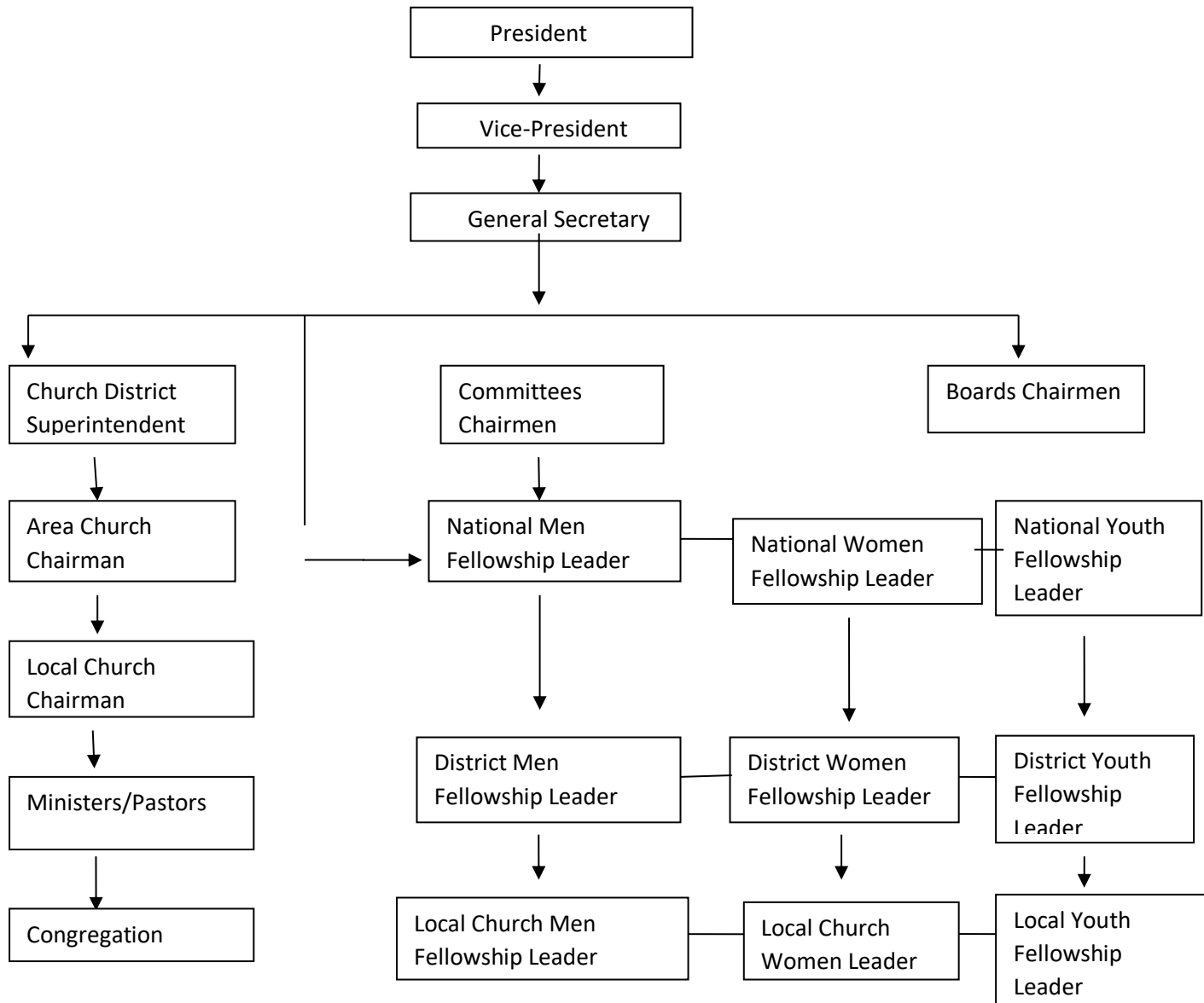
IN KSSD.....	174
5.1	Nation-building in KSSD.....174
5.2	The Advent and Growth of UMCA in KSSD.....176
5.3	An Evaluation of the Contributions of UMCA to Nation-building in KSSD.....183
5.3.1	Education Sector.....184
5.3.2	Health Sector.....192
5.3.3	The UMCA and Politics in KSSD.....195
5.3.4	Socio-Economic Enterprises.....197
5.3.5	Contributions towards Peace and Stability.....200
5.3.6	Interfaith Relations.....202
5.3.7	Religious Impact of UMCA in KSSD.....204
5.4	Challenges Militating against the Contributions of UMCA in KSSD.....204
5.5	Prospects of UMCA and Nation-building in KSSD.....217
	Notes and References.....229

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS.....237

6.1	Findings.....	237
-----	---------------	-----

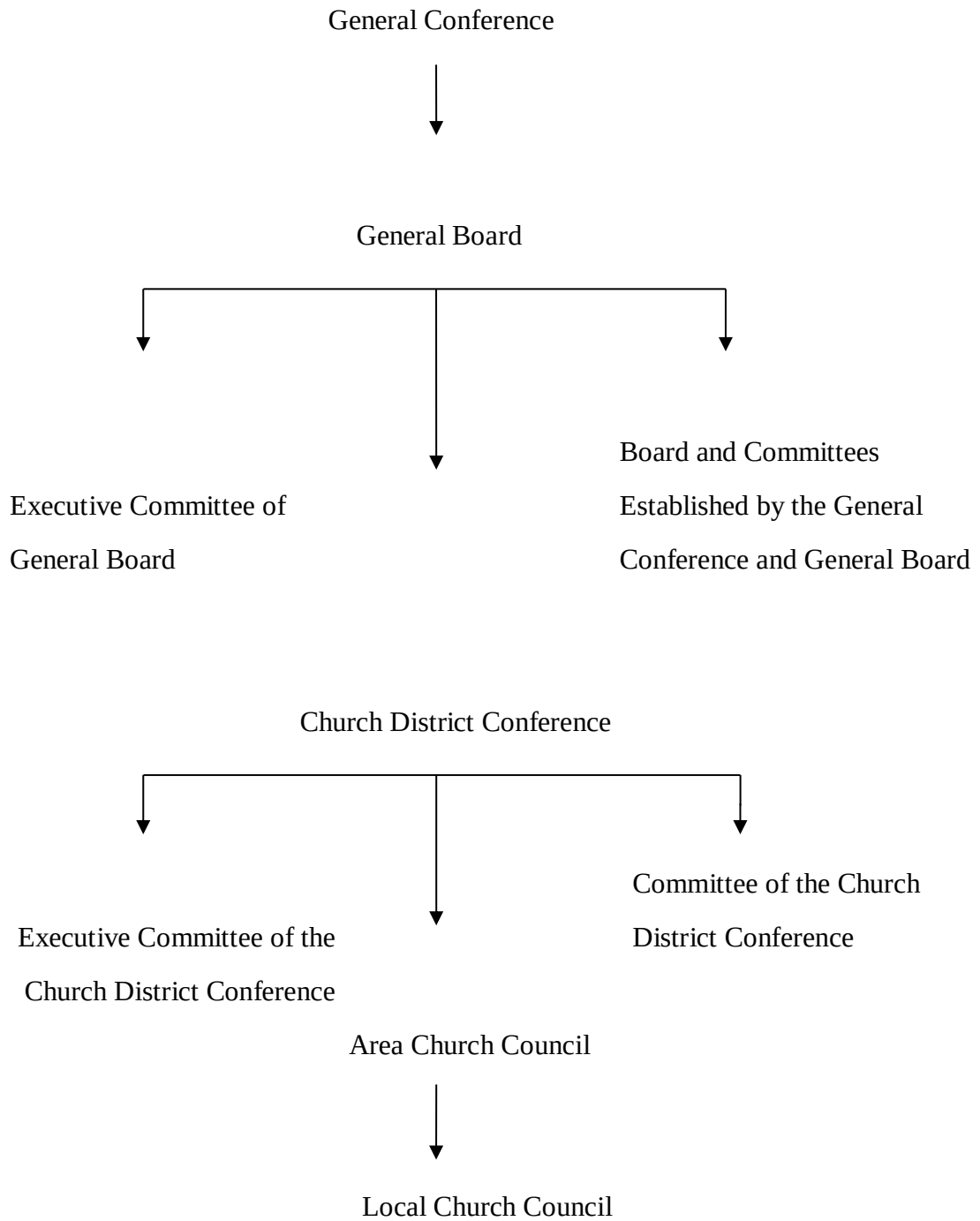
6.2	Recommendations	239
6.3	Contribution to Knowledge.....	241
6.4	Conclusion.....	241
	Notes and References.....	245
	Appendices.....	247
	Bibliography.....	271

APPENDIX 2



APPENDIX 3

**UNITED MISSIONARY CHURCH OF AFRICA
ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE**



3.4.6 Present Membership Status.

APPENDIX 1

S/No	Name of District	Year Established	No. of Area Church Councils	No. of Churches	No. of Pastors/Helpers	Deacons/Deaconesses	Average Attendance	Schools (S) or Clinics (C)	Remarks
1.	Arewa	1987	5	114	64	84	12,439	2 S, 1 C	
2.	Agwara	1987	3	67	54	25	7,950	1 S	
3.	Salka	1987	4	91	74	61	11,286	3 S, 1 C	
4.	Igbeti	1991		24	12	17	1,275	3 S	
5.	Ibadan	1991		6	6		1,001		
6.	Chapel	1997	5	37	41	10	2,700	2 S	
7.	Mokwa	1997		23	21	41	2,299	4 S	
8.	Tsaragi	1997	3	15	18		4,562	3 S, 1 C	
9.	Bajida	1998	4	39	32		6,076		
10.	Kwana	1998	3	55	50		6,424	2 S	
11.	Sahorami	1998	4	77	34	42	8,181	6 S	
12.	Ilorin	1999	2	19	17	65	2,000		
13.	Jebba	1999	3	19	12	36	800	2 S	
14.	Share	1999		20	8	46	2,650	6 S	
15.	Minna	2000		17	17		1,860		
16.	Osun	2001		4	5		220	1 S	
17.	Lagos	2001		6	6	22	740		
18.	Arewa Central	2005	4	90	70	39	11,409	3 S, 1 C	
19.	Igboho	2008		20	10 (2 Retired)	26	920	2 S	
20.	Oyo	2008		22	8	37	1,813	3 S	
21.	Lokoja	2008		13	16		662	2 S	
22.	Kontagora	2013	4	71	68	42	8,216		
23.	Zugurma	2013		26	16	21	2,305	3 S	
24.	Abuja	2014		10	12		975		
25.	Babanloma	2014		9	6	6	450	1 C	
26.	Guna	2015		45	28	21	5,927		
27.	Kange	2015	4	13	14		1,830	1 S 1 C	
28.	Birnin Kebbi	2015	2	7	7	17	1,500	1 S	
29.	Ikorodu	2017		3	4		520		
30.	Ribah/Wasagu			123	65	115	13,070		
31.	Zion, Jebba	2015		5	10	22	450		
32.	Osun ACC			4			100	2 S	
33.	Jos ACC				7	3	321		
	TOTAL		50	1,089	812	798	122,931	53 S, 6 C	

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

The fact cannot be denied that the role of religion or its advent to a society do bring about civilization, development, advancement and general wellbeing of the inhabitants of the region it comes to. Invariably, it is then correct to say that religion, particularly Christianity is one of the catalyst for social changes and nation-building¹ in Kebbi South Senatorial District (KSSD) and all over the world. Significantly, in the society under review (KSSD), and most societies, religion is tied to the entire socio-political life of the people and is also related to their socio-economic life. An example as presented by Adamolekun, is that in pre-capitalist societies, "...religion is almost inseparable from the political life of the people, similarly, it played a central role in the political system and general life of the people, because, it formed the basis of political authority exercised by the elders in the society..."² Perry then observed that, "Religion when properly understood and practiced, educates the mind positively, guarantees cooperation and promotes stability and security in nation building..."³

However, in Nigeria at large, religion has been used and is still being used to induce violence, create conflict situation and threaten the security of the nation and its citizens by some politicians, and the fanatical adherents of the various religions represented in the country.⁴ Since Nigeria is a secular state and a nation of multi-religions, there is the need for the government and all other agencies (governmental and non-governmental) to promote the positive use of religion for nation-building and security, through positive campaign for education using seminars, workshops, school

curriculum and any other fora as a means of combating ignorance of other people's religious belief system which breeds insecurity with the intent of curbing crisis.

The Christian missionaries who came to KSSD adopted different methods in propagating their religion, chief among which are: religion, education and health. They established primary and secondary schools, started adult literacy classes (targeted at the older ones), and built hospitals and dispensaries. They raised lay leaders and chaplains to minister to the converts gotten through teachings and preaching in these schools, hospital, and dispensaries. Similarly, they engaged in one-on-one evangelism and public preaching in market squares to convert their listeners into Christianity. The converts gotten from these Evangelistic campaigns took on the task of evangelizing their areas using different methods.

The traders like Mama Napke Zange, Mama Mako Maliki, Mama Hadiza Maikyau, Mama Titi Danruwa and Baba Doroh Rikoto, propagated the religion alongside their trading activities; in the same vein, government workers, civil servants, ex-soldiers, and artisans like: Joseph Ubandawaki, Daniel Salka and Sule Magaji, propagated the religion in their places of work using any opportunity available to them for witnessing. Others like Tom Sakaba and John Zome – the famous Zuru twins, took on direct evangelism from one place to the other preaching the Gospel. Later developments after independence to date, the use of religious tracts, books Radio, Television, and other electronic and mass media came to be used as means of propagating the gospel.⁵

The United Missionary Church of Africa (UMCA) which is the focus of this research, was founded by Rev. Alexander Woods Banfield in 1905, under the auspices

of the United Missionary Society (UMS) an offshoot of the Mennonite Brethren in Christ from the United States of America (USA) and Canada; signifying that the denomination is hundred and thirteen years in Nigeria. The Church was formerly called the United Missionary Society (UMS), but at the jubilee celebration of her arrival into Nigeria in 1955, the indigenous Church called UMCA which became a corporate body on 29th Sept., 1956 was born. A turnover agreement meeting took place from 2nd – 4th Nov. 1977 and the resolution for the turnover was taken on 22nd Nov. 1977. Therefore on 5th Jan., 1978, a special service for the said purpose to hand over the running of the affairs of the Church to Nigerians took place at the United Missionary Theological College (UMTC) Ilorin, now called United Missionary Church of Africa Theological College (UMCATC) Ilorin; with three (3) central administrative officers, Namely: Jacob Bawa Isa (as President), Samuel Adebayo Oloyede (as General Secretary), and James Tswana Harman (as Vice President/Treasurer). And four (4) District Superintendents, namely: Andrawus Nama (from Hausa District), Peter Kolo Audu (from Nupe District), Joseph Adeyanju Adeyemi (from Kwara District), and Simon Adeyemi Adedokun (Southern District). So, Jacob Bawa Salka, became the first indigenous President of the denomination. The Denomination gained inroads to KSSD in 1925 through the efforts of Joseph Ummel and Paul Ummel who were the first Missionaries ever to set their feet on this area and they used Zuru town as their base⁶ implying that UMCA is ninety-three years in KSSD; and have impacted the people educationally, religiously, politically and socio-economically resulting to meaningful developmental changes in so many areas.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Duane observes that, when some people are making history, they are not concerned about it not realising that someday somehow “...in the far distant future, their descendants might be interested in an account of what they were doing... (hence), minutes of meetings are disposed off after a few years... or someone dies and the recipients of the ‘stuff’ either care nothing or know nothing about the importance of those old papers and pictures.”⁷ This is the situation with UMCA. When you talk of UMCA in some places in Nigeria, they ask: “What is the meaning of UMCA?” “Is it a new generation Church?” “Where is it?” “Is it different from the Anglican, ECWA?” etc. UMCA is one hundred and thirteen years in Nigeria, and ninety-three years in KSSD, but very little is known and written about the denomination with all her contributions to nation-building in KSSD and beyond. This work then assessed the important activities of UMCA and documented the significant contributions of the denomination in

KSSD. This is of ultimate importance for posterity in light of the present situations faced by Christians and Christianity in Nigeria at large.

Nigeria was described by Teissier of Algiers as “the greatest Islamo-Christian nation in the world”⁸ because unlike other nations, Christians and Muslims in many parts live side-by-side acknowledging their commonalities and in some places tend to ignore their differences. This reality made Nigeria an important test case for developing patterns of Christian-Muslim relations in Africa. Nigeria, therefore, provides a rich context for understanding the cultural, social, economic, and political issues that are

involved in the Christian-Muslim encounter. However, this relationship has gone sour and made evident even in the present wanton killings and destruction of properties worth billions of naira, and suspicion and hatred between the Muslims and Christians. The situation is such that the Church is even seen as a threat in Kebbi South Senatorial District. Therefore, this work also served to bring to bear the contributions of the Church to socio-economic and other developments in KSSD, thereby implying the need for religious harmony, while using UMCA as a case study.

Erroneously, too as scholars like Amos Bawa observed, most people see the entire Northern Nigeria as Hausa-Fulani and completely Muslims, and so the non-Muslim part of the North like KSSD, became neglected for so long as far as research work is concerned. There is then the need to correct this error, a thing this work achieved.

1.3 Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this work then was to assess the activities of UMCA in KSSD from 1925 to 2017 and document some of her significant contributions in relation to her role as a contributor to the socio-economic development and promotion of peace and harmony in the region. The objectives of the study are: (i) to give a concise history of UMCA as it relates to her role in establishing the Christian faith in KSSD; (ii) examine the contributions of UMCA to the socio-economic life of the people of KSSD; (iii) analyze the contributions and activities of the leaders of the denomination as it affects the growth of UMCA; (iv) examine the influence of other religions and other Christian

denominations on the activities of UMCA in KSSD; and (v) access the challenges and prospects of UMCA as a denomination in KSSD.

1.4 Research Methodology

Data for this thesis were gathered through interviews and participant observations, as well as through library consultations. The study is historical and descriptive in nature. One has to dig into historical activities and describe them in a graphic analysis. The work was based on interviews, interactions and extracts from various related materials, Books, Journals, Periodicals, Internet Sources, Newspapers and Magazines that deal with the concept in question. Therefore the libraries of University of Ilorin, Magajiya Bible College (MBC), Niger State; United Missionary Church of Africa Theological College (UMCATC) Ilorin; UMCA Bible School Salka, University of Lagos; Baptist Theological Seminary, Ogbomoso; Obafemi Awolowo University, Ife; Jos ECWA Theological Seminary (JETS), Theological College of Northern Nigeria (TCNN), Bukuru; University of Jos, and the University of Ibadan served as viable avenues to source data for this work

1.5 Justification of the Study

Kebbi South Senatorial District (KSSD) is a unique Senatorial District in Kebbi State and a case study on peaceful co-existence. To date the three major religions in Nigeria which are: Traditional religion, Islam and Christianity are still being practiced in the same family in this region without prejudice or discrimination.⁹ Being home to two of the four Emirates in Kebbi State, it is predominantly a Christian community having the highest number of indigenous Christians and ethnic groups in the State.¹⁰

Similarly, it houses two of the three museums in the State, four out of the six tourist centres and activities in the State, and six out of the seven unpublicized sites in the State. Yauri, the second Emirate that made up this Senatorial District is named among the Hausa *Banza Bakwai*¹¹ in the history of Northern Nigeria; so it is important to discuss this historic centre, thereby, opening room for intending scholars to make further research on it.

Lois Fuller, said, “any group of people who do not know their history will always be confused about themselves....”¹² Unfortunately, being a missionary of this denomination to Nigeria for about fifty years, she could not give us full account of this denomination and its contributions to national development. Clare Fuller {her brother} confirmed that indeed, “...biographies and histories of our church are few. As a result, many people think that not much has happened....’ (and so he concluded that), ‘...I hope UMCA members will do the research to write more about the growth of our Church....”¹³ Till date, there is no standard write-up on this denomination in Nigeria; this work sought to bridge this gap.

1.6 Scope and Limitations of the Study

The research encountered the problem of dearth of sources due to the fact that the region did not have full documentation on the advent and activities of UMCA, and also on the traditional life of the people of KSSD. The other problem is difficulty in deciding which tribe or set of tribes to select among many other tribes like: the Lelna in their different dialects, Kambari and Gungawa in their various dialects, Hausa-Fulani, Dukkawa, etc. in the Emirate as case studies. Indeed it would be sheer presumption for

anyone to try to cover all the tribes in the Emirate,¹⁴ but the major tribes and original occupants of the region as accepted by the people of KSSD was discussed.

The research centred on the history and activities of UMCA from 1925 to 2018 in relation to her contributions to the development of KSSD. KSSD has seven Local Government Areas (LGA) and there are other tribes like the Hausa-Fulani in a considerable number practising either Islam or African Traditional religion; therefore this work is not a study of all these because it will take us out of the scope of the work, however, mention was made on them as it relates to the flow of this work.

Similarly, the custodians of the history of the denomination, who are few in number are scattered in different parts of the country. Besides, old age which invariably would affect their memories, there is the language barrier and so the need for an interpreter. The Herculean task of going round to locate these people, looking for interpreters, visiting all the sites where the founding father, early missionaries of the denomination and their contemporaries started off; transportation, time and financial commitment cannot be over emphasized. However, the venture is worthwhile. The work looked at UMCA as a denomination, her contributions to development of KSSD and how these efforts affected the State and country at large. .

1.7 Definition of Terms

Further still in in agreement with the earlier cited scholars, nation-building can involve the use of propaganda or major infrastructural development to foster social harmony and economic growth. It can be evolutionary rather than revolutionary, because it takes a long time and is a social process that cannot be jump-started from outside. It

may also mean the destruction of other nations to sustain another nation. For instance, “in the building of the United States of America, aboriginal nations were erased or marginalized.”¹⁵ The definition given by Mzee Kwame Agyei Akoto as quoted by Paul Kagame suits this work, it says:

Nation building is the conscious and focused application of our people’s collective resources, energies, and knowledge to the task of liberating and developing the psychic and physical space that we identify as ours. It involves the development of behaviours, values, language, institutions, and physical structures that elucidate our history and culture, concretize and protect the present, and insure the future identity and independence of the nation...is the deliberate, keenly directed, focused, and energetic projection of national culture, and collective identity¹⁶

1.8 Literature Review

Without any doubt, every people exist with the presupposition and affirmation of a power which transcends them and regulates their lives by determining the happenings around them. This power or being is commonly called the Supreme Being.¹⁷ He is believed to be beyond the reach of any human and so lesser beings, deities or intermediaries are needed to reach him, appease him or get his favour. This belief seems implanted in the mind of all Africans and so the philosophical argument of the World evolving from invisible matters to human cannot be accepted.

Man's constant need to reach out to this Supreme Being when he is under stress appears to be both basic and universal. Anthropologists¹⁸ and Historians¹⁹ confirmed that from the beginning, man felt this need when mystified by the forces of nature, threatened by ferocious wild beasts and perplexed by death and the hereafter. This, they say, "coupled with the fear of the unknown, brought about the birth of religion. Therefore, the affirmation of transcendental beings is the core of religion and hardly did any human civilization grow in early times without giving due recognition to religion."²⁰

Aisha Lemu in her work, *Religious Education in Nigeria – A Case Study*, while aligning herself with Amanze, added that, religion is a very emotive issue in Nigeria, whatever change may be considered to make the teaching of religion in schools promote religious harmony, must be done with caution and in full consultation and agreement with all the stakeholders, otherwise it would not yield the desired result. Truly, "the teaching of the present syllabi in Government owned schools is part of the problems of religious friction."²¹ According to Aisha, "Religious friction is generated by adult chauvinists and bigots on both sides who are generally not a part of the school system. The children involved who are usually cajoled or coerced are mostly street children and other unemployed youth who probably never went to school or dropped out."²² But one wonders why the elites are involved in religious crisis directly and indirectly, through their lives, speeches and the likes.

In his keynote address at the seminar on *Science and Religion in the Service of Humanity*, Oyawoye highlighted that, "...belief in god dictates the avoidance of extremism in matters of religion, for religion to have a meaningful impact on

humanity.”²³ Thus, he observed that everyone’s choice of religion is either influenced by his environment, his culture or even by birth (a kind of inheritance) and only a few make such choices on their free volition. This, according to him, which the researcher strongly believes is an important decision that may have serious consequences beyond this life. If this is the case, then everyone should be allowed to practice the religion of his choice without coercion. More so, God through His power of *Kun-faya-kun* (Be and it shall be)²⁴ could make everyone to belong to the same religion if He so wishes. Therefore, no one is to be compelled or hindered to join or practice the religion of his or her choice.

This is further strengthened by the constitutional provision of the Republican Constitutions on Religious Freedom and Fundamental Human Rights of 1958 which maintained the stand on religious tolerance and non-interference, by allowing each religion to operate in its area and the major religious festivals of these religions were honored by the government by granting public holidays for their observance. The 1963 constitution also ensured fundamental Human Rights and guaranteed freedom of religion in the country as no attempt was made to impose one religion on or above the other. The 1963 Republican constitution section 10 stipulates that: “The government of the Federation or of a State shall not adopt any Religion.”²⁵ Section 35 of the same constitution declared that: “Every person shall be entitled to freedom of thought, conscience, and religion, including freedom to change his religion or belief and freedom...to manifest belief in worship, teaching, practice and observation.”²⁶

Section 38 (1) of the 1999 Constitution also says, “Every person shall be entitled to freedom of thought, conscience and religion, including freedom to change his religion

or belief, or freedom (either alone or in community with others, and in public or in private) to manifest and propagate his religion or belief in worship, teaching, practice and observance.”²⁷ The constitution of Nigeria, therefore, gives room for peaceful and conducive atmosphere for practicing one’s religion, good human relationship, and interaction with no cause for extremism and religious intolerance.²⁸

However, Adamolekun, confirmed that though the government pretended not to engage in religious propaganda and the spread of religion, certain foreign policies they undertook influenced by “religious politics” seemed to spark off religious crisis even to present day. These include: Nigeria’s bilateral relation with Israel which was severed in 1967 due to the Arab –Israel war that made Israel to occupy part of Arab territories; secondly, Nigeria was dragged into becoming a full member of the Organization of Islamic Conference (OIC) in 1986 against the fact that Nigeria is a secular state as provided and guaranteed by 1979 and 1999 constitutions. Similarly, the Federal Government began to favor a particular religion in appointment to Government key posts and political appointments, such that each Head of State or President embraces his religion which invariably influences these appointments.²⁹ Thus the role of the government and their bias involvements in religious matters which has continued with impunity and unabated has led to unhealthy rivalry between Muslims and Christians and affected mutual relations and interactions and the socio-political life of the people of Nigeria.³⁰

The State Governments and Kebbi State in particular, also followed suit as you find mosques built from the State’s treasury all over the States including Kebbi South Senatorial District which has higher concentration of Christians.³¹ These, in the

researcher's opinion too are the beginning of serious conflict and lack of trust in this region. Secondly, in religious pilgrimages some State Governments do sponsor Muslim pilgrims morally and financially to Saudi Arabia from the government coffers and neglected the Christians' pilgrimage to Jerusalem. For instance, in 2017, no Christian Pilgrim was sent from Sokoto, Kano, Yobe and some of the 19 Northern States of Nigeria, but record has it that, Borno had 2,786 pilgrims,³² Kebbi 4,629 pilgrims,³³ Kaduna 6,327 pilgrims,³⁴ and Bauchi had 3,213 pilgrims³⁵ that went for *Hajj* in 2017, just to mention a few.

This deliberate manipulation of religion by some government officials according to Akintunde, has led to a combative dimension in Christian-Muslim relations in Nigeria, where religion has become politicized. So Akintunde concluded that, "in a country that is already fragile and constantly teetering on the verge of dissolution, religious crisis presents a considerable challenge. Currently, Nigerians are passionately questioning whether the country should remain united as one entity."³⁶ Some argue that they should seek a federal solution to Nigeria's problems based on several autonomous regions while others wish to jettison the colonial borders altogether and create new states. Incessant strife between Christians and Muslims has added more weight and credence to the secessionist agenda. Kebbi South Senatorial District is no exception as the clamour for it to be separated from Kebbi State was the agenda promoted in the request for Kainji State in 2014 and is still being pursued.

Another challenge is that presently, the Muslims believe that Nigeria's problems will be solved if the classical concept of the Islamic State and its principles are rightly adhered to, while the Christians alluded on the claim that Jesus, as Lord and Savior of

the world should rule the country for sanity to be restored in it.³⁷ These problems have persisted to the point of declaring some Northern States of Nigeria as Islamic States and being fought to date from Maitasine to *Boko Haram*.³⁸ However, Akintunde, quoting Saiida Sultana Alvi, believes that a rigid application of the Shari'ah law in a secular or multi-religious state like Nigeria "may prove too dangerous and loaded with deleterious consequences. Nigerian Muslims must come to terms with the fact that any attempt to impose the form of Shari'ah designed for Prophet Muhammad's time or any other form from another period is a blatant denial of the spirit of flexibility in Islam."³⁹

Adamolekun, in his work, *A Historical Perspective in the Christian-Muslim Relations in Nigeria since 1914* postulated that, Islam and Christianity co-existed in Nigeria before the birth of modern Nigeria in 1914. Though these religions both competed for converts from traditional religion in a cut-throat competition; but the competition between them was slow and peaceful since both of them could tolerate each other believing that family solidarity was much more important than religious solidarity. Even Lord Lugard's administration gave protection to the religions in their different areas of influence: the Christian missionaries in the South against traditional religion and Islam in the North against Christian missionaries. Therefore, there was no open confrontation of Islam against Christianity during the colonial administration to the 1960s.⁴⁰

Like Adamolekan, Akintunde, too in his work, *The Precarious Agenda: Christian-Muslim Relations in Contemporary Nigeria*, observed that both Christianity and Islam are well established in Nigeria. In fact, with the amazing growth of these

religions around Nigeria, each religion seems to have become indigenous to the people of Nigeria. It is then true to say that the character of Christianity and Islam in Nigeria is markedly different from their manifestations around the world because Nigerians and Africans at large have embraced these two religions and put on them their own unique stamp and affirmation, using their African worldviews, concepts, precepts, idioms and cultures, “they re-interpreted...religions. This forces us to modify the misrepresentation that they were imposed by outside agents without any African initiative. African traditional ethos and culture have penetrated both religions and endowed them with tolerant spirits owing to the fact that Africans were religious from the onset.”⁴¹

Despite the problems caused by the fanatical adherence to religion and as promoted by their cohorts, the fact cannot be denied that the role of religion or its advent to every people cannot be over emphasized. Ade Odumuyiwa in his work, *Christianity, Governance and Development: a Case Study of Nigeria in the 21st Century*, rightly asserts that, “Christianity is one of the major living religions in the world...it is a way of life, it is a religion of peace, progress and development...it is a religion that values good governance and human development....”⁴² He continued that, Christianity came with civilization to Nigeria, and played very big roles regarding good governance and development, such that the early Christian missionaries or church leaders participated in the local administration; they served as agents to District Officers, Local Government Officials, teachers in schools, and secretaries and interpreters to English Officers in charge of District administrations; as a result governance of the people improved, as the Christians championed the course of unity and peaceful coexistence.⁴³

Furthermore, most nation-building activities were actually started and propagated by the Christian Missionaries and that is what Turaki Yusuf, a Professor of Church History, in his book *“Theory and Practice of Christian Missions: A Century of SIM/ECWA History and Legacy in Nigeria 1893 – 1992,”* highlighted on the Middle Belt (fig 1) where Kebbi South Senatorial District is actually part of that, the Missionaries were essentially the ones who did most of the educational, medical, literature and socio-developmental activities in the Middle Belt. Turaki said, “...the Colonial Masters did very little in terms of modern development in our geographical area. Thus without Christian mission, the Middle Belt would have been abandoned to ravaging domineering and enslaving socio-political and religious forces (the Hausa-Fulani oligarchy, the Colonial Masters and Traditionalist)...”⁴⁴ He further stated that, “...Christian missions came as our liberators. By virtue of mission education and Christianity we now have a basis and foundation for fighting for all our human rights and freedoms and also ascertaining (sic) our human dignity....”⁴⁵ Muhammad Sani Umar in his work, *Islam in Nigeria: Its Concept, Manifestation and Role in Nation-Building* concurred that, “...the potentials in western education for political and economic development could not be ignored. But education was more in the hand of Christian missionaries than in the hand of the colonial government....”⁴⁶

On the reality on ground in KSSD, Lateef Adegbite, a Yoruba Muslim and one of the most vociferous advocates of the implementation of the Shari’ah in Nigeria, once remarked that “no responsible Nigerian, certainly not the Muslims would precipitate a religious war today realizing that one’s kith and kin, spouse, or close friend could be on the other side of the battlefield.”⁴⁷ In fact in KSSD as confirmed by the Emir of Zuru

during the Christmas celebration of 2009 and 2017,⁴⁸ it has been discovered that most families have Muslims, Christians and Traditionalists as members of their families.

Sani Umar further added that, although before the advent of Christianity or the colonial masters, Islam was already deep rooted in Nigeria particularly the northern part, however, to emphasize the importance and role played by the Christians in bringing about socio-economic, political and judicial transformation to the north, he said that, both the political and legal systems in the north were grossly affected by corruption such that, the legal manifestation

...neither piously enforced the tenets of the Shari'ah, nor did it transcend the corruption that made justice virtually inaccessible to the poor, but, the way and manner, the Shari'ah courts dispense cases relating to property, especially land matters, was so scandalously damaging to the Shari'ah system of justice that in fact, Muslims themselves had opt out of the Shari'ah courts and would rather go to what was called the Anglo-Nigerian legal system to seek justice and redress⁴⁹

Adamolekun in another work of his, *A Historical Survey of the Contribution of Nigerian Baptist Convention to the Development of Education in Nigeria (1854 - 2002)*,

confirmed that “Missionaries were the first to establish schools on their own initiative in the early nineteenth century. This was dictated by the exigencies of their understanding. Converts had to be able to read the scriptures.”⁵⁰

The Christian missionaries’ commitment in the above regard from inception to providing the “Total Gospel” that meets the “Total man” was demonstrated.⁵¹ The people who were trained in these missionary schools were morally and religiously brought up, to hold responsible posts in the society. These men and women attained higher social status in the society, improved moral standard and integrity and their economy improved. These they owe to the moral and religious education received through activities of the Christian Missionaries.⁵² This is true as the crop of tolerant, selfless, disciplined, dedicated scholars we had then could not be compared with most of those we produce today

Peter Falk, in his work, *The Growth of the Church in Africa* explained the importance of Western Education which actually contributed greatly to nation-building, and the value placed by the Northern Leaders of old. He wrote that when the missionaries started gaining access to the North about 1903, some of the Local Chiefs who were friendly to them and became interested in the ideas they brought, became eager and gave their children to be trained and tutored in the education brought by these missionaries and assisted by government grant.⁵³ Contrary to the assertions by the sect that has been threatening the peace of the entire nation; called *Boko Haram* that Western education is a taboo,

Similarly, in the biography of the Sardauna of Sokoto, Sir Ahmadu Bello titled, *"My Life,"* he said, he and his contemporaries both Hausa, Fulani and members of the Sultanate all attended and benefited from the western education as they were tutored in it between 1915 to 1920 at Sokoto Provincial School which was maintained by the government and not the native authority.⁵⁴ The Sardauna at the time he was rising to prominence and seeking leadership position in the country, has these to say in his own words, "I knew little about Nigeria and nothing about the world outside. I wanted to improve my English still further, though it was not so bad, and to extend my knowledge of the theory and practice of government...."⁵⁵ So he got the opportunity to go to England for this purpose where he was accommodated by a Christian by the name J. Fletcher where he stayed "in great comfort."⁵⁶ He went further to say, "I profited greatly from all I had seen and from the many people of all walks of life whom I met and talked to on this visit...."⁵⁷

The above stands again to counteract the notion pointed out by Peter Bartimawus in his work "Achievements of TEKAN" from the book, *"Churches in Fellowship: The Story of TEKAN,"* that "...in the context of the Muslim mind, European Culture and Christianity were synonymous...and Muslims, with their feelings for the interrelation of religion and society, naturally reacted against its introduction...."⁵⁸ But since it benefited the leaders in the North and it is still doing so, it is wrong for such conclusions as stated above to still hold.

The role and benefit of Christianity and education can further be confirmed by the number of Christian Universities in the country: Babcock University located in Ilishan-Remo, Ogun State; Benson Idahosa University located in Benin, Edo State;

Madonna University located in Okija, Anambra State; Covenant University located in Otta, Ogun State; Bowen University located in Iwo, Osun State; Bingham University located in Karu; Redeemers' University located in Ede, Osun State; Ajayi Crowther's University located in Oyo State; and Crawford University located in Ogun State. Others are: Babcock University in Ogun State, Believers' University in Owo – Ondo State, Caritas University in Enugu – Enugu State, NKST University in Mkar – Benue State, Salem University in Lokoja – Kogi State, Landmark University in Omuaran – Kwara State, Joseph Ayo Babalola University in Ikeji Arakeji – Ogun State and Caleb University in Lagos, etc.

According to Crampton, western or modern education was very late in developing in Northern Nigeria, because, prior to the coming of the missionaries there was an organized system of written education and some people were literate in Quaranic education. He added that, “in the Muslim parts of the North, the British found a form of education already in existence and it was estimated that there were 25,000 Quranic schools scattered here and there in the region. This Quranic school system was part of the social and political structure the British government hijacked for the purpose of ‘Indirect Rule’”⁵⁹ However, this is mainly owing to Lord Lugard's policy towards missions “...the exclusion of missions from the Muslim North meant the exclusion of what was in southern Nigeria, the main educational agency. The application of the policy of excluding missions naturally restricted western education in the North. There was no money to provide Government education at first and missions were not allowed to provide their education.”⁶⁰

Another reason for the North been left for a long time without western education as explained by Crampton, was that, most of the early missionaries to the North were evangelicals who were more interested in the Great Commission than in establishing schools. Even Bingham the leader of the SIM team was initially opposed the liberality of those missions that imbibed the culture of introducing western education alongside the evangelism. Bingham "...wanted the indigenous Church to develop on its own lines not mimicking western civilization which he believes comes along with western education. However, over the years he changed his views and became more favourable to formal education but on that which is centred on Christ.⁶¹

From the foregoing therefore, western education and peaceful coexistence helped in shaping the lives of the leaders in the North like Yakubu Gowon, Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, Aliko Dangote, Ahmadu Bello, Ibrahim Badamosi Babangida, Ishaya Bamaïyi, Sani Abatcha, Atiku Abubakar, Adamu Chiroma, Shehu Shagari, Mohammadu Buhari, etc. and brought about sustainable development and not a taboo as postulated by *Boko Haram*. Even the members of the sect are using implements (ICT and weapons) by western education to carry out their nefarious activities and evil schemes in the name of combating western education.

In trying to address these challenges, foster unity and enhance development, Philemon Amanze, in his work, *An Analysis of Ellen White's Counsels on Balanced Education as a Catalyst for National Development in the 21st Century* opines that, education is expected to bring development in all its phases. Unfortunately, while educated people abound, there seem to be no commensurate development to accompany it since it seems the education tends to divide us, destroy our cultural heritage and

increased immorality and corruption. This is the situation in Kebbi State and States like, Zamfara, Sokoto, Jigawa, Borno, etc. where religious education has been denied a certain group (the Christians), even the Islamic religion taught is with bias contrary to what was intended. No wonder our country is going down the drain especially Northern Nigeria. True and balanced education according to Ellen G. White, is more than the preparation for the present life, but it has to include the totality of man and his entire existence now and in the hereafter. It must also involve the conscious and harmonious development of the physical, mental and the spiritual powers, which prepares the student wholly for the rewards of stewardship here on earth and in the world to come. Ellen, added that, this is done with the view of restoring "...in man the image of his maker and to bring him back to perfection, in which he was created, to promote the development of the body, mind and soul that the divine purpose in his creation might be realized...."⁶²

Aisha Lemu, presented an example on how the government was fair to all religions at the onset. She said that, "Syllabi for Islamic and Christian Religious Knowledge were drawn up by State and Federal Ministries of Education since the 1950's."⁶³

Ahmed Bako, in his work, *"Transition and Changes in Religions and Belief Systems in Zuru Emirate."* rightly asserts that, Religion in pre Christo-Islamic Kebbi South Senatorial District was not rigid as such, because, before any of their practices/festivals takes place they do offer sacrifices. But he erroneously said, "the people of Zuru area have not clearly articulated their theological belief about 'God', and so, some of their sacrifices during any of their religious practices and festival are directed to God, who is considered the Almighty."⁶⁴ However, the researcher, agrees

with his assertions that, "...transition from traditional religion (which are family...clan centred religions, etc.) to Islam and Christianity came due to increasing class differentiation; occupational sophistication and grouping; concentration of wealth in the hands of private groups; external migration and colonial conquest...."⁶⁵ which eroded the old traditional values therefore, Islam and Christianity

Bawa K. Amos, in his work, *The Zuru People: an Attempt to Authenticating Issues Relating to the History of Zuru People and the Origin of C'lela as a Language of the People.* postulated that, "...the religion of Islam was brought by the Hausa traders from Katsina but was not propagated fully. It was propagated by imposition by the then Sardauna in 1963...."⁶⁶ Interview with Mikah Zange⁶⁷ alluded to this fact. Bako also confirmed the above assertions, but puts it that, "the spirit of islamization in Zuru Emirate was recorded around 1969 when more immigrants like late Mallam Dangurgu, Mallam Dogari, and Mallam Balarabe,"⁶⁸ and their team came into KSSD (particularly Zuru Emirate). From the foregoing, it remains clear that Government interference into religious matters in favouring one religion above the other has not improved a healthy relationship.

On the other hand, it was the duo of Paul Ummel and Joseph Ummel of the UMS stock who trekked one hundred miles from Salka that came to open the first church or present the first Christian witness to KSSD in 1925, but it was after 10 years of what seemed as fruitless labour that the first church was started and the first church service held in 1936 in Tungan Gero in Rikoto area where the first church was built. From here it spreads to other parts of the Senatorial District. The Church in Zuru became the head of the Northern/Regional conferences because it was the largest Church among the

churches,⁶⁹ and it actually gave birth to most Churches and Districts of the thirteen Northern Districts, they are: Arewa District – Zuru, Arewa Central District – Tungan Magajiya, Bajida District – Bajida, Ribah District – Ribah, Wasagu District – Wasagu, Salka District – Salka, Birnin Kebbi District – Birnin Kebbi, Guna District – Mokwa, Kwana District – Kwana, Agwara District – Agwara, Minna District – Minna, Sahorami District – Tungan Gero in Niger State (different from the Tungan Gero in Kebbi State) and Abuja District – Abuja. This opened doors for other Denominations to come in to the region under review. These includes: The Apostolic Church, Chapel of Grace, House of Prayer, Christ Apostolic Church, Gospel Faith Mission, ECWA, Assemblies of God, The Redeemed Christian Church of God, The Anglican Communion, Capstone Ministry, Living Faith Foundation (Winners Chapel), Baptist Church, just to mention a few.

The major reason why UMCA seem not to spread to other parts of the country which made it look as if she was slow in her activities was owing to the fact as Crampton, in his work, *Christianity in Northern Nigeria*, confirmed the researcher's interview with Atonbikums of TCNN and Mikah Zange, that, "most of the missionary societies have had an understanding that they would not enter areas where another society was already working."⁷⁰ This was strictly adhered to by UMS for a long time until some denominations like ECWA breached the contract and started entering UMS' territory as it were in places like Zuru, and their environs.

From the reviewed literatures, Christianity in Kebbi South Senatorial District is almost a century old. This means Christianity is old enough in this part of the country to be regarded as one of the traditional religions of the people of KSSD. Similarly, the role of religion and the Church in particular to what Kebbi South Senatorial District, Kebbi

State, Northern Nigeria and Nigeria as a whole has become can never be over emphasized. It became obvious that such efforts and understanding should be encouraged in light of the current security, and other fundamental challenges of life and necessities as it affects the peaceful coexistence of Nigerians at large.

Though the Nigerian constitution recognizes and guarantees religious freedom for all its citizens, yet, a peaceful cohabitation of the adherents of different religions demands proper education concerning the religious beliefs of one another. This would reduce mistrust and the fear that often lead to tensions, intolerance and violence. Therefore, interreligious dialogue and cooperation remains the antidote for promoting peace, justice and national security. Because inter-religious dialogue enhances respect for the other and engenders peaceful cooperation towards nation building and security of lives and properties, thus the role of the Christian missions in this regard and in shaping KSSD would have to be appreciated; with all the political, educational, spiritual and socio-economic contributions associated with the Christian religion.⁷¹

Furthermore, the need became clearer for a work of this kind to bring to the fore the work of UMCA as a denomination and ways in which it contributed to all the successes recorded with the coming of the Missionaries to this country. UMCA as a denomination despite all her contributions has no proper record or write-ups. This thesis then would give room for intending scholars and historians to research further and contribute to scholarship.

Notes and References

¹Thomas Lazzeri, Nation-building. <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nation-building>. 17/10/14. cf. Lois Fuller, *Faith of Our Fathers: Life Stories of some UMCA Elders* (Ilorin: Indemac Publishers; 1999), 5.

² Adamolekun, Taiye, *A Historical Perspective in the Christian-Muslim Relations in Nigeria since 1914*. (*Journal of Arts and Humanities (JAH)*), <http://www.theartsjournal.org/index.php/site/article/download/110/109> (18/1/14).

³ Idisi Bitrus Esther, *The Nature and Impact of British Colonial Domination in Alela C1903 – C1960* (Masters Thesis Department of History, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria. June, 1990), 199.

⁴ The media is awash daily with news of Killings and maiming carried out daily all over the country.

⁵ Idisi.... 8.

⁶ Idisi.... 10.

⁷ J. Duane. Making History (Editorial). *Reflections: the first Quarter Century*. (Missionary Church Historical Society. Vol. 2 No. 2. 1994/1995), 2.

⁸ Akintunde E. Akinade, *The Precarious Agenda: Christian-Muslim Relations in Contemporary Nigeria*. <http://www.theartsjournal.org/index.php/site/article/download/110/109> (18/1/14).

⁹ The Emir in conjunction with the Emirate Council does the same during Sallah and Traditional Festivals for the Muslims and Traditionalists respectively, which is acceptable owing to the religious nature of Zuru Emirate.

¹⁰ Yusufu Turaki, *Theory and Practice of Christian Missions: A Century of SIM/ECWA History and Legacy in Nigeria 1893 – 1992* (Nairobi: International Bible Society: 1999), 20.

¹¹ A derogatory term meaning Bastard Seven or not purely Hausas

¹² Lois.... 5.

¹³ Clare Fuller, *Banfeild, Nupe and the UMCA* (Ilorin: World Partners for UMCA; 2001), 7.

¹⁴ There are so many tribes in Yauri and Zuru Emirates which are the two Emirates that made up KSSD. The Lelna are the dominant tribe in Zuru Emirate yet, they all have their various dialects, such that, some may not understand others. This is the same with the Gungawas and the Kambaris who are the major tribes in Yauri Emirate. In addition to all these, there is the Hausa Fulani who are becoming dominant and ruling class in Yauri Emirate, and there are many other tribes dwelling among the people of the two Emirates for work, business, etc. (cf. Ahmed Bako, “Transition and Changes in Religions and Belief System in Zuru Emirate. *The History of the People of Zuru Emirate*. A. R. Augi and S. U. Lawal. (Enugu: Fourth Dimension Publishing Co., Ltd. 1990), 114).

¹⁵ Carolyn. (18/1/14).

¹⁶ Paul Kagame.... (18/1/14).

¹⁷ Venance Tovagonze, God-Concept. “Supreme Being” in African Traditional Religion. Dharmaram Journals. www.dharmaramjournals.in>Articles. 10/12/17. cf. Yusuf Turaki, African Traditional Religion System as Basis of Understanding Christian Spiritual Warfare. <https://www.lausanne.org>>content>wes... (10/12/17)

¹⁸ Clinton Simon, The Believe in Supreme Deity in African Traditional Religion. www.academia.edu>the-believe-In-supreme.... 7/12/17. cf. Emeka C. Ekeke and Dr. Chike A. Ekeopara. God. Divinities and Spirits in Africa Traditional religious Ontology. American Journal of Social and Management Sciences. Scihub.org>PDF>AJSMS-1-2-209-218. 12/12/17 Cf. Traditional African Religions – Wikipedia. <https://en.m.wikipedia.org>>wiki>Tradit.... (12/12/17)

¹⁹ Venance Tovagonze, God-Concept. “Supreme Being” in African Traditional Religion. Dharmaram Journals. www.dharmaramjournals.in>Articles. 10/12/17. cf. Yusuf Turaki, African Traditional Religion System as Basis of Understanding Christian Spiritual Warfare. <https://www.lausanne.org>>content>wes... (10/12/17)

²⁰ Ogbu U. Kalu. “Religions in Nigeria: An Overview.” *Nigeria Since Independence: The First 25 Years – Religion Vol. ix*. J. A. Atanda ed. et. al. (Ibadan: Heinemann Educational Books Nigeria Ltd. 1989), 11.

²¹ B. Aisha Lemu, *Religious Education in Nigeria – A Case Study*: <http://folk.uio.no/Leirvik/OsloCoalition/AishaLemu.htm> (18/1/14).

²² B. Aisha Lemu, *Religious Education in Nigeria – A Case Study*: <http://folk.uio.no/Leirvik/OsloCoalition/AishaLemu.htm> (18/1/14).

²³ M. O. Oyawoye, “Keynote Address” in *Science and Religion in the Service of Humanity*. Ade P. Dopamu et al. (Ilorin, Local Society Initiative (LSI) and The Nigerian Association for the Study and Teaching of Religion and Natural Sciences (NASTRENS); 2006), 3.

²⁴ Oyawoye.... 3.

²⁵ Adamolekun.... 18/1/14. (cf. 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria as amended).

²⁶ Adamolekun.... 18/1/14. (cf. 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria as amended).

²⁷ Adamolekun.... 18/1/14. (cf. 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria as amended).

²⁸ Adamolekun.... 18/1/14. (cf. 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria as amended).

²⁹ Adamolekun.... 18/1/14.

³⁰ Nnenna Ibe, Why we don't Believe in Restructuring Nigeria-IPOB>NAIJ.COM. <https://www.ngja.ng>1089193...> (14/12/17).

³¹ Mosques were built in all LGAs and some towns and villages in KSSD while others were renovated but no single Church was sponsored by the State Government. Cf. Eniola Akinkuotu. Ex-Kebbi Commissioner diverted N664m meant for Imams Training – ICPC. <https://t.co/ShpGTBYDAu>. <https://t.co/Y8X2m5AFXH>. september 25, 2017. Office of the Secretary of the State Government. Kebbi State. www.etenders.com,ng>office-secretary.... Cf. Interview with Hussaini Bara Bauta, the Secretary Christian Pilgrims Welfare Committee, Kebbi State. 12/12/17. Cf. Amos K. Bawa Sence, *The Zuru People: An Attempt to Authenticating Issues Relating to the History of Zuru People and the Origin of C'lela as a Language of the People* (Kaduna: 2014), 3. Nigeria: Kebbi Christians Face Latent Pressure to Abandon Faith. www.worldwatchmonitor.org/2016/12/n...

³² Sani Tukur, Hajj 2017 (Infograph): How Nigeria's 36 States shared 95,000 slots. Premium Times Nigeria. <https://www.primetimesnig.com>. 12/12/17). Cf. Interview with Hussaini Bara Bauta, the Secretary Christian Pilgrims Welfare

Committee, Kebbi State. 12/12/17. Cf. Bello Abdulkadir. 11/10/14 www.informationng.com/tag/hajj (17/2/15).

³³ Sani.... 12/12/17.

³⁴ Sani.... 12/12/17.

³⁵ Sani.... 12/12/17.

³⁶ Osita Ebiem, Why Nigeria Must Break up Now. http://www.africafederation.net/Biafra_Nigeria.htm cf. Final Solution: De-Amalgamations and their advantages of breaking up in Nigeria. http://nigeriamasterweb.com/Mastercard/MAsterwebMobile.News.php%3Frss_id%3DMTkw.

³⁷ A. R. Augi and S. U. Lawal. *The History of the People of Zuru Emirate* (Enugu: Fourth Dimension Publishing Co., Ltd. 1990), 124.

³⁸ Boko Haram (Jama'atu Ahlis Sunna Lidda'awati Wal-Jihad) is a Salafist jihadist terrorist organisation based in the northeast of Nigeria. According to them, they are a people who are committed to the propagation of the prophet's teaching on jihad. The words are from Hausa meaning, "Western Education is sacrilege or forbidden." It was started by Mohammed Yusuf between 2001 and 2002. Boko Haram began in 2001 as a peaceful Islamic splinter group. They were preaching and going about within the North propagating their own ideals within the state wearing their palms and kinds of uniforms. The politicians exploited it for electoral purpose. But it was not until 2009 that Boko Haram turned to violence, especially after its leader, a young Muslim cleric named Mohammed Yusuf's was killed while in police custody. (cf. Adamolekun, Taiye, A Historical Perspective in the Christian-Muslim Relations in Nigeria since 1914 (*Journal of Arts and Humanities (JAH)*, Vol. 2, No.5, June, 2013. <http://www.theartsjournal.org/index.php/site/article/download/110/109>. (18/1/14) This sect has been the major cause of insecurity in the nation today.

³⁹ Akintunde E. Akinade, *The Precarious Agenda: Christian-Muslim Relations in Contemporary Nigeria*. <http://www.theartsjournal.org/index.php/site/article/download/110/109> (18/1/14).

⁴⁰ Taye Adamolekun, "A Historical Survey of the Contribution of Nigerian Baptist Convention to the Development of Education in Nigeria (1854 - 2002)" in *Religion, Governance and Development in the 21st Century*, R.A. Raji, et al.

(Ago-Iwoye, The Nigerian Association for the Study of Religions (NASR); 2006), 117.

⁴¹ Akintunde. 18/1/14.

⁴² E. Ade Odunmuyiwa, “Christianity, Governance and Development: a Case study of Nigeria in the 21st Century” in *Religion, Governance and Development in the 21st Century*, R.A. Raji, et al. (Ago-Iwoye, The Nigerian Association for the Study of Religions (NASR); 2006), 207.

⁴³ Odunmuyiwa.... 207.

⁴⁴ Turaki.... 1.

⁴⁵ Turaki.... 2.

⁴⁶ Muhammad Sani Umar, “Islam in Nigeria: Its concept, Manifestations and Role in Nation-Building” in *Nigeria since Independence: the First 25 Years*, J. A. Atanda et.al. (Ibadan: Heinemann Educational Books [Nigeria] Ltd; 1989), 75.

⁴⁷ Akintunde.... 18/1/14.

⁴⁸ Annually in Zuru Emirate particularly in the metropolis, the Emir and all title holders in the entire Emirate gather together to host a Christmas service in the Emir’s palace. The same thing occurs during Sallah and Traditional activities like Uhola (this will be discussed in the next chapter), to show the fact that the Emirate is home to all these three religions

⁴⁹ Muhammad. 75.

⁵⁰ Ademolekun.... 117.

⁵¹ J. Y. Bello, *UMCA, The Journey So Far: 1905 – 2013*. (Ilorin: OPW Ltd., 2014), 35.

⁵² Odumuyiwa.... 208-209

⁵³ Peter Falk, *The Growth of the Church in Africa*. (Bukuru: Africa Christian Textbooks; 1997), 344.

⁵⁴ Ahmadu Bello, *Sardauna of Sokoto, My Life* (Zaria: Gaskiya Corporation Limited: 1962), 20.

⁵⁵ Ahmadu.... 64.

⁵⁶ Ahmadu.... 64.

⁵⁷ Ahmadu.... 64.

⁵⁸ Peter Bartimawus, “Achievements of TEKAN,” *Churches in Fellowship: The Story of TEKAN*, Mark Hopkins et.al (Bukuru. African Christian Textbooks; 2005), 137-138.

⁵⁹ E. P. T. Crampton, *Christianity in Northern Nigeria*. (Bukuru: Africa Christian Textbooks, 2004), 98.

⁶⁰ Crampton.... 98.

⁶¹ Crampton.... 101.

⁶² Amanze.... 332.

⁶³ Lemu.... (18/1/14).

⁶⁴ Ahmed Bako, “Transition and Changes in Religions and Belief System in Zuru Emirate. *The History of the People of Zuru Emirate*. A. R. Augi and S. U. Lawal. (Enugu: Fourth Dimension Publishing Co., Ltd. 1990), 116.

⁶⁵ Ahmed.... 114.

⁶⁶ Amos K. Bawa Sence, *The Zuru People: An Attempt to Authenticating Issues Relating to the History of Zuru People and the Origin of C’lela as a Language of the People* (Kaduna: 2014), 96. cf. A. R. Augi and S. U. Lawal. *The History of the People of Zuru Emirate* (Enugu: Fourth Dimension Publishing Co., Ltd. 1990), 114. Lois Fuller also confirmed this assertion in her work *Kingdoms at War* (Jos: CAPRO Research Office. 1995), 243-244. Where she confirmed that the Sardauna sprinkled water saying any one on whom the water fell is automatically a Muslim.

⁶⁷ Interview with Mikah Zange, son of the first converts and workers with Paul Ummel. 17/11/2015.

⁶⁸ Ahmed.... 125.

⁶⁹ This Church is called the headquarters of Arewa District, it gave birth to five other Districts, namely, Arewa Central, Bajida, Birnin Kebbi, Ribah, Wasagu. And all the northern Districts (thirteen in all) with the national headquarters look up to this district in so many ways for advancement. (cf. Bello.... 36, Clare.... 27, Fuller.... 63).

⁷⁰ Crampton.... 149.

⁷¹ Idisi.... 199.

CHAPTER TWO: THE PEOPLE OF KEBBI SOUTH SENATORIAL DISTRICT

2.1 The Geographical Location and History of Kebbi State

Kebbi State known as the “Land of Equity” is one of the States in North Western Nigeria with Birnin Kebbi as its Capital. The State was carved out of the present Sokoto State on 27th August, 1991 following the creation of additional nine States and adjustment of geographical boundaries of the then twenty-one States of the federation, under the military leadership of Ibrahim Badamosi Babangida. With a total land area of 36,820² km¹ and population of about 3,238,628² people of diverse ethnic, dialectical, religious, and cultural background, Kebbi State shares boundaries with Sokoto on the North and East, With Niger to the south and Benin Republic to the west. Majority of the people in the State are Muslims following the 1804 *jiha*d.³ The State has 21 Local Government Areas which includes: Aleiro, Arewa, Argungu, Augie, Bagudo, Birnin Kebbi, Bunza, Dandi, Danko/Wasagu, Fakai, Gwandu, Jega, Kalgo, Koko-Besse, Maiyama, Ngaski, Sakaba, Shanga, Suru, Yauri, and Zuru.

Fig 3

Kebbi State is made up of four Emirate Councils namely, Argungu, Gwandu, Yauri and Zuru. While the Emir of Gwandu is the State Chairman of the Emirate Council, the other three serve as members. to the people within the state pushing government policies and programs, and soliciting for peace.⁴

The Kebbi State government owns, The museum showcases the history of Argungu and its environs and peoples, and it portrays the ways of life of the people through arts and crafts among other artifacts.⁵ The others are the Zuru (fig 5) and Yelwa (fig 6). Museum of archaeology located in Zuru (this was formerly located at the Emir of Zuru's palace but was relocated to its present position in 2015), and Yauri respectively.

fig 4

fig 5

The Zuru museum Museum of archaeology located in Zuru

fig 6

Yelwa Museum in Yauri

2.2 Kebbi South Senatorial District

This is home to two (Yauri and Zuru Emirates) of the four (Gwandu, Argungu, Yauri and Zuru) Emirates found in Kebbi State. It is predominantly a more Christian community with pockets of traditionalist and Muslims leaving among them.⁶ It has the

largest number of non-indigenes in the entire State.⁷ Its Diversity is also reflected in the works of art and crafts, as well as culture. Famous among the works of art and crafts are gold smiting, weaving, and carving, sculpturing and knitting. Through these, various items such as domestic utensils, agricultural tools, body adornments, decorative materials and fishing equipment are produced for local and commercial consumption.⁸

Many have taken to trading, manicure and other jobs in their places of destination with the hope of raising some money to take back home and augment the little that was harvested.⁹ At times they make these journeys immediately after their harvest, but must come back within weeks to continue other farming activities: like *fadama* farming, etc. This type of migration is usually short, between four to five weeks after which they return home and continue with subsequent farm work.¹⁰

2.2.1 The People and Tribes in Kebbi South Senatorial District

The situation in the Senatorial District which is similar to that of some tribes, clans and languages in the country, is such that trying to get an accurate history may seem like “fishing in trouble waters” owing to migrations which is a common phenomenon among almost all people particularly those who are hunters and farmers. But Amos’ conclusion that, “our origin is from Babel in the Middle East, going by the Biblical account of the origin of all languages on earth”¹¹ would suffice here. While this is not an attempt to give a detailed history of the people of this region under review,

areas which will give this work the required flow and understanding will be discussed according to the Emirates thus:

2.2.1.1 Yauri Emirate

Yauri (or Yawuri), comprising Yauri, Shanga and Ngaski LGAs is one of the smallest historical Emirates in Northern Nigeria. It derived its name from the 5th ruler of the Emirate – Yawuri (1505-1538), and it has two major tribes: the Kambaris who are predominantly hunters and farmers located in the Mainland, and the Gungawas who are predominantly fishermen located in the Island of the river Niger. But each tribe has its own system of government and other dialects. During the first half of the 15th century, Hausa traders from Katsina came, settled and took over leadership of these people and established a Hausa Kingdom with Tafiraulu as the first Hausa king (1411-1433). This dynasty ended with the 6th king called Sarki Kisagari (1531-1560). His reign was followed by that of Sarki Jerabana 1 (1560-1572) from whose reign they adopted the title of Emir, and his descendants remained the ruling class to the present Emir – Zayyanu Abdullahi.¹² (fig 7) During the United Missionary Society (UMS) mission activities, Yauri served as transition station for educational orientation (fig. 8 and 9) before the students from Yauri, Agwara, etc. were taken to UMS Primary school in Zuru.

Fig 7

The present Emir of Yauri Zayyanu Abdullahi

fig 8

fig 9 Side view

The hut used during the United Missionary Society (UMS) mission activities in Yauri which served as transition station for educational orientation before the students were taken to UMS Primary school in Zuru.

2.2.1.2 Zuru Emirate

Zuru which became an Emirate in 1979, has four LGAs, namely: Zuru, Fakai, Danko/Wasagu and Sakaba. The Emirate has five chiefdoms, twenty districts, twenty-eight distinct tribes from thirty-one different clans in over three hundred villages.¹³ The following are the major tribes in the Emirate: The Achipawas are the group commonly found in Sakaba and some parts of Danko/Wasagu LGAs.¹⁴ The Bangawas are located mainly in Danko/Wasagu LGA.¹⁵ In Fakai LGA, the people are called Fakawa in their various dialects.¹⁶ The other group are called Zugurnu or Lelna, found mainly in Zuru LGA.¹⁷

The Zuru people are warriors and because of their outstanding and exceptional qualities and bravery, which made it impossible for the jihadist to conquer them, they were recruited by the British colonial administrators to join the West African Frontier Force (WAFF) in 1908-1914 to fight in the World War 1, of July 28, 1914 – Nov., 11, 1918 and the World War 2, of Sept., 1, 1939 – Sept., 2, 1945. They also partook in the Kanta war of the 15th century which lasted forty years. The success of the War was due to the prowess of the Lelna people recruited by Kanta.¹⁸

According to P. G. Harris, Kanta called the Lelna people “*Dakaru.*” or “*Dakare*” which simply means “infantry-foot-soldiers...warriors or warlords...”¹⁹ they were experts in the use of bows and arrows and any other tool in hunting expeditions. It is such that, “in Nigeria, Zuru has the highest serving soldiers and officers in the Nigerian Army, Police, Navy, Air Force, etc. There is hardly any home in Zuru without a soldier serving or retired,”²⁰ with two Generals from the same womb – Musa Bamaïyi and Ishaya Bamaïyi. (fig 10 and 11)

Fig 10

Pastor (Baba) and Mama Mathew Sunduh (Parents of the two Generals)

Fig 11

**Late Brigadier General Musa Bamaïyi and Lieutenant General Ishaya Bamaïyi
(rtd)**

2.2.2 The Traditional Religious and Socio-cultural Life of the People of Kebbi South Senatorial District.

As discussed in the preceding chapter, without any doubt, every people exist with the presupposition and affirmation of a power above them which regulates their lives and determines their existence and the happenings around them, though called different names in different languages. Therefore before the advent of Islam and Christianity, the people of this region under review had their indigenous religion bequeathed to them by their forefathers as their authentic religion and which has been passed from generation to generation,²¹ this religion forms the basis of their existence and conditions their behaviour and reactions to external stimuli.²² One striking point about the religion, in this enclave though sacred is that it is considered a personal spiritual realm. It was common for every clan to have their local deity. Each home stead also has their worship center and each household has worship station. These deities or intermediaries are called by different names²³ but all have the knowledge of a Supreme God to be approached through the intermediaries. Bako, rightly asserts in line with the researcher's views that, religion in pre Christo-Islamic era in this enclave "...is characterized by lack of rigidity...Some of these religious practices...are also considered to be festivals. (Because) before any of these practices/festivals take place there must be sacrifice."²⁴

Tanko Ayuba, rightly says that, “in everything we do there is the political, social and economic angle.”²⁵ Like the *Uhola* festival to be discussed below, Tanko Ayuba, said, if properly organized, it could be a combination of both. On the political angle, Tanko, went further to say that, “we need unity and collectivism. We can achieve this through culture. If we identify ourselves as a cultural entity we will be able to eschew bitterness, hatred and the divisions that have hitherto been counterproductive to our collective development and growth as a people.”²⁶ He added that “socially, we can build friendship and live within us and across different peoples in the Emirate. We can also bring people to the Emirate. Then on the economic side, we can create jobs and investment opportunities through eco-tourism. The agricultural show alone is capable of promoting the economic emancipation of our people.”²⁷ During the *Uhola* festival of 2009, the Emir of Zuru agreed with Tanko’s assertion above, by saying that, “*Uhola* cultural festival and Agricultural show...is capable of transforming the tourism industry in the state and improving the socio-economic life of the people in the state.”²⁶ Other places and Activities of interest in Kebbi State are:

1. Argungu International Fishing Festival:

The yearly event attracts people from all works of life within and without the country, and it is a cultural event that comes to an end with the fishing festival in the Matan Fada River where any fisherman that catches the biggest fish is rewarded.²⁹ (fig 12).

2. *Uhola* Festival:

The word is derived from the Lelna clause ‘*u’holka*’ meaning “he stopped or prevented it.” The word *uhola* means “he has disallowed or barred.” In the

context of the festival among Lelna people, it refers to a time during which the people celebrates God's love and thank him for disallowing or barring the people from evil, plague, famine or poverty. Similarly, "it is a festival that celebrates the graduation of male suitors who have served their respective in-laws for seven years in an agricultural marriage contract (*Golmo*)³⁰ where both the boys and the girls (graduands) are expected to be presented as *yadato*³¹...."³² They are thus ready for marriage. (fig 13 – 16)

Fig 13

Uhola

Fig 14

Uhola

Fig 15

Yadato

Fig 16

Yadato

3. *D'biti* Festival: (fig 17) This is a quarterly transitional feast celebrated in the middle of the year; it is the period that the Lelna look forward to seeing the harvest period of yet another new year. The aim of *dibiti* is to pray through the intermediaries called *Gonvan menke* and *Gomvnu Copo* (god of rain and god of the earth respectively), to provide adequate atmosphere: these are: rain, wind, sunlight, etc., for the plants to grow well. It is believed that too much rain is not good for the crops. It is also a period of celebrating the graduation of seven years of service in *Golmo* (fig 18 and 19) marriage contract while recruiting or initiating young men between the ages of 14 through 15 depending on the clan into *M'gila*³³ cult. This festival like *Uhola* is characterized by: inter village beauty contest, inter village local wrestling competition, and dancing competition, etc. Before the

uhola festival, *dibiti* must be celebrated. *Dibiti* is celebrated when crops are fully grown but not harvested.

While there is the central and annual celebration of *Uhola* in Zuru Emirate mainly for recreation, tourism, socio-economic and political gain, all the districts under the Emirate organize theirs separately, however, the features are the same. Below are the common features of the political and socio-economic phase of *Uhola*. (fig 20 to fig 22).

- i. Agricultural show featured different aspects of agricultural production, namely livestock, crop production, poultry, farm power, art and crafts...from the five chiefdoms of Dabai, Danko, Fakai, Sakaba, and Wasagu; farmers competed in different agricultural products....”³⁴ (fig 23)
- ii. *Golmo* race evolved from the practice of *golmo* by the people of Zuru. A *golmo* participant is expected to trek or jog any distance that may be demanded by the leaders. During this time, they are required not to wear any form of foot wear and clothing (except the skin tied to the waist.) with a hoe strapped on the shoulder or arm. A *golmo* participant must arrive at whatever destination demanded by the elders

Fig 17

Fig 17

D'biti festival



Fig 18

Golmo boys

Fig 19

Golmo boys

Fig 20

Fig 21

Zuru Emirate Uholo celebration for tourist attraction

Fig 22

Zuru Emirate Uholo celebration for tourist attraction

Fig 23

Agricultural show during Zuru Emirate Uholo celebration for tourist attraction

on time and with enough energy for whatever business earmarked for the day.

“Thus *golmo* and the bicycle race are designed to inculcate virtues and attributes of endurance, resilience and Spartan life, which had been an

attribute of the Zuru people.”³⁵ The Gungawas have what is called *Rigata*, a canoe cultural competition.³⁶

- iii. Archery is another event during this festivity. It is a show of prowess and marksmanship common with the warlords of Zuru land. The art of using the bow and arrow is as old as the history of the Zuru people. “The bow and arrow had dual purposes; for game and defense. It was because of their dexterity in the art that they were able to contain and defeat the Nagwamatse warriors early in the 19th century during the jihad of Usman Danfodio.”³⁷ (fig 24)

Hunting has been a major preoccupation of the people. Indeed, it is the brave that are considered capable of this vocation. Men of valor cherished the titles conferred on those that kill certain kinds of games. Till today, it is only those that qualify that are given titles related to this important occupation. It is therefore significant for this to be part of the festival. “It is reminiscence of the victory of the entire people of *Alela* land (that is Zuru people) over incursion of the Fulani jihadists of the 1900s. No wonder Zuru Emirate remains one of the kingdoms in Northern Nigeria that was not ruled by the Fulani oligarchy.”³⁸

- iv *Yadato*: This is the center piece of *uhola* festival. This literally means one that performs the final dance. The word final presupposes a transition from boy/girlhood to young adulthood, when a boy or girl can be considered ripe for marriage or able to begin *golmo* as the case may be. In other words, *yadato* dance depicts the rites of passage from childhood to adulthood. It is usually

after this historic event that a boy can begin *Golmo*. For the girls, it is only after performing the *yadato* dance that they

fig 24

Archers during Zuru Emirate Uholo celebration for tourist attraction

can be married by their suitors. In the past, girls were demanded to dance naked as a proof of their virginity. Or it was during the *yadato* dance that a girl can prove her innocence; that she is a virgin.(fig 25 and 26)

Actually, the ceremony begins at the residence of the boy/girls parents. One has to be adjudged qualified (age wise) by elders within ones family clan before the ceremony can take place. The extended family and neighbors are also deeply involved in the ceremony. The relations and well-wishers are all expected to join the party that will convey the boy or girl from his/her parent's compound to the city square (fig 27) where other such celebrants, from the kindred would converge.³⁹

“Each celebrant selects his/her drummer (*wene*), praise song and slogan. Again, each team would extol the virtues of their celebrant and or those from the family as they beat drums, sing, dance and dole out gifts on their way from their farm settlements (*C'belà*) to the kindred city (*Ile*). The accompanying extravagance is considered a display of the affluence of the family.”⁴⁰(fig 28) such gifts includes: rice, Dog meat (commonly called *Jogo*), money, etc.

For the Emirate-wide *uhola* however, it is a matter of competition between the various Chiefdoms in the Emirate. Each one of the five Chiefdoms after careful selection from her various districts – a kind of inter-District competition, is required to produce two teams of *yadato* dancers. Each team comprises a ‘*dato* boy and girl, their singers, drummers and a hand full of supporters.⁴¹ (fig 29 and 30) The various Kambari groups of old have various cultural rhythms they dance to called: *Maryanji*, *Malongom*, *Ubata*, etc by those called Akimba; *Akyapi*, *Umolo*, *Kagundare*, etc. by those called Ashingini, and *azagunu*, *ekwiro*, *adinbayo* and *agili* by those called Avadi. But these no longer exist due to the influence of religion as discussed below.⁴²

Fig 25

Yadato girls

Fig 26

Yadato girls

Fig 27

Well-wishers and Yadato procession

Fig 28

Yadato Dancers with their drummers

Fig 29

Fig 30

Yadato dance competition during Zuru Emirate Uholo celebration for tourist attraction

- v. Wrestling: (fig 31 and 32) Another important feature of *uhola* festival is wrestling called *Chmodi* in C'lela. Wrestling in Zuruland is "...commonly described as a skin to skin. Contestants begin by locking up themselves in their arms. From there each contestant would seek to outwit, overpower or over stretch his opponent to breaking point, which culminates in pressing the opponent down on the back. Once this happens umpires would declare the

winner amidst shouts and praises of the victor.”⁴³ It is a contest of strength, agility, smartness, valor and wit between young men. In the history of Lelna, wrestling is an important cultural activity that was used to determine and distinguish men of valor in the society, and so it has remained an important feature of *uhola* festival. To date, each kindred (community) know its opponents. The following are the kindred or communities that wrestles with each other: Senchi vs Manga, Dabai vs Rikoto/Rumu, Pani vs Zuru, Ribah vs Chonoko/Machika and Ushe vs Usara.⁴⁴ The Gungawas on the other hand have two kinds of wrestling: the one similarly to that of the Lelnas called *Zabuce* and the one that the contestants tire metals in the hands before engaging in the fight called *Hicirya*.⁴⁵

- vi. The researcher’s interview with Dangana Isa Nciniya, Jeremiah Lafia, Ayuba Agunu, and Apollos Agamalafiya from the Kambari and Gungawa who are the inhabitants of Yauri Emirate revealed that, two factors destroyed the cultural heritage of the people of Yauri Emirate:
 - a. The Islamic conquest of the land by the Hausas as discussed earlier, and enthroning the Hausa chiefs began to erode the cultural heritage of these people. Today, all over the lands presently occupied by the Kambaris and the Gungawas,

Fig 32

Wrestling competition during Zuru Emirate Uholo celebration for tourist attraction

the Hausas are their chiefs, ward councilors and even the Local Government chairmen. Being Muslims and foreign to such cultural activities held by the Kambaris and the Gungawas, they did nothing to promote it but rather stopped such activities.

- b. The coming of the Christian Missionaries, further reduced the strength of the people's cultural heritage because anything cultural was presented as a taboo and demonic by the Missionaries. Therefore in the bid to do away with these "so called" demonic activities and be joined to the church, the cultural values of these people became eroded.⁴⁶

However, sons and daughters of these two stocks are putting all efforts to restore such cultural values. For instance, a program was held in Gulbin Boka (Niger State) between 26th and 28th December, 2017 under the auspices of, National Kambari Association of Nigeria (NAKAN), and umbrella body of all Kambari Associations who hitherto were meeting under different names. (e.g. Kambari Development Association (KADA), Kambari Progressive Movement (KAPM), Kambari Development Association of Suleja Emirate (KADASE), Kambari Ethnic Nationality (KEN), Avadi Development Association (ADA), etc. but the umbrella body is called National Kambari Association of Nigeria (NAKAN).⁴⁷ The Gungawas unfortunately, have not been able to start anything of such. Agamalafiya attributed this to religious fundamentalism and rivalry.⁴⁸

3. Karishi Traditional Settlement:

The traditional settlements in Karishi are always a delight to behold during visits. Karishi is located in Sakaba LGA of Kebbi State. The settlement is very hilly and the people remain largely very traditional. The hill-dwelling people rarely come down for anything and their king or ruler is never seen except once within a year during a particular festival. In fact his subjects sees him as God and calls him “*Dai dai da Allah*” meaning “Equal to God.” The settlements are fenced round and watchmen are always on guard to keep the settlements against invaders.⁴⁹ (fig 33)

4. Tomb of Abdullahi Fodio:

Abdullahi Fodio, was the brother of Usman Dan Fodio, the great jihadist of the 9th century. At his death, Abdullahi was buried in Gwandu, in Gwandu LGA, and his tomb remains a tourist attraction for centuries since then. Abdullahi, also participated in the jihad fought by his brother, and he ruled the Gwandu Empire which he helped establish until his death in the 19th century. His descendants have continued to rule Gwandu till today as their rightful inheritance. (fig 34 and 36)

5. Girmache Shrine, Zuru:

The Girmache shrine is located in Zuru, LGA of Kebbi State. The shrine is a kind of a grove with thick trees and water inhabited by crocodiles. Girmache is believed to be a god or an intermediary so the people come around to worship and offer sacrifices to the gods of the shrine and present gifts to the crocodiles who represents the gods.⁵⁰ (fig 37 and 38)

6. Isgogo Slave Market:

Located about 12km, from Zuru township along Sokoto road, Isgogo is an ancient village in Dabai District, the northern part of Zuru LGA in Kebbi State. (fig 39 – 41) It was the major slave trade market and trade outlet, in the 1700 and early part of 1800. The town used to be “...a defensive settlement, the home of warriors, a center of commerce and a home of slave trade in the 18th century. This means, before the abolition of slave trade or the beginning of colonial rule in West Africa, the ancient town of Isgogo

Fig 33

Karishi settlement

Fig 34

Abdullahi Fodio Tomb

Fig 35

Fig 36

Worshippers around Abdullahi Fodio Tomb

Fig 37

Fig 38

Girmache shrine and Elders

Fig 39

Fig 40

Fig 41

Isgogo Slave market

stood as a commercial or trade link between other slave markets and slave traders from the north or the south.”⁵¹

Dudu, said, these huts, which are primarily the object and center of attraction for tourists are situated within a city wall with “...six major entrances or gates: two in the north, two in the west, one in the south and one at the east side of the city wall. Around each gate, are myths built around traditional rulers

at the time, slave captors, slave merchants, or gallant slaves, which would withhold, by oral tradition, by guides who are custodians of the history of slave trade in the area.”⁵²

Dudu continued that, “other historical relics of interest in this tourist site, apart from the huts, city walls and gates would include the currency used during the trade (cowries), chains that tied slaves, pictures of slaves and their task masters, pictures depicting the nature of slave transactions in the market, trade routes, and other items that were exchanged for slaves during the slave trade period.”⁵³

7. Others yet to be publicized are: a Shrines in Zuru Land called, Tar’d Wawanta, and Zwin Gorge, Sem Gyozo; similarly, the Bululu Falls, and Dombo Gomo Water Spring all in Zuru Emirate.⁵⁴ Alwasa battlefield in Argungu, where Fulani jihadists and Kabawa warriors fought in 1807, and the moving rock at Akinkya in Ngaski.⁵⁵

Notes and References

¹ Learn about Kebbi State, Nigeria/People, Local Government and..... www.ngaski.com/places/states. 22/2/18.

² List of Nigeria Statistory Population. Media Nigeria. www.medianigeria.com/161954-2/ 22/2/18.

³ Jihad is from the Arabic word “al-harb.” According to the Islamic Supreme Council of America, Jihad is often translated as ‘Holy war’ but linguistically, it means “struggling or striving.” The Quranic and teachings of the Prophet Muhammad has many meanings which are: Internal and external efforts of becoming a good Muslim, working to inform people about the faith of Islam, a military effort to protect the faith against other using either legal, diplomatic, economic, political or military means or even all of these. It is however noteworthy that when the use of force is needed, there rules of engagement which must be adhered to: the innocents-such as women, children, or invalids-must never be harmed, and any peaceful overtures from the enemy must be accepted. (cf. *Jihad: A Misunderstood Concept from Islam – What Jihad is, and is not: islamicsupremecouncil.or/.../5-jihad-a-misunderstood-concept-from-islam* [12/8/15]). Usman Dan Fodio, could only declare Jihad when he was made leader in Gudu because in Islam you can only declare Jihad if you are an official Muslim leader.

⁴ Dierk. 359-382. cf. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/yauri_Nigeria. 17/12/2015

⁵ Learn about Kebbi State, Nigeria/People, Local Government and..... [www.ngaski.com>places>states](http://www.ngaski.com/places/states). 22/2/18. cf. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/yauri_Nigeria. 17/12/2015

⁶ Bawa K. Amos. *The Zuru People: An Attempt to Authentcating Issues Relating to the History of Zuru Peeple and the Origin of C’Lela as a Language of the People*. (Kaduna: 2104), 41.

⁷ Aminu Salihu Kiwonmola. *Mai Yawuri Bangon Duniya: Tarihi da Sharhi akan Wakar Maigirma SarkinYawuri Abdullahi, ta Aliyu Dandawo da Takaitacciyar Tarihin Kasar Yawuri – Sarkin Yawuri Abdullahi 1910-1955*. (Abuja: Capitol Publishers Limited. 2010), 99-128.

⁸ Aminu. 99-128.

⁹ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/yauri_Nigeria. 17/12/2015

¹⁰ Amos.... 96. (cf. Lois Fuller ed. *Kingdoms at War: an Ethnic Survey of Niger, Kebbi States and FCT*. (Jos: CAPRO Research Office. 1995), 2.

¹¹ Aminu. 99-128.

¹² Bawa... 97.

¹³ Lois Fuller ed. *Kingdoms at War: an Ethnic Survey of Niger, Kebbi States and FCT*. (Jos: CAPRO Research Office. 1995), 190-197.

¹⁴ Fuller... 198-201.

¹⁵ Fuller.... 221-222.

¹⁶ Bawa... 67-93 (cf Fuller.... 201-217).

¹⁷ Bawa... 42-43.

¹⁸ Bawa... 40.

¹⁹ Bawa... 96.

²⁰ This discuss could take us outside the scope of this work, however, reference could be made to: J. Omosade Awolalu and P. Adelumo Dopamu. *West African Traditional Religion*. (Ibadan: Onibonoje Press and Book Industries, 1979), 26-35.

²¹ Yusufu Turaki, *Theory and Practice of Christian Missions: A Century of SIM/ECWA History and Legacy in Nigeria 1893 – 1992* (Nairobi: International Bible Society: 1999), 30.

²² Like the Kambaris – the Akimba and Ashingini dialects have the highest god called *Magalawatsu* and *Vizazuva* respectively, who is approached by all through their various individual or clan deities in order to get to the Supreme God

²³ Ahmed Bako, “Transition and Changes in religions and Belief System in Zuru Emirate. *The History of the People of Zuru Emirate*. A. R. Augi and S. U. Lawal. (Enugu: Fourth Dimension Publishing Co., Ltd. 1990), 115-116

²⁴ A. T. Ayuba. “...A People without culture are Lost.” *Uholo Magazine*. Vol. 2 No. 1. (2010),4

²⁵ Ayuba. 4.

²⁶ Ayuba. 6.

²⁷ Ayuba. 6.

²⁸ Kebbi Emirate – Wikipedia. History-Origins-Emirate Tody-Museum. en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kebbi_Emirate.

²⁹ Besides being a marriage contract, *Golmo* is also an age grade system among Lelna that prepares young boys for the challenges of life. It is also a time during which the

boys are initiated into men's creed *M'gila*. This is a very important stage in a man's life according to the belief of Lelna. The Gungawas practiced something slightly different, the grooms were expected after the wedding to go to the farms of their in-laws with their friends for a period of seven years.

³⁰ Yadata means a virgin, or a transition from spinsterhood after long years of courtship, to adulthood. On this day, the yadata are presented to their respective husbands as wives in a colourful ceremony. During this same ceremony, there is the display of harvested farm products which are also presented to *M'gila* through the high priest for blessing. Like the *D'biti* festival, *U'hola* is also characterized by: inter village beauty contest, inter village local wrestling competition, and dancing competition, exchange of gifts to loved ones and admirers, etc. This is the cultural phase of Uhola. The time for the festival is usually announced by political leaders after due consultation with the elders of the city. Today, however, it is his royal highness, the Emir of Zuru that announces the Emirate wide *Uhola* and agricultural show. This level of celebration has been able to bring the entire country to celebrate a festival that represents the collective will and heritage of the people of Zuru.

³¹ Mark Philip Dudu, et al. "Agricultural Show." *Uhola Magazine*. Vol. 2 No. 1. (2010), 8.

³² *M'gila*, is the first cult a klela boy gets initiated into as the religion and culture of the people between. This usually takes place for boys between the ages of 7 and 10 years for about one month, where they are taken into a hut buy the clan heads and title holders and subject them to lectures and rituals. They are taught how to be men and what it means to be a man different from a woman, for which reason a woman must not be allowed to disrespect them as men. At the end a dog is killed and given to the boys to complete the rituals and as an end of the ritual.

³³ Bako.... 119.

³⁴ Mark. 8.

³⁵ Mark. 9.

³⁶ Interview with Rev. Apollos Agamalamiya. 26/2/18.

³⁷ Mark. 10.

³⁸ Mark. 10.

³⁹ Mark. 10-12.

⁴⁰ Mark.12.

⁴¹ Mark. 12.

⁴² Interview with Ayuba Agunu, Rev. Isah Dangana and Rev. Appollos Agamalafiya
26/2/18

⁴³ Mark. 13.

⁴⁴ Mark. 13.

⁴⁵ Interview with Rev. Apollos Agamalafiya. 26/2/18.

⁴⁶ Interview with Ayuba Agunu, Rev. Isah Dangana and Rev. Appollos Agamalafiya
26/2/18

⁴⁷ See attached documents: “Speech delivered by the Chairman Caretaker Committee Mal. Bako Desu Salka on the Occasion of the Inauguration of Pioneer Executives of National Kambari Association of Nigeria (NAKAN). At Abdulsalam Youth Center Minna on 23rd August, 2014.” “A Paper Presented on Good Kambari Culture and Peaceful Co-existence by M. S. Audu (PEN) Marafan Masuga. On National Kambari Day at Day Secondary School Salka on 27th December, 2014.”

⁴⁸ Interview with Rev. Apollos Agamalafiya. 26/2/18.

⁴⁹ Mark. 30.

⁵⁰ Mark. 30.

⁵¹ Mark. 19.

⁵² Mark. 19.

⁵³ Mark. 20.

⁵⁴ Mark. 30.

⁵⁵ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/yauri_Nigeria. 17/12/2015

CHAPTER THREE: CHRISTIANITY IN NORTHERN NIGERIA

3.1 MISSIONARY ENTERPRISE IN NIGERIA

This chapter deals with mission, her advent and activities in Northern Nigeria. It discussed the interactions and challenges the Christians missionaries had in their contact

with the Colonial Masters. It is important to state here that missionary churches and activities are very broad topics because the number of Mission agencies that came to Nigeria are many and they came at different times, however, the few listed in this research are discussed as they affect the topic of this work.

3.1.1 Mission at a Glance

The word “Missionary” comes from the Latin word “*Mitto*” and having the same usage with the Greek word “*Apostolos*” meaning “Sent” or someone who is sent. “A missionary is a person sent by God and the Church to a people other than his own to minister the love of Christ – especially by the preaching of the Gospel and planting of churches.”¹ It also means sending away to or being sent out with authority to perform a special duty or function on which someone is a messenger or representative. The Missionary can be sent to those without Christ and, in this case, he will show the love of Christ by preaching the Gospel and planting Churches there. He can also be sent to areas of great physical or social needs where he would be expected to show the love of Christ which would mean feeding the hungry, healing the sick, and working in the community. He can be sent to Churches that are weak and in need of building up and, in this case, showing the love of Christ for and in that Church which includes teaching and nurturing the congregations to the full stature and maturity as expected by the Lord.² The Missionaries therefore, were the group of Europeans who were committed to Christianity and accompanied explorers to carry out the work of the Great Commission.

Lois Fuller gave the following as the reasons why the Protestants could not be involved in missions outside Europe from inception:

1. The Protestants were busy fighting for their existence due to confrontations and attacks from the Roman Catholic Church occasioned by the Reformation. There were wars and counter wars of words, weapons, etc. Therefore, they became busy, formulating new theologies and doctrines to teach their members the Protestant views. So all their efforts and monies were spent tackling these challenges; and many of them died in the process while others became poor.

2. Since many of the Protestants held strongly on the doctrine of predestination, and that the Great Commission was an assignment meant for the original twelve disciples, they concluded that there was no need for evangelism since God had decided who would be saved and who would not. Therefore if the heathen were to perish, it would mean God decided to make them blind to the truth of the Gospel so as to destroy them for their sins.

3. The countries where the Protestants were in the majority were not among countries that sent sailors and so they were not that informed about people elsewhere who would need the Gospel until the Dutch and English ventured into the naval scene too.

4. Even when countries like England and Denmark started sending missionaries, their governments were opposed to them because, since, they were more concerned in trade than missions, they feared the mission work might destroy their trade and economic pursuit.

5. Unlike the Roman Catholics whose Nuns and Monks had taken the vows of celibacy, to be poor and total obedience to their authorities, the Protestants allowed their Pastors to get married, therefore there were no available persons who would abandon their families to go to heathen nations.³ In addition,

6. The Protestants were divided owing to differences in doctrines and practices, so they engaged themselves in fighting and persecuting one another: Lutherans against Zwinglians, Anabaptists against the Reformers, etc.⁴

The 19th century is called the “Great Century of Missions.”⁵ It gave rise to many new Protestant Missionary Societies who sent out many missionaries to all parts of the world. These mission societies were classified into four, namely:

1. Interdenominational Missions: this is the coming together of different Churches within a locality to form a Mission Society; an example is the London Missionary Society which was sponsored by different Churches in London and sent David Livingstone.

2. Denominational Missions: all Churches of a particular denomination coming together to form a Missionary Society, examples are the Baptist Missionary Society, and United Missionary Society that sent A. W. Banfeild.

3. Faith Missions: these kinds of Missions earn their support from willing individuals or groups in carrying out the burden of Mission. Examples are: the China Inland Mission Started by Hudson Taylor, the Sudan Interior Mission (SIM), etc.

4. Specialized Missions: “these aim at certain groups of people, for example Jews, or a certain kind of work, such as the Leprosy Mission or the Wycliffe Bible Translators.”⁶

3.1.2 A Brief History of Nigeria

Nigeria with a 2018 estimated population of 195,875,237⁷ is the most populous Black nation and the 7th most populated nation in the entire world. Nigeria has 521

languages⁸ which includes 510 living languages, two second languages without native speakers and nine extinct languages.⁹ Nigeria with an elected President and a Bi-cameral Legislature is a Federal Republic composed of 36 States, and a Federal Capital Territory located in Abuja.¹⁰ It operates the Presidential system of Government with the Executive, the Legislative and the Judicial arms of Government as three distinct but complementary arms each one acting as a check on the other two.¹¹ Nigeria is located in West Africa on the Gulf of Guinea; it has an area of 923,768Km¹² (356,669sq mi) including about 13,000 square kilometres of water. Nigeria's coastline along the Gulf of Guinea totals 853 kilometres with Cameroon (1,690km) in the east, Niger (1,497 km) in the north, Republic of Benin (773 km) in the west, and the Republic of Chad (87 km) in the northeast.¹³ It stretches from the Atlantic Coast north of the Equator to South of the tropic of cancer. This latitudinal spread gives the country a wide range of climatic and vegetation types. Its mass land resource, with a surface area of approximately 913,075 square kilometres, makes it about one-seventh of the settled and productive area of West Africa at large.¹⁴

3.1.3 Mission and Mission Agencies to Nigeria

This is not an attempt to give the chronological or comprehensive account of all the Mission Agencies that set foot on the Nigerian soil, rather, a means of a brief discuss and mention of the few below to aid a better understanding of this research work and give a smooth flow of information that will assist this work.

According to Eluwa, it was the result of a new religious and moral awakening which began to sweep through these countries towards the close of the 18th century. This

awakening made the evangelization of Africa an important part of Christian work. Africa became their focus owing to the cruelty inflicted upon the Negro race during the slave trade. This revival gave birth to mission agencies like: the Baptist Mission (1792), the London Missionary Society (1795), the Church Missionary Society (1779), the Foreign Bible Society (1803), etc.¹⁵ But the fact remains that “it was the 1841 expedition to the Niger, sponsored by the British Government following the lobby of the African society that laid the foundation of missionary work, especially in the areas around the river....”¹⁶ Agreeing with him, Pauline said that, “The year 1841 – 1843 marked the beginning of the movement to re-establish Christianity in Nigeria after the failure of the earlier attempts in 1482 to plant Christianity in the area...”¹⁷

It is never an easy task penetrating any people with a new idea. This is the experience of the missionaries that came to Nigeria. Bringing the Gospel, Civilization and all their attending components to Nigeria by the Missionaries were not without hitches. Below are some of them:

(a) Due to poor transportation system in this region, the missionaries had to travel long and tiring distances to the hinterlands and so their progress was slow.

(b) Before the discovery of quinine in 1854, most missionaries that came to Nigeria died of diseases most especially malaria which was why Nigeria was called at that time “the white man’s grave.”

(c) Inability to draw line of distinction between the Slave Masters and the Missionaries gave rise to resistance by the natives. The slave traders were Portuguese like the early Missionaries, so the natives doubted the new religion.

(d) The early missionaries assumed the natives had no culture, religion and tradition; therefore they tried imposing theirs on the natives which sparked off strong resistance.¹⁸

(e) Lack of adequate man-power and financial resources.

(f) Hostile African environment which includes: unhealthy climatic conditions and environments, deadly diseases and epidemics, unstable political conditions leading to intertribal wars. African suspicion of western Colonialism, religion and culture, etc. hampered meaningful success.

(g) Language barrier. Since the natives do not understand English language, then the need to use interpreters who themselves in most cases do not have the full import of the message of salvation and English language became a strong barrier to fully evangelize the people.

(h) Due to the hard colonial regulatory and restrictive policies on missionary activities especially in the Muslim Emirates.¹⁹

However, “the rapid spread of mission stations and out-stations took effect during the 1930s through the early 1950s....”²⁰ below are a few but vital reasons for the spread.

i. Most of these mission bodies have developed well organized boards and have organized forms of leadership that aided their activities.

ii. Western civilization, especially, education, medicine and colonial governmental network had somewhat reduced the hostility of the African environment by providing a relative ‘Pax Britannica,’ healthy environment, and easier means of communications, etc.

iii. The relaxation of the stringent colonial regularity and restrictive policies on missionary activities.

iv. The general acceptance of missionaries and missionary programs, and the apparent success of the missionary enterprise in the Mission Field.²¹

3.1.5 The Roman Catholic Mission (RCM)

The first missionary attempt on the Nigerian soil as mentioned earlier was by the Portuguese, and “the brand of Christianity that the Portuguese sought to introduce in the 15th century was the Catholic type. This was developed in the Catholic practice of the Europeans particularly Spain and Portugal.”²²

According to David, after the failure of the first RCM Portuguese Missionaries,

... towards the middle of the nineteenth century, Catholic missionaries once again became active in West Africa. For this much credit is due to a French convert from Judaism, Fr. Francis Libermann. He founded a new Society of the Holy heart of Mary, with the initial objective of evangelizing former slaves in French colonies; but later his help was enlisted by American Catholics seeking to establish a mission in West Africa... This mission was unsuccessful, but it led to the establishment of successful new missions in Senegal and much further to the south, under Fr. Bressieux, at Libreville in Gabon. Libermann then agreed to merge his society with the bigger congregation of the Holy Spirit (CSSp), which had been founded in the previous century and is known for short as the Holy Ghost Fathers. Thus strengthened, the CSSp embarked on operations on a wider scale. Libermann who died in 1852, contributed to making it one of the most successful Catholic missionary bodies in Africa....²³

Another new Catholic missionary body that became active at that time in West Africa is called Society for African Missions (SMA). It was founded in France by Melchior de Marion a Bishop who arrived with the SMA at Lagos soon after the British annexation of the coastal city in 1861. Later the SMA established the first Catholic mission, followed by the Orders of Sisters, such as the OLA (Our Lady of the Apostles). It is worth mentioning as Lois Fuller, observed, that if Catholic missionary bodies showed signs of competing with another, Rome could intervene to ensure harmony and cooperation, which might necessitate a delimitation of the territory within which each was to operate.²⁴

3.1.6 Church Missionary Society (CMS)

The first CMS party, the duo of Samuel Ajayi Crowther, (a freed slave) and Schon, came to Nigeria in 1841 along with British officials to establish relations with local rulers, though the expedition was a failure because one third of the team died of diseases. However, the missionaries signed treaties with the Attah of Igala, for land beside the convergence of the Niger and the Benue Rivers, where they acquired land for the model farm and settled the farmers they came along with there.²⁵ So in 1843 along with Henry Townsend, Crowther, started work among the Yorubas in Badagry. They moved to Abeokuta, Ogbomoso, and Ilorin where they made many converts and “...established schools that taught literacy and practical skills; and with the aid of a CMS printing-press the first newspaper was published in Yoruba. These developments earned goodwill even from people who remained traditionalists or Muslims....”²⁶ Another CMS party led by Crowther and assisted by an Igbo Priest John Taylor started a mission field

in Onitsha in 1857. He also led the starting of a mission field in Lokoja. Other Mission Agencies like the Baptist, Presbyterian, Qua Iboe, etc. seems to focus more on the southern part of Nigeria at their advent so they will not be discussed in this work, but it is obvious that the CMS and RCM look like harbingers to the mission agencies that came to Northern Nigeria by complementing one another in translation and so on.

3.2 The Church in Northern Nigeria

As mentioned earlier, it is beyond the scope of this work to write on all the Mission Agencies that came to this part of the country, and it will not be an easy task to give the statistics, report or analysis of all Missionary activities that took place or that is still taking place in this region. However, the little discussed here is to lead us to a better understanding of the topic of discussion in this research work.

3.2.1 Northern Nigeria: An Overview

Fig. 48. Coat of arms of Northern Nigeria²⁷



Fig 49. Flag of Northern Nigeria²⁸



location of Northern Nigeria

Motto of Northern Nigeria: Aiki da Ibada (Work and Worship)²⁹

The Northern Nigeria whose Capital city initially was Sokoto (1809 – 1897), came to be Lokoja (1897–1903), later moved to Zungeru (1903–1923), and finally to Kaduna (1923–1966),³⁰ is a geographical region of the country. It started with the Monarchical type of government from 1897 when it was proclaimed a protectorate and changed to federation form of government from 1963 to date.³¹

The three largest ethnic groups – Hausa, Fulani and Kanuri, are predominantly Muslim, while many of the smaller or minority groups are Christians or traditionalists. But today, there are a handful of converts from Islam to Christianity from these groups (Hausa, Fulani and Kanuri) who are today called *Masihiyawa*.³²

3.2.2.1 Church Missionary Society

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, the CMS party were the first to step foot on the Northern Province of Nigeria with the gospel through the instrumentality of Samuel Ajayi Crowther and J. F. Schon who came to Nigeria in 1841. Therefore their contributions to the development of Christianity in this region can never be over emphasized.³³ J.A Robinson and his brother H.C Robinson continued the legacy of Samuel Ajayi Crowther and J. F. Schon and did substantial work among the Hausa people and on the Hausa language, a project begun by Schon in 1841. Robinson's work was a basis for later studies in the Hausa language by scholars such as J.P Bargery, W.R.S Miller.

J. F. Schon's effort in Hausa language lent credence to the great feat by the CMS in Northern Nigeria, because by 1843, he was able to complete and publish a grammar and vocabulary of the language and within four years, Crowther, was able to translate the Gospel of Mathew, Luke and the Acts of the Apostles into Hausa language.³⁴ The Anglican Mission to Hausa land commonly called the Hausa party that began in 1900 led by W.R.S Miller, has now borne much fruit. Wusasa which is now the headquarters of the Wusasa Diocese was created in 1997. It was initially located in Zaria which was the center of the Mission before the Missionaries were asked by the government to move

it out of Zaria city. Its first Bishop, Rev. Ali Buba Lamido, is the fulfilment of the dreams of the founding Fathers of Wusasa.³⁵

3.2.2.2 Sudan Interior Mission

The region called the Sudan is located around the Western and Central Africa south of the sub- Saharan Africa. It means ‘the land of the Blacks.’ Given by Arab traders, it is “...the Negro section of the continent, a great stretch of country 600 miles wide, extending 3,000 miles across the heart of Africa from the west to Ethiopia, covering an area more than one third of the United States and embraces a population in excess of 40,000,000 by the beginning of the 19th century.”³⁶

3.2.2.3 United Missionary Society

Alexander Woods Banfield was the first UMS missionary to Nigeria sent in 1905. He made early trips in 1901 under the auspices of SIM along with E. Anthony of Michigan, A. Taylor and C. H. Robinson both of the SIM stock. In April 1903, Robinson and E. Anthony became sick so they left Banfield behind to continue the work unfortunately he too had to return home on 17th Dec., 1904 due to attacks from “Black Water Fever” Banfeild returned in 1905 under the banner and supervision of the UMS and he landed at Shonga also called Tsonga were he started his missionary activity.³⁷ Being the main focus of this work, it will be discussed more in the preceding chapter.

3.2.2.4 Sudan United Mission

The bulk of Missionary activities that invaded Northern Nigeria came from the stock of the Sudan United Mission (SUM) which began in Sheffield, England as a Faith Mission in 1902 under the name Sudan Pioneer Mission, but “...in 1904 the name was changed to Sudan United Mission (SUM). That same year, Karl Kumm, and other Missionaries were sent to the Sudan Savannah to begin Mission work.”³⁸

Church Of Christ in Nations (COCIN)

This is a daughter Church of the British branch of SUM. Willem Herman Karl Kumm, Ambrose H. Bateman, John Burt and John Lowry Maxwell,³⁹ who were the Missionaries of this branch came to Wase on 8th Oct., 1904 where they established their first Mission base. In 1907, the station was gutted with fire owing to the carelessness of a cook. A month after the Wase station was burnt in January 1907, the Missionaries started work in Langtang. That same year work also opened at Gyel. This was later moved to Du and then Foron. It was also in 1907 that the Cambridge University Mission Party (CUMP) in collaboration with the Church Missionary Society (CMS) began work at Panyam. This later extended to Kabwir station in 1910. Between 1930 and 1934, the Panyam and Kabwir Stations were handed over to the SUM by the CMS by mutual agreement.⁴⁰ In 1934, Gindiri was opened as the Mission’s Training ground for Evangelists, Teachers and subsequently school children. What became known as COCIN today began with the formation of a Regional Church Council in 1951.⁴¹ The Church was incorporated in 1958 with the name EKAS – *Ekklisiyar Kristi A Sudan* (meaning

the Church of Christ in the Sudan) Plateau da Bauchi *ta Yamma*, (the merger name adopted for the first four District Churches – Langtang, Kabwir, Panyam and Foron) and later changed to EKAN – *Ekkliyyar Kristi A Nijeriya*, (meaning the Church of Christ in Nigeria) in 1968, the name was again changed on 21st June, 1976, from EKAN to the Church of Christ in Nigeria (the English version of EKAN) thereby completing the handing over process to Nigerians on 1st January, 1977, (since then SUM ceased to exist in Nigeria), now the name of the Church is Church of Christ in Nations finally changed in 2013.⁴²

Evangelical Reformed Church of Christ

This grew out of the work of the South African branch of SUM. In 1907 Kumm's presence in South Africa led to the formation of the South African branch of SUM. The branch began work at Mbula in 1909. In 1911 the Missionaries of the South African branch abandoned Mbula for Salatu to work among the Tivs. Subsequently, the South African Missionaries who were not members of the Dutch Reformed Church opened a new field in Keana. The leader of this reorganized South African branch of SUM was A.S Judd. In 1920, 1924 and 1932 Randa, Wana, and Lafia respectively were abandoned for Murya. In the years that followed the branch also opened work in Ancho, Wamba, Alushi, Kagbu, Obi and Ayu. Over the years the church has witnessed changes in name from *Ekkliyyar Kristi a Sudan* – Church of Christ in the Sudan (EKAS) Dutsen Mada to

Church of Christ in Central Nigeria and today it is called Evangelical Reformed Church of Christ (ERCC). Its headquarters is in Alushi, Nasarawa State.⁴³

United Methodist Church of Nigeria

This Church came into being as a result of the Missionary activities of the Evangelical United Brethren (EUB) American branch of SUM. The history of the EUB American branch is traced to the one original American branch whose missionaries, including Clarence W. Gunter, came to Wukari in Northern Nigeria in 1906 and Guinter became the leader of the branch. Guinter continued as the leader until 1923 when the branch split into two. The split began to develop after the opening of Kona Mission Station sometime between 1916 and 1922⁴⁴ when this Mission station was opened, the Women's Missionary Society of his home church expressed desire to have the area as a field of service for their church. So Guinter, decided to expand the work. Thus in 1923 Guinter and Ira McBride began work among the Wurkum people of Bambar. However, it was not until 1926 that the whole EUB church decided to make Wurkum District their official mission field and called the Church the United Methodist Church of Nigeria (UMCN).⁴⁵ For UMCN, Jalingo in Taraba State is the national headquarters of the denomination.

Christian Reformed Church of Nigeria

This came about as a result of the Mission work of the Christian Reformed Church (CRC) branch of SUM. The story of this branch began with the response of Johanna

Veenstra to God's call given her during Kumm's visit in Wisconsin, USA. She left New York for Northern Nigeria on 2nd October, 1919. In the early part of 1920, Clarence W. Guinter, the leader of the American branch (which later split into two) welcomed Veenstra to that branch; she spent a year at Donga as a Probationer. But throughout 1921 she worked at Lupwe under C.L Whitman of Canada where she did medical work. In 1923 ill health forced Rev. Whitman to return to Canada. That year Veenstra returned to Lupwe from America and took charge there. In 1925 W. Hood and his wife joined her. Veenstra was the leader for ten years in the Lupwe-Takum District and her views on doctrine and church practice often prevailed. By 1932, the entire Lupwe staff consisted of only four women led by Veenstra. All four of them were members of the CRC but were serving the Sudan United Mission at that time. Their work was controlled from the SUM Headquarters at Ibi but their material and financial support was coming from CRC in America. In 1933 Johanna Veenstra, the leader of the Lupwe District died after a brief illness. Three years after her demise, which is in 1936, the CRC indicated to the SUM that she was interested in taking responsibility for the work in the Lupwe area. After an agreement was reached between the SUM and the CRC in 1940, the CRC took over the work Veenstra led for a decade. In this way, the Christian Reformed Church branch of SUM came into being.⁴⁶ Takum, in Taraba State is presently, the headquarters of the Church in Nigeria and it is called Christ Reformed Church of Nigeria (CRCN).

Lutheran Church of Christ in Nigeria

As a result of the influence of Karl Kumm, the "Danish Sudan Mission" was formed by some concerned members of "Our Saviour's Church" in Aalborg, Denmark

in cooperating as a branch of SUM, between 1905 and 1912. This cooperation, brought about the name, “The Danish Sudan United Missions” and so in 1913 the branch sent out her first missionaries, they are: Niels Hoegh Bronnum, his wife Rose N.H Bronnum (who are both medical Doctors), and their daughter Rose, a Nurse. In June 1913 Bronnum died in Rumasha and Rose left the field for Europe while the little baby Margaret Bronnum was left behind.

Between October 1913 and 1914 Bronnum began mission work among the Bachama of Numan. With the coming of more missionaries of the same branch in the years that followed, more ethnic groups were reached with the gospel. About five years later, around 1919, the Church got two worship centers with about fifty-two people as members. In 1954 “The Independent Lutheran Church of Christ in the Sudan was formed”⁴⁷ with the Central Church Council still as its governing Authority. This church was known by the name EKAS Lutheran. Some years later probably around 1960, when Akila Todd became the first indigeneous president, the Church became known as Lutheran Church of Christ in Nigeria (LCCN) with Numan, in Adamawa State as her headquarters.⁴⁸

Ekklesiyar Yan’uwa A Nigeria (The Church of the Brethren)

This denomination which is an Anabaptist and Protestant Christian Church came into being as a result of the mission work of the Church of the Brethren Mission (CBM). The Church of the Brethren began in Schwarzenau, Germany in 1708, but migrated to USA owing to severe persecution in 1817. To promote the church’s foreign mission

activities, it established a Foreign Mission Board in 1880. Thus, on hearing about the needs of the Sudan, the CBM sent out her first Missionaries to this region presently called Northern Nigeria. These missionaries were: H. Stover Kulp and Albert Helser, who arrived in Garkida in March 1923.

In the face of severe hardship, trials and temptations, these missionaries and others who joined them later, labored to plant churches in Garkida, Lassa, Borno, Marama, Virgwi, Chibok, Gulak, Wandali, Shafa and Mubi, etc. But record of their first converts came after four years of what seemed as fruitless Mission work. In 1948, 25 years after the arrival of the first two missionaries at Garkida, there were 1,000 indigenes attending Sunday worship services. During its early days, EYN was called *Ekkliyyar Kristi A Sudan* (EKAS) *Lardin Gabas*, meaning The Church of Christ in the Sudan, Eastern District. In 1973 the church became autonomous as the Missionaries handed over the leadership of the Church to nationals but it was concluded in 1988, when all properties from the CBM was handed over officially to indigenous leaders. And so in 1976, they adopted the name *Ekkliyyar Yanuwa a Nijeriya* (EYN), meaning Church of the Brethren in Nigeria. The Headquarters of the church is in Kwarhi, Mubi, Adamawa State.

Leaders and Members of the above founding Churches or their representatives were meeting annually from 1943 in what was called “*Taron Zumunta*” (Gathering for Fellowship). During one of these gatherings in 1945 at Langtang, after a long period of deliberation, these six SUM founder member churches agreed to come together as *Tarrayar Ekkliyyoyin Kristi a Sudan* (TEKAS) the name was later changed to *Tarrayar Ekkliyyoyin Kristi A Nijeria* (TEKAN) at Randa in Kaduna State on 15th Feb., 1955.⁴⁹

Presently, incorporating other denominations who have similar vision, TEKAN has 15 member denominations, namely, United Missionary Church of Africa (UMCA), *Ekklesiyar Yan'uwu A Nijeria* (EYN) in Hausa language meaning Church of the Brethren in Nigeria, *Nongu u Kristu u i Ser u sha Tar*'' (NKST) in Tiv language meaning Universal Reformed Church of Christ, Lutheran Church of Christ in Nigeria (LCCN), United Methodist Church of Nigeria (UMCN), Christian Evangelical Fellowship of Nigeria (CEFN), Church of Christ in Nations (COCIN), Evangelical Reformed Church of Christ (ERCC), Christian Reformed Church of Nigeria (CRCN), All Nations Christian Assembly (ANCA), Nigeria Reformed Church (NRC), Mambila Baptist Convention of Nigeria (MBCN), Reformed Church of Christ for Nations (RCCN), and Evangelical Church of Christ in Nigeria (ECCN).

3.2.3 Colonial Policies and the Missionaries in Northern Nigeria

Yusufu Turaki, a Church historian who did an extensive study on this subject gave us a clue of what transpired between the Missionaries and the Colonial Masters. He gave the following and started by saying that, after Lugard's departure in 1906, the controversy between the Missionaries and the Post-Lugardians - Giruoard, Temple, and Palmer who were the powerful Residents of the Muslim areas reached a worrisome height. The post-Lugadians' conception of Indirect Rule led them to believe strongly that Native Administration, particularly in the Muslim dominated areas, should be protected, preserved, and shielded from the Christian Missionaries and their Western Civilization. Christian missions were viewed as disruptive civilizing agents, and this increased the fears and suspicions of the post-Lugardians. Therefore, to curb the

“excesses” of the missionaries. Memoranda and Government Circulars, Colonial regulatory policies on missionary itinerancy, evangelization and preaching, planting of Churches and Mission Stations, setting up of classes for religious instruction and schools, social relations with Africans, etc. came to be written, promulgated and circulated to the entire Northern region.⁵⁰

Furthermore, the political and religious agreements of the Colonial Administration with the Northern leaders during its early occupation of Northern Nigeria formed the basis of its regulatory policies towards Christian missions in the region. It promised political support, protection and preservation of the native institutions of the Muslim Emirates; it promised religious non-interference to the Muslim rulers of the Emirates and it developed a policy of excluding Christian missions from the Muslim Emirates but allowed them to operate in the non-Muslim areas.⁵¹

3.2.3.1 Regulatory Policies

One major regulatory policy promulgated in 1955 is called the “Missionary Permit.” This policy made it mandatory for every individual missionary to apply to the Government of Northern Nigeria for a license to operate as a missionary.

3.2.3.2 Religious Policies

Ordinarily, “...one would have thought or expected that Christian missions would normally have operated freely in the non-Muslim areas since the Colonial Administration had advised them to occupy the non-Muslim areas. But...their activities were highly regulated, restricted, and monitored...”⁵² Below is an example of the British

Colonial Officers' attitude in Zaria province as it also affects other non-Muslim areas as presented by Turaki:

3.2.3.3 Educational Regulatory Policies

As early as 1917, a government circular of 9th August, 1917 was written to hinder the freedom of the missionaries to establish schools in the Northern Province now called Northern Nigeria. Below is an excerpt of the letter as found by Turaki:

Another ordinance similar to the above promulgated on 4th April 1918 reads thus:

3.2.3.4 Missionary Strategies and Responses to the Colonialists Policies

Turaki, further observed that, in fact, the British Colonialists' opposition to Christian mission was more than that of the Muslim rulers and Muslims themselves living in the area. On the Education regulatory Policies, one reaction which would form the basis of reviewing the reactions and measures put in place to checkmate the

Colonialists policies was from G. Dawson of the SUM who wrote to B. F. Babcock of the SIM dated 27th May, 1918. It reads thus:

This Ordinance is intended to control all mission school work, and in its terms seems likely to interfere with almost every branch of missionary effort. It is avowedly designed to protect Mohammedans from Christian propaganda, even in the case of isolated colonials of Mohammedans living amongst pagan tribes it practically prohibited teaching of any sort being given by a missionary or the agent of a missionary or anyone connected with a Christian mission unless express permission has been obtained in every case for the Government.

*The enactment of this ordinance would seriously cripple and hamper the work carried on by the various missionary societies in Nigeria, and these societies are bound to protest against such an unfair interference with their work. The Church Missionary Society are taking action in the matter; my committee also propose to take action, and it has been suggested by them that I should write you to ask if the Sudan Interior Mission proposes to protest against the ordinance probably it will be better if a united protest could be made rather than a protest by each of the societies.*⁵³

As suggested by G. Dawson, the formation of Inter-denominational Institutions and Ecumenism was one of the first steps taken. The Government regulatory policies actually brought some form of unity to Christian missions at that time. "... Missionary societies in Northern Nigeria met together at Lokoja in 1910 to deal with Government policies towards them. It was also a forum for missionaries to discuss their problems and means of cooperation...."⁵⁴ Christian missions operating within the colonial, segregated and hierarchical structure of Northern Nigeria were forced to form a common front in order to successfully fight against the Colonial regulatory policies. Below we have formation of the common fronts of Christian missions:

1. From 1910 -1930, Conferences of Missions in Northern Nigeria, consisting of SIM, CMS, SUM, UMS, DRGM, CBM and a few others.
2. From 1940-1950, Annual Meetings of the Representatives of Missions in Northern Nigeria (AMRM) consisting of SIM, CMS, SUM, UMS, DRCM, CBM, and few others.
3. From the earlier 1950s to the late 1950s, joint meetings between AMRM (North) and Christian Council of Nigeria, (CCN, South) and SIM (Since SIM refuse to join CCN and wanted to keep its unique identity).⁵⁵

These three forms of Ecumenism were used on one hand by Christian missions as a common forum for deliberating upon, and resolving their common problems, and on the other hand, addressing and confronting the colonial government on issues that affected missionary work. As Christian missions faced the problems imposed upon them by the colonial regulatory policies, they often reacted by making and writing protests, one of which is presented by Turaki thus:

Another appeal worthy of mention is the one called: “Britain’s Crisis in Missionary Policy: A Missionary Secretary’s Appeal for Prayer, and a Protest Against an Un-British Autocracy in a Great Britain Colony,”⁵⁶ by R. V. Bingham, the Editor of Evangelical Christian and the Director General of the SIM. It reads thus:

. . . Lest the story of how the Governor General of one of the Britain’s largest African colonies was seeking to permanently curtail the liberty of Christian missionaries to peaceably conduct their work, and enacting laws for which he succeeded in obtaining the consent of the officials in the British Colonial office, should by their publication have alienated the sympathy of great multitudes in the United States, who believed that the British flag represented freedom’s cause all over the world and was a protection to missionaries of all nations in all lands. . . we are constrained to lay the facts before the Christian public

in Canada, United States and Britain that they may stand with us in prayerfully opposing, under the British flag, such curtailing of the liberties of Christian missionaries as was never known under German rule in Africa.⁵⁷

Lowry Maxwell of SUM also lent his voice thus:

...why should the propagation of Islam be free everywhere, but the propagation of Christianity be blocked and forbidden, and that too by the representatives of a nominally Christian nation? This was not religious liberty, though it was perpetuated under the pretext of religious liberty. Why could the gospel not be preached in Kano and Sokoto, when it could be preached in scores of places in Algeria and Morocco in Algeria and Persia and India?⁵⁸

Similarly, the missionaries sought audience with the Governor of Nigeria, Graeme Thompson, and Palmer, the Lieutenant Governor of Northern Nigeria in London. This meeting and conference had the following mission group representatives: “Oldham and Paton, secretaries International Missionary Committee, the Bishop of Salisbury and Garfield Williams representing the National Assembly of the Church of England Missionary committee; Cash and Hooper, CMS; Playfair, SIM; Farant Dawson, SUM; MacLennan, Secretary of the Conference of Missionary Societies....”⁵⁹ This meeting took place in July 1927. The major reason for this meeting with the Governors “... was to pressure them into relaxing their regulatory policy. The governors ‘promised

a more enlightened policy’ and also ‘promised to educate the Muslim Emirs to religious toleration.”⁶⁰

The challenges actually brought the mission agencies to Nigeria together and this unity has led to the present day Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) as a common voice for the entire Christian community in the country. (Discussion on CAN is outside the scope of this work). Similarly, the challenges notwithstanding, the doggedness of the missionaries and the early converts to Christianity in Northern Nigeria planted the Christian witness on the land and the country at large.

Notes and References

¹ Graham Cheesma, *Mission Today: An Introduction to Mission Studies*. (Bukuru: Africa Christian Textbooks, 2011), 17.

² Graham... 16.

³ Lois... 60-63.

⁴ Graham. 53.

⁵ Lois... 66.

⁶ Lois... 67.

⁷ [www.worldometers.info>nigeria-population](http://www.worldometers.info/nigeria-population). 22/2/18.

⁸ Peregrino Brimah [Every Nigerian Do Something] 100 years and 100 Interesting Facts about Nigeria/Every Nigerian. <http://ends.ng/100-years-and-100-interesting-facts-about-nigeria> 4 Jan., 2014 (22/5/14)

⁹ Peregrino... (22/5/14)

¹⁰ Lagos used to be the Capital of Nigeria, until 12th Dec., 1991 when in the Administration of Ibrahim Badamosi Babangida the then President, it was moved to Abuja.

¹¹ *NIGERIA: PAST, PRESENT AND FUTUR....* 18/1/14.
http://www.mongabay.com/reference/new_profiles/Nigeria.html (18/1/14).

¹² *NIGERIA: PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE...* (18/1/14).

¹³ *NIGERIA: PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE...* (18/1/14).

¹⁴ Profile – Nigeria – INADEV <http://www.inadev.org/profile-nigeria.htm>.profile(18/1/14).

¹⁵ Eluwa.... 171.

¹⁶ Eluwa....170.

¹⁷ Pauline Lere. *The Church in West Africa*. (Jos: Dekka Publications, 2008), 79.

¹⁸ Pauline.... 79-81. (cf. Pauline M. Lere, The Activities of the S.I.M. And S.U.M. among Leprosy Patients in Northern Nigeria.1928-1988.PhD thesis submitted to the University of Jos. (July, 2005), 121. cf. Ian Fleck, *Bringing Christianity to Nigeria: the Origin and Work of Protestant Missions* (Bukuru: African Christian Textbooks. 2013), 27.)

¹⁹ Pauline.... 80-81, (cf. Turaki.... 61-69, 205-252, Ian Fleck, *Bringing Christianity to Nigeria: the Origin and Work of Protestant Missions*. (Bukuru: African Christian Textbooks. 2013), 255-273.)

²⁰ Dogara Gwamna et al (eds). *From Shoulder Carriers to Christ Seekers: A History of SIM and Christianity in Gbagyi Land*. (Garki: ECWA Garki DCC. 2013), 13. (cf. Turaki.... 396.)

²¹ E. A. Ayandele. *The Missionary Impact on Modern Nigeria 1842 – 1914: Appraisal and Social Analysis*. (Ibadan: Longman, 1966), 29. (cf. E. P. T. Crompton, *Christianity in Northern Nigeria*. (Bukuru: Africa Christian Textbooks, 2004), 240-242, Turaki.... 396-397).

²² Pauline.... 49, (cf. Eluwa.... 158-170).

²³ David Jowitt. *Christianity: A Concise History* (Ibadan: Kraft Books Limited, 2010), 224.

²⁴ Jowitt.... 224.

²⁵ Ian Fleck.... 58-60.

²⁶ Jowitt....222-223.

²⁷*Northern Nigerian Protectorate.*
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Northern_Region,_Nigeria#p-search (18/1/14).

²⁸ *Northern Nigerian Protectorate*.... (18/1/14).

²⁹ *Northern Nigerian Protectorate*.... (18/1/14).

³⁰ *Northern Nigerian Protectorate*.... (18/1/14).

³¹ *Northern Nigerian Protectorate*.... (18/1/14).

³² They are called in English the Hausa, Fulani and Kanuri Christians. Under the Association “Tarayyar Masihiyawan Nigeria” (TAMAN) Interview with Comfort Hassan, and Rev. Dr. John Hassan former Deputy Provost, Theological Seminary, Kagoro, and Pastor in charge ECWA Hausa no. 1 Kano, Kano State. (23/2/18).

³³ Dogara.... 9-10. (cf. Ian.... 57-58).

³⁴ Ian.... 61.

³⁵ Crampton.... 248.

³⁶ Dogara.... 1.

³⁷ Bello.... 29-30.

³⁸ Mark Hopkins and Musa Gaiya, *Churches in Fellowship: The Story of TEKAN*.(Bukuru: Africa Christian Textbooks, 2005), 71.

³⁹ Z. D. Goshit, Pauline Lere et al Editors. *History of the Church of Christ in Nations (COCIN): 1904-2013*. (Jos: COCIN Headquarters, 2013), 1. (cf. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Church_of_Christ_in_Nations. (cf. COCIN. www.cocin.org>about-us>history-of-cocin) 22/2/18.)

⁴⁰ Z. D. Goshit, Pauline Lere... 50.

⁴¹ Goshit said it is not 1948 but 1951 (that is the general agreed date) that SUM gave the Nigerian Church branch of COCIN the freedom to administer her own affairs. Z. D. Goshit, Pauline Lere et al eds., (2013), 76-77.

⁴² Z. D. Goshit, Pauline Lere... (2013), 82-85. (ERCC is a Calvinist denomination in Nigeria. cf. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Evangelical_Reformed_Church_of_Christ_in_Nigeria).

⁴³ Z. D. Goshit, Pauline Lere.... 77-79.

⁴⁴ Hopkins and Gaiya.... 77-79. (cf. www.amazon.com/History-United-Methodist-Church-Nigeria/dp/0687090148. Ian.... 227-253).

⁴⁵ Hopkins and Gaiya.... 77-79. (cf. www.amazon.com/History-United-Methodist-Church-Nigeria/dp/0687090148. Ian.... 227-253).

⁴⁶ Hopkins and Gaiya.... 79-81. (cf. Ian.... 227-253. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Christian_Reformed_Church_of_Nigeria or What's Behind the Takum War? http://www.2.crcna.org/pages/osj_takumhistory.cfm).

⁴⁷ David Bulala, *The Lutheran church of Christ in Nigeria (LCCN): Its History and Development*. (Jos: Ade Printing Press, 2001), 7-13.

⁴⁸ David Bulala, *The Lutheran church of Christ in Nigeria (LCCN): Its History and Development*. (Jos: Ade Printing Press, 2001), 13. (cf. Hopkins and Gaiya.... 81-82. Ian.... 227-253. <http://web.archive.org/web/20120426052958> or <http://www.lccnigeria.org> or http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Lutheran_Church_of_Christ_in_Nigeria).

⁴⁹ Galen R. Hackman, *An Introduction to the Brethren History*. (Mubi: TEE College, Ekklesiyar 'Yan'uwa a Nigeria, 1992), 98, 112-113. (cf. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Church_of_The_Brethren_In_Nigeria or <https://www.brethren.org/global/nigeria>).

⁵⁰ Turaki.... 205-253.

⁵¹ Crampton.... 45-62. (cf. Turaki.... 206.)

⁵² Turaki.... 210.

⁵³ Turaki.... 213.

⁵⁴ Turaki.... 217.

⁵⁵ Turaki.... 214-215.

⁵⁶ Turaki.... 216. (See also Endnotes on page 253 for more information on this title.)

⁵⁷ Missionary Witness (MW), June, 1919. 165-167. (cf. Turaki.... 216- 258).

⁵⁸ J. H. Hunter, *A Flame of Fire: The Life and Work of R. V. Bingham, D. D.* (Toronto: Sudan Interior Mission, 1961), 124-126. (cf. R. V. Bingham, "The Cradle Roll of our Magazine: A Review of History, Editors and Policy," in *Missionary Witness*, April, 1937. 84-91. MW. June, 1919. 165. Turaki.... 217- 258.)

⁵⁹ Minutes of Conference of Missions in Northern Provinces Nigeria. 1926 at Miango. Nov. 13-18 1926: 160-161. (Turaki.... 219 – 258)

⁶⁰ Summary of enclosed material outlining how Sudan Interior Missions Gained Entrance in Muslim Areas of Northern Nigeria. SIM Archives, Toronto, Canada, Article 4, Lindon conference 1927, and Article 5, References to the 1927 London Conference. (cf. Turaki.... 219 - 258.)

CHAPTER FOUR: THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED MISSIONARY CHURCH OF AFRICA: HER CONCEPTS AND MANIFESTATIONS

4.1 The Background of UMCA

Five Church organizations were apparent in the history of UMCA. These are: The Anabaptists, the Mennonites, the Mennonite Brethren in Christ Church, the United Missionary Church and the Missionary Church. However, the history of UMCA cannot be complete without the mention of Menno Simons and Alexander Woods Banfield though not a comprehensive discourse.

Menno Simons (Fig 51) was born in 1496 near the North Sea in the little Dutch village of Witmarsum – Friesland in what is now the Netherlands. Little is known of his early life, but in his youth he decided to train for the Catholic priesthood and entered a monastery.¹ In 1524, Menno was appointed priest in a neighbouring parish.² One day while he was celebrating mass

during his first year as a priest, the thought that the bread and wine he was handling could not possibly be the flesh and blood of Jesus Christ struck him. In desperation he decided to search the Scriptures on this and other issues. He decided in 1536, to leave the Roman Catholic Church, was re-baptized and joined the Anabaptist movement in 1537. A few months later Menno was ordained as one of their ministers³ and not long after that, he was made not only the founder of a new denomination as it were, but the leader of many scattered congregations of believers, and the name “Mennonite” (named after Menno Simons) gradually replaced that of Anabaptist.⁴ Menno Simons died in Denmark in 1561.⁵

Alexander Woods Banfield (Fig 52) was born in Quebec City, the capital province of Quebec, Canada, on Sunday, August 3rd 1878 to William Henry Banfield and Elizabeth Jane (Johnston) Banfield. At the age of 22, he was converted through the ministry of the MBC and gave his life to God to go to Africa as a missionary.⁶ To achieve this, he took up evening classes

Fig 51

Menno Simmons

Fig 52

Alexander Woods Banfield

Fig 53**Banfield and Tutor**

at the Toronto Bible Training Institute where he heard about the “burden of the Sudan” as it was then called. So in 1901, Banfield was recruited⁷ into what was initially called “Africa Industrial Mission” and came to be called the Sudan Interior Mission, established with the goal of reaching the Muslim Hausas of Northern Nigeria. In recognition of Banfield’s activities in Mission work, Bible translation, and printing accomplishment, he was made a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society of London in 1928.⁸ At age 56 he suffered a stroke⁹ and on 22nd Nov., 1949, A. W. Banfield died at age 71 in his hometown, Wuestenfelde and was buried in the old Toronto cemetery called “mount pleasant.”¹⁰

The Anabaptist as a movement was started on January 21, 1525 by Conrad Gebel, Felix Manz, and George Blaurock, along with twelve others who re-baptized themselves.¹¹

The Mennonites is a kind of re-branding of the Anabaptists group aimed at articulating and reviving the teachings of the early Swiss brothers. They were so-called after Menno Simons as highlighted earlier. The Mennonites do not have any official creed or catechism of which acceptance is required by congregations or members. However, there are structures and traditions taught as it could be found in the Confession of Faith.¹²

Around 1860, This brought about a strong family or community solidarity which later became one of the features of Mennonitism. The spiritual kinship resulting from this gave the group the name, “Brethren” and eventually they came to be called “Mennonite Brethren.”¹³

The Mennonite Brethren in Christ Church was formed on December 29, 1883, following a series of mergers between the Reformed Mennonites and the New Mennonites (1875), the Evangelical Mennonites and the United Mennonites (1879), and the Evangelical United Mennonites and a Brethren in Christ group (Swankites) in 1883. As Dennis observed, “the formation of the M.B.C. Church in 1883 was the result of a spiritual awakening that occurred throughout North America and ultimately pervaded the Mennonite Church in the late 19th century.”¹⁴

The Church was later called The United Missionary Church from 1947 – 1969 and the name, “The Missionary Church” was adopted in 1969 following the merger of the Missionary Church Association founded by Joseph Ramseyer after he was dismissed from his former denomination and the United Missionary Church founded by Daniel Brenneman and Solom Eby. The Missionary Church is an evangelical Christian denomination of Anabaptist origins with Wesleyan, Pietist, and Keswickian influences. This implies that, Anabaptist was the name from 1525 – 1538, then it was changed to the Mennonites from 1538 – 1859; it became the Mennonite Brethren from 1859 – 1883; it was later called the Mennonite Brethren in Christ Church 1883 – 1947; then called the United Missionary Church from 1947 – 1969; later called

the Missionary Church 1969 – 1995 and finally the Evangelical Missionary Church from 1995 – present.¹⁵

Eusebius Hershey, who in 1880 heard the call to Foreign Service and gave up his life in mission service in Liberia, East Africa. Others have heard the call and so China, Africa, India, French Indo-China, Turkey, Palestine, and South America became hosts to United Missionary Church workers.¹⁶ The general conference of 1920, decided to co-ordinate the missionary work of the denomination, and the following year the United Missionary Society (UMS) was organized.¹⁷

A Foreign Missions Committee was appointed by the Conference in 1889 which was instructed to find a mission field among the North American Indians and to look for suitable workers. Soon after, a regular mission committee was established, (although, various districts were sending their missionaries separately at this time). In October of 1900, the American Mennonite Brethren Mission Union was formed as an effort to unite the North American Mennonite Brethren Churches in a common cause of global mission.¹⁸ The Mennonite Brethren in Christ Missionary Society (MBCMS) became the United Missionary Society (UMS) in 1921, with Rev, Ira Sherk as the first superintendent in Nigeria.¹⁹

As mentioned earlier, before the formation of the UMS, each of the MBC⁷¹ District Conferences was sending its Missionaries as representatives of their Home conferences to different countries of the world for evangelism without any central coordinating body. "...But by 1916, the idea of unified efforts at Foreign Missions resurfaced and gained fervency. Finally, the M.B.I.C. general conference of 1920 authorized the setting up of a Denominated Mission Board. As a result, in 1921, the United Missionary Society was formed...."²⁰ with the following as their first officers: J. A. Huffman – President; Samuel Goudie – Vice President; C. I. Scott

– Recording Secretary; A. B. Yoder – Corresponding secretary and C. N. Good as the Treasurer.²¹

4.2 The Birth of the United Missionary Church of Africa

Anthony Woods Banfield was the first UMS missionary to Nigeria sent in 1905. He made early trips in 1901 under the auspices of SIM along with E. Anthony of Michigan, A. Taylor and C. H. Robinson both of the SIM stock. In April 1903, Robinson and E. Anthony became sick so they left Banfield behind to continue the work unfortunately he too had to return home on 17th Dec., 1904 due to attacks from “Black Water Fever”²²

As stated earlier, the United Missionary Church of Africa, was thus born in the fires of evangelism. Its founders and early leaders had a missionary zeal that could not be quenched. They believe in what is called A.B. Simpson's fourfold emphasis on Jesus Christ as Saviour, Sanctifier, Healer and Coming King; the Anabaptist concepts of community and brotherhood; the evangelical emphasis of the lost estate of mankind and redemption through Jesus Christ.²³

Banfeild came back to Nigeria as the official missionary of the UMS in 1905.²⁴ Taking the parts of a complete wooden house with them which he erected on concrete pillars, hoping to keep out termites and other hazards, the Banfields sailed from North America on 27th August, 1905. They arrived in Port-Harcourt from where they sailed four hundred miles up the Niger River and finally reached their destination in a town called Shonga (Tsonga as sometimes spelt, but it means the same and may be used interchangeably) near Share town in present Kwara State – a place he had concluded would be his base from the first visit. While in Tsonga, he constructed a building for worship and preaching, but it would not be correct to say this was the first church in the UMCA, because there was no Christian congregation established there. Rather, the first congregation was not organized until 1927, at Jebba.²⁵ Banfeild quickly began to translate the Bible and other Christian books into Nupe language.²⁶

In 1906, two new workers namely: Florence Overholt, and Cornelia Pannabeeker, were sent to join him in Tsonga. Similarly, in August 1907 two more missionaries joined Banfield. They are: Ira Sherk from Michigan (USA), who was barely 21 years old and had taken a course on tropical medicine at Living Stone College England, and Emma Hostettler from Ontario (Canada), who was an experienced Mission Worker and had done church planting in Ontario and Manitoba. Using his medical expertise, Sherk, opened a simple dispensary and began to get attention of people in Tsonga with the help given in 1909.²⁷ The UMS moved to Share in 1916-1917, and Igbeti in Oyo State in 1919-1920 from here they made advances in Yoruba land.²⁸ The UMS then had a chance to go to Salka and Zuru, as soon as the colonial government allowed them to do so under a policy called the “policy of comity” which allowed the Missionaries to freely go up to Northern Nigeria, an opportunity UMS explored. Thus the UMS began a northern –focused – mission, and expanded westward, which the mission could attempt only after the World War II, when staffs were available.

As seen above, UMCA was formerly called the United Missionary Society (UMS) preaching stations. But at the first jubilee celebration in 1955, the indigenous Church called UMCA came into existence and was registered as a corporate body on 29th Sept., 1956 under the Land Perpetual Succession Ordinance, Cap 107 of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, with Registration Number 427.²⁹ The names approved as Trustees were: “David Olufemi Kolawole, John Kolo Isa, and Philip Gujiya.”³⁰ The following were later co-opted: Sule Magaji, Peter Kolo Audu, and Emmanuel Yakubu³¹ Today, following the demise of most Members of the Board of Registered Trustees (BRT), the denomination in 2013 decided to constitute a new BRT with the surviving member of the BRT as Chairman as follows: David Kolawole (Chairman) [see fig 54], J. Y. Bello (Vice Chairman) (fig 55), and the following as members; Ishaya Bamaïyin (fig 56), Julius Gana, (fig 57), P. Mendali (fig 58), E. O. Aweda (fig 59), B. O. Awesu (fig 60), E. A. Oguntowo (fig 61) and J. T. Harman (fig 62).³²

A turn over agreement meeting took place from 2nd – 4th Nov. 1977 and the resolution was taken on 22nd Nov. 1977. On 5th Jan., 1978, a special service to turn over the Church from UMS to UMCA took place at the United Missionary Theological College (UMTC) Ilorin, now called United Missionary Church of Africa Theological College (UMCATC) Ilorin with three (3) central administrative officers and four (4) District Superintendents. UMCA therefore became an independent, indigenous Church, with the following as the first central administrative officers: Rev. (Dr.) Jacob Bawa Isa as the first President, Rev. Samuel Adebayo Oloyede General Secretary, Rev. James Tswana Harman Treasurer/Vice President, And the four District Superintendents then were: Rev. Sule Magaji, Hausa District, Rev. Peter Kolo Audu, Nupe District, Rev. Joseph Adeyanju Adeyemi, Yoruba Kwara District, and Rev. Simon Adeyemo Adedokun Yoruba Southern District. The following were the representatives of the UMS, Allan Doner, O. L. Sherick, L. R. Sloat, A. E. Reifel, J. Walsh (Miss), E. L. Sloat (Mrs) and P. Sherick (Mrs). While James T. Harman, Samuel A. Oloyede, Joseph A. Adeyemi, Peter K. Ada and J. Walsh were the representatives from the UMCA.³³

For many years, the UMS in Nigeria had its headquarters in Jebba. But, in 1953, Ilorin, was chosen for the mission headquarters as it has remained to date. In 1955, the UMS marked the 50th anniversary of its work in Nigeria at which time the UMCA was officially incorporated. Presently, the UMCA is a well-organized body directed by Nigerians and recognized for its high standard of Christian living.³⁴ At the point of the departure of the Canadian Church in 1987, World Partners was formed as the official mission agency of both the Canadian and American Missionary Churches. Ten years later the alliance between the Canadian and American Church was officially dissolved while World Partners continued to serve as the mission agency for the Missionary Church of the United States.³⁵

The Present members of the Board of Trustees as it is called now as at 2017.

Fig 54

David Kolawole (Chairman)

Fig 55

J. Y. Bello (Vice Chairman)

Fig 56

Ishaya Bamaiyi

Fig 57

Julius Gana,

Fig 58

P. Mendali

Fig 59

E. O. Aweda

Fig 60

B. O. Awesu

Fig 61

E. A. Oguntowo

Fig 62

J. T. Harman

The Turnover agreement reads thus:

This Agreement of Turnover is made this 5th day of January, 1978, by the persons appointed to represent the United Missionary Church of Africa and the United Missionary Society being the persons whose names are set out in the First Schedule to this Agreement.

WHEREAS:

- 1. The United Missionary Society and its predecessor, the Mennonite Brethren in Christ Missionary Society has been organized in Nigeria since 1905 and whose aims are to assist in the establishment of churches over-seas which shall maintain and spread the Faith, and*
- 2. Almighty God by His Holy Spirit has brought to himself a large company of believers in Christ Jesus in Nigeria, and*
- 3. These believers have gathered themselves together in local churches with their ministers and officers, and*
- 4. These churches have their Local and District Councils, it was believed to be the will of God that these local churches with their Councils be formally established as a branch of the Church Universal which Church known as the United Missionary Church of Africa was established and whose registered Trustees were registered as a corporate body with effect from 29th day of September, 1956, under Certificate of Incorporation No. 427, and*
- 5. It is now believed there should be an autonomous United Missionary Church of Africa established in Nigeria whose responsibility shall include also that of the United Missionary Society, and*

6. For this purpose the United Missionary Society has by this resolution of the Field Executive Committee Minute E 31 of their meeting held on 22nd Nov., 1977, appointed the persons whose names appear in Part I of the First schedule here to as its meeting of the Joint council held November 2 to 4, 1977, appointed the persons whose names appear in Part II of the First Schedule as its representatives to execute this agreement of Turnover and each resolution provides that executive by three quarters of the respective representatives shall be sufficient and binding.

NOW therefore *THIS AGREEMENT WITNESSETH* that the United Missionary Society and United Missionary Church of Africa by their representatives declare as follows:

1. United Missionary Church of Africa is hereby constituted and recognized as an equal and autonomous community of Christian believers joining in faith and heritage.
2. The doctrinal standards of the United Missionary Church of Africa are as set out in the Constitution.
3. It is the universal conviction of the United Missionary Church of Africa that the office of the Christian Ministry depends upon the call of God who bestows His gifts upon whom He will. Those whom the United Missionary Church of Africa recognizes as called of God and therefore receive into its ministry shall, when they have fulfilled the requirements, be ordained by the imposition of hands for spiritual endowment for the ministry and as expressive of the Church's recognition of the minister's call.
4. that provision shall be made through an agreed-upon Constitution for the establishment of an annual General Conference and the appointment of such Church Officers, Boards, Councils and Committees as a deemed necessary and that the General Conference shall be the final authority in the interpretation of the Constitution.
5. That the property now held in the name of the United Missionary Society shall be transferred to the United Missionary Church of Africa by vesting the property in such persons or bodies as may be designated for the purpose of holding the property of the United Missionary Church of Africa.

Signed and sealed at Ilorin this 5th day of January, 1978, by the appointed representatives set out in Schedules I and II of this agreement.³⁶

From 1905 – 1955, UMCA had no constitution but used the Missionary Church of America based constitution and was controlled by field Superintendents and I. R. Sherk was the first Field Superintendent. Between 1956 when UMCA was registered to 1978 when the Turnover took place, UMCA used a draft Constitution by UMCA and the UMS and the UMCA Headquarters were the sole Administrators of the document. Between 1978 and 1990, the need for revision of the Constitution came up and so it was first revised in 1988, after much debate on the contents which borders on ethnic sentiments and language problems, under the

leadership of Bawa Salka and Jonathan Alabi Amao. From 1990 – 1996, UMCA used a kind of what Kolawole called Draft Implementation Formative Valuation of the Revised Constitution of 1988.³⁷ It was not until 2001 – 2006 that the UMCA has a Working Document as her Constitution due to the challenges highlighted earlier.³⁸

It is important to note that before the turnover, UMS had 14 Dispensaries, 17 elementary schools with three of such allowed to run full primary classes to standard 6, a Teachers' Training College, Bible Schools in Igbeti, Salka, Share, Tsaragi and Tungan Magajiya, and a Theological Institution in Ilorin. Some of the distinguished, gifted and dedicated indigenous workers and leaders who helped the Missionaries to establish UMCA in Nigeria include: D. O. Taylor (the first UMCA ordained minister), Andrawus Nama, Nathaniel Jiya, and Abel Kolawole (a pioneer missionary to the Nupe people).³⁹

4.3 Contemporary UMCA

When the UMS Missionaries, came to Nigeria, they planted preaching stations and health centres to cater for the health needs of the people they went to. Therefore, each church planted had a dispensary too in the following order: Shonga 1905 (this one no longer exists), Jebba 1909, Mokwa 1911, Share 1919, Zuru 1925, Kpaki 1926, Share 1927, Tsaragi 1937 and Yelwa/Yauri 1937.⁴⁰ The denomination also had UMS Hospital and Nursing School Tungan Magajiya (fig 63 and 64) established in 1949 which grew to be like a specialist hospital in the Northern region.⁴¹

UMCA has the following Bible Institutions: Yoruba Bible School Igbeti established in 1942, Hausa Bible School established in 1951, Nupe Bible School established in 1951, Magajiya Bible School for further studies and qualification for ordination, the United

Missionary Church of Africa Theological College (UMCATC)⁴² Ilorin established in 1956, and the Bible Correspondence Course in Jebba started in 1956.

In the 50s, UMS had 4 Primary Schools, namely, UMS Primary School Igbeti, UMS Primary School Jebba, UMS Primary School Zuru and UMS Primary School Share. She had UMS Junior High School Igbeti in 1958 and UMS Teachers' Training College Jebba in 1946 moved to Igbeti in 1947, then to Mokwa in 1961 and taken over in 1973. David Kolawole one of the early Principals said, Mokwa Teachers College as it came to be called, "...was rated as one of the best Grade III Colleges in Northern Nigeria during my tenure as Principal...."⁴³

4.3.1 Articles of Faith

- 1. The Triune God: UMCA believes that the one and only God is Spirit, self-existent, infinite, personal, immutable and eternal in his being. UMCA believe in His perfect holiness, love, justice, goodness, wisdom and truth, omnipotence, omniscience and omnipresence. UMCA believes that God is the creator and sustainer of the Universe, and that He is eternally existence in three persons, one in substance and co-equal in power and glory, the Father, Son and the Holy Spirit. Ps. 137:7-10; Mal. 3:16; Jn. 4:24; II Cor. 13:14.*
- 2. The Bible: UMCA believes that the Bible consisting of the sixty-six books of both the Old and New Testaments, given by divine inspiration, is inerrant in its original manuscripts and is*

Fig 63

Fig 64

Former UMS Hospital in Tungan Magajiya

the final authority in matters pertaining to faith and conduct. UMCA accepts the right and duty of personal judgment under the illumination of the Holy Spirit in the interpretation of the Holy Scriptures. I Tim. 3:16; I Pet. 1:25; II Pet. 1:21.

3. Man: UMCA believes that man was created in the image of God but fell into sin and therefore was lost, and only through regeneration by the Holy Spirit can salvation and spiritual life be obtained. Gen. 1:27; acts 4:12; Rom. 3:23.

4. Jesus Christ and the Work of Salvation: UMCA believes in Jesus Christ as the only begotten Son of God. He is fully God and fully man. UMCA believe in the truth of His teaching and His perfect sacrifice for the sins of the world which He offered once and for all in His death on the cross, His bodily resurrection from the dead and His ascension; His intercession and His coming again in power and glory. Jn. 1:18; 3:15; Tit. 2:1; Heb. 4:15.

5. The Holy Spirit: UMCA believes in the Holy Spirit as the third person of the God-head, and that through His illumination, conviction and regeneration, men are brought to repentance and faith in Jesus Christ. He continues the work of sanctification in the lives of believers and preserves them for eternal life. Acts 1:8; Rm. 10:9-10; Gal. 2:20; Eph. 4:1; I Thess. 5:23; II Thess. 2:13

6. The Last Things: UMCA believes in the physical second advent of Christ, which is the hope of the Church, the source of her encouragement, consolation, and up-building for purification, holiness and inspiration for activity and service: the resurrection of the body and final judgment of all men, the eternal perfection and blessedness of the saved and the eternal punishment of the lost. Jn. 14:13; I Thess. 4:13-16; Heb. 12:5-8; Rev. 21:7-22.⁴⁴

4.3.2 Doctrinal Beliefs

The Church is evangelical and as such accepts the infallibility of the Bible and its final authority in matters pertaining to faith and conduct, and believes that the Bible teaches:

- 1. The Divine inspiration, authority and sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures.*
- 2. The right and duty of personal judgment in the interpretation of the Holy Scriptures.*
- 3. The unity of the Godhead, and the Trinity of persons therein.*
- 4. The total depravity of human nature in consequence of the fall and need of regeneration.*
- 5. The incarnation of the Son of God, His atoning death and resurrection for sins of mankind and His mediatorial intercession and reign.*
- 6. The justification of the sinner by faith alone.*
- 7. The work of the Holy Spirit in the conversion of the sinner, the purification and infilling of the believer.*
- 8. The immortality of the soul, the resurrection of the body, the judgment of the World by our Lord Jesus Christ.*
- 9. The Divine institution of the Christian Ministry, the obligation and perpetuity of the Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper.⁴⁵*

On Spiritual Gifts, UMCA believes all that the Bible says about the person and work of the Holy Spirit. UMCA believes that every Christian has the Holy Spirit (Romans 8:9 and 1Cor. 12:13); every Christian should be filled with the Holy Spirit (Eph. 5:18). UMCA believes there is a special in-filling at first, but this must be renewed and kept up-to-date day by day. UMCA also believe that the Holy Spirit also gives spiritual gifts of Christians to help them perform various kinds of services. Some of the gifts, like healing, are miraculous, while others, like gifts of helps, mercy, giving seem more ordinary. They are all special abilities, for service given by the Holy Spirit.

UMCA would also want to note the following: The Holy Spirit decides which gifts to give to which Christian (Heb 2:14; 1Cor. 12:11). Each Christian has at least one gift (1 Peter 4:10 and 1 Cor. 12:7). There is no single gift to all Christians (1 Cor.12:4-30) (Speaking in tongues is not given to every Spirit-filled believer: therefore it should not be considered the necessary sign of being filled with the Spirit). The purpose of gifts is to build each other up in the body of Christ. (1 Cor. 12:7; 1 Cor. 12:12; 1 Pet. 4:10 and Eph. 4:11-12). The gifts must be used in a decent and orderly way. (1 Cor. 14:23, 33, 40). The gifts of the Spirit can be controlled by the persons having the gifts (1 Cor. 14:28, 32).

On Speaking in tongues, UMCA believes it is a phenomenon which is characterized by spontaneous utterance of sounds in a language which the speaker has never learned and may not understand. This is done occasionally amidst deep emotional prayer mood, or in worship. So as a gift of the Holy Spirit the UMCA subscribes to this phenomenon to be used for the edification of the Church. (1Cor. 14). While we do not forbid the use of this gift in the Church we caution that: Its use should be more in private devotion and less in public worship; we encourage that this gift be used orderly and decently as in 1Cor, 14:26-33. We

encourage more manifestations of the fruit of the Holy Spirit in the life of the individual Christian than speaking in tongues (Matt. 7:20; 1Cor. 13: 1-3; Gal. 5:22- 23). We reject, however: That every believer must speak in tongues; that any believer should be taught how to speak in tongue, that speaking in tongues is a sign of regeneration or spiritual maturity.

Divine Healing: Divine healing is a direct act of God to make well and sound in the body, mind and spirit. UMCA believes in the healing ministry as it is mandated and exercised in the Bible especially in the ministry of Jesus Christ (2 King 5:14; 20: 1-7; Matt. 10:1; Mk. 3:13-15; James 5:13-16). As UMCA encourage the healing ministry, she has the following conditions: we should not look to man, Jesus is our healer. The only element to be used in healing is oil and should be used as a symbol only (James 5:14-16). Healing is freely bestowed by God and not to become commercialized in any way by the ministers. Medical healing does not counteract divine healing; both complement each other.

Deliverance Ministry: Deliverance ministry is aimed at setting the Children of God free from various forms of satanic attack, demonic oppression, wicked principalities and powers. While UMCA do not believe that all human problems are demonic and that Christians could be possessed by demons, she believes that Christians could be influenced and oppressed in different areas of life (material, physical, financial, spiritual, etc.) by demons. UMCA believe that the Lord who emphasized deliverance in His own Ministry (Luke 4:18, 40-41) has given the ministry of deliverance to the Church (Mark 16:17-18). The Ministry of deliverance requires among other things, godly discernment and specialized knowledge. Therefore UMCA caution ministers not to assume that every Christian problem requires deliverance. Those who need pastoral help should receive counseling, encouragement, discipline, prayer support and deliverance in keeping with the actual causes of the need.⁴⁶

4.3.3 Fundamental Principles

In principle, UMCA set in place for herself the following objectives:

1. To advance Christian knowledge and practice through the establishment and operation of churches, schools and medical institutions and other services.
2. To provide places of worship and fellowship where God is praised, His word is proclaimed, people receive Christ as Saviour and Lord, believers are instructed, prayer is offered, discipline and love are exercised, and the ordinances are administered.
3. To obey the Great commission of our Lord so that through evangelism and missions, new believers may be gathered into new churches.
4. To foster spiritual unity and cooperation with Christian believers of other denominations.
5. To own personal properties, real and personal.
6. To establish companies, to deal in the sale of religious and other educational books, stationery and other items.
7. To invest in such other financial undertakings that can help in the propagation of the Gospel.
8. To prepare people for heaven; and

9. *To take the gospel to all unreached people in Africa and the world.*⁴⁷

4.3.4 Organizational and Administrative Structure

Before delving into the study of the organizational structure of UMCA, it is expedient to look at the definition. Structure is “an arrangement or organization, the way in which parts are formed into a whole. Something formed of many parts.”⁴⁸ From inception, the early leaders of U.M.C.A adopted the Semi-Episcopal form of Church Government and so, the administration and work of UMCA as a denomination was directed by five denominational boards, each of which is responsible to the General Conference. They are the General Board, Foreign Board, the Church Extension Board, the Publication Board and the Coordinating Educational Board who meet twice a year. Like her mother church UMC, UMCA government operates on three levels, namely: The General Conference, the District Conference and the Local Church Conference.⁴⁹ The line of authority as can be seen in the diagram (appendix 2 and 3),⁵⁰ is in ascending and descending order. All the various levels have to be passed through before an instruction or otherwise is given. Also in the descending order, the decisions has to go through the levels to the actual level at which the decision is to be conveyed.

The General Conference meets annually representing the entire denomination, departments, institutions and agencies; approve major policy decisions affecting any part of the denomination; consider recommendations from boards, general officers, departments or District Conferences; to serve as the final arbiter in the interpretation of the denomination’s constitution and adjudication of problems of major consequences which have not been satisfactorily resolved on lower levels; and to transact all businesses not otherwise provided but as it would affect the growth and unity of the denomination.⁵¹

This conference made rules relative to changes in discipline, procedure of organizations directly responsible to it, where necessary, it makes bye-laws for its government in accordance with the provision of the constitutions and actions of the General Conference, and delegates

authority to proper personnel expected to carry out these or other functions. The affairs in each District are directed by the Church District Superintendent (CDS) (formerly called the Presiding Elder) for an initial period of four years.⁵²

And the Local Church Conference At this annual meeting, the officers of the church are expected to give reports or account of their stewardship to the entire church, and make recommendations to the District Conference. Similarly, it carries out the recommendations of the General and District Conferences in matters that concerns them and affects the unity and growth of the denomination and her local fellowship group.⁵³

4.3.5 Growth and Expansion of UMCA

As stated earlier, Banfield came in 1905, in 1909, he went to Jebba and laid the cornerstone of the church on 3rd January, 1910. Then the Mission station formerly belonging to the C.M.S was occupied on Jan. 1, 1911 at Mokwa by United Missionary Society. In 1916, the mission was permitted to locate a mission in Share; in 1919 a large one was established in Igbeti, and by 1921, the Nigerian Government opened some parts of Northern Nigeria to missions, which led to the opening of a new mission at Salka, the beginning of work among the Kamberis. Zuru was the first UMS mission station in Northern Nigeria and it served the Northern Churches at that time, it was opened in 1925 and in 1937 another station was opened at Yelwa. In about 1947, a main station was opened at Tugan Magajiya. From the above listed major stations, the Church began to grow to other parts of the country. According to Crampton, by 1977, UMCA has 100 Churches 15,000 members in attendance each Sunday service.⁵⁴

4.3.6 Present Membership Status

At the turn over on 5th Jan., 1978, UMCA had four (4) District Superintendents. Namely: Andrawus Nama (Arewa/Northern District),⁵⁵ Simon Adeyemo Adedokun (Southern Districts), Joseph Adeyanju Adeyemo (Yoruba Kwara/Ilorin District), and Peter Kolo Audu (Nupe District.)⁵⁶ This grew in January 1988, to 7 Districts, namely: Agwara / Ya'uri District, Central District, Chapel District, Kontagora District, Kwara District, Northern District and Southern District. It grew to 15 Districts in 2000 and presently, UMCA has 31 Districts and 2 Area Councils directly under the Headquarters. (see appendix 1)

From the diagram in appendix 1, presently, UMCA has: 812 Pastors (excluding Church Planters all over the Denomination), 1,089 Churches (excluding Preaching Stations), over 122,931 members,⁵⁷ in 31 Districts and 2 Area Church Councils; and spread in 14 States of the Federation and the FCT.⁵⁸ It is also important to mention that about 172 Missionaries served in this denomination from 1905 to 1999.⁵⁹

4.3.7 National Leadership Profile

The under listed are the presidents that handled the affairs of the denomination, after it was handed over to the indigenes (Nigerians).

1. Revd. (Prof) Jacob Bawa Isa Salka	Jan. 1978 (fig 65)
2. Late Revd. Jonathan Alabi Amao	June 1980 – Dec. 1991 (fig 66)
3. Revd. (Dr) James Tswana Harman	Jan. 1992 – Dec. 1998 (fig 67)
4. Late Revd. (Dr) Peter A. Ishola	Jan. 1999 – Dec. 2004 (fig 68)
5. Revd. (Prof) Jacob Bawa Isa Salka	Jan. 2005 – Dec. 2006 ⁶⁰ (see fig 65)
6. Late Revd. Ishaya Noma	Jan. 2007 – Dec. 2013 (fig 69)
7. Revd. Peter Olanrewaju Awojobi (acting)	Feb. 2014 – Dec. 2014 (fig 70)

4.4 Contributions of UMCA as a denomination

Evangelism, education and medical outreaches were the approaches UMCA used in the past to achieve her great feat. In the words of J. Y. Bello, “this three-pronged approach gave the UMS an unprecedented break-through in its mission work through this approach, the UMS was able to successfully carryout mission work amongst eight different tribes, half of whom according to records, were not being reached by any other Missionary society...”⁶¹ before them. Medical work was seen by the UMS Missionaries “...as a means of expressing Christian love in action therefore, some of the best known missionaries were doctors.”⁶² Hospitals, Dispensaries and Clinics built in this region were proofs that Christianity cares for the “Total

Chronology of UMCA Presidents

Fig 65

Revd. (Prof) Jacob Bawa Isa Salka

Jan. 1978

Fig 66

Late Revd. Jonathan Alabi Amao

June 1980 – Dec. 1991

Fig 67

Revd. (Dr) James Tswanya Harman

Jan. 1992 – Dec. 1998

Fig 68

Late Revd. (Dr) Peter A. Ishola

Jan. 1999 – Dec. 2004

Fig 69

Late Revd. Ishaya Noma

Jan. 2007 – Dec. 2013

Fig 70

Revd. Peter Olanrewaju Awojobi (acting)

Feb. 2014 – Dec. 2014

Fig 71

Revd. (Dr) Moses Tswana

Jan. 2015 to date

Man” (body, soul and spirit). So UMCA led in this regard from inception because I. W. Sherk who succeeded A. W. Banfield as The Superintendent in 1915 “...opened the first dispensary in this part (of what is today called) Northern Nigeria.”⁶³

It was in this respect, UMCA founded the famous UMS Memorial Hospital located in Tungan Magajiya (former Northern Province) in present Niger State, built by the Women Missionary Society (WMS).⁶⁴ Being the first and best in the region, it grew from having twenty beds to forty- six beds within a period of seven years. This prompted the opening of a Nursing Training Centre to train more Nurses to meet-up with the challenges of more patients, equipping those who would take over from the white Missionary Nurses in the future, and prepare more Nurses to serve other Dispensaries owned by the denominations and that of other missions.⁶⁵

This hospital grew so popular in Nigeria that it almost turned into a Specialist Hospital⁶⁶ where all diseases were being successfully handled. So many souls were won for Christ through the hospital, especially its policy of devotion-before-medication. In addition to this hospital at Tungan Magajiya, there were many qualified UMS Medical doctors and registered Nurses serving in other UMS dispensaries and leprosy Treatment Stations located in various mission stations treating thousands of patients with leprosy and other ailments thereby, “giving hope to the rejected of the society, curing their dreaded infirmities, and winning their souls and those of their families for Christ. For at this time in Nigeria, there was no known native cure for leprosy; except banishment into the bush hopelessly waiting for death.”⁶⁷ See the picture of the first man treated of leprosy by UMS doctors. (fig 72).

It is a thing of interest to know that besides the many primary, secondary and tertiary institutions, and hospitals built by the UMCA and later taken over by the government, today

UMCA has five Bible Schools located in Salka, Jebba, Tsaragi, Igbeti and Tungan Magajiya; and a Theological College affiliated to The University of Ibadan in July 1988, and the University

Fig 72

Baba Shabanda healed of leprosy

of Ilorin in 2011⁶⁸ called UMCATC, to offer Bachelor of Arts in Religious Studies/Diploma in Religious studies, and Diploma in Religious Education respectively, which has raised and equipped great men in our society and the ministry like Prof. Akanmidu Raphael, Rev. Dr. Ogunkunle, Prof. S. Abogunrin, and Ministers from different denominations like ECWA, CAC, Anglican and many Pentecostal ministries with different names and affiliations; as can be seen

in appendix III containing the Statistics of UMCA, there are both Primary and Secondary Schools owned by some Districts and even some Local Churches of UMCA. In addition, efforts are on top gear to start a UMCA University.

4.5 Challenges Militating against UMCA as a Denomination

Just like any other denomination or organization, UMCA is not without challenges. It is expected to soar to greater heights, unfortunately, she remained plagued with strife, infighting and many other internal and external conflicts which have made her unable to compete or be at par with other sister Churches that came around the same period with her such as ECWA which came three years earlier and other SUM churches that came even later. These challenges or hindrances were treated under Internal and External Challenges below:

4.5.1 Internal Conflicts

These can be described as the “in house” challenges confronting UMCA as a denomination. These include:

4.5.1.1 Transfers

As mostly alleged, transfers are often used by the leaders at District levels (since each District employs and transfers her pastors) as payback for the grievances held against their subordinates. Similarly, though a pastor and even some members know that constitutionally, and under normal circumstances, no Pastor should exceed 5 years over a local assembly, but some pastors may build a kind of stronghold around themselves using the members who would ferment trouble or threaten fire and brimstone if their pastor is transferred. This has been the case in almost all Districts of the denomination where the researcher has been involved in the transfers and or settling disputes that arose from transfers carried out. This development, has greatly affected the growth of UMCA as a denomination as it creates, strife, hatred, and divisions even in a local Church.⁶⁹ On another hand, lack of proper judgment most times by the

leadership in transferring the right persons to head certain local churches does breed conflict. This has been the experience all over the denomination leading to some pastors leaving the denomination to either join other ministries or start theirs.

4.5.1.2 Finances

The denomination is mainly rural based with most of the churches not being able to give meaningful financial contributions to the Headquarters, but still relied on other churches for support. This also resulted to the poor remuneration given to Pastors in the denomination, it is such that a pastor collects as low as 4,000 monthly in Arewa District and could stay for months even up to a year without the so-called salaries.⁷⁰ Similarly, the denomination do not have central record or payment pattern; the situation is such that each District, ACC or Local Church determines the salary of her pastors. Sadly, there is no other source of income for the headquarters, instead, she relies on her churches for support and sustenance from 20% of tithes and offerings, which also hardly comes in. In the last financial year of the denomination (August 2016), during the presentation of the financial report, a District remitted as low as N104,000 in a whole year in an average of N8,600 per month. These amounts are meant to run the headquarters and secretariat which took 26 years to construct, pay staff salaries, etc. while she carters for the UMCATC and other needs that would arise from her churches scattered here and there. Ishaya Bamaïyi in his address (see appendix IV) pointed this as a sign or mark of unfaithfulness from the Districts.⁷¹

It is no longer news that the economic situation in the country is low and biting hard on the citizens. This has also affected the contributions and commitments of the members financially and even church attendance. The situation is such that some pastors have not been paid their salaries since they actually depend on the income from tithes and offerings from the members for them to be paid.

Similar to the above is the lack of proper financial regulations/management and pension schemes: this is a serious challenge plaguing the denomination, such that the pastors do not have what to lean on after retirement. A good example is that the past presidents of the denomination have to revert to teaching in the denominations Theological College in their old ages to get means of livelihood in the process one of them Rev. Dr. Peter Ishola died. But Rev. Dr. Haman Tswanya is still a lecturer.

4.5.1.3 Leadership Tussle

The denomination runs an unwritten policy of zoning her National officers among the three major languages or regions in the denomination, viz Northerners, Nupes and the Yorubas without considering certain factors like availability of qualified candidates and so on that may arise in the future. Presently, in the hierarchy of the denomination as is observed, the Nupes are heading almost all the national offices (National President, Women President, Board of Deacons, Youth President, Men's President, Missions Director, and Youth Director). This coincidence occurred based on election and some are raising eyebrows on this.⁷²

Two leadership tussles that almost split the denomination although settled but the pains and memory still lingers in the heart of many who are still looking for opportunities to revolt was the case at the time of Peter Ishola in 2004, who was qualified for his third term of three years but the Northern Districts brought in Rev Michael Auna. This did not go well with the entire house and the Slogan "to your tents, O Israel" was the result. It took the intervention of the BRT who worked together with other denominational heads to form what is called the Presidential Monitoring Committee (PMC) for one year to dais down the situation. After much debate on the constitutionality of the PMC, a peace pact which took place and so on, another election saw Ishaya Noma emerged as the President of the denomination from the North.

Unfortunately, he couldn't finish his tenure due to an accident that claimed his life and that of his wife, daughter, driver and driver's daughter.

After the demise of Ishaya Noma and another election was to take place, the second crises ensued between P. L. Awojobi and the current President, Moses Tswanya. It was so serious that the Nominating Committee Chairman had to resign, God actually saved the situation, but the wound still lingers. Though a mere coincidence, but it has been alleged that the crises between Share District (the home District of Peter Awojobi) and the National headquarters could not be divorced from the pains of the last election.⁷³

4.5.1.4 Commitment of Leaders and Members

Some UMCA members seem so loose that they are not proud of their denominations. We have sons and daughters of UMCA contributing to develop other ministries while theirs remain unknown. This moved Arewa District to start what they call "Sons' and Daughters' Forum" which meets at the end of each year, precisely during Christmas when almost all of them are expected to be home to drive in this concern and call for their support to develop their home churches. But the fact still remains that their allegiance and contributions for the remaining 364 Or 365 days of the year as the case may be, goes to other denominations, this is one of the reasons why UMCA has not gone that far. (As will be seen below, UMCA would have taken the advantage of her members in Urban Areas to start branches but inadequate manpower makes it difficult). The National Secretariat meant to house about 31 offices took 26 years to be completed while each Local Church and District was busy building their places, they left the headquarters which to date has no full furnishings even after completion five years ago. (fig 73 and 74).

4.5.1.5 Elections

Unfortunately, the issue of election in UMCA has been seriously politicized along ethnic and status divide. Since God is not allowed to lead, most times we end up having the wrong people in leadership positions, the results becoming one-sided and the opponents with their supporters working against the winner. This is evident in the last National election of the denomination which took place in 2015, Salka District in 2016, the Arewa District, and Arewa Central District elections of 2015 and 2016 respectively. As an official in the denomination, the researcher has been privileged to sit in the mediatory capacity to address such happenings. This is a very big problem that has affected the unity and stunted the growth of the denomination.⁷⁴

4.5.1.6 Ethnic Differences

Even in a local church, there are different languages, and the spirit of rotation of power and tribalism has eaten deep into the fabrics of the members of UMCA such that anyone who has done even something wrong and is punished, his people would rally round him to protest what they call “unjust treatment” of their kinsman. Recently, during the communal crisis in 2016 between the Yorubas in Share LGA and Nupes of Tsaragi LGA all in Kwara State, the Yorubas wrongly accused the President of taking sides with the people of Tsaragi because they are Nupes.⁷⁵

4.5.1.7 Inadequate Man Power

UMCA is 113 years today but without a single UMCA Church in the entire North East, South South, and South East. In the North Central, there is only one UMCA Church each in Benue, Nassarawa and Plateaus States. Even in Kogi. Kwara and Niger States, there are many LGAs without UMCA churches. In the North West, no church in Jigawa State, one each in

Fig 73

UMCA National Secretariat

Zamfara, Katsina, Kano and Sokoto States, two in Kaduna State; and out of the 21 LGAs in Kebbi State, no UMCA church in 14 LGAs. In the South West, no UMCA Churches in Ondo and Ogun States. One Church in Ekiti State, Few Churches in Lagos and Osun States and a good number clustered in few LGAs of Oyo State, with many LGA's without a branch of the Church there. This in the researcher's opinion is another area for further studies to get the actual data, and spread of UMCA in Nigeria. (see appendix III).

It is sad to note that 90% of these available churches are rural based and the membership very low though no correct statistics only average attendance can be gotten, (this is another viable area of further studies). There are calls all over for UMCA churches to be planted in places where they do not exist however; there are no enough pastors to send.⁷⁶ One would expect that since the denomination has Bible schools and a Theological College she could raise men for this work but due to these facts mentioned below, it is not really possible: most of her churches are mainly rural based, pastors raised are those to carter for rural denominations, similarly, lack of income to sponsor intending Pastors who would have been used is another problem; and the fact that her pastors are not properly catered for, some pastors who trained themselves though from the denomination, would prefer to go for greener pastures.⁷⁷

4.5.1.8 Indiscipline and Lack of Uniformity

Every District does what she feels as a District and no one queries her, in fact for those who are confronted, they decide to leave and join other denominations while the ministers start their own ministries. We have cases in Ilorin, Osun and Igbeti Districts. This goes in line with

the lack of political will to instill discipline or punish erring members by the leadership of the denomination. It is sad to note that every year, Districts are found to be unfaithful in their Monthly remittances and other National programs or contributions but no one has been punished to serve as deterrent to others. This has been an unhealthy trend rocking the denomination in so much that others are following suit since the uncommitted is not punished, then it appears sincerity does not pay.⁷⁸

4.5.1.9 Reactions to Changes

During the period of spiritual decline experienced by the Mennonites, there were no evangelistic services and no great efforts were put forth to win the young people. Some of them attended meetings of other denominations and eventually joined those churches. Noah Stauffer was the first Mennonite minister in Waterloo County who attempted to preach in the English language, and the sermon was first given in the Hagey Church about 1890. As highlighted above, revival meetings then were frowned upon, as also was preaching in the English language. There was also a definite opposition to Sunday schools, testimony meetings, and prayer meetings. Even singing a hymn in different parts was considered worldly. The leaders of the Church reasoned something like this: "Our fore fathers did not employ such methods, so why should we? Where does the New Testament authorize the holding of such services regularly? Ought we not to be on our guard against all new devices which may be employed to trap unsuspecting Christians?"⁷⁹ This accounts for the slow pace in growth of the Mennonite Churches and it seems obvious in UMCA today. For instance, when the issue of speaking in tongues (a thing alien to UMCA then) arose around 1981 in the then Arewa District which gave birth to over 7 Districts now, it was so serious that in 1983, some Pastors drove the Youths found speaking in tongues in the Church and Shut the Church. The end result was that many of the Youths left the Church and it gave room for Chapel of Grace to be founded in 1987 in Tungan Magajiya.⁸⁰

4.5.2 External Challenges

4.5.2.1 Undue Government Interference

Though highlighted even from chapter one, the level of inequity portrayed by the governments of this nation from various levels along religious divide is becoming alarming. It appears every government who comes into power at whatever level would carry out reforms in assisting and protecting his religion more than others; to fight for the course of his religion contrary to the oath they took during their swearing – in ceremony to be fair to all religions. This has really crippled the activities and spread of UMCA in KSSD. And beyond.⁸¹

4.5.2.1 Challenges of Islamic Fundamentalists

As highlighted in the previous chapter, the British Colonialists' opposition to Christian missionaries moved them to postulate Memoranda and Government Circulars, Colonial Regulatory Policies on Missionary Itinerancy, evangelization and preaching, planting of Churches and Mission Stations, setting up of classes for religious instructions and schools, social relations with Africans, etc. These were put in written, promulgated and circulated to the entire Northern region.⁸² it became obvious that the same is what the Muslim community and political leaders seek to enforce by denying Christians places of worship, Certificate of Occupancy (C of O) and other religious freedom and rights. This has made it impossible for UMCA to penetrate certain parts of the State and country at large, - particularly Northern Nigeria.⁸³

4.5.2.2 Unhealthy Competition and Rivalry with other Denominations

This is a major challenge unlike what it used to be as presented by Kolawole: “in the mid-20th century, there was a student exchange program between Sudan Interior Mission...and the United Missionary Society...UMS had a college at Igbeti for training Grade III Teachers while SIM had a Grade II Teachers Training College at Igbaja. Some teachers from UMS were trained by SIM, so some UMS teachers were sent to Igbaja, an SIM Mission station.”⁸⁴ Unfortunately, things are no more the same now.

In another development, for easy control and ability to spread properly across the entire North, “most of the missionary societies have had an understanding that they would not enter areas where another society was already working.”⁸⁵ Unfortunately, “the R.C.M. and various small unconventional Protestant have not respected the principle of the comity of missions and have felt free to move and work anywhere.”⁸⁶ The S.I.M. and U.M.S. have the same challenge in Kebbi area and so do other S.U.M. churches where ever they are found. This was caused by unhealthy rivalry and efforts to outwit one another. This development really affected the unity of the Churches in the Nation at large.

4.5.2.3 Mistakes of the Founding Fathers

As stated in the brief history of Banfeild, he concentrated on translation work at the detriment of planting churches for UMS which was why he was sent to Nigeria, even the Ministers that came after Banfield took to translation work like him, but they later abandoned it and concentrated rather on evangelism and church planting using the Hausa language. This really affected the brand of Christians produced and also affected negatively the learning and communication in the people’s language. “The Missionaries claimed that the native languages were difficult and hard to be spoken by the white man so they switched to Hausa being the trade language in the North as of that time. They saw Hausa as the easiest language that was understood and spoken by them and the natives.”⁸⁷ An example was Drukee the Missionary to

Salka between 1934 and 1935. He was quoted by Everek Richard Storms as saying, “the Kambaris talk, ‘hee haw’ ‘hee haw’ ‘hee haw’” like donkeys.”⁸⁸ But presently, work is fully on and the entire Bible is almost completed into Kambari language, under the Kambari Language Project (KLP).⁸⁹

4.6 Relationship with the World Partners International

At the point of the departure of the Canadian Church in 1987, World Partners was formed as the official mission agency of both the Canadian and American Missionary Churches working to assist the Nigerian Church of UMCA. Ten years later the alliance between the Canadian and American church officially dissolved in the form of a merger. The new partners, having taken each other’s measure for many years, produced a solid and remarkably fruitful union called the World Partners which emerged as a powerful force for missions linking the two countries together.⁹⁰ The World Partners continued to serve as the mission agency for the Missionary Church of the United States to oversee and assist her mission fields around the world in form of partnership as the word connotes. To date the relationship with the world Partners has remained cordial as they come visiting on invitations or to render assistance in any form and there are still alliances with the World Partners on issues that affects the denomination. An example was when assistance was needed to revive the UMS Mission fields in Sierra Leone and Liberia due to the aftermath of their civil wars in 2008 and 2011 respectively.⁹¹

4.7 Prospects of the United Missionary Church of Africa

Since UMCA stands for the truth and preaches a balanced Gospel that is aimed at the “Total Man” the Denomination has great prospects by taking advantage of the opportunities below:

-
1. Take advantage of programs like Conferences, Crusades, Outreaches, etc. When you go around the cities of this country, you find the streets, walls and fences of buildings littered with postal, banners and handbills inviting people for one program or the other. It has become obvious that the Church to some has become a business venture, and avenue to milk and sap unsuspecting individuals of their hard earned resources, through hypnosis, gimmicks and other ungodly ways. Since UMCA stands and preaches the truth, and knowing fully well the yearnings of the people for the word of God as could be seen everywhere and every time a program is called for or advertised; the denomination can take the initiative of moving in with the power of the word to get more and true converts to Christ.⁹²
 2. Political instability all over the world: The political situation in the country and the world at large is no longer news. Particularly in this nation, the social and print Medias are today awash with unfortunate and disheartening events following preparations for and the aftermath of elections. Many are apprehensive of politics and the voting process in the country. UMCA as a church should take this opportunity to instill the fear of God into the people to know leadership is a calling and responsibility to both God and man. Similarly, it can only be given by God.⁹³
 3. Poverty and Economic Recession biting hard on the masses: According to the National Bureau of Economic Research (NBER), recession can be defined as “a significant decline in economic activity spread across the economy, lasting more than a few months, normally visible in real gross domestic product (GDP), real income, employment, industrial production and wholesale-retail sales.”⁹⁴ This is majorly caused by inflation which is a general rise in the prices of goods and services over a period of time. The love of Christ shared at such a time as this could be real remedy bringing respite to the populace. Many are into so many dubious activities in trying to make ends meet, thereby endangering themselves and those around them. Promiscuity, robbery, lukewarm attitudes to the things of God are clear evidences of the present situation

around the country.⁹⁵ UMCA can cash on this opportunity to meet the people at the point of their needs through empowerment programs, giving of soft loans, visiting the poor and needy, widows and orphans with food stuff and so on.

4. Outbreak of diseases: Diseases are at times natural disasters and humans can also be causative agents. In all these, man needs relief if not total deliverance from this plague. The case of Ebola, HIV/AIDS, different kinds of Cancer, just to mention a few constantly plague the human race. Owing to the fact that Jesus promised healing and succor to those who believe in Him; if UMCA can key into the prophetic ministry and gifts of the church, inroads will be made to reach out even to the unreached. Remembering that even the founding fathers of the denomination used Medical outreach as one of their fastest and most effective method of evangelism.⁹⁶
5. All Institutions of Biblical Training owned by the denomination: Being blessed with so many Bible Schools and a Theological College, UMCA can take advantage of these to both raise man-power for her ministry and others and also use it as a source of additional income to sustain the denomination at large (through school fees, etc.).
6. Presence of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs): The menace of Boko Haram, Fulani Herdsmen and other ethnic and religious clashes have rendered many homeless and turned them to refugees in their home land. These developments led the government to set-up Camps to muster succor to these affected individuals including children. However, knowing the nature of people saddled with the responsibility of distributing relief materials, and the economic hardship in the country, these people are most times left without proper care and so are exposed to all kinds of humiliations, hardship and even diseases. UMCA can harness her human and material resources to meet the needs of these ailing population which will invariably bring them to Jesus.⁹⁷

In conclusion, the UMCA like her foster sister, The United Missionary Church had a definite evangelical theology of Armenian and Wesleyan character which is officially set forth in doctrines and discipline of the Mennonite Brethren in Christ Church. In addition to the standard evangelical doctrines, it teaches entire sanctification as a second work of grace after justification and regeneration, but also growth in grace and the possibility of sin and restoration after justification. As to ordinances, baptism is for adults and by immersion only; open communion is practiced, also washing of the saints' feet.⁹⁸ The premillennial position in eschatology was held. Non-resistance, nonconformity in dress, and the laying aside of needless indulgences were also a part of the teaching.⁹⁹ With these rich values, the country is ripe enough for the activities of UMCA to bring in more people to the Christian fold.

Notes and References

¹ Everek Richard Storms, *History of the United Missionary Church*. (Elkhart, Indiana: Bethel Publishing Co., 1958), 19.

² Everek.... 19.

³ Everek.... 20. (cf. Lynn Jost and Connie Faber. Family Matters: Discovering the Mennonite Brethren. Kindred Production, 2002. <http://mbconf.ca/home/about-us/our-story/Mennonites>. 17/4/2016.)

⁴ Lynn Jost and Connie Faber 17/4/2016.

⁵ Lynn Jost and Connie Faber 17/4/2016.

⁶ Clare Fuller, *Banfeild, Nupe and the UMCA* (Ilorin: World Partners for UMCA; 2001), 14.

⁷ Clare. 10.

⁸ Everek.... 238. (cf. Bello.... 32.)

⁹ Clare.... 105.

¹⁰ Clare.... 106.

¹¹ Lynn Jost and Connie Faber.... 17/4/2016.)

¹² Confession of Faith.
[http://www.anabaptistwiki.org/mediawiki/index.php/Mennonite Brethren Church confession of Faith 1902](http://www.anabaptistwiki.org/mediawiki/index.php/Mennonite_Brethren_Church_confession_of_Faith_1902). 17/4/2016.

¹³ Lynn Jost and Connie Faber. 17/4/2016.

¹⁴ Dennis D. Engbrecht, *Merging and Diverging Streams: The Colourful and Complex History of the Missionary Church*. cf. Timothy Paul Erdel, *Illinois Mennonite Heritage, The Missionary Church: from Radical Outcasts to the Wild Child of Anabaptism*. <http://missionary.church/wp-content/uploads/2015/10/MarriageMemoryMission1>. 17/4/2016. cf. History of the Missionary Church 1883-1983 – One hundred Years of historical distinction. <https://www.mcusa.org>. (cf. C. Henry Smith, *The Mennonites and Their Heritage*, (Indiana: Bethel Publishing house, 1950), 69). 17/4/2016.

¹⁵ History of the Missionary Church 1883-1983. 17/4/2016.

¹⁶ Everek.... 233 -235.

¹⁷ Everek.... 238-240. (cf. J. Y. Bello, *UMCA, The Journey So Far: 1905 – 2013*. (Ilorin: OPW Ltd., 2014), 32,34).

¹⁸ History and Roots, <http://www.bibleca/MBMissions>. Going to the Least Reached. 17/4/2016.

¹⁹ Everek.... 238. (cf. Bello.... 32).

²⁰ Some use MBIC while others use MBC as abbreviation for Mennonite Brethren in Christ. As such it would be used in the same way in this work.

²¹ J. Y. Bello, *UMCA, The Journey So Far: 1905 – 2013*. (Ilorin: OPW Ltd., 2014), 34.

²² Bello.... 34.

²³ Bello.... 30. (cf. Everek.... 239).

²⁴ Tim Erdel and Dennis Engbrecht, *Marriage, Memory, and Mission: Reflections on the 25th Anniversary of the MCA/UMC Merger*. Newsweek Magazine September 12, 1938. <http://missionary.church/wp-content/uploads/2015/10/MarriageMemoryMission1>. 17/4/2016.

²⁵ Back in Canada, in addition to speaking passionately about the need of the Gospel in the Sudan, Banfield got married to Althea Priest on 1st March 1905. He was ordained at the Church in Souffville, Ontario, and with his wife returned to Nigeria later in 1905. (For them to be allowed to get married however, Althea had to resign her “dedication” – similar to ordination, as a female evangelist which is in line with the rules of the city

mission workers society. Even to date UMCA do not believe in the ordination of women.)

²⁶ Everek Richard Storms. *What God Hath Wrought*. (Springfeild, Ohio: The United Missionary Society, 1948), 37-39. (cf. Fuller.... 55.,Dennis.... 182).

²⁷ Fuller.... 63. Similarly, the present location of the church in Tsonga is the first building and it is not standing where the original building was.

²⁸ Fuller.... 43.

²⁹ These gave birth to the southern Districts of UMCA, but it will not be discussed here as it will be out of the scope of this work. Rather it would be a viable source of research for intending scholars.

³⁰ Bello.... 60. (cf. Constitution of United Missionary Church of Africa (2006). ii., United Missionary Church of Africa Ministers Manual (2011). 2.

³¹ David Kolawole. *Adventure with Jesus: The 1story of my Life*. (Ilorin: Ad-Savour Concpts. 2014), 120.

³² David.... 127.

³³ David.... 131-132.

³⁴ *Constitution of the United Missionary Church of Africa*. . (Elkhart: Bethel Publishing Co., ND).8-9.

³⁵ E. R. Storms. *History of the United Missionary Society*. (Indiana: Bethel Publishing company, 1958), 246.

³⁶ *Merging Streams*: (Indiana: Bethel Publishing company, 1979), 50. (cf. *Emphasis on Faith and Living*. (Elkharta and F. F. Wayne. 1969), 17. World Partners. Ft. Wayne, Ind.: 1992-1996. Missionary Church Archive, Bethel College, IW.

³⁷ *Constitution of the United Missionary Church of Africa*. 10-9.

³⁸ David.... 125. The constitution was reviewed and adopted in 2017 under the chairmanship of the Legal Adviser of the Denomination, Bar. Stephen Many. Now UMCA has a new constitution in operation from 2018.

³⁹ David.... 125.

⁴⁰ Bello.... 51. (cf. Historical Background of UMCA, in UMCA National Diary, 2017).

⁴¹ Bello.... 35.

⁴² Bello.... 40-41.

⁴³ The College which was first established in Jebba was initially called United Missionary Society College (UMSC), until 1978, when the Missionaries handed over full administration to Nigerians, then the name became United Missionary Theological College (U.M.T.C). In 1997, the name of the College was changed to United Missionary Church of Africa Theological College (UMCATC). The College affiliated to the University of Ibadan for B.A. Religious Studies and Diploma in Religious Studies. The college has a correspondence status with the Accrediting council for Theological Education in Africa (ACTEA) and they have applied for Accredited States, which is yet to be granted. The college is also affiliated to the University of Ilorin for Diploma in Religious Education. Some of the graduates are holding prestigious professional positions in national universities, while many others are in leadership position in different church denominations both in Nigeria and abroad. Some of them are, Paul Vincent (in New York, USA), Prof. S.O. Abogunrin, Prof. A.O. Abe, Rt. Rev. Gbonigi, and Prof. M.F. Akangbe (in Nigeria), and others.

⁴⁴ David.... 55.

⁴⁵ *Constitution of the United Missionary Church of Africa*. (2006). 9-11.

⁴⁶ C. H. Smith. *The Story of The Mennonites* (Newton Kansas: Mennonite Publication Company, 1979), 15. (cf. *Constitution of the United Missionary Church of Africa*. 13-14).

⁴⁷ *The United Missionary Church of Africa, Ministers' Manual* (2011). 21-25.

⁴⁸ Bello.... 72-73.

⁴⁹ Qurik R. *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English* (London: Longman Publishing House, 1992).

⁵⁰ Global Anabaptist Mennonite Encyclopedia Online. <http://www.gameo.org>. 7/7/2011

⁵¹ *Constitution of the United Missionary Church of Africa*. (2006), 7-8. (cf. Bello.... 81-82.)

⁵² *Constitution of the United Missionary Church of Africa*. 17-28.

⁵³ This is by election and he will be eligible for 2nd term of another four years if voted in. (cf. *Constitution of the United Missionary Church of Africa*. (2006), 29-57.)

⁵⁴ Daniel Kauffman. *Mennonite History*. Mennonite Publishing house. <http://www.Mennonitehistory>. 17/4/2016. (cf. *Constitution of the United Missionary Church of Africa*.. 30-32.

⁵⁵ Crampton.... 161.

⁵⁶ Erroneously, some UMCA documents has Sule Magaji as the first Superintendent. (cf. *Constitution of the United Missionary Church of Africa*. 2016, iii., *The United Missionary Church of Africa. Ministers' Manual*, (2011), 3., *The United Missionary Church of Africa. Diaries to 2018.*, Bello.... 55., Interview with Ishaya Bamaïyi, 27/12/17.)

⁵⁷ *The United Missionary Church of Africa: UMCA Update December, 2017.*

⁵⁸ This according to the General Secretary of the Denomination (Rev. David C. Bawa) and the unfaithfulness of some District Superintendent is far below the expected membership of the denomination. (Interview on 29/2/18).

⁵⁹ These exclusions and data presented here could be areas of further studies. (cf. *The United Missionary Church of Africa: UMCA Update December, 2017.*)

⁶⁰ United Missionary Church of Africa 2013 Diary. 26-28. (cf. Bello.... 52-54).

⁶¹ In 2004, leadership tussle almost tore the denomination apart; therefore a Presidential Monitoring committee (PMC) was set up by the denomination to steer the affairs of the denomination until normalcy is restored and a fresh election was conducted. The PMC comprises the past living leaders (Presidents) of the denomination headed by Rev. Prof, Bawa Salka as the Chairman, Rev. Dr. Haman Tswana and Rev. Prof Michael. Akangbe was the Secretary (though he was not a former leader, but a former Provost of UMCATC). Rev. Dr. Peter Ishola was not included because it was as a result of his bid for the second tenure that the crisis erupted against a northern candidate – Rev. Michael Auna. (cf. David.... 160-165).

⁶² Ross H. Bell. *Pioneer Doctor: The Struggles and Rewards*. (Kitchener: Kitchener Printing, 1998), 19.

⁶³ Ross.... 19

⁶⁴ Bello.... 32.

⁶⁵ Ross.... 19.

⁶⁶ Ross.... 21. (cf. Bello.... 40-41).

⁶⁷ Ross.... 45. (cf. Bello.... 40-41).

⁶⁸ Ross.... 45. Cf. Interview with Baba Ayuba Mairiga (3/4/17). The first man successfully treated for leprosy.

⁶⁹ The college was initially called United Missionary Society College (UMSC), until 1978, when the Missionaries handed over full administration to Nigerians, then the name became United Missionary Theological College (U.M.T.C). In 1997, the name

of the college was changed to United Missionary Church of Africa Theological College (UMCATC).

⁷⁰ Issues of transfers and their attending challenges cannot be over emphasized. It has become a common phenomenon in all Districts annually when transfers are made, complains do arise and committees had to be set and the likes. Like 2010, the researcher was transferred to Birnin Kebbi to replace Rev. Simon Bissa, but it took several meetings from the church to the district level to resolve it. (cf. Ishaya Rizi Bamaïyi., “*Unity in the Church.*” An Address delivered during the 2017 General Conference. 3-4). Document attached.

⁷¹ This has been the situation and reports during the annual District Conference of Arewa District.

⁷² Ishaya Rizi Bamaïyi., “*Unity in the Church.*” An Address delivered during the 2017 General Conference. 5-9.

⁷³ This was really a coincidence due to somehow unconstitutional zoning formula adopted in principle but not documented. But the problem that this may bring if it persists is, if there are no qualified persons in a particular region, what would happen and certain regions like the Northern, has four major tribes – Lelna, Kambari, Dukkawa and Gungawa, similarly in the case of growth, what happens to the other tribes? Cf, Ishaya Rizi Bamaïyi., “*Unity in the Church.*” An Address delivered during the 2017 General Conference. 9-10.

⁷⁴ This led them to severing ties with the National headquarters all efforts to reconcile them proved abortive until the BOT intervened and they discovered they were wrong and asked for forgiveness and resumed the cordial relationship with the denomination at large. David. 153-172. Similarly, discussions with some of the aggrieved parties from both the Nupes and Yorubas of Tsaragi and Share Areas respectively points to the insinuations that the Yorubas were being marginalized and cheated in the last election that brought in Moses Tswana as the President of the denomination. (cf. Nominating Committee Chairman’s Report presented to the General Board of UMCA, 11th – 12th August, 2014).

⁷⁵ This is becoming a common phenomenon in UMCA. There is hardly an election at whatever level that all parties would accept the result in good faith. Just as like the politics in Nigeria, there has always been challenges after each election.

⁷⁶ Interview with Moses Tswana (UMCA President) 29/2/17.

⁷⁷ Yakubu D. Bako, the Provost of MBC Tungan Magajiya, believed that lack of finance is the major factor, the researcher believes there are more to this and lack of presentable manpower remains a challenge to the growth of UMCA as a denomination. Interview with Rev. Yakubu D.Bako. 23/2/28.

⁷⁸ Interview with Rev. Yakubu D.Bako and Rev. Monday Rafi, the Provost and Registrar, United Missionary Bible College, Tungan Magajiya. 23/2/28.

⁷⁹ Interview with Rev. Yakubu D.Bako and Rev. Monday Rafi, the Provost and Registrar, United Missionary Bible College, Tungan Magajiya. 23/2/28. More so, Yakubu Bako attributed this to lack of Central Administration, where every pastor is answerable to the President of the denomination, unlike what is obtainable now

⁸⁰ History and Roots. ... 17/4/16.

⁸¹ Interview with Haruna Bitrus on 12/10/17, and Filibus Zange on 9/4/17.

⁸² This was discussed with examples in chapter one.

⁸³ Interview with Dr. Mike Dikki on 7/4/17.

⁸⁴ David.... 27.

⁸⁵ E. P. T. Crampton, *Christianity in Northern Nigeria*. (Bukuru: Africa Christian Textbooks, 2004), 149.

⁸⁶ Crampton.... 149.

⁸⁷ Nciniya Dangana, *History of UMCA Bible Training School Salka*. (Jos: NBTT, 2012), 11.

⁸⁸ Nciniya.... 11.

⁸⁹ Kambari Language Project is an organisation put in place to improve the language and in the translation of the bible into Kambari language.

⁹⁰ Dennis.... 17/4/2016. (cf. World Partners Policy....)

⁹¹ Dennis.... 17/4/2016.

⁹² It has been observed that most times in the entire northern districts of UMCA and even the UMCATC compound, any programme hosted there seems to bring a large number of people to attend the program.

⁹³ Both the print and social media are awash with the kind of politics practised by many Nigerians to the detriment of our beloved country.

⁹⁴ 5 things Nigerians need to know about the Recession. www.naij.com/NEWS/Business Economy. 2/12/2016

⁹⁵ The financial hardship biting hard the world over is no longer news. Everywhere around the world you hear of the hardship the masses go through.

⁹⁶ The major challenge HIV/AIDS patients experience is stigmatisation and other attending health and human challenge associated between the carriers and their relation.

⁹⁷ The situation on the IDPs is taking a new dimension even with the coming in of the Fulani herdsmen - which is a kind of another terrorist organisation.

⁹⁸ This is now controversial as some do not believe in the washing of feet in UMCA today.

⁹⁹ 5 things Nigerians need to know about the Recession.... 2/12/2016.

CHAPTER FIVE: CHALLENGES AND PROSPECTS OF NATION

BUILDING IN KEBBI SOUTH SENATORIAL DISTRICT

5.1 Nation Building in Kebbi South Senatorial District (KSSD)

There exists confusion on the use of the terms, “nation-building” and “state-building,” though the terms are sometimes used interchangeably by scholars, both have fairly narrow and different definitions. For the purpose of this work and taking clue from earlier definitions, “Nation-building” can be defined as “the product of conscious statecraft, not happenstance; as a work-in-progress; and a dynamic process in constant need of nurturing and re-invention.”¹

Boko Haram, Independent People of Biafra (IPOB), militant groups and other centrifugal forces come to existence and ends up destroying lives and infrastructures invariably hindering nation building and tearing the country apart, as the case is in Nigeria.²

5.2 The Advent and Growth of the United Missionary Church of Africa to Kebbi South Senatorial District

It is true according to Adamo, that Christianity is not a foreign religion to Africa, because Africans like the European Eunuch (Acts 8:26-40) handled the Bible even before the Europeans, and that an African country – Egypt was a refuge for baby Jesus (Mat. 2:13-15), but in this context, the people of this Senatorial District had not gotten the knowledge of Christianity before the advent of the UMS missionaries.³ Similarly, this argument could take us out of the scope of this work hence the need to restrict ourselves to this understanding. The United Missionary Church of Africa, is the first Christian denomination established in this region⁴ it came through the UMS by the duo of Joseph Ummel⁵ and Paul Ummel, (fig 75) in

Fig 75

Paul Ummel and family

1925, but it was after 10 years of what seemed as fruitless labour that the first church service was held in 1936 in Rikoto area where the first church was built.

Though the impact of UMCA at the onset was slow, but the missionaries were patient; and the resultant effect was the production of strong-willed converts who resisted all kinds of hardships, rejections, mockeries, beatings, stoning, etc. to preach to their own people who would not want to see them for denying the faith of their fathers. Andrawus Nama (fig 76), Sule Magaji (fig 77), Tom Sakaba and Johm Zome (popularly called the famous Zuru twins) were among the very first converts to Christianity. They were usually stoned and beaten in the market squares yet they could not bulge. Their resilience and resolve in preaching the gospel (fig 78 and 79) gave rise to great preachers too like: Rev. Ezra Dikki (fig 80), Rev. Philip Dabo (fig 81), etc. These converts according to Ubandawaki underwent a kind of indoctrination instead teachings on the Christian faith. So they believed without questioning and went all out in the same manner. Today, the Christian witness is very strong in this region.⁶

The following are the reasons for the slow-pace in making converts by UMCA in this Senatorial District at the onset:

1. False allegations: There were so many false allegations leveled against the converts, chief among these are: that the Christians are cultists, that they are promiscuous even in the Churches (since men and women go and also seat in the same Church together contrary to the way of life of the natives where women are not allowed to stay together with men talk less of knowing what the men are doing). Similarly, there was the allegation that when the believers die they become donkeys, therefore, since everyone native desires a kind of burial, they refused to join Christianity), that the converts use to sacrifice their children or loved ones particularly during Christmas, and that they take turns in giving their children as meat during Christmas and so on.

Fig 76

Andrawus Nama

Fig 77

Sule Magaji

Fig 78

Fig 79**Type of Gramophone used in evangelism by early converts of UMCA**

Christian women were accused of using human blood to fry bean cake so it is sweet and attracts more buyers. All these scared people into Christianity.

2. The converts were seen as lazy people

3. They suffered terribly from their people for abandoning the religion of their fathers; some of them like Elisha Anthony were supposed to be heirs to the worship of the gods; so they were greatly persecuted. This frightened intending converts.

4. They were denied wives to marry and treated as outcasts (women naturally follow the religion of their parents or husbands)

Fig 80

Rev. Ezra Dikki

Fig 81

5. The missionaries discouraged marrying two or more wives, even those who earlier converted backslid because of the doctrine of one man, one wife.

6. The traditional religion was highly revered and feared due to the kind of initiations and oath of secrecy taken during initiation mostly done as a means of ushering young men to adulthood and the women were not to be involved in religious activities, since it is a kind of men's world.

7. Accepting Christ brought division along family lines as the converts were detested, persecuted, and disowned.

8. Commitment to the faith of their fathers.

9. Christianity seen as a strange religion.

10. Christianity was seen as teaching rebellion and disrespect to the traditions of the people and Elders.

11. The Missionaries were seen as ghosts because of the colour of the skin.

12. Inability to differentiate between the Slave traders and the Missionaries.

13. Natural human reactions to change.⁷

14. UMCA made very slow progress because, while ECWA and RCM soft pedaled in accepting members, UMCA remained rigid in her doctrines of holiness and living like Christ (Almasihu)⁸

Crampton, in agreement with Henry Venn's theory⁹ of church indigenization rightly asserts that, growth of Christian Mission among any people hardly takes a reasonable turn until the indigenes take over or are fully involved in the work of evangelism. He said, "when groups of indigenous people were so aroused then the Christian groups grew by geometrical rather than arithmetical progression...."¹⁰ Therefore, UMCA started spreading between 1936-48 when the soldiers returned from the World War II. Those converted in the Army like Ayuba Kachi Peni, Daniel Dazi, Philip Gujiya, Mark Maikyau; came and meeting with the Missionaries, joined in spreading the gospel alongside the early converts like, Philip Dabo, Ezra Dikki, Bamaiyi Sunduh, etc. They preached in every market day, before coming home, some even wrote relations to listen to the missionaries and become Christians. Christianity in this Senatorial District is almost a century old in 2018 and there are over 30 different denominations all around the area. The UMCA church moved in this order in the Senatorial District and have the following Churches and preaching stations today: Zuru LGA in 1925 with ninety-two Churches, Yauri LGA in 1937 with five Churches, Danko/Wasagu LGA in 1942 with one hundred and twenty-six Churches, Fakai LGA in 1946 with seventy-six Churches, Sakaba LGA in 1947 with forty-two Churches, Shanga LGA in 1951 with eight Churches and Lastly Ngaski LGA in 1976 with twenty-nine Churches

5.3. An Evaluation of the Impact of UMCA in Kebbi South Senatorial District

The impact of Christianity upon communities which were traditionalists is perhaps easier to examine, as in many cases the missionaries and later the indigenous Christians were the main agents of social change. Though the Christian Missionaries that

came to KSSD were few and it seems difficult for their impact to be felt but as the years went by, the changes became obvious, as can be seen below. However, for Nation building to be seen to have taken place, the following must be seen: building a matured, progressive, stable and participatory political pluralism; developing appropriate economic infrastructure and policies to achieve economic progress; building social unity and cohesion; and engendering a dynamic value-based culture rooted in a people's uniqueness.¹¹ Hence the need to analyze and evaluate the contributions of UMCA in KSSD in this light.

5.3.1 Education Sector:

One area where UMCA played a leading role in the development of KSSD was in the education sector.¹² Paul Ummel (an Agriculturist and Educationist) from inception, embarked on learning C'lela, (the language of the natives) so he could work and communicate with the host community. He started the educational reform in this region with the adult education and the slogan "war against illiteracy."¹³ With his wife – Phoebe, Paul taught the people how to read and write. One of the earliest students was Na'allah Dikki who later proceeded to Salka Bible School in the present Niger State started by the UMS Missionaries, alongside other graduands like Ezra Dikki.

The UMS School was the first and only school in Zuru as at 1926. And by 1935, the missionaries got approval by the government to start the school properly. So in 1935 the school graduated its first class of twenty-two and they received their School Leaving Certificate (SLC).¹⁴ After graduating her first set of Adult Education, UMS converted

the training center to a primary school popularly called the United Missionary Society Primary School Zuru, (UMS Primary School)¹⁵ (fig 82 and 83), and John Dazi became the first indigenous Education Officer (E.O). The educational pursuit and interest was so high that the UMS started other Primary Schools in Ribah and Tungan Magajiya, and sent their graduates to the Teachers’

Fig 82

Fig 83

UMS Primary School now called Andi Gomo Primary School

Training College in Mokwa and the School of Nursing in Tungan Magajiya (all in present Niger State) built by the UMS; by this effort, they were able to raise Teachers and Nurses to boost the nation-building activities in KSSD. From these centers we have the present Deputy Governor of Kebbi State, Samaila Yombe, Former Secretary to the

State Government (SSG) and Ambassador to Chad Yakubu Kwari, Benjamin Dikki, former Director BPE, Ishaya Bamaïyi and Musa Bamaïyi, former Chief of Army Staff and former Director NDLEA respectively; Chairmen of LGA's, Directors in different fields, renowned Legal Practitioners, Educationists, Doctors and Nurses all over the country.

It is in appreciation of this kind gesture and complimenting the denomination that Ishaya Rizi Bamaïyi (a member of the UMCA Board of Trustee), a former Chief of Army Staff and son of one of the earliest converts and a Pastor – Bamaïyi Sunduh, constructed a model Boarding Secondary School in Senchi and named it after his mother, “Mama Arziki Comprehensive Secondary School” (fig 84 and 85). Similarly, he also worked with the government of the State towards the construction of a road to link Zuru and Senchi so that people could access the hospital and school he built there. Similarly, Ishaya Bamaïyi also carried out so many humanitarian services all over the Emirate and beyond in addition to sponsoring Christians and Muslims to pilgrimage to Israel and Mecca respectively.¹⁶

The educational institutions both secular and religious founded by UMCA also serves as employment opportunities for the people of KSSD. It is however sad to note that after these schools were taken over by the Government of Nigeria in 1978 (a thing that Nicholas Okoh termed “a wrong step in the right direction” and actually affected the development of education in this region and Nigeria at large, as rightly observed by people like Nicholas Nwagwu, Greg Ohagwu and Christopher Omotunde),¹⁷ due to loss of vision, bad leadership and lack of funds,

Fig 84

Fig 85

Mama Arziki Secondary School

UMCA was only able in 1991 to start and maintain one Nursery/Primary and Secondary school in this area located in Zuru and called Andrew Namah Nursery/Primary and Secondary School.(fig 86 – fig 88) Another school was to be started in Yauri by Apollos Agamalafiya in 1995, but contentions hindered this, however, efforts are on the way to start another one by the Women Fellowship of the thirteen Northern Districts. Martha Bamaïyi also single handedly built a model private Nursery and Primary School.

Though much has not been done by UMCA so far in this enclave, but, they have set aside a Sunday annually for special offerings for scholarship to her members in tertiary institutions and those undergoing Bible training. Another welfare package is for the widows and orphans where a Sunday is set aside too, annually to relate with them,

provide and raise offerings/assistance for these people. In addition, Benjamin Ezra Dikki (former Director BPE) also a son of one of the earliest converts – Ezra Dikki; was given an award on 7/4/17, by the Zuru Emirate Council for “Excellent Service to Humanity.” He was also conferred with the traditional title of “Sarkin Yakin Zuru” on 9/4/17. (fig 89 – fig 90). All in recognition of his efforts to bridge the gap created by the failures of UMCA to continue the legacies of the founding fathers of the denomination educationally. He has been paying JAMB, WAEC and school fees for many students; he gave empowerment to widows, orphans and the less privileged, and has carried out so many social activities to boost the Emirate and her people for example: He has constructed over 20 motorized boreholes in different locations across the emirate, and sponsored the constructions and renovations of Mosques and Churches.¹⁸

Another area of educational contribution by UMCA was the production of reading materials, like the Bible and hymnals;¹⁹ C’lela Dictionary and Grammar, etc. Baba Bulus Doroh and Benjamin Dikki led in this feat (fig 91 and 92). Similarly, the knowledge of English language brought by the Missionaries helped in promoting communication and good mutual relationship among the people and the outside world.

Fig 89

Fig 90

Benjamin Dikki conferred with the traditional title of “Sarkin Yakin Zuru” on 9/4/17

Fig 91

C’lela Dictionary by Bulus Doroh

Fig 92

C’lela Hymn book by Benjamin Dikki

5.3.2 Health Sector:

Before UMS established a hospital in Tungan Magajiya, which was a center of excellence and provided efficient tertiary health care to people from far and near (including Ghana, Cameroon and within the country),²⁰ Paul Ummel and his wife

Phoebe opened the first ever dispensary in Zuru called UMS Dispensary (the natives called it Asibitin Daniel – after the first indigenous lay practitioner), at the UMS mission compound, where they started attending to the health needs of converts and non-converts alike. The dispensary opens every morning with prayers to God and for the patients. Andrew Waziri and Ayuba Kachi Peni were among the first indigenous Christians to practice as attendants in the dispensary. This singular act of addressing the health challenges of the indigenes and especially the converts brought transformation, hope, and aided in the evangelization of Zuru land and her environs.²¹

Mama Hadiza observed that, a woman was once attacked by a lion who left indelible marks on her head and all gave up on her but the missionaries took her in and treated her and she lived. Therefore, this gave the people more confidence on the kind of medicine brought by the missionaries, and many who either saw or heard of the miracle gave their lives to Christ.²² Another example was Baba Ayuba Mairiga from Shabanda, one of the first converts and reason for starting a leprosarium in Shabanda covering the entire Yauri Emirate who was baptized on 4th Nov., 1955. He had leprosy but Ross Bell the Doctor in charge of the UMS hospital in Tungan Magajiya, took interest on him and gave him the vaccines which cured him of the ailment. As was their custom, all those who came to the Leprosarium were first prayed for and taught the word before getting medical attention; this led to the conversion of many.²³ Unfortunately, the dispensaries no longer exist, even the clinic started by UMCA in Marken Bedi in 2010 lasted for only three years without any dividend. In 1965, the converts in Shabanda tried to sustain the leprosarium there but the District head (Gamzaki) stopped them that the government was going to build them a hospital, a thing

that never took place.²⁴ This is an example of Government interference in matters of religion which greatly thwarted the efforts of UMCA to sustain the legacies of the founding fathers of this denomination. But in Yauri axis in Magajin Garin Duge on the border between Niger State and Kebbi State, a clinic has been opened by Arewa Central District of the denomination in 2016.²⁵

It is important to mention here that, Ishaya Rizi Bamaïyi, constructed a prototype of the Hospital in Tungan Magajiya in Senchi and named it after his father, Bamaïyi Sunduh Memorial Hospital Senchi.²⁶ (fig 93 – 95). People come from all over the State and beyond. Incidentally, it was manned by Joseph Dasa a Consultant and also a member of UMCA who came from UK to answer the call to serve his people like the Missionaries. Adding spiritual and medical expertise, he drew men and women to the land and to Christ. Another

Fig 93

Fig 94

Fig 95

Bamaïyi Sunduh Memorial Hospital Senchi.

Hospital in Zuru was named after Ishaya Bamaïyi's wife, who is also a member of the denomination and daughter of the first CDS of Arewa District – Martha Bamaïyi Hospital Zuru (fig 96 – fig 98) owing to her numerous contributions to sustaining the hospital.²⁷

Hygiene which invariably affected positively the life and health of the people was introduced by the missionaries. Modern water system or pit toilets replaced the usually bush toilets for those who can afford them; but proper hygiene and ways to live healthy were taught by the missionaries even to those using the pit or bush toilets thereby, improving the living and health standards of the people. With health and technology, the people of various regions achieved sound health as there was a reduction in the level of diseases and infant/maternal mortality which had hitherto been regarded as being occasioned by divine and mysterious circumstances. Small pox, malaria, stomach pain, etc. were put under control by the introduction of appropriate vaccines.²⁸

5.3.3 The United Missionary Church of Africa and Politics in Kebbi

South Senatorial District

Unfortunately, the UMS missionaries taught the early converts to restrain themselves from politics and seeking political appointments, because it would soil them, the slogan “politics is a dirty game” and ungodly was then used to discourage the converts. Mathew Dasa observed that when John Zome and Tom Sakaba (the earlier converts) showed their intentions to join rank in politics with Awolowo between 1957

and 1959, they were greatly persecuted and ultrasized by the missionaries and other converts who looked at them as backsliders.²⁹ This accounts for why the Christians in KSSD and Kebbi State at large are marginalized and left behind. But today, some people like Ishaya Bamaïyi, Benjamin Dikki, etc. are now fully involved in politics. As member of UMCA, Benjamin Dikki and Ishaya Bamaïyi now serve as the political voices of the Christians in and of this region and the nation at large.

Fig 96

Fig 97

Martha Bamaayi Hospital Zuru**5.3.4 Socio-Economic Enterprises**

Developing appropriate economic policies, social activities, economic infrastructure and achieving economic progress is what improves the standard of living, specifically the material welfare of the citizenry. This dimension puts more focus on social well-being, wealth creation and, to a greater extent, poverty reduction.³⁰ This is evident by the activities of UMCA in KSSD. These can be discussed under the following:

In the traditional setting of KSSD, women don't cook or touch any household item during their menstrual flow. This alienation made them irrelevant and so they live as outcasts among their people and in the households during their "monthly flow."³¹ But UMS brought about the desired changes that improved family relations and mutual love. This was explained as not a taboo and with proper care and hygiene a woman can freely relate with others and carryout her normal house chores, etc. To achieve this and greater success among the women folk, women, ladies and young girls were gathered under the leadership of Edna Brubaker in what is called the Women Fellowship where they were taught personal hygiene, use of combs,³² plaiting skills, cookery, the fear of God, care for the home, sustaining marital vows, family relationships and ante-natal care. This distinguished them from many other women,³³ and increased healthy child bearing and children upbringing. Because, all the women who agreed to follow the

hygienic principles and lessons taught by the missionaries, and the women "...who took advantage of the mission hospitals...maternity clinics...had more pregnancies and more of these children survived than with the women...who kept to old ways...."³⁴ The UMS also brought matches, torches and umbrella which is now a major part of every young lady in Yadata dance and bridal items.

Before the advent of the Missionaries, ladies used to walk almost naked as a sign of purity or virginity, with only their private parts covered with leaves. But the married and widows do use a small piece of cloth. The men on the other hand, do use polished animal skin to cover their private parts.³⁵ However, these communities came to be influenced by Christianity and the activities of UMCA in particular, so they adopted dresses which were brought or sewn by the Missionaries. Even to date, some who refuse to accept the Gospel still go partially dressed or half naked even to market places.³⁶ Dress making or Fashion design as it is called today was taught by UMS to the people on how to make their own dresses instead of using animal skin or small piece of cloth.³⁷ This improved the quality of lives of the people of this region who mostly live in cold weather and scourging heat of the dry season sun, etc.³⁸

Jaiye further added that the Missionaries taught and encouraged communal labour in farming, digging wells, road construction and the likes. This greatly influenced inter-faith relations as all became involved, so joys, sorrows, and religious and cultural festivities were shared together.³⁹ In the area of marriage which actually is still debatable, the missionaries influenced the people with the concept of monogamy and resistance against wife stealing⁴⁰ mainly done by the Kambari which actually reduced jealousy, hatred, and family friction; but instead increased family solidarity and fostered

unity. Though the traditionalists still practiced this among themselves but could not attempt it to the believers.

Filibus Zange, explained that the breaking of the custom of killing babies whose mothers die at the point of giving birth was the result of the great awakening and conversion in Pisabuh in Yauri. When Baba Philip Dabo, took away Musa (now his foster son) from being killed and they saw that instead of dying, Musa lived to become a good looking young man, some of them gave their lives to Christ and the custom is now dead.⁴¹ This of course is a great achievement by UMCA. Finally, the belief of not eating the early crops due to fear of death was removed by the teachings brought by the missionaries through UMS.⁴²

Agriculture

The advent of the UMS Missionaries to this region boosted the socio-economic activities of their host community. For example, the Lelna in Zuru were predominantly farmers and the missionaries introduced improved seedlings of Mango for example, and fertilizers to boost the production. Similarly, semi mechanized farming using Camels, Mules and Donkeys were introduced by the UMS to reduce labour and enhance greater yield. Many of the economic trees like: different species of Mangoes, Cashew, Guava, Pawpaw, different species of Oranges (tangerine, sweet orange, grape fruit, lime, rough lemon, lemon, and Calow nut). Similarly, specie of Cassava, different species of hot pepper and tattasai were brought by UMS missionaries. These serve as food and source of income for the people.⁴³ Even livestock farming like special foreign cross-bred

chicken was brought by Paul Ummel, and distributed to the converts to boost their economy.

An example was Baba Doroh Rikoto, who was the first to apply fertilizer brought by the Missionaries amidst jest from the locals, but his bumper and great harvest in that year, actually stirred the confidence of the people to accept the fertilizer. Baba Doroh was still the first to practice livestock farming of the special cross-bred chicken with a great success though the said breed of chicken cannot be found anymore.⁴⁴

UMCA as it seems now, may not be involved in such activities, but they are into certain businesses as individual Churches, Area headquarters or District headquarters: like building shops for rent; cooperative societies e.g. God Covenant People Cooperative; Sabongari Cooperative Association Amanawa/Manga; Ibakkana Thrift and Credit Society Zuru; etc., buying and storing grains to be sold for profit. Some are involved in community farming for the church as a source of income. The belief of not eating the early crops due to fear of death,⁴⁵ was removed by the teachings brought by the missionaries through UMS.

Vocational

Vocational Training⁴⁶ was one of the areas in which UMCA impacted this region positively. Joseph Ubandawaki, one of the early converts who worked for the missionaries said that, they were not taught commerce or allowed to do any form of business because it was believed it would lead them astray; instead they were taught

carpentry, farming and other menial jobs for the missionaries after which they would be paid. Even in the Bible Schools, as part of the curriculum, they were taught how to raise tree crops and vegetable crops but mainly for their use.⁴⁷

Mikah Zange added that, these vocational skills were taught to the Pastors to make them self-dependent as they go into the ministry.⁴⁸ However, this seems to fade away, and some Pastors depend on philanthropists, offerings, donations etc. from members. In the field of architecture, the people were greatly influenced which caused the deviation from the normal round mud houses with thatched roofs to be replaced by modern buildings with corrugated iron roofing sheets, ceiling, paintings and other modern housing facilities that make living and life comfortable for the people who can afford it.

5.3.5 Contributions towards Peace and Stability

In KSSD, the general atmosphere was peaceful, as all relate and freely lived with one another without fear, prejudice or discrimination; but with trust and no misgivings in any way. However, as the issue of evangelism and converting “all men” became rampart in the early 70s, rivalry and religious competition became obvious straining the peaceful co-existence. In the prevailing circumstances of religious fanaticism and rivalry, tolerance becomes the watchword as the panacea for peace and stability, and UMCA, the major denomination in this region is spearheading to sustain the legacy of peace and stability taught by the Christian faith; by availing her premises for peace activities, offering leadership that is respected both the Traditional and Political class all over the State.

Breaking the barrier along ethnic divides where they exist was another achievement by the UMS missionaries and has become UMCA legacy. Although the extended families were maintained but marriages became the concern of the two individuals involved and so many people from former traditional societies are now marrying outside their own tribal group. Similarly, inter-tribal contacts were made at mission schools and places for prayer meeting thereby fostering unity between different groups.

Shilenkeini said in Ngaski LGA for instance, Christians are sought for to make peace, testify to the truth, and make occasions colourful because they are seen as great event planners.⁴⁹ Philip Dabo, was called upon by the Emir of Yauri in 1948 to intervene between the natives and the Emir on the issue of Tax, he was even invited for this same mission to Sokoto State capital; and he carried out an enlightenment campaign on the need to pay taxes as a biblical injunction.⁵⁰ Similarly, the Christians protect those accused of witchcraft; (this are usually accusations based on hatred or cultural beliefs). As soon as they get to the Christian camp or are believers they cannot be touched. The natives were warned not to touch any Christian or any who runs to them. Examples were the wives of Shatare from Shabanda and Shirikan from Ngaski. The converts to Christianity through the UMS actually lived exemplary and sacrificial lives which corresponded with their messages; a life full of love and real patience; thereby contributing to keeping the community intact.⁵¹ They visit those who were not in Church to pray for them and seek to solve the problem which caused their absence.

5.3.6 Interfaith Relations

Culture has the potential of promoting or retarding the nation building process and national progress. It is the collective programming of the mind which distinguishes one group or category of people from another.⁵² Similarly, Schein defines culture as the “values, beliefs, orientations and underlying assumptions prevalent among people in a society.”⁵³ A people’s culture can hardly be divorced from their religion. For instance, it is the culture of a Hausa man to be a Muslim today. This is confirmed in the words of Oyawoye, that everyone’s choice of religion is either influenced by his environment, his culture or even by birth (a kind of inheritance) and only a few make such choices on their free volition.⁵⁴

Initially in the traditional societies in KSSD, a person belongs to a particular religious community by birth or tribe and not by conversion. But due to the inward changes that were experienced and are visible among the people of KSSD because of the impact of Christianity. “...One by one Christians came out of these communities to establish an individual personal relationship with the Supreme Being...”⁵⁵ Which invariably affects positively his line of thinking and relationship with others like habilitating the blind, living with and being compassionate to lepers, the aged, etc. Joseph Ubandawaki confirmed that they were taught to relate well with all men as the biblical injunction of living at peace with all men. Even the Muslim faithful who observed such serene life in the early converts and Missionaries, do visit the missionaries and interacted with them. Though they seek to convert the Traditionalist in particular, the missionaries never despised them nor taught their converts to despise anyone. This actually encouraged mutual understand and wellbeing of the community.⁵⁶

The communal labour in farming, digging wells, road construction and the likes encouraged by the UMS greatly influenced inter-faith relations. Concern for each other's welfare and wellbeing; and love for one another grew such that joys and sorrows, and religious festivities were shared together.⁵⁷ Even to date, all religious and traditional or cultural ceremonies are attended by all no matter the religious affiliation of the person or persons concerned. One other factor as noted by Hadiza Maikyau that promoted the interfaith relations in KSSD was that when Paul Ummel and Phoebe his wife came to this region and the natives were scared of them because of their skin, they were called ghosts, but when they started eating the natives kind of food, learning and speaking their language and in addition to gifts of clothing, umbrellas etc., they were welcomed and the relationship grew to affect all religions.⁵⁸ UMCA acquired so many facilities bequeathed to her by the founding fathers of the denomination and are now available to the people of KSSD. They have provisions and spaces particularly in the Senatorial District headquarters (Yauri and Zuru) for various occasions such as crusades, revival meetings, weddings, educational programs, seminars, rallying point for all Christian activities, etc.

The Emir of Yauri attested to this cordial relationship that his father (Alhaji Mamman Tukur) takes him along to see the missionaries and it do take them a long time discussing (without any hard feelings, fear, acrimony and resentment towards one another). The situation was such that, Christmas and Easter celebrations were jointly celebrated.⁵⁹ This is in line with a Chinese adage which says, "One can win over and influence people the best with gestures of kindness and compassion." And a similar western adage which says, "One catches more flies with honey than with vinegar." This was the method used by the missionaries and the first breed of Christians who employed

love, sharing gifts and other humanitarian services to win the hearts of the natives. Therefore, Shehu advocates the continuation of such gestures by both religions for peaceful co-existence and religious exploits which invariably would result to nation-building and greater developments.⁶⁰

5.3.7 Religious Impact of UMCA in Kebbi South Senatorial District

This is what UMCA has done to KSSD. Truly, there existed other religions in the region before the advent of Christianity, but as highlighted above, UMS introduced another brand of religion which promoted unity and improved way of living and access to the Supreme Being the natives had clamoured for using their Traditional belief. The advent of Christianity actually promoted true form of religion which helped in the relation of the people with their Maker, and other denominations of both the Christian and Islamic faiths now have access to KSSD.

5.4 Challenges Militating against the Contributions of UMCA in KSSD

There must be challenges. So it is with this Senatorial District as it affects the good intentions and efforts of UMCA in Nation-building; and the challenges will be discussed below:

1. Political Instability and Ethnic Crises: Though KSSD has not experienced such terrible activities due to her uniqueness (owing to the fact that it is predominantly a Christian community due to the influence of UMCA), but there has been a spillover of reactions and the present spate of religious fanaticism (e.g. the Shiites) trying to spark off problems or instill fears, etc. This has hampered the activities and good intentions of UMCA.

2. Leadership Challenge: When the Missionaries came to KSSD, Panduga, Ubandawaki and most of the people interviewed attested that, there was no disparity between the pastors and members which was a mark seen in the early church who lived and did everything in common. But in the researcher's view, this is not totally true as the missionaries lived in isolation from the natives with certain social amenities while the natives served them. However, the kind of leadership style they gave which drew the natives to them was worth emulating. But presently, some of our religious leaders are Egocentric, using imposition or coercion instead of persuasion to gain converts. Some of them are full of worldliness, immorality, addiction, materialism, etc., which breeds nepotism, lack of respect and suspicion.⁶¹

3. Disregard for the traditional institutions and refusal to pay homage to the tradition rulers. An example was the case in 2008 where some Christian Evangelist of ECWA came to Giron Masa in Yauri Emirate for evangelism. They spent days in the area without visiting the tradition rulers, but after they left, the converts and pastors left behind sought for land but were not given and it was mentioned in the reply to their letter seeking for permission for building churches in the area (see appendix 5). This later generated a serious challenge in which the researcher being the leader of the CAN in the State had to intervene.

4. Disunity in the body of Christ is another big challenge. An example was the breakout of some members from UMCA to start ECWA Church in Yauri (due to internal politics, financial misappropriation, unforgiveness, insubordination, etc.) to this the locals who were initially fascinated by the life and love seen in the church such that they called them, "Almasihu" were taken aback to find out that the church is not different from her,

therefore there was no need for them to join them.⁶² This has continued to date in the form of sheep-stealing, proliferation of churches, cases against brethren in the courts presided by non-Christians.

5. The advent of certain Islamic sects and some Christian denominations which has increased hatred and religious conflicts in the land. According to Abdullahi Baba, the influx of Pentecostalism which he calls Miracle Ministries to KSSD in the early 80s is responsible for the breakdown of interfaith relations and communal spirit which invariably affected nation-building and all her attending benefits in KSSD. He argued further that, this Pentecostalism is an American creation to make money, raise “Bounty Pastors” who presented and displayed Christianity as a form of business and not for salvation or faith activity; this hinders integration.⁶³

On his part, Mike Dikki observed rather that, the advent of fundamental Islam which is a kind of a shift in identity from orthodox Islam – Izallah in particular to KSSD is the beginning of the breakdown in interfaith relations. Dikki said the kind of Islam practiced before the advent of the Izallah sect was accommodating. But with the advent of the Izallah sect, non-Muslims and non-Izallah sect members were seen as infidels and so division sets in. This is occasioned by their doctrine of separation from other Muslims and adherents of other religions because they are holier and better than them. These created serious divisions even among families. Today, the Shiites have come to bring more division.⁶⁴ Arguing against what others like Abdullahi Baba said, Dikki opined that, it was the war against anti-proselytization in Islam that stirred the people against Pentecostalism, because, the Pentecostals were radically evangelizing and growing fast thereby, increasing the number of Christians and reducing the number of Muslims.⁶⁵

These two according to the researcher's findings and conclusions are not far from the truth at both ends.

6. Political Exigencies resulting from the politization of religion. The kind of politics played presently all over this country destroys religious harmony. Most politicians try to hide under religious organizations or affiliations to get what they want at the detriment of our peaceful coexistence. Therefore, in the pursuit of any personal interest, religion is used as a cover. A man is expected to come to power based on his religious affiliation rather than on qualification or merit. Similarly, whenever a person commits a crime and is to be tried by a person in the opposite religion, bias is inevitable either directly or by assumption. Everyone then becomes prone to defending his faith and those in the same faith with him against the other religion or faith no matter the kind of crime committed. Abdullahi Baba, went further to say that, most of the present day politicians who serve as another major agent of division are not adherents of the ethics of any religion as they profess, but they only hide under the guise of a particular religion to divide the people along the win-win scenario. He however, recommends the preaching of peace and concentration on peace and social integration.⁶⁶ This politics of divide and rule, is what the Emir of Yauri called the Politics of interest.⁶⁷

7. Increase in knowledge. There are at the moment, so many publications which instead of fostering unity tends to divide us. These books like "Who is this Allah" and teachings in circulation explain why we should not co-exist instead of otherwise. Similarly, while we claim to be more educated in this era than our fathers in the early 30s to 70s our education is shallow since we do not appreciate the value and sanctity of human life and the need for peaceful coexistence though we profess to protect our religion and object of

worship (God) who on the contrary is for peace and advocates his followers to seek peace and live in peace with one another.⁶⁸ He alone has the power to separate us or make us one religion. See the case of Zuru Emirate as mentioned earlier, where the three religions are practiced by members of a single family. This so called increase in knowledge in some people seems to have decreased our knowledge of God.

8. Closely linked with the above is misinformation or Media propaganda in the words of Zayannu Abdullahi, (the Emir of Yauri), Shehu Wali, said the media is leading in the mishap were wrong or incomplete but bias information is circulated either on the print or social media, thereby, stirring strife.⁶⁹ Similarly, agreeing with Shehu Wali.⁷⁰ Okechukwu, quoting Gerbner said, "...just as a farmer plants seeds that he or she cultivates over time to produce a crop, the media plants seeds in our minds and then cultivates them until they grow into our shared social reality."⁷¹ Implying that, "over years, the media has played a key role in the push and pull between *foedus* and *separatus* in Nigeria."⁷²

9. Concept of Modernization: Attitudes of the missionaries using indoctrination instead of instruction where a person is given the freedom to exercise or engage his intellect contributed greatly to a "*zombie*" kind of life where some people would prefer to remain adamant to changes because it was not done like that before.⁷³ However, now, people have access to the Bible and they can decide to follow their instinct and the invented methods used in liturgies, services, instrumentations, etc. instead of the straight jacket *modus operandi* from the missionaries practiced by the early converts to UMCA. Therefore, the contextualization of the gospel is now the hallmark and not what missionary so and so said and did. However, kudos must be given to the missionaries

because they were actually disciplers who raised people who followed steadfastly their modus operandi in dressing, human relations, etc.

10. Strained relationship: we are today full of suspicion of one another owing to factors like jealousy, fear of intimidation, inferiority or superiority complex and the fact that, we have injured one another in so many ways either through the propagation of our gospels or defense of same. This to a large extent is responsible for the disharmony and religious biases experienced all over the country today and not in KSSD alone. In a country like Nigeria, full of religious fanatics who would respond dangerously to any rumour of religious bigotry and strife and would take advantage of such crisis for reprisal attack in their own region is alarming. Examples are the Zamani Lekwot/Zangon Kataf crisis in the late 80s, post-election violence of 2011 and the current indigenes/farmers and Fulani herdsmen clash in Southern Kaduna in 2017 and other parts of the country like Plateau, Benue, Taraba at the moment. Similarly, provocative sermons and hate speeches from some preachers from both religions has further increased hatred and further divided us apart. In line with the above is creating a kind of nuisance in the name of religion and worship. This is seen in the kind of competition in using the loudest speakers at odd times and places, blocking roads for prayers and ceremonies, etc.

11. Impatience and refusal to follow protocols by the present breed of Christians is another major challenge faced by the people of especially Yauri Emirate. Severally, the researcher as the leader of CAN in the State, had to intervene and arbitrate between the people and the traditional institutions, while the former complained of deliberate refusal to allow them permission to build places of worship and carry out their religious obligation thereby exercising religious freedom as enshrined in the constitution of this

country, the latter accused the former of indiscriminate building of churches thereby violating the freedom of others and going foul to the laws of the land on buildings and respect for the presence of rulers of the people where they intend to establish their churches. The kind of patience portrayed by the missionaries and early converts were captured in the illustration given by John Yawai, who explained that, Pastor Ishaya Magunge joined them in the beer parlour, sharing the word with them waiting on them even to their farms until they became converted after two years.⁷⁴

12. Ignorance on the tenets of our faith and our holy writs. The high level of religious fanaticism and crisis all over the world according to Shehu can be linked to this factor. The prophets of old and the missionaries who brought the religions of Christianity and Islam did not despise the natives despite their state. They respect the people and their beliefs, but today, pride and superiority complex is destroying the power of the gospel.⁷⁵ Abubakar Jibril, concluded that if only we can strengthen and build on the things that binds us together than on things that divides us and do more on sharing our joys and sorrows together as was done before and is being practiced by a few today, the wall of division between us can be broken down⁷⁶ and there will be room for meaningful developments in our regions.

13. Government's undue interference in religious matters and favouring one religion particularly Islam above other religions in appointments, building mosques, etc. while churches are being demolished, permission not granted and land not given for church buildings, even evangelical outreaches are hindered particularly in most parts of Yauri Emirate (This is the case all over the State, but KSSD is the focus of this research work). These includes: employment, admissions into schools, distribution of social amenities

and in social relationships.⁷⁷ This is evident in KSSD in the form of showing discrimination along religious and ethnic divides in appointments, sharing or giving opportunities, etc., unlike what is obtainable in the past. An example was the case of Mama Arziki Hyma Bamaiyi who though the wife of a Pastor, took in a Muslim orphan and trained him yet to date the man remained a Muslim and is now 68 years.⁷⁸

14. Dishonoring places of worship or desecrating holy sites: Like entering mosques with shoes or churches with caps, neglecting the protocols as it concerns entering shrines or designated places of worship without considering the set rules and protocols. This has constantly brought problems particularly during wedding ceremonies and people want to show solidarity but would want to enter the church with their caps on. Resentment is now the order of the day and some of these people have shut their hearts to the gospel and are now risen against the church.

15. Provocative sermons and hate speeches. Some preachers from both religions are fond of preaching inciting messages. This was prevalent during the 2011 and 2015 presidential campaign and election in this country. These has increased hatred and further divided us apart. In line with this is, creating a kind of nuisance in the name of religion and worship. This is seen in the kind of competition in using the loudest speakers at odd times and places, blocking roads for prayers and ceremonies, etc. as mentioned above. An example is the Shiite group in Zuru metropolis who would tend to paralyze movement activities during their processions which takes hours. A thing other religions and denominations are trying to copy to the detriment of our co-existence and mutual benefits.

16. Change of emphasis: UMCA believed in looking for virgin land, instead of sheep stealing or planting UMCA were churches already exist which is a kind of rivalry and

unhealthy competition; but it is not so today. Dag Heward says, “Most of us concentrate on areas where things are already working, but...I tell you, there are many untouched areas where God has called us to.”⁷⁹ The denomination is involved in a kind of unhealthy competition and rivalry in the name of expansion or church planting. An example is the founding of three new churches in Zuru Metropolis within two years which in the opinion of the researcher is a kind of reducing the strength of some churches, and promoting discord among members and the ministers since the “breaking” of these churches were not done because the structure has become too small to contain the worshippers, even a bigger structure had already started before the breaking off.⁸⁰ Similarly, at the moment, UMCA is a blend of Orthodox and Pentecostalism, which is a welcome idea to people like Haruna Bitrus⁸¹ and which has opened doors for expansion, but to some as Timothy Dabo⁸² it is a kind of deviation from the original activities of the UMS. To him, this change of focus could be detrimental to the denomination and probably could be responsible for the challenges experienced today in the denomination. This is evident even in the mode of worship which according to Timothy Dabo is not as godly as it was from the beginning, to the neglect of the ministry of reconciliation.

17. According to Baba Philip Dabo and Joseph Ubandawaki, most of the activities of education the early converts received were actually a form of indoctrination⁸³ which in the researcher’s opinion has affected negatively the growth of UMCA at large. This indoctrination is done to make the converts think, behave and act as their mentors – the missionaries, without a mind of their own, particularly in this case, the early converts could not read or write or even understand the language of the missionaries, therefore, the imposition of the beliefs of the missionaries and doctrines they believed in was a kind

of implanted in the hearts and lives of the converts. It is obvious that no two people are exactly the same; therefore the form of indoctrination differs from one missionary to the other in terms of temperament, character, upbringing, general world view and the likes. This could be one of the reasons why UMCA churches operate different from one another. These differences are seen from one District to the other, no uniformity in a lot of issues ranging from liturgy to sacraments and social activities like weddings, naming ceremonies, etc. this too has greatly hampered the activities of UMCA in this enclave.

18. Crampton, observed that, "...churches depend heavily on unpaid lay people to carry on most of the church work including most of the services outside the big town churches..."⁸⁴ This is really the case with UMCA in KSSD. Most members are peasant farmers with a small number as salary earners mostly below level 8 in the government pay roll. But the expectation is very high on them, and so the income is usual low compared to the needs available.

19. Muazu Muhammadu Namallam, opined that UMCA is doing less of recent in terms of humanitarian services compared to the Missionaries. He confirmed that though a Muslim, the missionaries took care of him without bias, and he is what he is now (a blessing to the society and member of the Yauri Emirate Council).⁸⁵ Therefore, Graham Cheesman, quoting Visser't Hooft said, "Church members who deny in fact their responsibility for the needy in any part of the world are just guilty as those who deny this or that article of faith."⁸⁶ The missionaries used this method to effectively reach out to the people. They preach the Gospel and also showed acts or did act of mercy-meeting the people at the points of their needs. Building hospitals, caring for the sick, giving out food

and clothing, assisting the natives in their menial jobs, identifying with their challenges and sought for ways to alleviate them.

This must be emulated and continued.⁸⁷ Because, “Social action is a valid part of missionary work – though not the primary task...healing the sick, feeding the hungry, ministering to problems and distresses are right forms of service... Historically, most missions in Africa have included education in the list and it has usually been a valuable way of helping a society.”⁸⁸ There may be differences between the people then and now, however, the challenges are more or less the same if not more now, because the challenges seems sophisticated with the advent of technology and all the hazards meted in the atmosphere which invariably is affecting the human immune systems in different ways.

This is evident in cultural disintegration consisting in overwhelming problems of controlled urban growth and migration, juvenile delinquencies and the attending consequences: drug addiction, robbery, rape, immorality, etc.; breakdown of family and moral values resulting in divorce, single parenting, pornography, abortion, sexually transmitted diseases, HIV/AIDS, etc.; poverty, corruption, injustice and the abuse of political powers/office, materialism, secularism; the challenging roles of women in the society particularly as it affects church ministry and the spiritual challenges in the society today is calling for attention from the Church.⁸⁹

20. According to Panguda Daudu, the missionaries taught the fear of God and total separation from the world (no swearing, no use of abusive language or immorality) so the first breed of Christians were exceptionally God-fearing. The common language in Christian families then was “*Na tabata*” meaning “I am sure,” or “I am saying the truth”

no swearing at all (though a few families still practice this today).⁹⁰ Due to such exemplary lives, UMCA members were called *Almasihu* “Christ” and this remains the name among the older generation and many Okada riders to date for the location of the present UMCA church in Yauri.⁹¹ The researcher’s interaction with the Emir of Yauri, and some members of the Yauri Emirate Council confirmed this assertion). They were so called because they portrayed the life of Christ as presented by the missionaries which was different from that of the people around them. Unfortunately, this seems to have faded away from the lives of some of the Christians now which invariably is affecting our roles and relationship with the people as it concerns nation-building and social integration

21. There seems not to be proper handing over of the true evangelical baton to the next generation. Because virtually all sons of the first pastors are not pastors, no one was mentored by these heroes of UMS.⁹² Moreover, it is important to note that, virtually all the children of these early converts ended up highly placed all over the country: Ishaya Bamaïyi, Charles Dikki, Musa Bamaïyi, Danladi Bamaïyi, Benjamin Dikki, Michael Dikki, Timothy Dabo, Martha Bamaïyi, Deborah Joe, Esther Jatau, Mary James Hanya, Yakubu Maikyau, Haruna Bitrus, Amos Adamu, David Bitrus, Amos Sakaba, Yunusa Nari, etc. However, Mike Dikki in agreement with some of these people raised the following as reasons why most if not all of them sons of the early converts and Pastors could not continue or follow after their parents who were Pastors:

i. Poor remuneration of Pastors – Though God did elevated all of them, but they saw the hardship, persecution, rejection, humiliation, etc. their parents experienced in the hands of the members and the people around with little or nothing to show for it. These

discouraged most of them, they instead chose to look for greener pastures in different fields.

ii. Influence of modern education – All the early converts who became pastors were not schooled, in fact Baba Philip Dabo told the researcher that, initially, though they carried their Bibles around, but they could not read or understand what is inside, they instead used the pictures and the stories from the Bible told them by the missionaries about Jesus and His saving grace to preach the wonderful works of God (Acts 2:1ff). But when their children came to be exposed to modern education and all that it contained either as a reward from the missionaries or sheer providence, they could not revert to the lives their fathers lived. They had the desire to make it in life to somehow compensate their fathers for their suffering and correct the impression that nothing good could come from pastors or their offspring, who are usually seen as outcast and the downtrodden. The orientation of the people had to change about pastors and pastors' children. But in the researcher's opinion, God compensated the pastors for their sufferings and hardships by elevating and blessing their children, a thing Mike Dikki actually agreed with.

iii. Societal expectations – Besides the fact that some people look up to the Pastors' children, even their parents want their children to be achievers that is why despite their meager income and many challenges, they augmented their income with farming and other trades with their wives to send their children to school.

iv. It is also obvious that some of the pastors would not want their children to follow in their footsteps owing mainly to the kind of treatments meted to them by the people, and the failure of the members to cater for their pastors.⁹³ As the saying goes, "the only

army that shoots its soldiers and lieutenants without any tangible offence is the church.”⁹⁴

22. The UMS Missionaries that came to this region were not aggressive in their approach and live harmoniously with the locals. There was no known communal clash either caused by them or because of them, and they were fairly tolerant, peaceful and transparent. They actually came and met hard core Muslims and the practice of Traditional Religion, yet they made in-roads through persistence, thereby making converts, build health centers and plant churches among the people.⁹⁵ Shinkeleni added that. They actually lived exemplary and sacrificial lives which corresponded with their messages; a life full of love and real patience.⁹⁶

23. The missionaries and early Christians are committed to see people converted to Christ, while the present day preachers prefer touching the emotions of the people instead of touching their souls, a form of entertainment. Preaching what the people want to hear or making the Bible to speak their minds instead of speaking the mind of the Bible a kind of twisting the Bible to suit their interests. In the days of the Missionaries and early converts, despite the persecution and sufferings, people were receptive to the gospel. It was such that, the indigenes prefer UMS dispensaries to the Native Authorities Dispensary, because of the lives of the missionaries and the early converts, and also the quality of services rendered by the missionaries which appealed both to the conscience and lives of the people, a kind of holistic approach contrary to the replication of the same in the form of social gospel were the present breed or crop of preachers and leaders, seek only to improve the people’s condition of living not necessarily preaching Jesus or making converts. Timothy Dabo, calls it “social Gospel.” The two need to be

combined to carry out the Great Commission). The social gospel is for philanthropists, moralists, etc.⁹⁷

24. In his recommendations on how to evangelize a more Muslim community, Ogunlusi suggested, “Meeting persecution with an aggressive Evangelism.” He said, “...we must be forceful, aggressive, bold and not caring about the threat of the devil but have confidence in Him who committed to us the Gospel of reconciliation...”⁹⁸ This statement and what is written in Mat. 11:12, “from the days of John the Baptist until now the kingdom of heaven suffereth violence, and the violent take it by force.” has been misinterpreted to mean aggressiveness in the form of arrogance and going against the rule of law or laws of the land and the people, whereas, it means resilient determination against all odds as much as possible and being led by the Holy Spirit. Because even Paul was restrained by the Holy Spirit not to enter certain towns to preach though he was determined to do so (Acts 16:1ff).

5.5 Prospects of UMCA and Nation-building in KSSD

1. The Kambaris coming together mostly Christians. The Kambaris in their different dialectical divisions are coming together under different names to restore their heritage and foster unity, since some of their leaders are Christians and members of UMCA, UMCA can cash into this opportunity to evangelize and restore the legacies of the founding fathers. Unity is very important for nation-building to take place. This avenue should be properly explored to better the lives of the people of this region.

2. Good will of the Emirs and some District heads like Christmas service in the palace of the Emir of Zuru. The Emir of Zuru seems to be favourably disposed to the Christians. This is evident by the Christmas service held annually in the palace of the Emir, where

he is always on seat with all members of the Emirate Council, District and Village heads, etc. to be part of the service from beginning to the end. Similarly, some of the District heads in KSSD are favourably disposed to the Church. UMCA should use this avenue to strengthen her ties with the traditional institutions and seek to mend fences as it concerns lost or broken relationship as a result of misgivings and other reasons for strife and conflict in the region which had affected the peace and progress of the region. Similarly, the Emir of Zuru (fig 99) worked with the committee of Arewa Sons' and Daughters' forum to get the support of the Governor to build the Secretariat of the Arewa District of UMCA. (fig 100) and he is working with the leadership of Arewa District to see that the former UMS Primary School now called Andi Gomo Primary School is returned to UMCA.⁹⁹

3. Legacies of the founding fathers. Presently, if a program is to be given proper publicity and acceptance, it must be held in the UMCA compound. This is one of the blessings bequeathed to UMCA by the founding fathers. It is still a rallying point for Christians in the two Emirates of KSSD (in Yauri and in Zuru). This should be used to bring people closer to God and seek ways for increasing the financial strength of the denomination.

Fig 99

Emir of Zuru

Fig 100

UMCA Arewa District Secretariat

4. Increase in population. There is great increase in population all over the world. Despite the hardship, people are on the increase therefore, UMCA should not rest on her oars, rather, she need to do more for her teeming populace and that of other denominations and religions too, since she remains the main indigenous church in KSSD. With the highest number of indigenes. Closely linked to the above is the financial situation biting hard on the people, occasioned by population increase and so on. The Church can seek empowerment opportunities as avenue to better the lives of the members and which will invariably affect the entire community with economic empowerment and means of livelihood.

5. Willingness of the Traditionalists to abandon their traditional activities and the fact that they are always on side of the Christians ref Sharia law. In the history of KSSD, the Traditionalist are always favourably disposed to the Christians and anytime there is any crusade, revival or evangelistic campaign, there are usually great number of converts to Christianity among these people, since this is the case, UMCA should take advantage of this gesture and harness all her resources towards evangelising these people and show the love of Christ to them in all ramification.

6. Christmas life in Zuru by Ayuba Shanu. Another rallying point for the people of KSSD particularly in Zuru Emirate is an annual program tagged “Christmas Life in Zuru” initiated by a son of the denomination called Ayuba Shanu. This draws particularly the youths and artistes from within and without the region to participate in a kind of Choral rendition and competition. This achievement done at the end of the year has both spiritual and moral benefit to the people of KSSD. The continuity and proper use of this avenue is an added advantage to further bring the people of this region

together and properly engage the youths for better nation building activities as they are trained to fear God and love humanity.

7. Fallen standard of education and efforts to return mission schools to the church. As discussed in the preceding chapter, it is no longer news that the standard of education in this country is at the verge of collapse. To the extent that the Federal Government had to declare a “State of Emergency” in the education sector. Besides the fact of the fallen standard of education, incessant strike actions by the Schools and all agencies like ASSU, NASU, etc. is destroying education in this country. Similarly, the high level of corruption in the education sector is affecting the crop of teachers, professionals, and even leaders produced today. Some cannot construct good English or represent themselves well yet they are graduates. It is not farfetched. They got into schools through corruption and graduated through same means and not that they passed their examinations. The UMCA can come up with

8. Health challenges plaguing the people. The menace of HIV/AIDS, Cancer, and other diseases seems to be plaguing the people like more than before. It also appears that as the sick increase, means of getting the drugs is becoming harder. A visit to the hospital or medical centres speaks volumes on this. From inception, medical services as mentioned earlier was one of the most effective means used by the missionaries to win the confidence of the people and one major place of such medical feat was in KSSD and her regions. There is then the need for UMCA to arise to this challenge affecting not only those outside the denomination but also those who are members to improve the quality of health and produce a virile society of healthy people in furtherance of the

Gospel. This is also a clarion call that the people need God who can both heal and deliver them.

9. Good will of highly placed sons and daughters: the denomination in this enclave has raised many sons and daughters who are highly placed politically and economically and as individuals are working towards developing both the denomination and the region at large. These are continuing the legacies of the founding fathers and the legacies of their fathers some of whom were pastors. For instance: Amos Adamu built UMCA Yoruba Section Zuru, (fig 101 – 103)

Fig 101

First pastor in-charge of UMCA Yoruba Section, Zuru - Baba John Adamu (father of Dr. Amos Adamu)

Fig 102

Dr. Amos Adamu

Fig 103

UMCA Yoruba Section Zuru (Dr. Amos Adamu almost single handedly built it)

Benjamin Dikki built UMCA Shadawanka, Zuru (fig 104 – fig 106), Ayuba Shanu saw to the renovation of the CDS house of Arewa District Zuru (fig 107), Ishaya Bamaïyi, Haruna Bitrus, etc. all contributed in many areas including: church buildings, empowerment programs, payment of salaries of pastors, sponsoring theological education of some pastors, etc. similarly, there are other Christians like Kennedy J. Okpara who is favourably disposed towards the people of KSSD particularly the widows and have been empowering them. Such gestures are prospects of UMCA for greater achievement in Nation building in KSSD and beyond.

10. Need for evangelism. The end time and the fact that the people need the gospel particularly in the hardship, political challenges, security challenges and unrest, everywhere. Since the Gospel means, “Goodnews” the people need to hear the love of God and the need for them not to despair in the face of all the challenges in the world. Another reason why people commit crimes is the fear of the unknown or inability to make ends meet so they get involved in certain dubious activities like the youths of this generation. Hence the need to inculcate religious and moral values in them to curb the juvenile delinquencies becoming rampant today.

In conclusion, the Missionaries and early converts were earnest, resolute, united in love¹⁰⁰ and committed to the gospel and provision of social facilities. They lived, worked and walked among the locals (ate with them, joined in their farm work, one or more takes the hoe from them and joined in the work while the gospel is shared to those resting).¹⁰¹ They actually came and met hard core Muslims and the practice of Traditional religion, yet they made inroads through persistence, thereby making converts, build health centers and plant churches among the people.¹⁰² This kind of spirit must be

emulated by the present day UMCA leadership and members to restore UMCA to her lost glory in the land.

Due to the deteriorating state of socio-economic activities in the nation and the fact that the people are plagued by many challenges, there is the need to create avenues of reaching the

Fig 104

Fig 105

Fig 106

Benjamin Dikki built UMCA Shadawanka, Zuru

Fig 107

Ayuba Shanu saw to the renovation of the CDS house of Arewa District Zuru.

people holistically, like building nursing homes, pharmacy, boreholes, schools and other social amenities. Similarly, Government's undue interference in religious matters and favouring one religion particularly Islam above other religions in appointments, building mosques, etc. while churches are being demolished, permission not granted and land not given for church buildings, even evangelical outreaches are hindered

particularly in most parts of Yauri Emirate, should be curtailed to foster unity and social development.¹⁰³ For when the people feel cheated and neglected, they care less about their land and welfare of her people.

UMCA acquired so many facilities bequeathed to her by the founding fathers of the denomination and are now available to the people of KSSD. They have provisions and spaces particularly in the Senatorial District headquarters (Yauri and Zuru) for various occasions such as crusades, revival meetings, weddings, educational programs, seminars, rallying point for all Christian activities, etc. This has made the legacy of UMCA to still linger on in KSSD and the State at large; other denominations use her platform to start their own denominational branches and use her venues for major programs in the region even as it is seen as the main indigenous denomination in the State, and have produced all the Leaders of the Christian Association of Nigeria in KSSD and 80% of the State leadership.¹⁰⁴ Some indigenes found in other denominations have their roots in UMCA.

It is true that UMCA as a denomination has made modest impact today in the development of KSSD and her people, and her sons and daughters are making in-roads today to restore the legacy of the founding fathers of the denomination. However, so little has been done to advertise the denomination and sustain this legacy of the founding fathers of UMCA by the Indigenes and members in KSSD and beyond, thereby reducing her impact and ability to do more. Similarly, UMCA has suffered neglect from most of those who benefitted from her (members and non-members) and have climbed the ladder of success and prominence not only in the State but the nation at large. This

development has actually hampered further development, advancement and spread of the denomination into other parts of the region and State at large.

¹ cf. Ibrahim Gambari. *The Challenges of Nations Building: the Case of Nigeria*. In the Vanguard of the Struggle to Build a Great Nation. 17/7/2012. [http://www. the-challenges-of-nations-building-the-case-of-nigeria](http://www.the-challenges-of-nations-building-the-case-of-nigeria). 18/1/14.

² Carolyn.... 18/1/14.

³ David Tuesday Adamo, *Decolonizing African Biblical Studies*. 7th Inaugural Lecture, (Abraka: Delta State University, Abraka, Delta State. 2004), 33-42.

⁴ E. P. T. Crampton, *Christianity in Northern Nigeria*. (Bukuru: Africa Christian Textbooks, 2004), 147-148, 161. (cf. J. Y. Bello, *UMCA, The Journey So Far: 1905 – 2013*. (Ilorin: OPW Ltd., 2014), 37., Karatu Wele. *Ma'aikata a Gidan Allah*. (Zuru: Na-Wheraka Resource Initiative, 2005), 59-65).

⁵ Joseph Ummel first came in 1924 but left in 1925 after his brother Paul Ummel came. Joseph left due to illness and so did no work for UMS. Hence the date generally accepted by the people for the work of UMS in this Area is 1925. (cf. Interview with Filibus Zange former Director of Forestry, Kebbi State. 17/4/17).

⁶ Interview with Joseph Ubandawaki on 10/3/17. cf. Ibrahim Gambari. *The Challenges of Nations Building: the Case of Nigeria*. In the Vanguard of the Struggle to Build a Great Nation. 17/7/2012. [http://www. the-challenges-of-nations-building-the-case-of-nigeria](http://www.the-challenges-of-nations-building-the-case-of-nigeria). 18/1/14.

⁷ Interview with Revd. Ayuba Shinlenkeni Minister-in-charge UMCA Riwa, Ngaski LGA (Yauri Emirate) on 3/4/17, and Baba Ayuba MAiriga (Member UMCA Shabanda, Shanga LGA. (Yauri Emirate) on 3/4/17.

⁸ The Christians were called Almasihu and the Church in Yauri to date is called Almasihu. This is the name for Jesus as presented to the people of Yauri meaning the Christ. It is a kind of what happened in Acts of the Apostles 11:26, when the believers were called Christians, seeing their behaviors like that of Christ.

⁹ Henry Venn's theory says, "A church was adjudged to be indigenous when it was self-propagating, self-financing and self-governing." Henry Venn (1796 – 1873), *History of Missionary*. Boston University. www.bu.edu-missionary-t-u-v-venn.

¹⁰ Crampton.... 180.

¹¹ Desalegn Abraha, *Leadership Crises and Nation Building in a Politically Turbulent Environment: The Case of the so Called Peoples Front for Democracy and Justice*

(PFDJ) Central Office in Eritrea. [\(http://www.leadership-crises-and-nation-building\)](http://www.leadership-crises-and-nation-building). (17/10/14).

¹² African Traditional Education is the first Education one receives as a valid system that can enhance formal education. Islamic education was not formally established in Nigeria until the fourteenth century and Christian education came in the nineteenth century. But indigenous education persists even today, showing no sign of disappearance from the scene of education. Emenyonu said Literature had existed in Africa before the coming of European Continent. This literature was basically oral, (oral tradition); which consisted of materials transmitted by tradition either by word of mouth or by custom and practice; aimed at instructing the young in the principles of right and wrong and to help in molding their opinion and character. Therefore, according to Fafunwa, Traditional African education must not be judged by any extraneous consideration or some foreign yard stick but by its performance within a given social context. (cf. Ernest Emenyonu, *The Rise of the Igbo Novel*. (Ibadan: University Press. 1987), 10; Babs Fafunwa, *History of education in Nigeria*. (Ibadan: NPS. Publishers. 1991), 17; Okechukwu O. Nwaubani, *Traditional Education, Aims, content, Methodology and Process*. (Nsukka: Whytem Publishers, 1997), 54-61; Amaechi Ngozi Manly, Simeon U. Duruji. *Education in the Traditional African Society: An Examination*

https://manlyacademia.wordpress.com/.../Education_in_the_traditional_African_society/...(21/5/17); Seven Cardinal Goals of Traditional African Education Kasa. https://www.abibitumkasa.com/.../42895_Seven_Cardinal_Goals_of_Traditional_African_Education.... 21/5/17).

¹³ We are referring to Western education in this context. Though outside the context of this work, it is true that, generally, any African who is able to read and write is considered literate while one who cannot read and write is illiterate. But Recharad Geman opined that literacy or illiteracy should not be restricted to one's matrix or a particular language. Because one may be literate in his own language and culture but when he gets to another language and culture he becomes illiterate, since he cannot speak, read or write that language. Jonathan Iko, added that People make a lot of mistakes by measuring literacy and illiteracy with English language but the Chinese or Germans who cannot read or write English language cannot be called illiterates; because literacy basically implies the ability to read and write a given language. A thing Africans were able to do in their different and distinct styles before the introduction of Western or Islamic education. This can further be proven by the fact that the Africans were able to remember and memorize words, they were able to rehearse off hand the leaves in the Bush, Rivers and neighbouring villages around them, they were either sent on errands which may take them days or one may be sent to buy things from the market and all could be done accurately. (cf. Jonathan Iko, *Linguistic Expression*, (Owerri: VIP Publishers. 1978), 14; Recharad Gemman. *African Traditional Religion in Biblical Perspective*. (Narobi: Kesho Publication. 1987), 15; Okechukwu O. Nwaubani, *Traditional Education, Aims, content, Methodology and Process*. (Nsukka: Whytem Publishers, 1997), 54-61; Amaechi Ngozi Manly, Simeon U. Duruji. *Education in the Traditional African Society: An Examination*.

https://manlyacademia.wordpress.com/.../Education_in_the_traditional_African_society/... (21/5/17); Traditional Education Wikipedia. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/traditional_education. (21/5/17).

¹⁴ Amos K. Bawa Sence, *The Zuru People: An Attempt to Authenticating Issues Relating to the History of Zuru People and the Origin of C'lela as a Language of the People* (Kaduna: 2014), 95, 97.

¹⁵ The School is now called Andi Gomo Primary School as was renamed by the government after the takeover of Mission schools.

¹⁶ Interview with Ishaya Bamiyi on 27/12/17.

¹⁷ breaking.com.ng-nigeria-government..., www.emeraldinsight.com, (20/5/17). dailypost.ng-News, community.vanguradngr.com, www.nigeriaworld.com-articles-sep. (20/5/17).

¹⁸ Interview with Mike Dikki, and Benjamin Dikki on 7/4/17. Confirmed by the Zuru Emirate Council during the award and coronation ceremonies on 7/4/17 and 9/4/17.

¹⁹ Benjamin Dikki, Peter Nasoma, Apollos Agamalafiya, and Dangana Isa Nciniya are working with others in the translation of the complete Bible in C'lela, Reshe (Guganci) and Kambarci (Avadi, Chishigini, Ashigini) languages respectively.

²⁰ Ross.... 19-42.

²¹ Interview with Filibus Zange and Mikah Zange on 17/4/17.

²² Interview with Mama Hadiza Maikyau. 3/4/17.

²³ Interview with Baba Ayuba Mairiga, the actual victim on 3/4/17. Residing in Shabanda.

²⁴ Interview with Baba Ayuba Mairiga, 3/4/17.

²⁵ Interview with Apollos Agamalafiya (CDS Arewa Central UMCA. Tungan Magajiya. 10/4/18. (cf. Baba Ayuba Mairiga, and Sule Shabanda on 3/4/17.

²⁶ I. R. Bamaiyi, *Vindication of a General* (Ibadan: Daybis Limited Jericho, 2014), 188.

²⁷ Interview with Mikah Zange on 6/6/17. And Ishaya Bamiyi on 27/12/17.

²⁸ Interview with Mikah Zange on 6/6/17.

²⁹ Interview with Deacon Mathew Dasa an elder with UMCA on 8/3/17.

³⁰ Desalegn Abraha, Leadership Crises and Nation Building in a Politically Turbulent Environment: The Case of the so Called Peoples Front for Democracy and Justice (PFDJ) Central Office in Eritrea. <http://www.leadership-crisis-and-nation-building>. 17/10/14.

³¹ Interview with Mikah Zange (17/4/17) and Deborah Jaiye (17/4/17). Mama Napke Zange, 17/4/17.

³² Interview with Filibus Zange (17/4/17) and Deborah Jaiye (17/4/17).

³³ Dogara Gwamna et al (eds). *From Shoulder Carriers to Christ Seekers: A History of SIM and Christianity in Gbagyi Land*. (Garki: ECWA Garki DCC. 2013), 2.

³⁴ Graham Cheesma, *Mission Today: An Introduction to Mission Studies*. (Bukuru: Africa Christian Textbooks, 2011), 17.

³⁵ Amos.... 95.

³⁶ Dogara.... 2.

³⁷ Before the Establishment of the Hospital in Tungan Magajiya in 1948, the UMS started dispensaries in the late 30s where they trained some of the Natives like, Daniel Salka and Baba Doroh to handle some of the ailments plaguing the people.

³⁸ Interview with Mama Tete Zange (and the Zange Family) on 3/4/17 who is one of the few living witnesses of the Missionary activities in KSSD reveals that Baba Bulus Audu Dabai worked and dispensed these drugs and vaccines at the leprosarium located in Amanawa, at the outskirt of Zuru town in KSSD.

³⁹ Interview with Dauda Jaiye.... 3/4/17.

⁴⁰ Wife stealing among the Kambaris is not seen as stealing but act of prowess, bravery and wealth. When a men sees a lady he loves, even if she is married, he accosts her on the way and abducts her to his house. But comes to the family of the lady and pay the bride price possibly a week after the abduction and she remains his wife.

⁴¹ Interview with Filibus Zange on.... 9/4/17.

⁴² Interview with Joseph Ubandawaki.... on 10/3/17.

⁴³ Interview with Filibus Zange.... 9/4/17.

⁴⁴ Interview with Joseph Ubandawaki.... on 10/3/17, and Filibus Zange.... 9/4/17.

⁴⁵ There was this fear that eating the first fruits incurs the anger of the gods resulting to death. Therefore, the people do not eat the fruits that is harvested first.

⁴⁶ Vocational training in traditional society is largely run on the apprenticeship system and is a time-honored device for educating millions of African youths and adults.

Usually the children are not trained by their parents but by relatives, master-craftsmen in particular fields or friends in order to ensure discipline and concentration. Like weaving, smiting, hunting, building, barbering, drumming, dancing, leather-working, soap-making, singing, pottery-making, mat-making, bead-working, threshing, food-selling, and trading in all kinds of goods and agricultural products. cf. Amaechi Ngozi Manly, Simeon U. Duruji. *Education in the Traditional African Society: An Examination*.

https://manlyacademia.wordpress.com/.../Education_in_the_traditional_African_society/... (21/5/17);

⁴⁷ Interview with Joseph Ubandawaki.... 10/3/17.

⁴⁸ Interview with Mikah Zange.... 3/4/17.

⁴⁹ Interview with Revd. Ayuba Shinlenkeni Minister-in-charge UMCA Riwa, Ngaski LGA (Yauri Emirate).

⁵⁰ Interview with Revd. Philip Dabo (rtd) First generation converts by the UMS Missionaries. On 7/4/17.

⁵¹ Interview with Revd. Ayuba Shinlenkeni Minister-in-charge UMCA Riwa, Ngaski LGA (Yauri Emirate) on 3/4/17, and Baba Ayuba Mairiga (Member UMCA Shabanda, Shanga LGA. (Yauri Emirate) on 3/4/17

⁵² Desalegn Abraha,.... 17/10/14.

⁵³ Desalegn.... 17/4/17.

⁵⁴ M. O. Oyawoye, “Keynote Address” in Science and Religion in the Service of Humanity. Ade P. Dopamu et al. (Ilorin, Local Society Initiative (LSI) and The Nigerian Association for the Study and Teaching of Religion and Natural Sciences (NASTRENS); 2006), 3.

⁵⁵ Yusufu.... 213.

⁵⁶ Interview with Deacon Joseph Ubandawaki.... 7/3/17.

⁵⁷ Interview with Mr. and Deaconess Deborah Jaye.... 7/3/17.

⁵⁸ Interview with Hadiza Maikyau.... 8/3/17.

⁵⁹ Interview with Dr. Muhammad Zayyanu Abdullahi (CON) Emir of Yauri and Chairman, Yauri Emirate Council on 3/4/17.

⁶⁰ Interview with Shehu Ahmed Wali (Walin Yauri, Councillor in charge of Education and religion, and Member Yauri Emirate Council) on 3/4/17.

⁶¹ Interview with Joseph Ubandawaki.... 10/3/17, and Panduga Daudu.... 7/4/17

⁶² Interview Deborah Tsalhatu Joe.... 28/3/17

⁶³ . Interview with Abdullahi Baba.... 7/4/17.

⁶⁴ Interview with Dr. Mike Dikki.... 7/4/17.

⁶⁵ Interview with Pro. Mike Dikki.... 7/4/17

⁶⁶ Interview with Abdullahi Baba.... 7/4/17.

⁶⁷ Interview with Dr. Muhammad Zayyanu Abdullahi (CON) Emir of Yauri and Chairman, Yauri Emirate Council on 3/4/17.(cf. Abdullahi Baba on 7/4/17).

⁶⁸ The spate of killings toward for political and money-making rituals as is seen today shows no value for life or sanctity of human life. This has continued with impunity all over the nation and KSSD has her fair share of this experience, where a pending case of Murder of a lady in Zuru Metropolis is still lingering in court since 2016.

⁶⁹ Interview with Dr. Muhammad Zayyanu Abdullahi.... 3/4/17.

⁷⁰ Okechukwu Ibeanu, Mohammad J. Kuna, *Nigerian Federalism: Continuing Quest for Stability and Nation-Building*. (Ibadan: Safari Books Ltd., 2016), 251-252.

⁷¹ Okechukwu.... 251-252.

⁷² Okechukwu.... 17.

⁷³ Even to date, there are some people in the Church who would not pray aloud or dance in the Church because the Missionaries did not do so.

⁷⁴ Interview with John Yawai from Ngaski LGA on 3/4/17.

⁷⁵ Interview with Shehu Ahmed Wali (Walin Yauri, Councillor in charge of Education and religion, and Member Yauri Emirate Council) on 3/4/17.

⁷⁶ Interview with Abubakar Jibril (Sardaunan Yauri, Kambuwa Yauri and Member Yauri Emirate Council) on 3/4/17.

⁷⁷ A A. Jekayinfa. *Implications of Competitive Ethnicity in the Process of Nation Building in Nigeria*. <http://www.info>. 17/10/14.

⁷⁸ Biography of Late Mama Arziki Hyma Bamaiyi.... 7/4/17, page 4.

⁷⁹ Dag Hewards-Mills, *Church Planting*. (Benin-city, Hossana Christian Bookshop and Publishing house, 2011), 5.

⁸⁰ A bigger structure was under construction when this split started, it appears it was done to spread the church in town to compete with the number of mosques built around Zuru metropolis, but with the guise of building the churches new the people. However, it generated strife because, instead of winning new converts, the members and their

pastors started talking same members to join them and leave the mother church and vice versa.

⁸¹ Interview with Haruna Bitrus.... 27/6/17.

⁸² Interview with Timothy Dabo.... 28/3/17.

⁸³ Interview with Baba Philip Dabo.... 7/4/17 and with Deacon Joseph Ubandawaki.... 7/3/17.

⁸⁴ Crampton.... 175.

⁸⁵ 74. Interview with Muazu Muhammadu Namallam on 3/4/17.

⁸⁶ Graham Cheesma, *Mission Today: An Introduction to Mission Studies*. (Bukuru: Africa Christian Textbooks, 2011), 103.

⁸⁷ Graham.... 103-109.

⁸⁸ Graham.... 108.

⁸⁹ Aminu Salihu Kiwonmola. *Mai Yawuri Bangon Duniya: Tarihi da Sharhi akan Wakar Maigirma Sarkin Yawuri Abdullahi, ta Aliyu Dandawo da Takaitacciyar Tarihin Kasar Yawuri – Sarkin Yawuri Abdullahi 1910-1955*. (Abuja: Capitol Publishers Limited. 2010), 86-87.

⁹⁰ Interview with Panguda Daudu.... 7/4/17.

⁹¹ Interview Deborah Tsalhatu Joe 28/3/17 and confirmed during the interviews with the Emir of Yauri and Shehu Wali from Yauri.

⁹² Interview with Prof Charles Dikki.... 20/6/17.

⁹³ Interview with Prof Mike Dikki.... 7/4/17.

⁹⁴ Oswald J. Smith. *The Challenge of Missions*. (Yaba: Edysyl Publications, 2004), 17.

⁹⁵ Interview with J.K. Aliyu, Former Deputy Government of the State but hails from Yauri on 10/4/17.

⁹⁶ Interview with Revd. Ayuba Shinlenkeni Minister-in-charge UMCA Riwa, Ngaski LGA (Yauri Emirate) on 3/4/17.

⁹⁷ Interview with Timothy Dabo.... 28/3/17.

⁹⁸ Joseph Oluwalogo Ogunlusi. *Challenges of Evangelism in Nigeria*. (Jos: Foundation for Christ/CIRS Ministry Publication, 2012), 120-122.

⁹⁹ Interview with Deacon Dangi Sanda, former Chairman of Sons' and Daughters' Forum on 7/4/17.

¹⁰⁰ At the time the persecution was toughest and Sunday service became a taboo, the early converts formed a kind of an association to work in one another's farms from Monday to Saturday, irrespective of how old a person is.

¹⁰¹ Interview with Rev. Ayuba Shinlekeni on 3/4/ 17.

¹⁰² Interview with Hon. J. K. Aliyu, former Deputy Governor of Kebbi State. From Yauri LGA.

¹⁰³ The Researcher was the Chairman Christian Association of Nigeria, Kebbi State, and witnessed all these activities.

¹⁰⁴ In all the Local Governments in Kebbi South Senatorial District, Ministers of UMCA have been the Leaders of CAN to date, though last year, a Pastor of Deeperlife Bible Church took over from UMCA in Yauri LGA. At the State level, we have had 6 Leaders so far and three are from UMCA while the remaining three are from other denominations, but UMCA has led for nine years out of the fourteen years of State Leadership of CAN.

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 Findings

UMCA as a denomination for some time now has not been doing much to continue the legacy of the founding fathers which brought nation-building to KSSD; and despite the years of service and existence of UMCA in KSSD (from 1925 – 2017), the people of KSSD are still listed among the unreached people in the Mission diary of the world.¹ The findings of this research work were:

1. Lack of funds has been a major challenge hampering the spread and impact of UMCA as a denomination in KSSD;
2. Some of the leaders of UMCA are not bold and humble enough to make adequate and resolute efforts to reach out to the Traditional institutions or Muslim *Ummah* to strengthen peaceful ties thereby, paving way for mutual and cordial relationship;
3. Some Pastors of UMCA are not living up to expectation, academically and socially thereby hampering the growth, development and spread of the denomination. In some quarters, the theological training is with less or no corresponding power;²
4. Many pastors get excited because they think their churches are growing and there is revival while in reality, there is little overall growth because people are simply rotating from church to church³ mostly because of the way of life of some of these Pastors or their members;
5. Another factor that has affected the growth and impact of UMCA as a denomination in this region was the fracas that ensued between the then leadership/elders of the Church in the 80s at the advent of Pentecostalism to the land of Zuru⁴ and the fact that some of the parties are still aggrieved;⁵

6. Some sons and daughters of UMCA are developing other denominations while UMCA is left behind. Even some pastors are leaving the denomination. But the researcher also found out that this was due to lack of care for the members, lack of contact or communication with those working outside the Senatorial District, and lack of care for the pastors who sponsor themselves through Bible School;

7. Most of the UMCA church members do not know the deep meaning and the importance of missions. They do not experience and have not attended good mission programs, such as good mission film shows, seminars on mission etc.⁶ this has hampered their performance in mission activities;

8. It has been stated and established in this work that though the Islamic influence and ethos exist in KSSD before the advent of Christianity through UMCA, yet the denomination did play significant roles and took part in the development of the region and planting of a substantial Christian witness and churches all around the region. The UMS and the immediate generation that took over from her did valuable work, however, there is a sharp disconnect which is being corrected by the breed of leaders and members the denomination is raising today;⁷

9. Influx of religious fanatics from both religions (Islam and Christianity) has affected the peaceful coexistence and mutual trust existing among the people of KSSD thereby hindering nation-building activities and processes;

10. “Politics of divide and rule” and “politics of interest”⁸ and “religion” are other reasons behind the division that sets in and is affecting this Senatorial District negatively, thereby hampering meaningful development;⁹

11. There is ignorance on the tenets of the Islamic and Christian faith and holy writs by some of the adherents of the religions which is responsible for the high level of religious fanaticism and religious bigotry;

12. The people of KSSD are today full of suspicion of one another owing to factors like jealousy, fear of intimidation, inferiority or superiority complex caused in the name of propagating the religions of Christianity and Islam or the defense of same.

6.2 Recommendations

1. The researcher recommends identifying some of the Pastors who could not do proper pastoral duties and encourage them to take up teaching appointments or get them involved in certain church responsibilities like: Administration, Evangelism, etc.

2. The denomination should reach out to donor agencies, her sons and daughters, and even those who have benefitted in one way or the other from her kind gestures, to share her challenges and seek for support or assistance to do more to better KSSD. This may mean reviving the “Arewa Sons’ and Daughters’ Forum” which seems not to be effective today.¹⁰ The Total Youth Visioners who are initiators of the UMCA Old Arewa Youth Conference should also be incorporated in to this forum because they are also sons and daughters, and beneficiaries of the kind gestures of UMCA.¹¹ Similarly, the denomination should organize programs like “Award Night” where individuals who have been contributors to the growth of the denomination would be honoured to serve as an encouragement to them and which would spur others to follow their examples.

3. UMCA should form cooperatives, empowerment schemes and avenues to help her pastors and even members to be self-reliant.

4. The government should avoid undue interference in religious and political matters, fairness, equity and justice should be the watchword even as the motto of the State is “Land of Equity.” there is the need for the government to control media activities. Okechukwu said, just as a farmer plants seeds that he or she cultivates over time to produce a crop, so the media plants seeds in

our minds and then cultivates them until they grow into our shared social reality, but in this case they most times create strife.¹²

5. Just as it is done in some States,¹³ the government should return the school started by UMCA now called Andi Gomo Primary School.

6. There is the need for enlightenment by the denomination for her members, pastors and the people of KSSD at large, in the form of seminars, workshops and conferences where Islamic and Christian scholars would be brought to give lectures or talks on peaceful coexistences, common grounds between the two religions, and need for unity and security which guarantees nation building and national development. The church should also pursue the re-introduction of adult literacy classes opened to all so that more will be learned; this campaign should cover the re-introduction of the teaching of Christian Religious Knowledge in the schools.¹⁴

7. There should also be enlightenment campaign on the need for members to take care of their pastors to alleviate the sufferings of these men thereby making it easy for them to concentrate on the work of the Gospel.

8. The Church should start schools, cybercafés, internet facilities, hospitals, clinic, pharmaceutical stores, industries, business opportunities, extra-curricular activities, sports and recreation, vocational training, skill acquisition centres, cooperatives, libraries, extra-mural classes, and business ventures like Guest Houses,¹⁵ or seek for more ways to raise funds for her activities to reduce the burden of contributions and too much offerings on the members.

9. The Church should change her approach and attitudes in evangelism and missions. The researcher recommends the following strategies on evangelism: One on one strategy, House-to-House strategy; Visitation strategy, Open Air strategy, Tract strategy, Prison Ministry strategy, Tent Making strategy.¹⁶

10. The church should offer scholarship to Pastors in the seminaries or Bible Schools.

11. The researcher recommends that UMCA should ordain women.

12. UMCA should explore the availability of ICT to advertise the denomination and so that scholars and the general public could access information on the denomination,

13. UMCA should have the correct and proper records and statistics of her staff and assets for record purpose and for posterity. This will also bring about administrative convenience.

6.3 Contribution to Knowledge

The research work is an insider's account of UMCA as a denomination, and Kebbi South Senatorial District as a people thereby, opening new grounds of study for intending researchers. This work to the best of the researcher's knowledge has provided a pioneer concise document on the history of Christianity in KSSD and the spread in that region. In addition, the work documented how UMCA contributed to nation building.

6.4 Conclusion

The advent of UMCA as the first Christian witness and denomination to KSSD really affected the socio-religious and economic life of the people in many areas. These areas include health and agriculture. Farming, the major occupation of the people of KSSD is tasking and hard work, and owing to large population in the family, more effort is needed and more wives and children would be needed to meet up with these challenges. However, the plague of sicknesses, health challenges and the fact that the weather and at times yield may not be commensurate with the labour put in the farm do lead to frustration, but the advent of Christianity, hospitals and new farming techniques (fertilizers, insecticides, herbicides, new food and cash crops as discussed in the preceding chapter) by the UMS missionaries brought succor to the people and reliance on God, which is a panacea for success. Thus reducing family friction, bringing greater yield with less labour and man power; people began to raise the children they can cater for and wife stealing became a thing of the past, especially among the

Christians in the region. The coming of UMCA to this region and the introduction of education has exposed the region to the outside world and the vice versa. Hence today, there are great men and women (ref Ishaya Bamaïyi, Benjamin Dikki, Joseph Dasa, Prof Dikki, etc.) coming from this region who have and are still affecting the lives of people all over the country and the world at large. This of course has opened this denomination and region for intending scholars to examine various aspects of the life of these people and their region.

Other areas in which UMCA as a denomination affected this region are: by bringing the Christian religion, innovations in the field of architecture, vocational training, poultry, livestock farming, introduction of food and cash crops and improvement on the socio-religious and economic life of the people. These includes: dressing, fashion design, domestic life and family welfare/wellbeing, need of and possibility for peaceful coexistence – a thing hitherto was thought by some as impossible due to the grievous hurt meted on them through wife stealing, etc. but they were taught the necessity and possibility of forgiveness. Today, we have over fifty different denominations in KSSD but it was by the efforts of UMCA that opened the way for others to come in owing to government policies in the then Northern Nigeria that was not favourable to Christians.

However, it was observed that while UMCA as a denomination today, may not be doing much to sustain or move forward the legacies of the founding fathers of the denomination due to financial constraints, leadership tussles, unhealthy rivalry, undue government interference, activities of religious fanatics, greed, lack of vision in some leaders and other challenges, some of the sons of the denomination like Ishaya Bamaïyi, and Benjamin Ezra Dikki, etc. working hard in continuing these legacies by contributing their quota in developing KSSD. Similarly, UMCA has suffered neglect from many of those who benefitted from her (members and non-members) and have climbed the ladder of success and prominence not only in the State but the Nation at large. This development has actually hampered further development, advancement

and spread of the denomination into other parts of the region and State at large. It is clear that if UMCA and her members would be given the resources and opportunity, they can do more to better the lives of the people in this area. But, there is still need for the leaders and members to learn from the legacies and methods of the founding fathers, who despite the challenges they met, were able to leave footprints on the sand of time in this region.

It is true that UMCA profess to be making head way in evangelism, planting more churches and having members, but the researcher's opinion on this, is that it is a kind of sheep-stealing. It is evident that the existing peace and good relationship is being strained and the wall of division between the Christians and Muslims in particular in this region is being increased.¹⁷ The denomination has developed and invented new methods to reach out but these are just nuisance and provocative to the natives and general public as presented in this work. More so, many of the converts produced now are weak, worldly and not as committed as those of old; because with slight provocation or discouragement they would leave either the ministry or the denomination. This in fact is responsible for some of the Pentecostal churches now existing in Zuru Emirate and many members of UMCA left to join other denominations while other members are converting to Islam.¹⁸

UMCA should be held responsible for the marginalization, crisis and challenges, or backwardness etc. experienced now in KSSD. Because at the rate at which the Missionaries left KSSD to the indigenes, to date, there have not been proper follow-up in sustaining these legacies and relationships with the people of the region. Instead, she got involve in internal squabbles, hatred, politics and conflict of interest at the detriment of the gospel and have even missed so many opportunities to plant new churches in certain places due to lack of funds and disunity. Finally, UMCA can never plead innocent as God's words says, "it is you I know..." (Amos 3:2), "I sought for a man...to make up the hedge..." (Eze. 22:30); and "Ye are the

Salt...light of the world....” (Mat. 5:13-16). God is not looking for the whole human race to correct the ills in the society but a few, of which UMCA is – “the called out ones” in KSSD.

In summary, this work has been able to explicate the contributions of UMCA as denomination to the establishment of the Christian faith, and contributed to the development of physical and human infrastructure that has made KSSD to be famous and experienced socio-economic changes and advancement in the region under study and the State at large.

Notes and References

¹ Leo Bawa, *Nations in Agony: The Challenge of World Missions*. (Abuja: Still Waters Publications, 2002), 169-172.

² Interview with Timothy Dabo (HOD Education, School of Vocation and Technical Education, Waziri Umaru Federal Polytechnic, Birnin Kebbi, Kebbi State), aged 63 years. 28/3/17. 25. Interview with Deaconess Deborah Tsalhatu Joe a daughter of the one of the early Coverts who served as a cook to the Missionaries who took the Gospel to Yauri, a retired Public Health Superintendent, a Consultant on health, and the Provost of IBRAM College of Health and Science Technology Zuru, she is aged 67 years. 28/3/17.

³ Dag Hewards-Mills, *Church Planting*. (Benin-city, Hossana Christian Bookshop and Publishing house, 2011), 1.

⁴ Karatu Wele, *Ma'aikata a Gidan Allah. (Workers in God's House)* (Zuru: NA-Wheraka Resource Initiative, 2005), 65.

⁵ Karatu....65.

⁶ Aminu Gaya Chindo, *Spiritual Warfare in Evangelistic Ministry*. (Ilorin: Alleluyah Printing Press, 2009), 110-111

⁷ Interview with Prof. Mike Dikki. Professor of Exercise and Sports Science, Ahmadu Bello University Zaria, aged 51 years. 7/4/17.

⁸ Interview with Dr. Muhammad Zayyanu Abdullahi (CON) Emir of Yauri and Chairman, Yauri Emirate Council, aged 65 years. 3/4/17.

⁹ Incidentally, all people on the interview Table came up with this conclusion that the kind of politics played in this enclave is responsible for the backwardness and lack of unity experienced in this KSSD.

¹⁰ UMCA Arewa District do have an annual program to meet with all her sons and daughters living outside the region who come for the Christmas and New year festivities, called "UMCA Arewa District Sons' and Daughters' Forum." This to a large extent had yielded fruit in that some projects like building the CDS's house and churches, sustaining the only school owned by the District and denomination at large in the region, raising funds to pay Pastors' salaries, others took upon them to pay salaries ,just to mention a few. However, it has been observed

that this meeting is today not effective, most likely, due to the change in leadership where some new leaders may not have the charisma or drive to continue this legacy, there is politics in the church where some may not be favourably disposed to the new leadership and would do anything to scuttle his success and possibly no proper accountability, reports and follow-up. This forum should be revived due to the present needs plaguing the denomination and people at large (recession, etc.).

¹¹ Interview with Mr. Haruna Bitrus, son of one of the early converts and first Pastors in Zuru Emirate, Assistant General Manager Bank of Agriculture, Kaduna State, aged 57 years. 27/6/17. Sad enough, even some ministers are kicking against this initiative for fear that their members would be snatched to other denominations, whereas even the leader of this group is a staunch member of UMCA. This could be caused by jealousy or inferiority complex.

¹² Okechukwu Ibeanu, Mohammad J. Kuna, *Nigerian Federalism: Continuing Quest for Stability and Nation-Building*. (Ibadan: Safari Books Ltd., 2016), 251-252.

¹³ Delta State Government returned forty mission schools to the Church. Return of Schools to the Mission<The Pointer News Online. Thepointernews.com 16/5/17.

¹⁴ CRK has been tactically withdrawn from the curriculum of the schools in Kebbi State and no teacher has been employed to teach the subject in the past 15 years. However, there are teachers who volunteer to add CRK to their subjects on their own accord. See attached Curriculum. Interview with Mr. George Galadima a former Director in the Ministry of Education 18/7/17, and interview with Clement Nura who has been a volunteer CRK teacher for 22 years and now a Vice Principal Administration in Amanawa, Zuru; on 18/7/17.

¹⁵ Similarly, this was started in Arewa District, Zuru, but the building could not be concluded due to lack of funds and the fact that the vision was kicked against by many who sees this as a means of encouraging or promoting immorality.

¹⁶ Aminu Salihu Kiwonmola. *Mai Yawuri Bangon Duniya: Tarihi da Sharhi akan Wakar Maigirma SarkinYawuri Abdullahi, ta Aliyu Dandawo da Takaitacciyar Tarihin Kasar Yawuri – Sarkin Yawuri Abdullahi 1910-1955*. (Abuja: Capitol Publishers Limited. 2010), 50-53.

¹⁷ Interview with Dr. Muhammad Zayyanu Abdullahi (CON) Emir of Yauri and Chairman, Yauri Emirate Council, aged 71 years, on 3/4/17. Interview with Shehu Ahmed Wali (Walin Yauri, Councillor in charge of Education and Religion, and Member Yauri Emirate Council), aged 57 years. 3/4/17.

¹⁸ Interview with Revd. Ayuba Shinlenkeni Minister-in-charge UMCA Riwa, Ngaski LGA (Yauri Emirate), aged 65 years. 3/4/17. Deacon Elisha Anthony, member UMCA Sabon Guguwa, Ngaski LGA, aged 61years, on 3/4/17. Elder John Yawai, member UMCA Kyaun, Ngaski LGA, aged 50 years on 3/4/17. Revd. Philip Dabo (rtd) First generation converts by the

UMS Missionaries, aged 107 years. 7/4/17, and with Baba Ayuba Mairiga (Member UMCA Shabanda, Shanga LGA. (Yauri Emirate), aged 95 years. 3/4/17

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books

- Aboyede, B. Olabimpo. *Nigerian Contribution to Humanistic Studies, 1948-1975: A Bibliography Survey*. Ibadan: University of Ibadan, 1978.
- Abogunrin S. O. "Christian Relevance in Modern Africa" *The Church in the Arena of Politics*. ed. by Alfred Muli. vol. 16.1 1997.
- Abraha, Desalegn. *Leadership Crises and Nation Building in a Politically Turbulent Environment: The Case of the so Called Peoples Front for Democracy and Justice (PFDJ) Central Office in Eritrea*. <http://www.leadership-crises-and-nation-building>. 17/10/14.
- Adamo, David Tuesday. *Decolonizing African Biblical Studies*. 7th Inaugural Lecture. Abraka: Delta State University, Abraka, Delta State. 2004.
- Adamolekun, Taye "A Historical Survey of the Contribution of Nigerian Baptist Convention to the Development of Education in Nigeria. 1854 – 2002" in *Religion, Governance and Development in the 21st Century*, R.A. Raji, et al. Ago-Iwoye, The Nigerian Association for the Study of Religions. NASR; 2006.
- Adeyemo, Tokunboh. ed. *African Bible Commentary*. Nairobi: Worldalife Publishers, 2006.
- Anderson, J. N. D. *Christianity and Comparative Religions*. Bedford Square, London: Intervarsity Press, 1973.
- Akeredolu, J. L. *The Church and its Denominations in Nigeria*. Ibadan: Daystar, 1986.
- Amanze, O. Philemon. "An Analysis of Ellen White's Counsels on Balanced Education as a Catalyst for National Development in the 21st Century" in *Religion, Governance and Development in the 21st Century*. R.A. Raji, et al. Ago-Iwoye, The Nigerian Association for the Study of Religions. NASR; 2006.
- Augi. A. R. and Lawal S. U. *Studies in the History of The People of Zuru Emirate*. Enugu: Fourth Dimension Publishing Co. Ltd., 1990.
- Awojobi, Peter Olarenwaju. *The Church and Her Ministers: The Basic Principle of Church Planting and Growth*. Ilorin: Kingdom Communications, 2001.
- Awolalu, J. Omosade and P. Adelumo Dopamu. *West African Traditional Religion*. Ibadan: Onibonoje Press and Book Industries, 1979.
- Awolowo, Obafemi. *The Strategy and Tactics of the People's Republic of Nigeria*. Ibadan:

-
- Macmillan, 1970.
- Ayandele, E. A. "The Missionary Factor in Northern Nigeria 1870 – 1918." *The History of Christianity in West Africa*. ed. O. U. Kalu. Harlow: Longman Group Limited, 1982.
- _____. *The Missionary Impact on Modern Nigeria, 1842 – 1914*. ed. J. F. A. Ajayi. London: Longman Group Ltd., 1966.
- Babalola, E. O. *Christianity in West Africa: An Historical Analysis*. Ado Ekiti: Bamgboye and Co. Press, 1981.
- Babs Fafunwa, *History of Education in Nigeria*. Ibadan: NPS. Publishers. 1992.
- Baker, A. Robert. *A Summary of Christian History*. Nashville: Broadman Press, 1959.
- Bako, Ahmed. "Transition and Changes in religions and Belief System in Zuru Emirate. *The History of the People of Zuru Emirate* A. R. Augi and S. U. Lawal. Enugu: Fourth Dimension Publishing Co., Ltd. 1990.
- Balogun, I. A. B. *The Place of Religion in the Development of Nigeria*. Ilorin: University of Ilorin, 1988.
- Bamaiyi, I. R. *Vindication of a General*. Ibadan: Daybis Limited Jericho, 2014.
- Bamm, Peter. *The Kingdom of Christ from the Days of the Apostles to the Middle Ages*. New York: MC. Graw Hill Book Co., 1959.
- Barker, L. Kenneth, John R. Kohlenberger III eds. *The Expositor's Bible Commentary – Abridged Edition: New Testament*. Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1994.
- Barna, George. *Evangelism that Works: How to Reach Changing Generations with the Unchanging Gospel*. Ventura: Regal Books, 1995.
- Barret, B. David. *Schism and Renewal in Africa: An Analysis of Six Thousand Contemporary Religious Movements*. Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1968.
- Batimawus, Peter. Mark Hopkins et.al. "Achievements of TEKAN," *Churches in Fellowship: The Story of TEKAN*, Bukuru: African Christian Textbooks; 2005.
- Baur, John. *2000 Years of Christianity in Africa: An African Church History*. Nairobi: Paulines Publications Africa, 1994.
- Bawa, Amos K. Sence, *The Zuru People: An Attempt to Authenticating Issues Relating to the History of Zuru People and the Origin of C'lela as a Language of the People*. Kaduna: 2014
- Bawa, Leo. *Nations in agony: The Challenge of World Missions*. Wuse, Abuja: Still Waters Publications, 2002.

-
- Baxter, R. W. *Our North: The Story of Northern Nigeria in its Self Government*. Year 1959. Kaduna: Ministry of Internal Affairs, 1959.
- Bell, H. Ross and Lageer Eileen. *The Pioneer Doctor: the Struggles and Rewards*. Kitchener: Kitchener Printing, 1998.
- Bello, Ahmadu Sardauna of Sokoto. *My Life*. Zaria: Gaskiya Corporation Limited, 1962.
- Bello, J. Y. *UMCA, The Journey So Far: 1905 – 2013*. Ilorin: OPW Ltd. 2014
- Bettenson, Henry. *Documents of the Christian Church*. London: Oxford, 1943.
- Bidmos, M. A. *Islamic Education in Nigeria: Its Philosophy and Research Methods*. Lagos: Panaf Publishing Inc., 2003.
- Boer, R. Harry. *A Short History of the Early Church*. Ibadan: Daystar, 1976.
- _____. *Nigeria's Decade s of Blood, 1980 – 2002. Studies in Christian – Muslim Relations Vol. 1*. Belleville: Essence Publishing, 2003.
- Bowie, Walter Russel. *The Story of the Church*. New York: Abingdon Press, 1955.
- Brand, Chad; Charles Drapper. et. al. ed. *Holman Illustrated Bible Dictionary*. Nashville: Holman Bible Publishers, 1998.
- Broomhall, A. J. *Time for Action: Christian Responsibility to a Non-Christian World*. London: Intervarsity Press, 1965.
- Brown, Schyler. *The Origin of Christianity: A Historical Introduction to the New Testament*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1993.
- Bruce, F. F. Ellison, H. L. et al ed. *The International Bible Commentary with the New International Version*. Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1986.
- Bulala, David. *The Lutheran Church of Christ in Nigeria. LCCN: Its History and Development*. Nassarawa Gwom: Ade Printing Press, 2001.
- Burgess, Richard. *Times of Refreshing: Revival and The History of Christianity in Africa. Bukuru: ACTS*. 2008.
- Burns, Alan. *History of Nigeria*. London: George Allen, 1922.
- Cairns, E. E. *Christianity through the Centuries*. Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1965.
- Cheesman, Graham. *Mission Today: An Introduction to Mission Studies*. Bukuru: ACTS, 1989.
- Chindo, Aminu Gaya. *Spiritual Warfare in Evangelistic Ministry*. Ilorin: Alleluiah Printing Press, 2009.
- Colson, Charles. *Who Speaks for God?: Confronting the World With Real Christianity*. Illinois:

-
- Crossway Books, A Division of Goodnews Publishers, 1985.
- Constitution of the Missionary Church*. Elkhart: Bethel Publishing Co., ND.
- Constitution of the United Missionary Church of Africa*. 2006.
- Crampton, E. P. T. *Christianity in Northern Nigeria*. Bukuru: Africa Christian Textbooks, 2004.
- Crowder, Michael. *The Story of Nigeria*. London: Faber and Faber, 1966.
- D. A. Carson, R. T. France et al ed. *New Bible Commentary 21st Century Edition*. Leicester: Intervarsity Press, 1994.
- Dangan, Nciniya. *History of UMCA Bible Training School Salka*. Jos: NBTT, 2012.
- Darinelou, J. A. *History of Early Christian Doctrine before the Council at Nicea*. 1964.
- Dodds, E.R. *Pagan and Christian in an Age of Anxiety*. New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1965.
- Donald, R. Jacob. *Pilgrimage in Mission: Mennonite Perspective in the Christian Witness Worldwide*. Kitchener: Herald Press, 1971.
- Dopamu, Peter Adelumo. *In the Service of Humanity: Farewell Lecture*. Ilorin: Library and Publications Committee, 2009.
- Dowley, Tim. et al ed. *A Lion Handbook: The History of Christianity*. Sandy Lane: Lion Publishing Plc., 1990.
- Drake, H. A. "Constantine and Consensus" *Church History*. Vol. 64 No. 1. New York: American Society of Church History. (ed. Jerald C. Brauer and Martin E. Marty), March 1995.
- Driver, John. *Community and Commitment*. Scottsdale: Herald, 1976.
- Duane, J. Making History Editorial. *Reflections: the first Quarter Century*. Missionary Church Historical Society. Vol. 2 No. 2. 1994/1995.
- Dusgate, H. Richard. *The Conquest of Northern Nigeria*. London: Frank Cass and Co. Ltd., 1985.
- Dyke, J. Cornelius. *An Introduction to Mennonite History*. Scottsdale: Herald Press, 1981.
- Eckman, P. James. *Exploring Church History*. India: Oasis International Ltd., 2002.
- Eluwa, G.I.C. et al. ed. *A History of Nigeria for Schools and Colleges*. Onitsha: Africana First Publishers Plc. 2013.
- Emenyonu, Ernest. *The Rise of the Igbo Novel*. Ibadan: University Press. 1987.
- English, M. C. *An Outline of Nigerian History*. Ibadan: Longmans, 1959.
- Enwerem, M. Ifeanyi. "A Dangerous Awakening: The Politicization of Religion in Nigeria"

IFRA (Institut Francaise de Recherche en Afrique/French Institute for Research in Africa), Ibadan, 1995.

Ethel, Ezech Mary-Noelle and Okonkwo Uche Uwaezuoke. *Place of Religion in Nation*

Building and Security in Nigeria: A Historical Survey of Aro Expedition of 1901.
African Journal of History and Culture. AJHC Vol. 2. 2. February 2010.

Ezemadu, Rueben. *Towards the Evangelisation of Nigeria...by AD 2000 and Beyond.* Ibadan:
Nigeria Evangelical Missions Association and the AD 2000 Movement. Nigeria, 1990.

Falk, Peter. *The Growth of the Church in Africa.* Bukuru: Africa Christian Textbooks, 1997.

Famoyin, Victor Ola. *Foundation of Economics of West Africa.* 3rd ed. Ilesha: Ilesanmi, 1980.

Fatokun, Adetunji Samson. *History and Doctrine of the Early Church.* Ibadan:
Enicrownfit Publishers, 1999.

Fiedler, Klaus. *The Story of Faith Missions.* Oxford: Regnum Books. 1994.

Filaba, Mailafiya Aruwa, et al. *From Shoulder Carriers to Christ Seekers: A History of SIM
and Christianity in Gbagyi Land.* Garki: ECWA Garki DCC., 2013.

Fleck, Ian. *Bringing Christianity to Nigeria: the Origin and Work of Protestant Missions.*
Bukuru: African Christian Textbooks. 2013.

Franz, Delton et al. *Let My People Choose: Christian Choice Regarding Poverty, Affluence,
Standard of Living.* Scottsdale: Herald, 1969.

Friesai, Abraham. *Erasmus, The Anabaptist and the Great Commission.* Grand Rapids: William
B Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1998.

Fuller, Clare. *Banfeild, Nupe and the UMCA.* Ilorin: World Partners for UMCA, 2001.

Fuller, Lois. *Faith of Our Fathers: Life Stories of Some UMCA Elders.* Ilorin: Indemac
Publishers, 1999.

_____ *Kingdoms at War: an Ethnic Survey of Niger, Kebbi States and FCT.* Jos: CAPRO
Research Office. 1995.

Fuller, W. Harold. *People of the Mandate: The Story of The World Evangelical Fellowship.*
Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1996.

Gaiya, A. B. Musa. *Christianity in Africa: A Study in the Christian Presence in Africa up to
1900.* Jos: University of Jos Press, 2002.

Gbadamosi, T. G. O. and J. F. Ade Ajayi. "Islam and Christianity in Nigeria." *Groundwork of
Nigerian History.* (ed. Obaro Ikime). Historical Society of Nigeria:
Heinemann Educational Book (Nigeria) Plc., 1999, pp. 347-366.

Glock, Charles V. and Rodney Stark. *Religion and Society in Tension.* Chicago: Rand McNally,

1965.

Gemman, Rechard. *African Traditional Religion in Biblical Perspective*. Nairobi: Kesho Publication. 1987.

Gofwen, I. Rotgak. *Religious Conflicts in Northern Nigeria and Nation Building: the Throes of Two Decades 1980-2000*. Kaduna: Human Rights Monitor, 2004.

Gore, Charlse. *The Ministry of the Christian Church*. London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1893.

Goshit, Z. D. and Pauline Lere et al Editors. *History of the Church of Christ in Nations*.

COCIN: 1904-2013. Jos: COCIN Headquarters, 2013.

Grimley, B. John and Robinson, E. Gordon. *Church Growth in Central and Southern Nigeria*. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmanns Publishing Company, 1966.

Gros, Jeffrey and John D. Rempel (ed). *The Fragmentation of the Church and its Unity, Peace Making*. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2001.

Gulson, Charles. *No Greater Heritage*. London: The Paternoster, 1960.

Gwamna, Dogara. et al eds. *From Shoulder Carriers to Christ Seekers: A History of SIM and Christianity in Gbagyi Land*. Garki: ECWA Garki DCC. 2013.

Hackman, R. Galen. *Introduction to Brethren History*. Mubi: TEE College, 1992.

Hall, Stuart G. *Doctrine and Practice in the Early Church*. Grand Rapids: William B.Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1991.

Haynes, Jeff. *Religion in Global Politics*. New York: Addison Wesley Longman Limited, 1998.

Herbert, A. *Liturgy and Society: The Function of the Church in Modern Society*. London: Faber and Faber, 1961.

Hewards-Mills, Dag. *Church Planting*. Benin-city, Hossana Christian Bookshop and Publishing House, 2011.

Hilderbrandt, Jonathan. *History of the Church in Africa: A Survey*. Achimota: African Christian Press, 1990.

Hill, Jonathan. *The New Lion Handbook: The History of Christianity*. Oxford: Lion Hudson Plc. 2007.

Houghton, S. M. *Sketches from Church History*. Edinburgh: Banner of Truth, 1980.

Hopkins, Mark and Musa Gaiya. *Churches in Fellowship: the Story of TEKAN*. Bukuru: Africa Christian Textbooks, 2005.

Huffman, J. A. et al. ed. *History of the Mennonite Brethren in Christ Church*. New Carlisle: The

-
- Bethel Publishing Co., 1920.
- Hurlburt, Jesse Lyman. *The Story of the Christian Church*. Philadelphia: John C. Winton, 1954.
- Ibeanu, Okechukwu and Mohammad J. Kuna, *Nigerian Federalism: Continuing Quest for Stability and Nation-Building*. Ibadan: Safari Books Ltd., 2016.
- Ignatieff, Michael. "Nation-Building Lite," New York Times Magazine, 28 July 2002.
- Ikime, Obaro. *The Fall of Nigeria*. Ibadan: Heinemann, 1977
- Iko, Jonathan. *Linguistic Expression*. Owerri: VIP Publishers. 1978.
- Ishola, Ademola and Deji Ayegboyin. eds. *Rediscovering and Fostering Unity in the Body of Christ: The Nigerian Experience*. Ibadan: African Theological Fellowship,
- Isichie, Elizabeth. *A History of Christianity in Africa*. Grand Rapids: William B Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1995.
- Jemigbon, S. S. *The Apostolic Church at 70: the Vision, the Mission*. Yaba: The Apostolic Church LAWNA Literature Committee, 2001.
- Johnston, Jon. *Will Evangelism Survive its Popularity?* Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1980.
- Jones, E. Stanley. *Christ and Present World Issues*. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1937.
- Kalu, Ogbu ed. *Christianity in West Africa: The Nigerian Story*. Ibadan: Daystar, 1978.
- Kaye, Bruce. *Obeying Christ in a Changing World: The Changing World*. Glasgow: Collins, 1977.
- Keim, Ray and Beechy, Atlec and Winifred. *The Church the Reconciling Community*. Scottsdale: Mennonite Publications, 1970.
- Kingdoms at War: An Ethnic Survey of Niger, Kebbi and FCT*. Jos: Capro Research Office, 1995.
- Kittel, Gerhard, Gerhard Freidrick. ed. Geoffrey W. Bromiley. Trans. *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans. 2000.
- Kiwonmola, Aminu Salihu. *Mai Yawuri Bangon Duniya: Tarihi da Sharhi akan Wakar Maigirma Sarkin Yawuri Abdullahi, ta Aliyu Dandawo da Takaitacciyar Tarihin Kasar Yawuri – Sarkin Yawuri Abdullahi 1910-1955*. Abuja: Capitol Publishers Limited. 2010. 99-128.
- Klaassan, Walter. *Anabaptist: Neither Catholic nor Protestant*. Kitchener: Pandora Press, 2001.
- Knight, Frank and Merriam, W. Thornton. *The Economic Order and Religion*. New Fetter Lane: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co., Ltd., 1999.

-
- Knox, John. *Religion and the Present Crisis*. Chicago: University of Chicago, 1942.
- Kuiper, B. K. *The Church in History*. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1973.
- Kunhiyop, Waje Samuel. "Poverty: Good News for Africa." *Africa Journal of Evangelical Theology*. Vol. 20.1 Kenya: Scott Theological College, 2001.
- _____. *The Practice and Impact of Transfer in ECWA*. Jos: ECWA Productions, 2004.
- Lager, Eileen ed. *Ask of Me the Heathen for thine Inheritance*. Elkhart, Indiana: United Missionary Society, 1959.
- _____. *Common Bonds: the Story of the Evangelical Missionary Church of Canada*. Canada: The Evangelical Missionary Church of Canada, 2002.
- _____. *Merging Streams: Story of the Missionary Church*. Elkhart, Indiana: Bethel Publishing Co., 1979.
- _____. *Who's Who*. Elkhart, Indiana: Bethel Publishing Company, 1968.
- Lamle, N. Elias et al. ed. *The Light Shines in Their hearts: COCIN and the Gospel in Tarok Land*. Jos: CrossRoads Communications, 2000.
- Lapp, A. John. et al eds. *Anabaptist Songs in African Hearts: Global Mennonite History*. Kitchener: Pandora Press, 2006.
- Lare, C. Arthur. *Illustrated Notes on English Church History. Vol.1. From the Earliest Times to the Dawn of Reformation*. London: Society Promoting Christian knowledge. 1894.
- Latourette, Kenneth Scott. *A History of the Expansion of Christianity Vol. 2: The Thousand Years of Uncertainty, 500 AD to 1500 AD*. Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing house,
- Lere, M. Pauline. *The Church in West Africa*. Jos: Dekka Publications, 2001.
- Loewen, Harry. ed. *Why I am a Mennonite*. Kitchener: Herald Press, 1988.
- Madugu, K. David. *History of First ECWA Church in Patigi in Nupe Land*. Ilorin: Ezekiel Fakeye Enterprises, 2009.
- Makozi, A. O. and G. J. Afolabi Ojo. eds. *The History of the Catholic Church in Nigeria*. Yaba: Macmillan Nigeria Publishers Ltd., 1982.
- Marshall, I. H. and A. R. Millard, et al. ed. *New Bible Dictionary*. Leicester: Inter-Varsity Press, 2001.
- Mason, Jim. *Literature Outreach in Nigeria: A History of SIM Literature Work 1901-1980*. Woolwich Street North: SIM Canada, 2009.
- Mbiti, S. John. *African Religions and Philosophy*. London: Heinemann Educational Books

-
- Ltd. 1970.
- McCain, Danny. *Tough Tests for Top Leaders: God's Strategies for Preparing Africans to Lead Global Christianity*. Bukuru: ACTS, 2005.
- McGavran, A. Donald & Peter C. Wagner. eds. *Understanding Church Growth*. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1970.
- McGrath, Alister. *Evangelism and the Future of the Church*. Downers Groove: Intervarsity Press, 1995.
- Middleton, Melville J. *The Message of the Cross: Hope for Christian Relief and Community Development*. Stouffville: MacGowan Enterprises, 1985.
- Miller, Andres. *How to live the Holy life: A Down to Earth Look at Holiness*. Kansas City: Aldersgate Associates, 1986.
- Miller, Donald C. *The Christian in a Secular World*. Scottsdale: Pa. Herald, 1969.
- Miller, Walter R. *Success in Nigeria?* London: Luther worth, 1949.
- Moberg, O. David. *The Church as a Social Institution*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, International Inc., 1962.
- Moltmann, Jurgen. *Following Jesus Christ in the World Today: Responsibility for the World and Christian Discipleship*. Elkhart: Institute of Mennonite Studies, 1983.
- Moomaw, J. W. *...Anti-Poverty Crusades of the Churches*. New York: Harpers, 1966.
- Murphy, Terrence. *A Concise History of Christianity in Canada*. Oxford: University Press, 1996.
- Ndukwe, Olo. *Celebration of Life: Religion, Mission and The Victims of Society*. Enugu: Precious Grcae Publications, 2011.
- Nicholas, Robert Hasting. *The Growth of the Christian Church*. Ibadan: Daystar, 1930.
- Nickel. D. Gordon. *Peaceable Witness among Muslims*. Scottsdale: Herald Press, 1999.
- Niven, C. R. *Nigeria: Outline of a Colony*. London: Thomas Nelson, 1945.
- _____. *A Short History of Nigeria*. Ibadan: Longman, 1957.
- Nkansa-Kyeremateng, K. Glans. *History, Mission and Achievement: Presbyterian Church*. Accra: Sebewie Publishers, 1996.
- Noah, Webster. *Webster's 1828 Dictionary A – L, S – Z*. Mexico: William Collins World Publishing Company, 1979.
- Noll, A. Mark, Nathan O. Hatch ed. et al. *Christianity in America: A Handbook*. Ickneidway, Tring: Lion Publishing Plc. 1983.

-
- _____ *A History of Christianity in the United States and Canada*. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1992.
- Norwood, A. Frederick. *The Development of Modern Christianity since 1500*. New York: Abingdon Press, 1958.
- Nwankiti, Benjamin C. *A Short History of the Christian Church*. Ibadan: Daystar, 1965.
- Nwankwo, Arthur A. *Nigeria: The Challenge of Biafara*. London: Rex Collins Ltd., 1966.
- Nwaubani, O. Okechukwu. *Traditional Education, Aims, content, Methodology and Process*. Nsukka: Whytem Publishers, 1997.
- O' Donoran, Wilbur. *Biblical Christianity in African Perspective*. Carlisle: Paternosters Press, 1966.
- Odunmuyiwa, E. Ade "Christianity, Governance and Development: a Case study of Nigeria in the 21st Century" in *Religion, Governance And Development in the 21st Century*, R.A. Raji, et al. Ago-Iwoye, The Nigerian Association for the Study of Religions. NASR; 2006.
- Ogbu, Kalu. *Christianity in West Africa*. Ibadan: Daystar Press, 1978.
- Ogunsusi, Joseph Oluwalogo. *Challenges of Evangelism in Nigeria*. Jos: Mission Foundation for Christ/CIRS Ministry Publication, 2012.
- Olukoju, Ayodeji. "Christianity and the Development of the Nigerian State" In *Nigerian Peoples and Cultures*. Akinjide Osuntokun et al eds. Ibadan: Davidson Press, 1997.
- Omotoye, Rotimi "Christianity and Educational Development: a Case Study of Christian Missionary Universities in Nigeria in the 21st Century" in *Religion, Governance and Development in the 21st Century*, R.A. Raji, et al. Ago-Iwoye, The Nigerian Association for the Study of Religions. NASR; 2006.
- Omoyajowo, Akinyele. *The Anglican Church in Nigeria 1842-1992*. Yaba: Macmillan Nigeria Publishers Ltd., 1994.
- Ortlund, Raymond C. *Let the Church be the Church*. Waco: Word, 1983.
- Oshitelu, G. A. *Expansion of Christianity in West Africa up to 1914*. Abeokuta: Visual Resources Publishers. 2002.
- Osoba, S.O. and A. Fajana, "Educational and Social Development during the Twentieth Century" in *Groundwork of Nigerian History*. Obaro Ikime ed. Ibadan: Historical Society of Nigeria, 2012.
- Our God is Faithful: UMCA Chapel, Tanke at 10*. Taiwo, Ilorin: Haytec Press and Publishing Co. Nigeria Ltd., 2003.

-
- Overhulser, Josephine Marie (Ummel). *They Called Him Mallam: The Biography of Joseph Ummel, A Pioneer Missionary to Northern Nigeria, West Africa*. Carmel: Cork Hill Press, 2005.
- Oyawoye, M. O. "Keynote Address" in *Science and Religion in the Service of Humanity*. Ade P. Dopamu et al. Ilorin, Local Society Initiative. LSI. and The Nigerian Association for the Study and Teaching of Religion and Natural Sciences. NASTRENS; 2006.
- Page Wilker, Michael. *Poverty, Revolution and the Church*. England: Paternoster, 1981.
- Pardington, P. George. *Outline Studies in Christian Doctrine*. Harrisburg: Christian Publication Inc., 1926.
- Pironet, Loiuse. *Church History 4: Christianity Worldwide AD1800 onwards*. Delhi: International Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. ISPCK; 1989.
- Powell, Brad. *Change your Church for Good*. Lagos: Edysyl Publications, 2010.
- Prince Derek. *Rediscovering God's Church*. New Kensington: Whitaker House, 2006.
- Pweddton, Nicholas. *The History of the Lutheran Church of Christ in Nigeria*. Lutheran Church of Christ in Nigeria, Numan. 2005.
- Qurik R. *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English*. London: Longman Publishing House, 1992.
- Ramsay, William M. *Pictures of the Apostolic Church*. Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1959.
- Reifel, Gladys. *God Gives the Increase*. Elkhart: Bethel Publishing Company, 1992.
- Reil, Margaret. *Nigerian Politics: The People's Views*. London: Cassell, 1976.
- Renwick, A. M. *The History of the Church*. London, Intervarsity Press, 1973.
- Roozen, A. David & C. Kirk Hadaway. ed. *Church and Denominational Growth: What does and does not Cause Growth or Decline*. Nashville: Abingdon Press. 1993.
- Safra, E. Jacob. ed. "Salt" in *The New Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Chicago: Encyclopaedia Britannica Inc., 2007, pp. 363-370.
- Salami, M. O. *Christian Mission in West Africa*. Ilorin: Adlek Printing Enterprises, 2001.
- Sanneh, Lamin. *Whose Religion is Christianity: the Gospel beyond the West*. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2003.
- Samuel, Vinay and Sugden, Christopher. *The Church in Response to Human Need*. Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1987.
- Schaeffer, Francis A. *The Church before the Watching World*. London: Intervarsity Press, 1972.
- Schleiermacher, Friederick. *Introduction to Christian Ethics*. John C. Shelley. Trans. Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1989.

-
- Seamands, T. John. *Pioneers of the Younger Churches*. Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1967.
- Shields, Norman. *Christian Ethics*. Bukuru: Africa Christian Textbooks, 2004.
- Shorter, Aylward. *The Church in the African City*. Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1991.
- Sider, Ronald J. *Evangelism and Social Action: Unifying the Church to Heal a Lost and Broken World*. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1993.
- _____. *One-Sided Christian: Unifying the Church to Heal a Lost and Broken World*. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1993.
- _____. *Rich Christians in an Age of Hunger*. Illinois: Intervarsity Press, 1984.
- Smith, H. Edgar. *Nigerian Harvest*. Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1972.
- Smith, Scott Gary. ed. *God and Politics: Four Views on the Reformation of Civil Government*. Phillipsburg, NJ: Presbyterian and reformed, 1989.
- Storms, Everek Richard. *History of the United Missionary Church*. Elkhart, Indiana: Bethel Publishing Co., 1958.
- _____. *What God had Wrought: The Story of the Foreign Missionary Efforts of the United Missionary Church*. Springfield, Ohio: United Missionary Society, 1948.
- Stott, John. *Involvement: Being a Responsible Christian in a Non-Christian Society*. Old Tapan: Flemming, 1978.
- Stott, John and Ian Cundy. *Obedying Christ in a Changing World: the People of God*. Glasgow: Collins, 1977.
- Story and Creed*. Ilorin: United Missionary Society, 1965.
- Such a Time as This*. General Assembly of the Christian Council of Nigeria, 1979. Ibadan: Daystar, 1980.
- Taber, R. Charles ed. *The Church in Africa*. South Pasadena, California: William Carey Library, 1977.
- Tatler, Lisa. *Death to Life: The Story of Jacob Bawa*. USA: Bethel Publishing, 2005.
- Tenney, C. Merrill. ed. *New International Bible Dictionary*. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1987.
- Temple, William. *Christianity and Social Order*. London: SCM., 1950.
- The Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria*. Federal Military Government, 1989.
- Toewi, E. John ed. et. al. *Your Daughters shall Prophesy: Women in Ministry in the Church*. Winnipeg: Kindred Press, 1992.
- Tnushi, B. Bitrus. *Let Us Embrace Christian Ethics: Blessed are the Peace Makers*. Kaduna: Sameoy Press, 2005.

-
- Turaki, Yusuf. *An Introduction to the History of SIM/ECWA in Nigeria 1893-1993*. Jos: ECWA Headquarters: 1993.
- _____. *The British Colonial Legacy in Northern Nigeria: A Social Ethical Analysis of The Colonial and Post-Colonial Society and Politics in Nigeria*. Jos: ECWA Headquarters, 1993
- _____. *The Unique Christ For Salvation: The Challenge of The Non-Christian Religions and Cultures*. Nairobi: International Bible Society Africa, 2001.
- _____. *Theory and Practice of Christian Missions in Africa: A Century of SIM/ECWA History and Legacy in Nigeria 1893-1993*. Nairobi: International Bible Society Africa, 1999.
- Tuttle, Lisa. *Death to Life: The Story of Jacob Bawa*. USA: Bethel Publishing Co., 2005.
- Umar, Muhammad Sani. "Islam in Nigeria: Its Concept, Manifestations and Role in Nation-Building" in *Nigeria since Independence: the First 25 Years*, J. A. Atanda et.al. Ibadan: Heinemann Educational Books Nigeria Ltd; 1989.
- "Vision for a People." *General Assembly of the Christian Council of Nigeria, 1973*. Ibadan: Daystar, 1975.
- Walls, F. Andrews. *The Missionary Movement in Christian History: Studies in the Transmission of Faith*. Maryknoll: Orbit Books, 2002.
- Webber, E. Robert. *Common Roots: A Call to Evangelical Maturity*. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing House, 1978.
- _____. *Common Roots: The Original Call to an Ancient-Future Faith*. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing House, 2009.
- Wele, Karatu. *Ma'aikata a Gidan Allah. (Workers in God's House)*. Zuru: NA-Wheraka Resource Initiative, 2005.
- Wenger, John Christian. *The Doctrines of the Mennonites*. Scottsdale, Pennsylvania: Mennonite Publishing House, 1952.
- Weiss, Johannes. *Earliest Christianity: A History of the Period AD. 30 – 150*. New York: Harper and Row, 1959.
- Wiersbe, W. Warren. *Be Loyal: New Testament Study – Matthew (Following the King of Kings)*. Colorado Spring: Cook International, 2007.
- Wilson, Bryan. *Religion in Secular Society*. Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1966.
- Wilson, L. Ruby with Oliver M. Evans. *Annie Yeo: A Life of Service*. Burlington: Watch Publishing Company Inc., 1985.

-
- Wolff, Dr. Hans. *Nigerian Autography*. Zaria: Northern Regional Education Office, 1954.
- Yoder, John Howard. *The Christian Witness to the State*. Newton, Ks: Faith and Life Press, 1964.
- Yamsat, Pandang. *The Role of the Church in Democratic Governance in Nigeria*. Bukuru: The Biblical Studies Foundation, 2001.

Journals

- Abogunrin, S. O. "Religion, Crime and National Security" *Orita*. Ibadan Journal of Religious Studies. xxvi/1&2 June and December 1994.
- _____. "Religious Leaders and their Role in the Political Process: The Nigeria Experience." *Orita*. xxviii/1-2. June and Dec. 1996.

Thesis, Disertations and Long Essays

- Bitrus, Idisi Esther, *The Nature and Impact of British Colonial Domination in Alela C1903 – C1960* (Masters Thesis Department of History, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria. June, 1990.
- Fuller, James Clare. *We Trust God will Own His: A Holiness Mennonite Mission in Nigeria 1905- 1978*. MTh Thesis McMaster University Divinity College. June, 2003.
- Fuller, Halima Danmallam. *Fifty Years of Christian Experience in Rijau Local Government Area of Niger State*. MA Thesis Unilorin, Oct. 1992.
- Lere. M. Paulina. *The Activities of The S.I.M. and S.U.M. among Leprosy Patients in Northern Nigeria: 1928-1988*. PhD in Church History Thesis, University of Jos. July, 2005.

Magazines

- Ayuba, A. T. "...A People without culture are Lost." *Uholo Magazine*. Vol. 2 No. 1. 2010.
- Dudu, Mark Philip. et al. "Agricultural Show." *Uholo Magazine*. Vol. 2 No. 1. 2010.
- Dudu, Mark Philip Dudu, et al. "Archery." *Uholo Magazine*. Vol. 2 No. 1. 2010.
- Dudu, Mark Philip. et al. "Golmo and Bicycle Race." *Uholo Magazine*. Vol. 2 No. 1. 2010.
- Dudu, Mark Philip. "The Isgogo Slave Market Project and Tourism Development in Zuru Emirate." *Uholo Magazine*. Vol. 2 No. 1. 2010.
- Dudu, Mark Philip. et al. "Interesting Sites." *Uholo Magazine*. Vol. 2 No. 1. 2010.

Dudu, Mark Philip. et al. “*Wrestling.*” Uhola Magazine. Vol. 2 No. 1. 2010.

Dudu, Mark Philip. et al. “*Yadato.*” Uhola Magazine. Vol. 2 No. 1. 2010.

Makinde, Ola. “Makinde Decries Church Politics” *The Punch*, Vol. 17 No. 20, 479. 14th Sept. 2009.

Others

Biography of Late Mama Arziki Hyma Bamaiyi on 7/4/17.

Nigerian Peoples and Culture GST 201 course Outline National Open University.

Historical Background of UMCA, in UMCA National Diary, 2017.

Internet Sources

Adam Clarke’s Commentary on the Bible. Rick Meyers, e-Sword Eschalon Set Up Loader

Company: Eschalon Development Inc. (Copyright © 2008) [database on line]; available from www.sword.net. 18/1/14.

Agbaje, Opeyemi. The Church in Nigeria <http://www.businessdayonline.com/index.php?>

Wednesday, 31 March 2010. 18/1/14.

Akinade E. Akintunde, The Precarious Agenda: Christian-Muslim Relations in

Contemporary Nigeria. <http://www.theartsjournal.org/index.php/site/article/download/110/109> 18/1/14.

Bandyoodhyay, Sanghamitra. And Elliott Green. *Nation Building and Conflict in Modern*

Africa. <http://sticed.lse.ac.uk/new/publications/series.asp?prg=EOPP>. 8/1/14.

breaking.com.ng-nigeria-government..., www.emeraldinsight.com 20/5/17.

Brimah, Peregrino [Every Nigerian Do Something] 100 years and 100 Interesting Facts about

Nigeria/Every Nigerian. <http://ends.ng/100-years-and-100-interesting-facts-about-nigeria> 4 Jan., 2014. 22/5/14

Calvin, John. *Institutes of the Christian Religion. Book 1*. Rick Meyers, e-Sword Eschalon Set

Up Loader Company: Eschalon Development Inc. (Copyright © 2008) [database on line]; available from www.sword.net. 18/1/14.

Confession of Faith.

[http://www.anabaptistwiki.org/mediawiki/index.php/Mennonite Brethren Church confession of Faith 1902](http://www.anabaptistwiki.org/mediawiki/index.php/Mennonite_Brethren_Church_confession_of_Faith_1902). 17/4/2016.

dailypost.ng-News, community.vanguardngr.com, www.nigeriaworld.com-articles-sep. 20/5/17.

Dakar/Brussels, *Northern Nigeria: Background to Conflict* by Crisis Group Africa Report
N°168, 20 Dec., 2010. 18/1/14.

Ebiem, Osita. *Why Nigeria Must Break up*

Now. http://www.africafederation.net/Biafra_Nigeria.htm

Engbrecht, D. Dennis. *Merging and Diverging Streams: The Colourful and Complex History of the Missionary Church.*

Erdel, Timothy Paul. *Illinois Mennonite Heritage, The Missionary Church: from Radical Outcasts to the Wild Child of Anabaptism.*
<http://missionary.church/wp-content/uploads/2015/10/MarriageMemoryMission1.17/4/2016>.

Erdel, Tim and Dennis Engbrecht. *Marriage, Memory, and Mission: Reflections on the 25th Anniversary of the MCA/UMC Merger.* Newsweek Magazine September 12, 1938. <http://missionary.church/wp-content/uploads/2015/10/MarriageMemoryMission1.17/4/2016>.

Final Solution: De-Amalgamations and their advantages of breaking up in

Nigeria. http://nigeriamasterweb.com/Mastercard/MasterwebMobile.News.php%3Fs_id%3DDMTkw.

Global Anabaptist Mennonite Encyclopaedia Online. <http://www.gameo.org>. 7/7/2011

Gambari, Ibrahim. *The Challenges of Nations Building: the Case of Nigeria. In the Vanguard of the Struggle to Build a Great Nation.* 17/7/2012. <http://www.the-challenges-of-nations-building-the-case-of-nigeria>. 18/1/14.

Groves, Adam. *Achievements and Limitations of Nation-Building in Africa: The Case of Zimbabwe.* June 19, 2008. <http://www.e-ir.info/2008/06/19/the-achievements-and-limitations-of-nation-building-in-africa-the-case-of-zimbabwe/> 18/1/14.

<http://www.academicjournals.org/AJHC>. <http://www.place-of-religion-in-nation-building-and-security-in-nigeria>. 17/10/14.

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/yauri_Nigeria. 17/12/2015

<http://web.archive.org/web/20120426052958>

<http://www.lccnigeria.org>

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Lutheran_Church_of_Christ_in_Nigeria.

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Church_of_The_Brethren_In_Nigeria.

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Church_of_Christ_in_Nations

<http://www.theartsjournal.org/index.php/site/article/download/110/109>. 18/1/14.

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Evangelical_Reformed_Church_of_Christ_in_Nigeria.

<https://www.facebook.com/FadiAlheriSayGood/posts/734703289928449> 17/2/15.

<https://www.facebook.com/FadiAlheriSayGood/posts/734703289928449>. 17/2/15.

<https://www.amazon.com/History-United-Methodist-Church-Nigeria/dp/0687090148>).

<http://m.news24.com/Nigeria/Tags/Places/Kebbi> 17/2/15.

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Christian_Reformed_Church_of_Nigeria or What's Behind the Takum War? http://www.2.crcna.org/pages/osj_takumhistory.cfm).

History and Roots, <http://www.bibleca/MBMissions>. Going to the Least Reached. 17/4/2016.

History-Nigeria-area,system,future,power,policy.

<http://www.nationsencyclopedia.com/Africa/Nigeria-HISTORY.html#ixzz29gAIp0oR>. 18/1/14.

History of the Missionary Church. <http://www.mcusa.org/AboutMC/History.aspx>. 7 July 2011. "Missionary Church - Who We are". <http://www.mcusa.org/AboutMC/WhoWeAre.aspx>. 7 July 2011. 17/4/2016.

History of the Missionary Church 1883-1983 – One Hundred Years of Historical Distinction. <https://www.mcusa.org>.

Jekayinfa A. A. *Implications of Competitive Ethnicity in the Process of Nation Building in Nigeria*. <http://www.info>. 17/10/14.

Jihad: A Misunderstood Concept from Islam – What Jihad is, and is not islamicsupremecouncil.or/.../5-jihad-a-misunderstood-concept-from-islam 2/8/15. <http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Northern.Regikon.nigeria&oldid=608718902> 15th May, 2014.

Jost, Lynn and Connie Faber. *Family Matters: Discovering the Mennonite Brethren*. Kindred Production, 2002. <http://mbconf.ca/home/about-us/our-story/Mennonites>. 17/4/2016.

Kagame, Paul. *Challenges of Nation-Building in Africa*, Sept. 19,2010. <http://www.realclearworld.com>. 18/1/14.

Kauffman, Daniel. *Mennonite History*. Mennonite Publishing house. <http://www.Mennonitehistory>. 17/4/2016.

Lange, Dierk. "An Assyrian successor state in West Africa: The ancestral kings of Kebbi as ancient Near Eastern Rulers", *Anthropos*, 104, 2. 2009, 359-382.

Lazzeri, Thomas. *Nation-building*. <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nation-building>. 17/10/14.

Lemu B. Aisha, Religious Education in Nigeria – A Case Study: # <http://folk.uio.no/Leirvik/OsloCoalition/AishaLemu.htm> 18/1/14.

Manly, Amaechi Ngozi and Simeon U. Duruji. *Education in the Traditional African Society: An*

Examination

[https://manlyacademia.wordpress.com/.../Education in the traditional African society/.21/5/17](https://manlyacademia.wordpress.com/.../Education_in_the_traditional_African_society/.21/5/17)

Matazu, Hamisu Kabir 11/9/14 https://www.facebook.com/Fadi_Alheri_Say

[Good/posts/734703289928449](https://www.facebook.com/Fadi_Alheri_Say) 17/2/15.

Nigeria – Government – Country Studies.

<http://countrystudies.us/nigeria/67.htm> 18/1/14.

NIGERIA: PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE [http://www.mongabay.com/reference/new_profiles/](http://www.mongabay.com/reference/new_profiles/Nigeria.html) Nigeria.html

Northern Nigerian Protectorate

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Northern_Region,_Nigeria#p-search

Northern Nigeria, 1900 – 1914.

<http://www.zumde/whkmla/region/westafrica/xnigeria.html>. 18/1/14.

Nwangwu, Chido. *Nigeria a Terrible Beauty*. USAfrica :The Newspaper, Houston.

<http://usafricaonline.com>. (18/1/14).

Profile – Nigeria – INADEV <http://www.inadev.org/profile-nigeria.htm> profile (18/1/14).

Seven Cardinal Goals of Traditional African Education

Kasa. https://www.abibitumkasa.com/.../42895_Seven_Cardinal_Goals_of_Traditional_African_Education... 21/5/17.

Smith, C. Henry. *The Mennonites and Their Heritage*. Indiana: Bethel Publishing house, 1950.

Stephenson Carolyn, Nation building <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nation-building>. 18/1/14.

Sudan United Mission. Adam Matthew

Publications. www.ampltd.co.uk/digital_guide/africa 18/1/14.

Taiye Adamolekun, A Historical Perspective in the Christian-Muslim Relations in Nigeria Since 1914 (Journal of Arts and Humanities (JAH), Vol. 2, No.5, June, 2013.

<http://www.theartsjournal.org/index.php/site/article/download/110/109>. 18/1/14.

The Beginning of the Mennonite Church.

http://gameo.org/index.php?title=Mennonite_Brethren_Church. 17/4/2016.

The Belvick Confession, Article 29 – “*The Marks of the True and the False Church.*”

Doctrinal Works in the Reformed Tradition. Rick Meyers, e-Sword Eschalon Set Up Loader Company: Eschalon Development Inc. (Copyright © 2008) [database on line]; available from www.sword.net. 18/1/14.

Todd, Paul. *History of Christianity*. 15/7/2010.

[http://www.ecwaevangel.org/living_in_nigeria/historyofchristianity&structure=livinhinnigeria\(18/1/14\).](http://www.ecwaevangel.org/living_in_nigeria/historyofchristianity&structure=livinhinnigeria(18/1/14).)

Traditional Education Wikipedia. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/traditional_education. 21/5/17.

Venn, Henry. (1796 – 1873), *History of Missionary*. Boston University. www.bu.edu-missionary-t-u-v-venn.

Webster's 1828 Dictionary A – L. Rick Meyers, e-Sword Eschalon Set Up Loader

Company: Eschalon Development Inc. (Copyright © 2008) [database on line];
available from www.sword.net. 18/1/14.

www.informationng.com/tag/haji 17/2/15.

5 things Nigerians need to know about the Recession. www.naij.com/NEWS/BusinessEconomy. 2/12/2016.

Oral Source (Interviews)

S/No	Date	Name	Age	Status
1.	28/3/17	Deacon Timothy Dabo	63 yrs	HOD Education, School of Vocation and Technical Education, Waziri Umaru Federal Polytechnic, Birnin Kebbi, Kebbi State.
2.	25/3/17	Rev. Oyedepo Adeleke Johnson	47 yrs	Minister in charge of Baptist Church, Birnin Kebbi, Head of CCN block of CAN in Kebbi State.
3.	24/3/17	Deaconess Deborah Tsalhatu Joe	54 yrs	A daughter of the one of the early Coverts who served as a cook to the Missionaries who took the Gospel to Yauri, a retired Public Health Superintendent, a Consultant on health, and the Provost of IBRAM College of Health and Science Technology Zuru.
4.	3/4/17	HRH. Dr. Muhammad Zayyanu Abdullahi. (CON)	71 yrs	Emir of Yauri and Chairman, Yauri Emirate Council
5.	03/04/17	Pas. Ibrahim Magaji	39 yrs	Chairman CAN Ngaski LGA and Minister-in-charge UMCA Longo.
6.	03/04/17	Revd. Ayuba Shinlenkeni	60 yrs	Minister-in-charge UMCA Riwa, Ngaski LGA (Yauri Emirate)
7.	03/04/17	Deacon Elisha Anthony	61 yrs	Member UMCA Sabon Guguwa, Ngaski LGA. (Yauri Emirate)
8.	03/04/17	Elder John Yawai	50 yrs	Member UMCA Kyaun, Ngaski LGA. (Yauri Emirate)
9.	03/04/17	Baba Ayuba Mairiga	95 yrs	Member UMCA Shabanda, Shanga LGA. (Yauri Emirate)
10.	03/04/17	Baba Sule Shabanda	70 yrs	Member UMCA Shabanda, Shanga LGA. (Yauri Emirate)
11.	03/04/17	Yohana Asuba	35 yrs	Member UMCA Shabanda, Shanga LGA. (Yauri Emirate)
12.	03/04/17	Elder Yakubu A. Shabanda	53 yrs	Chairman CAN Shanga LGA. Member UMCA Shabanda, Shanga LGA.
13.	10/4/17	Ibrahim K. Aliyu	70 yrs	Former Deputy Gov. Kebbi State. Yauri Emirate
14.	7/4/17	Revd Philip Dabo (rtd)	107yrs	First generation converts by the UMS Missionaries.
15.	7/4/17	Mama Dorcas Dikki	80yrs	Housewife to Late Revd. Ezra Dikki
16.	7/4/17	Alhaji Abdullahi Baba	63yrs	Editor-in-chief Megawatts publishing and printing company.
17.	3/4/17	Alhaji Abubakar Jibril	53yrs	Sardaunan Yauri, Kambuwa Yauri and Member Yauri Emirate Council
18.	3/4/17	Alhaji Shehu Ahmed Wali	57yrs	Walin Yauri, Councillor in charge of Education and religion, and Member Yauri Emirate Council.
19.	3/4/17	Alhaji Muazu Mohammadu Namallam	59yrs	Galadiman Yauri, Senior Councillor Yauri emirate, and Member Yauri Emirate Council.
20.	7/4/17	Panguda Daudu	68yrs	Housewife and among the first converts

21.	3/4/17	Mama Ruth Napke Zange	90yrs	Housewife and among the first converts, she is one of the few living witnesses of the Missionary activities in KSSD
22.	7/3/17	Kadiri Doroh	72 yrs	Retired civil servant, UMCA Church Elder and Member Rikoto Disrtict Council.
23.	7/3/17	Mikah Zange	70 yrs	Ex-Army, and son of one of the earliest converts.
24.	7/3/17	Karatu Wele	73 yrs	Retired Educationist, UMCA Church Elder and and Author.
25.	27/6/17	Haruana Bitsu	57 yrs	Son of one of the early converts and first Pastors in Zuru Emirate, Asst Gen. Manager Bank of Agriculture, Kaduna State.
26.	15/7/17	Prof. Charles Dikki.	62 yrs	Son of one of the earliest converts – Ezra Dikki; Professor of Exercise and Sports Science, Ahmadu Bello University Zaria.
27.	7/4/17	Dr. Michael Dikki	54 yrs	Son of one of the earliest converts, PhD in Inter-religious Studies, a Founding member and CEO Complete Gospel Ministry.
28.	8/4/17	Dominic Baba	69 yrs	Elder Roman Catholic Church Zuru and former Secretary Uhola Planning Committee 2009.
29.	8/4/17	Bejamin Dikki	59 yrs	Son of one of the earliest converts – Ezra Dikki; for Director Bureau for Public Enterprises.
30.	8/3/17	Mama Hadiza Maikyau	73 yrs	House-wife, a politician and daughter of one of the early converts – Baba Ahmadu
31.	10/3/17	Joseph Ubandawaki	72 yrs	One of the cooks of the UMS missionaries, an elder with UMCA, and retired civil servant
32.	8/3/17	Deacon Mathew Dasa	82 yrs	An elder with UMCA, and retired civil servant
33.	9/4/17	Filibus Zange	62 yrs	A retired Director of Forestry in the Ministry of Environment, Kebbi State, and an Elder of UMCA Church Badariya.
34.	18/7/17	George Galadima	61 yrs	Retired Director of Education, Kebbi State.
35.	18/7/17	Daniel Zarumi	57 yrs	Asst. Director Sports, Ministry of Education, Kebbi State.
36.	18/7/17	Clement Nura	52 yrs	Vice Principal Admin, Government Day Secondary School Amanawa.
37.	18/7/17	Sati Auta Ribah	57 yrs	Director, Higher Education, Kebbi State.
38.	18/7/17	HRH. Maj. Gen. Muhammadu Sani Sami. CON, mni, LL.D, FICEN, (Sami Gomo II)	73 yrs	Emir of Zuru, Chairman Zuru Emirate Council.
39.	18/7/17	Alh. Muhammad Yawa Dankarma	56 yrs	District Head of Ushe and Member Zuru Emirate Council
40.	18/7/17	Alh. Mohammed Shehu Bandi	57 yrs	District Head of Rikoto and Member Zuru Emirate Council.
41.	7/12/17	Bulus Doroh Rikoto	77 yrs	Elder and son of the first (Elder) pastor of first Church in Zuru land (Tungan Doroh)
