



THE SPREAD OF CHRISTIANITY IN  
YORUBALAND OF NIGERIA: AN HISTORICAL  
PERSPECTIVE

BY

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A dissertation submitted in fulfilment of the requirement  
for the degree of Master of Arts (Islamic and  
other Civilizations)

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Civilization  
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JUNE 2012

## **ABSTRACT**

This study is both historical and analytical and examines the recent development of missionary activities and its impact on the Muslims in Yorubaland. It traces the origin of Christianity in Nigeria and identifies some salient factors that may have triggered the spread of Christian influence in Yorubaland and highlights the roles played by mainstream churches to complement the efforts of missionary activities: it shows that churches, schools, health centers and chapels were built around towns and cities to further facilitate the process of evangelization. The findings show that Christianity has become more integrated into the Nigerian society and has impacted greatly on the local culture. This is facilitated by the introduction of a new way of life which includes western education, the romanization of the Yoruba language, modes of dressing and the use of the English language as the medium of communication among other changes. All these would not have been possible had it not been for the collaborative efforts between the missionaries and the colonial masters. Data for this study are drawn from both primary and secondary sources in forms of books, reports, scholarly journals, magazines, and occasional papers, proceedings of relevant conferences, newspapers and internet sources. Interviews were conducted to complement the qualitative methodology upon which this research is grounded. The research concludes, in view of the findings, by suggesting a constructive resolution of religious disputes and dialogue as a means of establishing a long-lasting peaceful co-existence between Muslims and Christians in the South Western Nigeria.

## خلاصة البحث

هذا البحث عبارة عن دراسة تاريخية وتحليلية بالطبع، إذ أنها محاولة لرصد التطورات الحديثة للأنشطة التبشيرية وكذلك الآثار التي نجمت عن ذلك في مجتمع اليوروبا الإسلامي. كما تتبع بداية توغل المسيحية في نيجيريا من أجل تحديد بعض العوامل البارزة التي ربما قد تسببت في انتشار النفوذ المسيحي في مجتمع اليوروبا الإسلامي. وقد سلط الضوء أيضا على الأدوار التي تقوم بها الكنائس التقليدية السائدة لتعزيز واستكمال الجهود التي تبذلها الأنشطة التبشيرية، وقد أثبت بأن الكنائس والمدارس والمراكز الصحية تم بناؤها في جميع أنحاء القرى والمدن لتسهيل عملية التبشير المسيحي. لقد أظهرت النتائج التي توصل إليها البحث بأن المسحية قد أصبحت أكثر اندماجا في المجتمع النيجيري حيث أثرت كثيراً في الثقافة المحلية. وهذا لم يكن ليقع لولا أن الاستعمار فرض عليهم نمط الحياة الجديدة الذي يشمل التعليم الغربي وكتابة لغة اليوروبا بالحروف اللاتينية، وطريقة اللباس، واستخدام اللغة الانجليزية كوسيلة للتواصل بين الناس، إلى جانب التغيرات الأخرى. وما ذلك إلا نتيجة لتكاتف الجهود بين المبشرين والمستعمرين. تمّ جمع المعلومات لهذا البحث من المصادر الأولية والثانوية في شكل الكتب والتقارير والمجلات العلمية والصحف وأبحاث المؤتمرات ذات الصلة وكذا المراجع الالكترونية. وقد أجريت مقابلات لاستكمال المنهج النوعي الذي يركز عليه هذا البحث. وبناء على النتائج التي تمّ التوصل إليها، يخلص البحث إلى اقتراح حلول والحوار البناء الهادف لفض المنازعات الدينية وكوسيلة لإقامة علاقة طويلة الأمد للتعايش السلمي بين المسلمين والمسيحيين في جنوب غرب نيجيريا.

## APPROVAL PAGE

I certify that I have supervised and read this study and that in my opinion; it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Master of of Arts (Islamic and other Civilizations).

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I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Master of Arts (Islamic and other Civilizations).

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Hassan Ahmad Ibrahim  
Dean of International Institute of  
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## DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this dissertation is the result of my own investigations, except where otherwise stated. I also declare that it has not been previously or concurrently submitted as a whole for any other degrees at IIUM or other institutions.

Taofeek Muhammed Thani

Signature \_\_\_\_\_

Date \_\_\_\_\_

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*'This dissertation is posthumously dedicated to the loving memory of my late mother, Rahmatallah Odunola Kolapo Thanni''To be is to be human and to be human is to be humane! To my late mother whose soul was taken by Allah at the verge of the completion of this dissertation. May the Almighty Allah forgive her and bless her soul'.*

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

In the name of Allah the most Compassionate and the most Merciful. The most deserved to be worshiped and asked for guidance, strength and eternal support for His unflinching mercy and blessing in completing this dissertation. May His bounteous and endless blessings and His infinitive mercy be upon our beloved prophet Muhammad (S.A.W.).

To my late mother, whose disciplined counsel guided me, it was her affection which I always longed for as a child, she gave me her stamp of approval with her signature smile. Her stern warning and rebuke made me endure difficult and life threatening challenges that I encountered in Egypt. To my wife, Hassanat, and my children, Maryam, Nabeelah, Zainab and Rahmatallah for their support and prayer. To my dear sisters and brothers whom, I left in the Nigeria soil for many years. To my father Alhaji Abdul Wahab Kolapo Thani, he was looking at me as I was totally engrossed in my dissertation, he looked at me with pride because I was progressing in my study.

I am extremely grateful to Prof Dr Hassan El-Nagar and my dissertation committee for their humble help, comments and critical observations which facilitated the completion of this dissertation. Special appreciation should be given to my supervisor Prof Dr Hassan El-Nagar for his knowledge of group dynamics, and understanding of ISTAC administrative system which facilitated successful conclusion of this noble project. My gratitude goes to Prof. Dr. Dato' Mahmood Zuhdi B. Hj. Abdul Majid for using his position on my behalf to keep me in the program at a time when I need him most to achieve my academic aspirations. Prof. Dr. Sayyid Ajmal Al-Aidrus position was instrumental in the formation of Master dissertation committee, and successful defense of this dissertation. I am eternally grateful for his help and unflinching support and consideration. I am also grateful to Dr. Hafis Oladosu, for his guidance, support and suggestions for improving the dissertation. My appreciation goes to every individual and administrative staff at ISTAC who helped me makes sense of reality. Nevertheless because of the flexibility and kindness of individuals who handled their professional responsibilities in a humane manner, and who treated me with the utmost respect and diligence to scale the hurdles of this institution.

To my friends who gave me life sustaining support which made everything possible and easy. My gratitude goes to Sherif AbdulRaheem Ajiteru, Ibrahim Alli Adelani, Br Lateef Adeyemo, Afiz Musa, Ahmad Idris Adewale, Yunus Olatoke Abdul Salam, Sister Badia Karroum and those that I cannot mention here but Allah knows them all.

I hope that this dissertation will contribute immensely and enormously to better understanding of the spread of Christianity in Nigeria and Southwest of Nigeria in particular.

In a nutshell, I am deeply indebted to all my Professors and those that taught and imparted their glut of knowledge in me, in Nigeria, Egypt, Malaysia, and elsewhere, and finally to my supervisor for his unwavering support to complete this dissertation.

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# INTRODUCTION

## 1.1 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

Christianity as a religion had its root in Asia, and for the first time, it came in contact with Africa in the first century of the Christian era.<sup>1</sup> This contact started with the introduction of Christianity in Alexandria, former capital of Egypt, through the efforts of Evangelist Mark. As a result, many Christian centers were established in places like Egypt, Ethiopia, Nubia, Sudan and other parts of North Africa. At this time, North Africa including Algeria, Libya, Morocco and Tunisia became known as the “Roman Africa”, being under the direct control and influence of the Roman Empire.<sup>2</sup>

However, the penetration of Christianity into West Africa was halted initially by the natural constraint, viz. the thick forest zone and the lack of clean waterways; until the 15<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>3</sup> when the Portuguese launched their evangelistic mission into the region. The main target of the early Christian missionaries was initially to convert the kings, which in effect would ease the conversion of the people. On this basis, therefore, places of worship were built in and around the palaces of those converted kings.<sup>4</sup> Nonetheless, this conversion was only symbolic, as those supposedly converted kings were yet the staunch adherents of their local gods. In spite of this, the effort, however, according to Donatus was “yielded fruits and the Catholic faith in

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<sup>1</sup> Mc Grath, Alister E., *An Introduction to Christianity* (U.S.A: Blackwell publication,1997), 345.

<sup>2</sup> Falola T.&B.Adediran , *Islam and Christianity In West Africa* (Ile Ife: University of Ife Press,1983),1-137.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Ukpong, Donatus Pius, *The Presence of Pentecostalism in Nigeria*, <http://www.glopent.net/Members/frdona/presence-and-impact-of-pentecostalism-in-nigeria.pdf>. (Accessed 22 November, 2011).

particular was rooted in the people of Warri and Benin” in Nigeria.<sup>5</sup> Christianity of this period in Nigeria was known as “palace diplomacy with the West”.<sup>6</sup>

The 19<sup>th</sup> and the 20<sup>th</sup> centuries witnessed another wave of Christian missionaries led by Protestantism with a new approach, eschewing any affiliation with the colonialists and the early western missionaries. These groups are called “abolitionist”, who stood to abolish the slave trade entangled in by their predecessors, thereby separating the Christian faith from the colonial policy. Although, the new missionaries were different from their predecessors, they are not seen as carrying a genuine Christian mission but a chattered message of Protestantism and Catholicism, each of which was vying for supremacy in the new land. By implication, this situation culminated in the normalization of multiple churches in Nigeria to bring about the so-called Pentecostalism.<sup>7</sup> Today, Christianity is made up of different denominations and sects namely the Roman Catholic Church, Protestant Church and Pentecostal which are regarded to be the newest of the Christian Church denomination<sup>8</sup>.

In Yorubaland, the first batch of Christian missionaries arrived in Badagry in 1842. This arrival was solidified by the return of the indigenous Yoruba people who had been sold by their kings to the European traders and eventually set free on the condition that they support the cause of the imperialists. It could be argued that the success of the Christian missionaries in Yorubaland largely rested on this group, as they became the interpreters for the missionaries and the ally of the British government.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Donatus, 5.

<sup>8</sup> Najimu A.R, & Osoba A.J, *The Growth and the Development of Christianity in Lagos State*, [http://cefolassaocoed.net/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=77&Itemid=83](http://cefolassaocoed.net/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=77&Itemid=83). (Accessed 25 November, 2011)

<sup>9</sup> Al-Sanusi, Zughlul Mustapha, *Azhar al-Ruba fi Akhbari Bilad Yoruba* (Nigeria: Dar al-Dahwah wa al-Irshad, 1987), 167.

Yorubaland is located at the South-Western part of Nigeria encompassing one of the largest ethnic groups in West Africa. The term Yoruba is used to identify both the people and the language they speak. They constitute between 30 and 50 million individuals throughout West Africa and are found predominantly in Ekiti, Ondo, Lagos, Osun, Ogun, and Oyo States of Nigeria making up around 21% of its population.<sup>10</sup> There are also substantial indigenous Yoruba communities in the Republic of Benin and Togo, while similar large groups are also found in Brazil, Cuba, etc.<sup>11</sup>

The focus of this research will therefore be on studying the spread of Christianity in the South-Western part of Nigeria. Studying the spread of Christianity among the Yoruba in this part of the world is of paramount importance in order to understand a religion which had played a major role in shaping not only the life of millions of people in the South-Western part of Nigeria, but also in shaping the socio-political and economic life of the country in its entirety.

## **1.2 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM**

The on-going religious crisis and intolerance in Nigeria has been attributed to many factors such as politics, ethnicity and differences in faith. Since the coming of Christianity, its influence and association with power are perceived to have triggered rivalry and engendered feeling of discontent between the Christians and the Muslims, both the recipients of Divine scriptures. It is worthwhile to inquire into what some people believed to have been the source of this mayhem and its contributing factors. Added to that are the never-ending and ever-growing missionary activities in different

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<sup>10</sup> Nigeria, The World Fact Book, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ni.html>. (accessed 22 November, 2011)

<sup>11</sup> Atanda, J. Adebawale. "The Yoruba People: Their Origin, Culture and Civilization" in *The Yoruba History, Culture and language*, edited by Olatunde Olatunji (Ibadan: University Press, 1996) pg 3-36.

forms most of whom are devoid of any religious motives, as their activities were only a smokescreen behind which they hid their material ends. By so doing, they are able to rise to positions of influence politically, and with the multitude of the followers, their wealth fabulously abound. All this is met with total discontent and dissatisfaction not only by Muslims but also by the traditional Yoruba. Therefore, this study attempts to critically analyze the spread of Christianity and the extent to which it has impacted on the socio-political and economic lives of the people in the south-western part of Nigeria.

### **1.3 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY**

The study is set to critically analyze the spread of Christianity among Yoruba people.

Hence, it aims to investigate:

1. The factors that contributed to the spread of Christianity in Yorubaland.
2. The changes that Christianity has brought to the lives of the people.
3. The manner in which Christianity integrated and blended with the existing religious beliefs.
4. The best way to bring about the lasting peace not only among the Yoruba people but also in Nigeria.

### **1.4 RESEARCH QUESTIONS**

This study attempts to answer the following questions:

1. What are the contributing factors to the spread of Christianity in Yoruba land?
2. What effects does Christianity have on the socio-political and economic affairs of the Yoruba people?

3. How does it engage with Islam and the traditional local beliefs? Does it blend harmoniously with them? What are the consequences of their co-existence?
4. What is to be done to facilitate the betterment of the peaceful co-existence of the different religious groups in Nigeria?

#### **1.4 METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY**

The methodology adopted in this study is based on document analysis. In this vein, the study will rest on primary and secondary data extracted from religious books, reports, scholarly journals, magazines, newspapers, and internet sources. Additionally, interview as a qualitative methodology is to be used to complement the documentary analysis in which this research will be grounded.

#### **1.5 CHAPTERIZATION**

This study is divided into five chapters. Chapter one introduces the background of the study, aims and objectives of the study, methodology, statement of the problem. The literature related to the study is also discussed thoroughly.

Chapter two highlights the history of the Yoruba people, their language and geographical location before, during and after the colonial era. It also touches on the beginnings of Christianity. Whereas, Chapter three explains, in detail the religious life in Yorubaland before the advent of Christianity. Chapter four studies the impacts of Christianity on the socio-political and economic life of the people in the South-Western part of Nigeria. It also sheds light on the manner in which Christianity engaged with the existing religions in the region. Chapter five concludes by

suggesting the way forward in bringing about a lasting peaceful and harmonious co-existence between Christians, Muslims and the indigenous people.

## **1.6 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY**

Today, Christianity has become more integrated into the indigenous Nigerian culture and has introduced new ways of life which include western education, mode of dress, and marriage as well as the prevalent use of English language. By virtue of the western knowledge they have acquired, the language they mastered, and the contact they have established with the former imperial leaders, the Christians are able to rise above their religious counterparts politically and economically in the region. This development is not totally welcome by the Muslim and the Yoruba traditionalist, as they believe that this development is deprived of values which form the essence of Islam and Yoruba culture. This situation sharply dichotomizes between Islam and Christianity in the South-Western Nigeria, and sometimes results in conflict.

This research is hereby set to explain the reasons behind the spread of Christianity and its success politically and economically in Yorubaland. It will also analyse critically its relation with other religious beliefs and how it engages with them. The study will finally suggest the best way to bring about a harmonious relationship that will facilitate the spread of lasting peace in the region from both Islamic and Christian perspectives.

## **1.7 LITERATURE REVIEW**

It was in a dramatic way that the wave of Christianity became prevalent. This wave did not stop where it was founded; rather it found its ways into Africa setting its base

in the North Africa coast in places like: Algeria, Tunisia, Libya etc. it later spread across other African countries in the name of missionary societies.

All the missionary societies for example Church Missionary Society, Christian Missionary Society for Africa and the East, etc. were initially established on the basis of Protestantism but subsequently changed to evangelical activities. Of all these, the Church Missionary Society (CMS) made inroads into East and West Africa<sup>12</sup>.

Many works have provided different accounts on Christian missionary activities in Nigeria, especially that of the South-West. In the light of the account of the Christian missionaries in Nigeria, three phases could be identified namely: the era of the Orthodox Church (late 19<sup>th</sup> century to early 20<sup>th</sup> century), the era of the indigenous Church (From early 20<sup>th</sup> century-middle of 21<sup>st</sup> Century) and the era of Pentecostal (From the middle of 21<sup>st</sup> century to the present)<sup>13</sup>.

On the coming of Christianity into Yorubaland and the beginning of missionary activities, Dr. Gbadamosi and Prof Ade Ajayi argued that the first batch of Christian missionaries landed in Badagry in 1842 after some abortive attempts. This happened in the wake of the liberated slaves returning home to Nigeria.<sup>14</sup>The argument was corroborated by Sheikh Zughlul's but with noticeable difference in the date. While both Gbadamosi and Ade Ajayi held the first arrival of the Missionary to have been in 1842, Zughlul pushed the date much earlier than they have claimed. According to him, the returning freed slaves had been assisting the missionary activities from 1808 till 1846. Perhaps both Gbadamosi and Ade Ajayi meant the final successful attempt of the missionary, whereas Zughlul's might have considered the

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<sup>12</sup> McGrath, 345.

<sup>13</sup> Najimu and Osoba, 1-15.

<sup>14</sup> Gbadamosi T.G.O & Ade Ajayi J.F, *Islam and Christianity in Nigeria* in Obaro Ikime, Groundwork of Nigerian History (Ibadan Nigeria: Heinemann Educational Books Nigeria Plc, 1980).

whole process until the last successful attempt.<sup>15</sup> Furthermore, Zughlul asserts that one of the aiding factors for the success of the missionary was the political instability, as their arrival coincided with the time when virtually all cities of Yoruba was sinking into civil war, there the missionary came in camouflaging as peace makers in order to spread their faith taking advantage of this deteriorated situation.

Consequently, they erected their churches, hospitals and educational institutions. He further explains that the first church built in Yorubaland was known as Saint Thomas church which could be dated back to 1845, after which multitude of churches in Yoruba cities, towns and villages were witnessed. The relevance of these literatures is much felt in the discussion about the beginning of the missionary activities, the factors that paved the way for their infiltration as well as the way they exploit the situation to embark upon evangelising the Yoruba people.

With regards to the ex- slaves who were later used to aid the missionary activities after their freedom and successful return to their homeland, Kehinde Faluyi has provided some insights to this.<sup>16</sup> Explaining the increase in Yoruba population during the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Faluyi found that there were people who migrated to Yorubaland in the 19<sup>th</sup> century across terrestrial boundaries and across the Atlantic. The first were the liberated slaves from Sierra Leone known as ‘Saro’ among Yoruba people, while the latter were known as the slaves forced out of Brazil following the black revolt in Bahia in 1835. These slaves returned to their father’s land bringing with them new religion to Yorubaland. He further argued that the tremendous changes brought by these groups cannot be over-emphasised and could mainly be seen in four areas.

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<sup>15</sup> Zughlul Mustapha Sanusi, *Azhar al-Ruba fi Akhbar Bilad Yoruba* (Nigeria: Dar al-Dahwah wa al-Irshad, 1987).

<sup>16</sup> Faluyi, Kehinde “Yoruba in the Era of Revolutionary changes” in *Culture and Society in Yorubaland*, edited by Deji Ogunremi & Biodun Adediran (Ibadan: Rex Charles Publication, 1998).

Firstly, those liberated slaves from Sierra Leon propagated the Christian religion in Yorubaland. Secondly, those returnees from Brazil became famous among others for their architectural skills which had by the last quarter of 19<sup>th</sup> century transformed Lagos to become known as ‘African Brazil. Thirdly, The other groups known as ‘Saros,’ were the pioneers of trade and commerce of high demand in European markets, such as raw materials for the production of soap and lubricants. Lastly, the returning of the two groups brought some great advancement noticeable in agriculture which could be illustrated by the expansion of palm produce, and oleaginous products.

Basically, the return of the African liberated slaves to Yorubaland has not only bloated the population of Yoruba, but had also dramatically changed their well being socially and economically, and could have been the major factor that fostered the spread of Christianity in Yorubaland.

In this vein, the work of Abdurrahman I. Doi is of paramount relevance in that he emphasized the reason why Christianity became a dominant religion in West Africa.<sup>17</sup> He made it clear that those returnee slaves were predominantly Muslims who had been forced to adopt Christian names and accept Christianity as their religion. The colonial masters affirmed that accepting Christianity should be the only way to rendering humanitarian help to these slaves and also in helping them to ‘civilise the pagans.’

Another work which is equally relevant to the present research has been produced by M.O Opeleye on the spread of Christianity in West Africa.<sup>18</sup> In an attempt to explain the aiding factors for this, he sees that the three crucial events

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<sup>17</sup> Doi, I. Abdurrahman, *Islam in Nigeria* (Zaria Nigeria: Gaskiya Corporation Limited, 1984).

<sup>18</sup> Opeleye M. O, “ Evolution of Religious Culture Among the Yoruba” in *Culture and Society in Yorubaland*, edited by Deji Ogunremi, and Biodun Adediran (Ibadan: Rex Charles Publication, 1998).

which occurred in Europe, must have fostered the spread of Christianity in West African and eventually in Yorubaland in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The factors that he mentioned are: the evangelical revival of the late 18th century in Europe, the formation of the Christian Missionary Society (CMS), and the abolition of the slave trade. He further asserted that the British government established the colony in Sierra Leone in order to resettle the liberated slaves there after the abolition of slavery. This strategic place for the colonial rulers in Sierra Leone was soon populated by Christians through the effort made by the Church Missionary Society (CMS) in West Africa and especially in Yorubaland.

Religious pluralism in Nigeria has been disrupted by religiously motivated conflict. Colonial policies towards Muslim and Christian communities institutionalized racial and religious differences with far reaching consequences before and after independence. Over this matter, a considerable amount of literatures have been published, the most prominent among which is the work of both Mathew A. Ojo and Folaremi Lateju, who traced the emergence of the religious fundamentalism among Christians and Muslims in Nigeria to the 1970s.<sup>19</sup>

It is one of the serious attempts to inquire into this situation, as they provided a statistics on the reported cases of religious violence during twenty years as having amounted to 48 cases. They lamented over the fact that the religious leaders would always linger until the clash escalated into violence before they could do something. Both authors in their writing called on Governmental and non-governmental inter-religious peace initiatives to consolidate into a larger national forum, with branches extending to state and local levels to foster grassroot support.

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<sup>19</sup>Ojo, Mathew A. and Lateju, Folaremi T, "Christian-Muslim conflicts and interfaith Bridge-Building effort in Nigeria" in *The Review of Faith and International Affairs* available at <http://www.tandfonline.com/loi/rfia20> (accessed 24 November, 2011).

McGrath's introduction to Christian theology is another literature that helps provide a broad look at the subject.<sup>20</sup> His intention in it was to introduce readers to Christian theology by covering all the areas of it, which is enough to give a basic understanding. He writes for the audience that does not necessarily have any background in theology and he is reading on the matter for the first time. Therefore, he introduces topics carefully and clearly and focuses on essentials to understanding. As an orthodox Anglican himself, McGrath includes views of theologians that range from liberals, (Bultmann, Tillich, Macfague, Schliermacher), reformers (Calvin, Luther, Zwingli), Patristics (Origen, Athanasius, Irenaeus, Augustine), to contemporary orthodox theologians (Barth, Moltmann, McGrath). He also frequently discusses rationalist views of the enlightenment and their effect on theology. This literature would be helpful in establishing an argument about the revival of the Christian churches and their transformation in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century.

On the backwardness of the Muslims in the area of education, Fafunwa, a Muslim professor of education, laid the blame on the colonial policy and the Christian missionary activities.<sup>21</sup> According to him, the first formal education that was introduced in Nigeria was organized and overseen by the Christians, and was made as a platform through which the process of proselytizing would complete. His article was meant to examine briefly the pursuit of learning by the Muslims within the Nigerian scheme, and also to answer the question of why are the Nigerian Muslims relatively lagging behind their Christian brothers in education, at both the lower and higher levels of the educational system? This is a good reference to explore the impact that

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<sup>20</sup> Mc Grath, Alister E., *An Introduction to Christianity* ( U.S.A: Blackwell publication,1997)

<sup>21</sup> Fafunwa, Aliu Babatunde, *Muslim Education and the Development of University Education in Nigeria*, [http://www.uimga.org/education/BABTUNDE\\_FAFUNWA.pdf](http://www.uimga.org/education/BABTUNDE_FAFUNWA.pdf) (accessed 25 November, 2011).

the missionary activities have left on the educational institutions of the south-western people of Nigeria.

*Religion, History, and Politics in Nigeria* is particularly concerned with the problematic nature of religion and politics in Nigerian history.<sup>22</sup> The book provides a lively and straightforward treatment of the relationship between religion, politics, and history in Nigeria, and how it affects public life today. By adopting various cultural, historical, political, and sociological perspectives, the contributors in the book provide an excellent introduction to the volatile mix of religion and politics in Nigerian history, as well as a range of strategic choices open to religious adherents. By providing an insightful guide to contemporary history of religion and the role it plays in politics, the book has opened the door for serious and critical examination and debate over the issue of the politicisation of religion in contemporary Nigeria.

While there have been a myriad of literatures dealing with the history of Yoruba, the first major and comprehensive work, but not necessarily accurate, on it is definitely that of Samuel Johnson, an Anglican minister and a historian.<sup>23</sup> In it, he managed to trace the history of the Yorubas from the earliest times to the beginning of the British Protectorate. The book gained its credibility in the fact that its manuscript was completed a decade after the end of the tribal wars in the Yorubaland in 1886. Samuel Johnson himself, a Sierra Leone born but spend his adulthood in Nigeria, was among the missionaries delegated to settle this tribal wars.

The first part of the book discusses the people, their country and language, religion, government, land law, manners and customs. The second part is divided into four periods, dealing first with mythological kings and deified heroes; with the

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<sup>22</sup> Korieh Chima, J., Nwokji Ugo G., *Religion, History and Politics in Nigeria: Essay in Honor of Ogbu U. Kalu* (U.S.A: University Press of America, 2005).

<sup>23</sup> Samuel Johnson & Obadiah Johnson, *The History of the Yorubas from the Earliest Times to the Beginning of the British Protectorate* (U.S.A: Cambridge Press, 1921).

growth, prosperity and oppression of the Yoruba people; the time of revolutionary wars and disruption; and, finally, the arrest of disintegration, inter-tribal wars, and the coming of the British. The work was posthumously reproduced by his brother Dr, Obadiah after the original manuscript was lost, however neither he nor his brother lived to see the final publication of the finished book.

There are many more literatures that are within the reach to consolidate the arguments in this research, and the way they will contribute to the present research varies. While some are heavily relied on, some are only used in a passing manner. However, those literatures that are reviewed here are much more relevant to the subject matter of this research.