

INTRODUCTION

- 1 Kukah, *Religion, Politics, and Power in Northern Nigeria*; Falola, *Violence in Nigeria*.
- 2 Braudel, "Histoires et sciences sociales."
- 3 Davidson, *The African Genius*.
- 4 For landmark anthropological and sociological studies that provided critical theoretical foundation for the study of religion in African societies immediately after independence in the 1960s, see Horton, "African Conversion"; Horton, "On the Rationality of Conversion: Part One." Horton, "On the Rationality of Conversion: Part Two"; see also Peel, "Religious Change in Yorubaland"; Peel, "Conversion and Tradition in Two African Societies." For further anthropological analysis in historical contexts, especially in a southern African experience, see Jean Comaroff and John Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution*. I would like to thank Deji Ogunnike for sharing his superb knowledge on conversion from indigenous African religions to world religions with me. My brief reference to the extensive scholarly discussions on this subject by leading Africanists has more to do with the limited relevance of this subject to my own interest at the intersection of religion and state making, and does not do justice to Ogunnike's critical insight on these important works.
- 5 It is instructive to note that Robin Horton and John Peel were teaching as young scholars at the University of Ife (now Obafemi Awolowo University), Nigeria, when they made their theoretical breakthroughs in the 1970s. Their theoretical works were informed by a careful critique of the dominant anthropological scholarship on African indigenous religions in the immediate postwar period. Their interdisciplinary works in the humanities and the social sciences drew on rigorous readings of philosophical, anthropological, sociological, and historical studies, as well as on extensive field research in Southern Nigerian communities.
- 6 Horton, "African Conversion," "On the Rationality of Conversion: Part One," and "On the Rationality of Conversion: Part Two."
- 7 Horton asserts that prior to the rapid social, economic, and political transformations of the nineteenth century, the worship of the "cult of the Supreme Being" had been largely distant to most local people in their simple and isolated milieu in earlier moments in history. See *ibid.*
- 8 *Ibid.*
- 9 Peel, *Aladura*.

- 10 Ranger, "The Local and the Global in Southern African Religious History."
 11 Ibid.
 12 Goody, *The Logic of Writing and the Organization of Society*.
 13 Lewis, *Islam in Tropical Africa*.
 14 Hefner, "Introduction: World Building and the Rationality of Conversion," 25.
 15 Braudel, "Histoires et sciences sociales."
 16 Peel, "Inequality and Action."
 17 Moses Ochonu's book, *Colonialism by Proxy*, is the most authoritative study on the history of Middle Belt consciousness in the making of modern Northern Nigeria.
 18 A. D. Smith, "The Nation, Invented, Imagined, and Reconstructed."
 19 Patricia Williams shows how prominent Christian missions in the Northern Nigerian Provinces, notably the Sudan Interior Mission and the Sudan United Mission, aided the formation of the regional political party that articulated the interest of Christian minorities in the Northern Region in 1950. See Williams, "The State, Religion, and Politics in Nigeria," 269–270; see also Ilesanmi, *Religious Pluralism and the Nigerian State*. For an insightful comparative example based on resistance politics in the African American experience, see Kelly, *Race Rebels*.
 20 Ibid.
 21 Peel, *Religious Encounter and the Making of the Yoruba*; see also Peel, *Ijeshas and Nigerians*.
 22 Johnson, *History of the Yorubas*.
 23 For insightful historical and theoretical studies, see Robertson, "Histories and Political Opposition, Ahafo, Ghana"; Ranger, "The Invention of Tradition Revisited."
 24 Joseph, *Democracy and Pre-Bendel Politics in Nigeria*.
 25 Marshall, *Political Spiritualities*.

CHAPTER 1: ISLAM AND CHRISTIANITY
 IN THE MAKING OF MODERN NIGERIA

- 1 Although these underlying communities had acquired Hausa culture and language over the years, they were not considered "legitimate" Hausa communities by the seven original Hausa city-states. For a detailed account, see M. G. Smith, *Government in Zazzau, 1800–1950*.
 2 Ochonu, *Colonialism by Proxy*, 24.
 3 Umar, "Hausa Traditional Political Culture, Islam, and Democracy," 180.
 4 Gusau, *A Case for Shari'ah in Nigeria*.
 5 Umar, "Hausa Traditional Political Culture, Islam, and Democracy."
 6 Ibid., 182.
 7 Kendhammer, "Muslim Talking Politics," 61.
 8 Larémont, *Islamic Law and Politics in Northern Nigeria*, 41–43.
 9 Lubeck, "Nigeria," 254.
 10 For detailed discussion, see Hunwick, "The Nineteenth Century Jihad."
 11 Umar, "Hausa Traditional Political Culture, Islam, and Democracy," 181.

- 12 Badru, "Historical Foundations and Basic Philosophy of Islam"; see also Badru, "The Hausa Speaking People of West Africa."
- 13 See Hodgkin, *Nigerian Perspectives*; Ilesanmi, *Religious Pluralism and the Nigerian State*.
- 14 Frank Salamone provides an insightful analysis of the Toronkawa clan in Hausa society. He contends that by the time of the Sokoto Jihad, the Toronkawa were well integrated into Hausa society, serving as respected clerical advisers to Hausa rulers, including the emir of Gobir. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Toronkawa Muslim clerics had a strong understanding of the regional and global Islamic world, and during the time of the Sokoto Jihad prominent Toronkawa clerics articulated their Muslim reformist doctrines to engage other regional reformist movements and to confront crippling European imperialism. Drawing on the works of Murray Last and Joyce Hendrixson, Salamone further argues that Toronkawa clan identity, which reflected more of a Muslim clerical identity before the Sokoto Jihad, took on a wider Fulani identity in the context of the jihad's monumental transformations in the nineteenth century. For detailed discussions, see Salamone, "Ethnic Identities and Religion." See also Last, *The Sokoto Caliphate*; Hendrixson, "The Changing Significance of Ethnicity and Power Relations, Sokoto, Nigeria."
- 15 Musa, *The Da'awah Approach of Shaikh Uthman Danfoidiyo*.
- 16 Crowder, *The Story of Nigeria*, 94.
- 17 Ballard, "'Pagan Administration' and Political Development in Northern Nigeria," 1–14, quoted from Ochonu, *Colonialism by Proxy*, 49.
- 18 Peters, *Islam and Colonialism*.
- 19 Umar, "Hausa Traditional Political Culture, Islam, and Democracy," 183.
- 20 See, for example, Hunwick, "The Nineteenth Century Jihad."
- 21 Hiskett, "Kitāb Al-Farq," 570–571.
- 22 Al-Hajj, "The Writings of Shehu Uthman dan Fodio," 38.
- 23 Hefner, "September 11 and the Struggle for Islam," 1.
- 24 Al-Hajj, "The Writings of Shehu Uthman dan Fodio," 61.
- 25 *Ibid.*, 65.
- 26 Sulaiman, *The Islamic State and the Challenge of History*, 34.
- 27 *Ibid.*
- 28 Salamone, "Religion and Resistance in Pre-colonial and Colonial Nigeria," 202.
- 29 Sulaiman, *The Islamic State and the Challenge of History*, 40–41.
- 30 *Ibid.*, 48.
- 31 *Ibid.*, 36–37.
- 32 With the defeat of the sarki of Gobir, many prominent Fulani Muslim clerics obtained the blessing of Usman dan Fodio as flagbearers of the Sokoto Jihad against Hausa and other local rulers throughout the region. The military success of these flagbearers led to the establishment of many emirates under the spiritual leadership of the caliph (sultan) of Sokoto.
- 33 Hiskett, *The Sword of Truth*.
- 34 Ochonu, "Colonialism within Colonialism," 102.

- 35 Ibid.
- 36 Oba, "Islamic Law as Customary Law," 817–850.
- 37 Schacht, "Islam in Northern Nigeria," 123–146.
- 38 Ado-Kurawa, *Shari'ah and the Press in Nigeria*, chapter 5.
- 39 Sodiq, "A History of Islamic Law in Nigeria."
- 40 Last, "The Search for Security in Muslim Northern Nigeria," 44.
- 41 For example, Ikenga Ozigboh underscores the contradictions between the theoretical prescription of the founders of the Sokoto Jihad and the management of state affairs by rulers of the various emirates. He concluded that abuse of power was rife in many emirs' courts throughout the caliphate. For detailed analysis, see Ozigboh, *An Introduction to the Religion and History of Islam*, 142.
- 42 Harnischfeger, *Democratization and Islamic Law*, 44–50.
- 43 Bello, "Sharia and the Constitution."
- 44 Lovejoy and Hogendorn, *Slow Death for Slavery*.
- 45 Harnischfeger, *Democratization and Islamic Law*, 49–50.
- 46 Kukah, *Religion, Politics, and Power in Northern Nigeria*, especially chapter 2.
- 47 Crowder, *The Story of Nigeria*, 99.
- 48 Resident E. J. Arnett, "Intelligence Report," Sokoto Province, June 8, 1918.
- 49 Ibid.
- 50 Ibid.
- 51 Ochonu, "Colonialism within Colonialism," 98.
- 52 Hiskett in Balewa, *Shaihu Umar*, 15.
- 53 Schacht, "Islam in Northern Nigeria."
- 54 Ozigboh, *An Introduction to the Religion and History of Islam*, 133–152.
- 55 Kalu, "Constructing a Global Pentecostal Discourse," 39.
- 56 For a concise overview of the scholarship on Christian missionary impact on African communities, see Strayer, "Mission History in Africa," 1–15.
- 57 Kalu, "The Distorted Lens of Edinburgh 1910," 135.
- 58 By the turn of the nineteenth century, Western Christian evangelical missionaries were combining their missionary work with imperial mercantile interest in Asia and Africa. This process profoundly shaped the work of Western and African missionaries in Nigeria by the mid-nineteenth century. For detailed analysis, see Ajayi, "Introduction," xxviii.
- 59 Quoted in Bassey, "Missionary Rivalry and Educational Expansion in Southern Nigeria," 511.
- 60 Ajayi, "Introduction," xxviii.
- 61 Ajayi, "Henry Venn and the Policy of Development," 60.
- 62 Ajayi, "Introduction," xxxvi.
- 63 See, for example, Flint, "The Growth of European Influence in West Africa."
- 64 Ajayi, *Christian Missions in Nigeria 1841–1891*.
- 65 Ibid., 55.
- 66 Ajayi, "Introduction," xxxvi.
- 67 For an insightful account, see Dike, "Origins of the Niger Mission, 1841–1891."
- 68 Oduyoje, "The Church in Yorubaland."

- 69 The religious practices of Old Oyo legitimated the political authority of its rulers within the city-state and in its relations with their many tributary communities in the Yoruba region and beyond in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when Old Oyo's power reached its zenith. With a dominant military force, Old Oyo extracted tributes from subordinate communities and controlled a vast network of trade routes. At its zenith, Old Oyo had a strong politico-religious system that included a ritual king, the Alaafin, and a powerful council of kingmakers, the Oyo mesi. For detailed analysis, see Crowder, *The Story of Nigeria*; see also Law, *The Oyo Empire*.
- 70 Ajayi, "Introduction."
- 71 See Crowder, *The Story of Nigeria*.
- 72 Although Ibadan controlled some Ife communities, Ile-Ife, the mythical cradle of Yoruba civilization, continued to enjoy the respect of emerging Yoruba powers such as Ibadan. The ooni of Ile-Ife, the traditional spiritual head of Yoruba rulers, was considered the embodiment of Orisa, the pantheon of Yoruba deities. The disruption of the ooni's religious authority effectively undermined the legitimacy of the traditional order among Yoruba obas (monarchs). For a detailed account, see Olupona and Gemignani, *African Immigrant Religions in America*.
- 73 Ajayi, "Introduction."
- 74 Ibid.
- 75 Kalu, "The Distorted Lens of Edinburgh 1910."
- 76 Akintoye, *A History of the Yoruba People*.
- 77 Ibid., 352–356; for a detailed historical analysis of the social impact of liberated Yoruba slaves from Sierra Leone on Yoruba communities in the nineteenth century see Kopytoff, *A Preface to Modern Nigeria*.
- 78 Sanneh, "The CMS and African Transformation," 175.
- 79 Ayandele, *Holy Johnson*, 85; see also Ayandele, *The Missionary Impact on Modern Nigeria*.
- 80 *Church Missionary Gleaner*, 1848, 1850, 1851.
- 81 Amadi, "Church-State Involvement in Educational Development in Nigeria," 483–484.
- 82 Adebisi, "Anglican Church and Education," 184–185.
- 83 Ibid.
- 84 CMS Original Papers, Yoruba Mission, 1907.
- 85 Atanda, *Baptist Churches in Nigeria*.
- 86 Following the pioneering works of Bowen, many prominent Southern Baptist missionaries served meritoriously in Yoruba communities in the first half of the twentieth century. For example, Dr. Loy Connell Smith, a staff physician, and his wife, Eunice, worked for many years at the Baptist Hospital, Ogbomosho; James Christopher Pool served as principal of the Nigerian Baptist Theological Seminary for several decades; for thirty-three years, James Sidney and Doris McGee served at the Baptist College, Iwo, and played important roles in the founding of the Ekiti Baptist High School, Igede, following the example of earlier Baptist secondary schools in the Yoruba region such as the Baptist Academy, Lagos; Baptist Boys

- High School, Abeokuta; Olivet Baptist High School, Oyo; Regan Memorial Girls High School, Lagos; and Baptist High School, Iwo. For detailed information, see Loy Connell Smith and Eunice Andrews Smith Bland Papers, 1958–1999; Pool Family Papers, 1928–1998; Roberson Family Papers, 1917–1977; McGee Family Papers, 1957–2013; Logan Family Papers, 1952–1994; Taylor Family Papers, 1950–1975, David M. Rubenstein Rare Books and Manuscript Library, Duke University, Durham, NC.
- 87 Atanda, *Baptist Churches in Nigeria, 1850–1950*, 122–152.
- 88 Amadi, “Church-State Involvement in Educational Development in Nigeria,” 483.
- 89 Bassey, “Missionary Rivalry and Educational Expansion in Southern Nigeria,” 514.
- 90 Samuel Crowther Jr. (son of Reverend Crowther) was one of the pioneers of modern medicine in Nigeria. After his medical training in England, he established a dispensary in Abeokuta. In January 1861, Henry Venn encouraged the appointment of a Cambridge-trained physician, Dr. A. A. Harrison, as “political agent and to take care of the health of the missionaries as well as to teach some gifted young men the elements of medical and surgical science.” Obadiah Johnson, brother of Samuel Johnson (author of the famous *History of the Yorubas*), was also sponsored by the CMS to train to become a physician in England. For detailed discussion, see Adebisi, “Anglican Church and Education,” 78–179.
- 91 CMS Original Papers, Niger Mission, 1932.
- 92 Ajayi, “Bishop Crowther,” 90.
- 93 The CMS established several printing presses in Lagos and Abeokuta in the mid-nineteenth century. Through these printing presses, Rev. Henry Townsend, a prominent CMS missionary, published pamphlets of hymns, catechism, and prayer books. In 1859, Townsend published the *Iwe Irohin*, a fortnightly journal in Yoruba, providing news for a growing reading public in Lagos. In 1860, he started the English supplement that contained an advertisement column. In 1862, Robert Campbell, another missionary, founded the Anglo-African Press in Lagos. For detailed account, see Adebisi, “Anglican Church and Education,” 177.
- 94 Akintoye, *A History of the Yoruba People*, 359.
- 95 O. Ojo-Ade, “Afro-Brazilians in Lagos.”
- 96 Ajayi, “Henry Venn and the Policy of Development,” 64–65.
- 97 CMS missionaries also established modern agricultural and industrial ventures in many of their stations. Adebisi notes that by 1863, “there were five firms with resident agents in Abeokuta, two of them were Africans and three of them Europeans.” These CMS industrial centers encouraged the cultivation and exportation of cotton. By 1861, there were several hundred gins in Abeokuta, Ibadan, Ijaiye, and around the Niger region. See Adebisi, “Anglican Church and Education,” 176–178.
- 98 CMS Mission 2, Bishop Patterson, CMS Missionary Account, Bishop Cecil Peterson, typescript interview, Mss. Afr. s. 2302, Rhodes House Library, University of Oxford (hereafter RHL).
- 99 Enwerem, *A Dangerous Awakening*.
- 100 Ojo-Ade, “Afro-Brazilians in Lagos,” 237.

- 101 Ibid., 219–221; see also Kopytoff, *A Preface to Modern Nigeria*.
- 102 For detailed analysis, see Afolabi, *Afro-Brazilians*.
- 103 Ojo-Ade, “Afro-Brazilians in Lagos.”
- 104 Chidester, “African Christian Communities,” 350.
- 105 Peel, “Religious Change in Yorubaland”; see also Horton, “African Conversion.”
- 106 Akintoye, *A History of the Yoruba People*.
- 107 See Johnson, *History of the Yorubas*.
- 108 Kolapo, “CMS Missionaries of African Origin and Extra-Religious Encounters,” 110.
- 109 See Peel, *Religious Encounter and the Making of the Yoruba*.
- 110 Akintoye, *A History of the Yoruba People*, 357–358.

CHAPTER 2: ISLAM AND COLONIAL RULE IN
NORTHERN NIGERIA

- 1 Moses Ochonu provides an insightful account of the meeting between Sultan Mohammed Bello and these British explorers. In extensive discussions with the British visitors, Sultan Bello impressed on them the basis for the moral authority of the Sokoto Caliphate over the diverse communities in the region, especially adherents of indigenous religions. For detailed discussion, see Ochonu, *Colonialism by Proxy*.
- 2 Umar, “Hausa Traditional Political Culture, Islam, and Democracy,” 178–179.
- 3 For an overview, see Lugard, *The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa*.
- 4 Umar, “Hausa Traditional Political Culture, Islam, and Democracy,” 186.
- 5 The qadiriyya is a Sufi tariqa (order) within Sunni Islam that was inspired by Syed Abdul Qadar Gilani Al Amoli (1077–1166 CE). Although the order professes strong adherence to Islamic theological traditions, it also exhibits mystical Sufi practices around the Muslim world where it had evolved over the centuries. For an overview, see Esposito, *The Oxford History of Islam*.
- 6 Oladimeji, “An Appraisal of the Place of Shari’ah in the Nigerian Constitution.”
- 7 Schacht, “Islam in Northern Nigeria,” 123–146.
- 8 Salamone, “Ethnic Identities and Religion,” 52–53.
- 9 Reynolds, “Good and Bad Muslims,” 601–618.
- 10 The tjaniyya is a Sufi tariqa (order) within Sunni Islam that originated in North Africa (contemporary Algeria) in the late eighteenth century, but gained currency in West Africa, especially in contemporary, Senegal, the Gambia, Mauritania, Mali, Guinea, Niger, Chad, Sudan, and Northern Nigeria. For detailed discussion, see Esposito, *The Oxford History of Islam*.
- 11 The rapid growth of the tjaniyya order in Northern Nigeria was largely due to the work of Sheikh Ibrahim Niass from Senegal in Kano in the 1940s and 1950s. The influence of Sheikh Niass on Northern Nigerian Muslims is analyzed in chapters 4 and 5 of this book. See Kendhammer, “Muslims Talking Politics,” 77.
- 12 Reynolds, “Good and Bad Muslims,” 603–604.
- 13 Ibid., 607.

- 14 Ibid., 609–611.
- 15 Ibrahim, *Sayyid 'Abd al-Rahman al-Mahdi*.
- 16 G. J. Lethem, Confidential File (file 9/1923), Correspondence of District Officer to the Resident, Bornu Province, September 22, 1923, RHL.
- 17 Ibid.
- 18 Ibrahim, *Sayyid 'Abd al-Rahman al-Mahdi*.
- 19 Ibid.
- 20 G. J. Lethem, Confidential File (file 9/1923).
- 21 Ibid.
- 22 Ibrahim, *Sayyid 'Abd al-Rahman al-Mahdi*.
- 23 G. J. Lethem, Islamic Propaganda, Mss. British Empire, S276, 13, 1924, 72–75, RHL.
- 24 Ibid., 13.
- 25 Ibrahim, *Sayyid 'Abd al-Rahman al-Mahdi*.
- 26 Kendhammer, “Muslims Talking Politics,” 66.
- 27 Lovejoy and Hogendorn, “Revolutionary Mahdism and Resistance to Colonial Rule in the Sokoto Caliphate, 1905–06.”
- 28 Kendhammer, “Muslims Talking Politics,” 69.
- 29 G. J. Lethem, Intelligence Report, Islamic Propaganda in Northern Nigeria, Mss. British Empire, S276, 41–43, 46–47.
- 30 Ibid.
- 31 G. J. Lethem, Intelligence Report, Islamic Propaganda, 11, 5, Mss. British Empire, S276, Nazaru, Maiduguri, August 1924, RHL, 58–93.
- 32 Ibid.
- 33 G. J. Lethem, Confidential Document, Islamic Propaganda, Mss. British Empire, S276, 13/10, ff. 1–38, 42/1923, Maiduguri, November 15, 1924, RHL.
- 34 G. J. Lethem, Acting Resident, Bornu Province, 42/1923 of 9/6/1924, 231/123, Maiduguri, October 15, 1924, Mss. British Empire, RHL, 123.
- 35 Ludwig, “Christian-Muslim Relations in Northern Nigeria since the Introduction of Shari’ah in 1999,” 606–607.
- 36 Larémont, *Islamic Law and Politics in Northern Nigeria*, 94.
- 37 Ado-Kurawa, *Shari’ah and the Press in Nigeria*.
- 38 Sodiq, “A History of Islamic Law in Nigeria.”
- 39 Last, “The Search for Security in Muslim Northern Nigeria,” 48–49.
- 40 Ludwig, “Christian-Muslim Relations in Northern Nigeria,” 607.
- 41 Larémont, *Islamic Law and Politics in Northern Nigeria*, 108–111.
- 42 Ado-Kurawa, *Shari’ah and the Press in Nigeria*, especially chapter 5.
- 43 Okereafozেকে, *Law and Justice in Post-British Nigeria*, 164.
- 44 Anderson, quoted in Ludwig, “Christian-Muslim Relations in Northern Nigeria,” 607.
- 45 Yusuf, *Nigerian Legal System*, chapter 6.
- 46 Ludwig, “Christian-Muslim Relations in Northern Nigeria,” 607.
- 47 Yadudu, “Colonialism and the Transformation of the Substance and Form of Islamic Law in the Northern States of Nigeria,” 28.

- 48 Mukoro, "The Interface between Customary Law and Local Government Legislation in Nigeria," 141.
- 49 Tabi'u, "Constraints in the Application of Islamic Law in Nigeria."
- 50 Kendhammer, "Muslims Talking Politics," 75.
- 51 Larémont, *Islamic Law and Politics in Northern Nigeria*, 114.
- 52 Musa, *Shari'ah in a Multi-Faith Nigeria*.
- 53 *Licensed to Harm: Framework of the Area Courts*.
- 54 Doi, "The Impact of English Law and Concepts on the Administration of Islamic Law in Nigeria."
- 55 Larémont, *Islamic Law and Politics in Northern Nigeria*, 111–112.
- 56 Ado-Kurawa, *Shari'ah and the Press in Nigeria*.
- 57 Obilade, "Jurisdiction in Customary Law Matters in Nigeria," 227.
- 58 Schacht, "Islam in Northern Nigeria," 124.
- 59 Ochonu, *Colonialism by Proxy*, 45.
- 60 Diaries of Administrative Officer, J. W. Watt, Mss. afr., 117, 1960, RHL.
- 61 CMS Original Papers, Niger Mission, 1907.
- 62 Larémont, *Islamic Law and Politics in Northern Nigeria*, 116–117.
- 63 Commander J. H. Carrow, Kano Province Annual Report, 1910, RHL.
- 64 Commander J. H. Carrow, Kano Province Annual Report, 1909, RHL.
- 65 Temple, Resident, Kano Province Annual Report, 1909, RHL, 2–5.
- 66 *Ibid.*, 6.
- 67 *Ibid.*, 8–9.
- 68 *Ibid.*
- 69 Commander J. H. Carrow, typescript of interview, 1966, RHL.
- 70 *Ibid.*
- 71 Commander J. H. Carrow, Native Administration, Sokoto Province, RHL, 1933–1935.
- 72 Commander J. H. Carrow, Native Administration, Kano Province, RHL, 1933–1935.
- 73 *Ibid.*
- 74 Commander J. H. Carrow, typescript of interview, 1966, RHL, 1933–1935.
- 75 Touring Diary, Assistant District Officer J. C. Guy, Katagum Division, Bauchi Province, Mss. afr., RHL.
- 76 The Jakada caliphate-era representatives of the emirs in tributary communities were used as tax collectors by emirs, chiefs, and village heads during the colonial period.
- 77 Arnett, Resident, Sokoto Province, Annual Report, June 1918, RHL.
- 78 In this instance, relationships between local people and sarauta notables, as well as between Hausa-Fulani Muslim rulers and tributary communities, reflected a novel interpretation of preexisting sociopolitical relations. See Jacob, Report on Taxation, Mss. afr. t. 16, RHL, 132–140.
- 79 Matthews, Handing Over Notes, Assistant District Officer H. F. Matthews, Agaie-Lapai Division, November 7, 1919, Mss. afr. s. 783, box 2/6, RHL.

- 80 Crampton, *Christianity in Northern Nigeria*, 54–55.
- 81 Kastfelt, “African Resistance to Colonialism in Adamawa.”
- 82 Papers of Assistant District Officer Letchworth, RHL.
- 83 Circular, Native Administration, Governor Hugh Clifford, 1923, RHL.
- 84 Circular: number 89/285/1920, from the Secretary, Northern Provinces, to the Resident, Bornu Province, Kaduna, 23 September, 1920; Dikwa District, 10 May 1922, Lethem 15/3, RHL.
- 85 Lethem, Former Administrative Officer, 192 Ferry Rd, Edinburgh, Scotland; Circular, numbers 49–203, Kaduna, 29 June, 1920, from the Secretary, Northern Provinces, G. R. Matthews to the Resident Bornu Province; Confidential memorandum, Resident, Bornu Province, Potiskum, August 31, 1923; Correspondence, District Officer, G. J. Lethem to the Resident, Bornu Province, 15/3, 1923, September 25, 1923; Resident, Bornu Province to District Officer Lethem, file number 231/123, Maiduguri, October 15, 1923.
- 86 Assistant District Officer, Letchworth, Nasarawa Division, 1926, RHL.
- 87 Ochon, *Colonialism by Proxy*, 4.
- 88 Reorganization of East Tangale District, Gombe, Assistant District Officer J. A. E. Morley, Mss. British Empire, s. 27, RHL, August 1945.
- 89 Birks, Assistant District Officer, Waja Native Authority, Gombe Division, 1945, RHL, 1–5.
- 90 Assistant District Officer H. M. Brice-Smith to the Resident of Kano Province, C. L. Temple, Mss. afr. s. 230, March 1915; C. L. Temple, Resident, Kano Province, Annual Report, for the year ending 31 December 1909, Mss. afr. s. 230, RHL.
- 91 Typescript of interview, Hedley H. Marshall Esq., Former Attorney General of Northern Nigeria (interview conducted by A. H. M Kirk-Greene in Oxford on May 15, 1970), Mss. afr. s. 2339, RHL.
- 92 For an outline of Governor Cameron’s colonial policy, see Cameron, *The Principle of Native Administration and Their Application*.
- 93 Institute of Administration, Northern Nigeria, Local Government Wing, lecture note series, November 1954, Mss. afr. s. 1961, RHL.
- 94 Robert Huessler, a historian of colonial Northern Nigeria, notes that Cameron’s tendency to treat local administration in colonial Northern Nigeria as a theoretical exercise distracted junior colonial administrators from pressing matters of native administration. See Carrow-Heussler Papers on Northern Nigeria, Mss. Afr. s. 1489, Oxford University Colonial Records Project, Institute of Commonwealth Studies, Queen Elizabeth House, 1965–1972; Carrow’s letter, 5 April 1965, Dorset, England.
- 95 Larémont, *Islamic Law and Politics in Northern Nigeria*, 113.
- 96 Papers of Assistant District Officer Letchforth, RHL.
- 97 See Carrow-Heussler Papers on Northern Nigeria.
- 98 British colonial policy only allowed Christian missionaries to establish mission stations in the non-Muslim areas (the so-called pagan communities in the Middle Belt and in the emirates) of the Northern Provinces.

CHAPTER 3: CHRISTIANITY AND THE TRANSFORMATION
OF COLONIAL SOUTHERN AND NORTHERN NIGERIA

- 1 Shankar, *Who Shall Enter Paradise*, 5.
- 2 This provided a rationale for the transition from indigenous Yoruba religions to mission Christianity in the context of the rapid social and political transformation of the turn of the twentieth century. See Peel, *Religious Encounter and the Making of the Yoruba*.
- 3 Laitin, *Hegemony and Culture*.
- 4 Peel, "Religious Change in Yorubaland," 292–306.
- 5 In Yoruba communities during the early years of colonial rule, Aladura, like many other African-initiated Christian churches, emerged as a syncretistic union of indigenous religion and Christianity. For detailed analysis, see Peel, *Aladura*.
- 6 Mann, *Marrying Well*.
- 7 See, for example, Horton, "African Conversion," 219–235.
- 8 Berry, *Cocoa, Custom, and Socioeconomic Change in Rural Western Nigeria*.
- 9 The spread of Christianity in Africa in the nineteenth century resulted from the activities of Christian missions and spread along the pathways of Western imperial interests of the time. While African and European missionaries had made inroads into many Yoruba communities by the late nineteenth century, it was not until the imposition of colonial rule at the turn of the twentieth century that missionaries effectively established their influence on Yoruba communities. For detailed analysis, see Peel, "Religious Change in Yorubaland," 373–399.
- 10 Ajasin, *Ajasin*, 4.
- 11 It is important to note that the pattern of the spread of mission Christianity varied in the Yoruba region as well as in other parts of southern Nigeria. In the specific case of the Yoruba, Peel notes that various factors affected the growth of Christianity in the region, including earlier arrival of Islam and the social significance of Christianity at the turn of the twentieth century. See Peel, "Religious Change in Yorubaland."
- 12 Conversion to mission Christianity was more than a straightforward religious experience in the Yoruba region. With Christianity's connection to Western imperial power, this world religion provided a framework for local people to engage the rapidly changing conditions of this transformative moment in Ibadan, Ijebu, and other Yoruba communities. For a critical theoretical explanation, see Horton, "African Conversion."
- 13 Morgan, *Akinyele's Outline of History of Ibadan*.
- 14 Falola, *Ibadan*, 335.
- 15 Lloyd, *Africa in Social Change*, especially chapter 2.
- 16 Falola, *Ibadan*.
- 17 By the early nineteenth century, Yoruba indigenous cosmology was steadily engaging Islam, brought to Yoruba towns by Hausa traders and the influence of the Sokoto Jihad. Throughout the nineteenth century, Islamic practices mixed with Yoruba traditional worldview to shape the changing social condition of a turbulent century. For detailed analysis, see Gbadamosi, *The Growth of Islam among*

Yoruba Muslim; see also Olupona and Gemignani, *African Immigrant Religions in America*.

- 18 Peel, "Religious Change in Yorubaland."
- 19 For a detailed analysis, see Peel, "Conversion and Tradition in Two African Societies."
- 20 Webster and Boahen, *History of West Africa*, 231.
- 21 Ayandele, *The Ijebu of Yorubaland*, 227.
- 22 Peel, "Conversion and Tradition in Two African Societies."
- 23 Ayandele, *The Ijebu of Yorubaland*, 235–238.
- 24 *Ibid.*, 230–232.
- 25 *Ibid.*, 233–271.
- 26 *Ibid.*
- 27 Haynes, *Religion and Politics in Africa*, 53–57.
- 28 The conflict between Saro CMS missionaries and a new generation of English CMS missionaries captures this problem in the late nineteenth century. In this regard, the popular pan-Africanist Edward Blyden provided a strong defense for Saro CMS missionaries in the conflict with European CMS missionaries, who were not only dominating the leadership of the CMS, but also shaping the direction of missionary work in Nigeria in the late nineteenth century. For a detailed analysis of Blyden's role in this crisis, see Lynch, *Edward Wilmot Blyden*.
- 29 Reverend Canon Wright's Letter to his mother, September 16, 1929, RHL.
- 30 Atanda, *The New Oyo Empire*.
- 31 Reverend Canon R. A. Wright's letter to his mother, October 25, 1929, RHL.
- 32 Reverend Canon R. A. Wright's letter to his mother, May 7, 1929, RHL.
- 33 Reverend Canon R. A. Wright's letter to his mother, July 2, 1929, RHL.
- 34 Reverend Canon R. A. Wright's letter to his mother, January 12, 1930, RHL.
- 35 Reverend Canon R. A. Wright's letter to his mother, November 21, 1929, RHL.
- 36 Reverend Canon R. A. Wright's letter to his mother, May 15, 1930, RHL.
- 37 *Ibid.*
- 38 Kalu, "Christianity in Africa," 344–347.
- 39 Kalu, "Who Is Afraid of the Holy Ghost?" 87.
- 40 Marshall, *Political Spiritualities*.
- 41 Kalu, "African Pentecostalism in Global Perspective," 27.
- 42 See Kalu, "Christianity in Africa," 337–343.
- 43 Kalu, "The Distorted Lens of Edinburgh 1910," 133–148.
- 44 Kalu, "Black Joseph," 3.
- 45 For a detailed discussion, see Ranger, "Religious Movements and Politics in Sub-Saharan Africa."
- 46 Asaju, "Globalization, Politicization of Religion, and Religious Networking," 188–189.
- 47 Kalu, "Constructing a Global Pentecostal Discourse," 39.
- 48 Asaju, "Globalization, Politicization of Religion, and Religious Networking," 181–203; Olupona, "Globalization and African Immigrant Communities in America," 67–81; Anderson, "Globalization and Independent Pentecostals in

- Africa," 133–154; Kalu, "Constructing a Global Pentecostal Discourse," 40–42; Adogame, "Online for God," 223–224.
- 49 Kalu, "Constructing a Global Pentecostal Discourse," 41.
- 50 *Ibid.*, 41–42.
- 51 Marshall, *Political Spiritualities*, 56.
- 52 M. A. Ojo, "Deeper Christian Life Ministry," 142–143.
- 53 Afolayan, "The Church in Northern Nigeria."
- 54 Shankar, *Who Shall Enter Paradise*, xviii.
- 55 Kastfelt, "Christianity, Colonial Legitimacy, and the Rise of Nationalist Politics in Northern Nigeria."
- 56 Shankar, *Who Shall Enter Paradise*, xxviii.
- 57 Ayandele, "The Missionary Factor in Northern Nigeria," 58.
- 58 *West Africa*, January 19, 1924, 1691, "De Foucauld of the Sahara, a great son of France and view of French Muslim policy and problems," *Mss. Afr.* s.783, 1/11, 1922 (published posthumously), RHL.
- 59 Haynes, *Religion and Politics in Africa*, 38–39.
- 60 See Ayandele, "The Missionary Factor in Northern Nigeria," 138–139.
- 61 Salamone, "Ethnic Identities and Religion," 54.
- 62 Kukah, *Religion, Politics, and Power in Northern Nigeria*, especially chapter 1.
- 63 Barnes, "Religious Insults," 65–66.
- 64 *Ibid.*, 67.
- 65 For a detailed analysis of Walter Miller and Ethel Miller's missionary work in Northern Nigeria, see Barnes, *Making Headway*.
- 66 Haynes, *Religion and Politics in Africa*.
- 67 Barnes, *Making Headway*; see also National Archives, Kaduna (SNP), 17–16694.
- 68 Reverend Maguire, typescript of interview conducted by Andrew Barnes, RHL, April–June 1993.
- 69 *Ibid.*
- 70 *Ibid.*
- 71 *Ibid.*
- 72 *Ibid.*

CHAPTER 4: THE POLITICS OF RELIGION IN NORTHERN NIGERIA DURING DECOLONIZATION

- 1 National issues surrounding balanced development and governance dominated the deliberations of regional delegates during Nigeria's first constitutional conference (1946) in London, which was chaired by Sir Arthur Richards, governor of Nigeria from 1943 to 1947. See Arthur Richards, former governor of Nigeria, typescript of interview, 1969, RHL.
- 2 Ostien, *A Study of the Court Systems of Northern Nigeria*.
- 3 Harnischfeger, *Democratization and Islamic Law*.
- 4 Resident Letchworth, Resident, Northern Provinces, typescript of interview, 1969, RHL.

- 5 Ado-Kurawa, *Shari'ah and the Press in Nigeria*; Kenny, "Shari'a and Christianity in Nigeria."
- 6 Institute of Administration, Northern Nigeria, Local Government Wing, lecture series, November 1954, Mss. Afr. s., 1971 (2), RHL; see also Northern Nigerian Native Administration Law of 1954.
- 7 Casey, "'Policing' through Violence," 110.
- 8 Harnischfeger, "Sharia and Control over Territory," 443.
- 9 Marshall, former attorney general of the Northern Region of Nigeria, typescript of interview, No. 8, 1969, RHL.
- 10 Marshall, former attorney general of the Northern Region of Nigeria, typescript of interview, No. 7, 1969, RHL.
- 11 Marshall, former attorney general of the Northern Region of Nigeria, typescript of interview, no. 8, 1969, RHL.
- 12 Macpherson, former governor of Nigeria, typescript of interview, 1969, RHL.
- 13 The Northern Region British Attorney General Hedley Marshall underscores the dominant power of the Sardauna in the Northern Regional executive council during the period of self-rule. He notes that the Sardauna "ran the whole of the Northern Region as if it were a native authority and he the Emir. . . . When we first started the Executive Council it was like a native authority meeting and Sir Bryan Sharwood-Smith [the Regional Governor] was the Resident or the District Officer." See Marshall, former Attorney General of the Northern Region of Nigeria, typescript of interview, No. 9, 1969, RHL.
- 14 Larémont, *Islamic Law and Politics in Northern Nigeria*, 135–140.
- 15 Crampton, *Christianity in Northern Nigeria*, 88; Ilesanmi, *Religious Pluralism and the Nigerian State*, 132.
- 16 Macpherson, former governor of Nigeria, typescript of interview, No. 10, 1969, RHL.
- 17 Gumi, *Where I Stand*, 102–103.
- 18 Marshall, former attorney general of the Northern Region of Nigeria, typescript of interview, No. 10, 1969, RHL.
- 19 Enwerem, *A Dangerous Awakening*, 51; see also Bello, *My Life*.
- 20 Larémont, *Islamic Law and Politics in Northern Nigeria*, 134.
- 21 Kendhammer, "Muslims Talking Politics," 79–80.
- 22 Ilesanmi, *Religious Pluralism and the Nigerian State*, 139.
- 23 Nigerian Constitution Conference, Sir Kenneth Maddocks, Mss. Afr. s. 11794. Secret and Personal Documents, 30 July 1953, signed by A. E. T. Benson Esq. CMG, Nigerian Secretariat, Lagos, 1953.
- 24 Diamond, *Class, Ethnicity, and Democracy in Nigeria*, 81–82.
- 25 Whitaker, *The Politics of Tradition*.
- 26 Nigerian Constitution Conference, Sir Kenneth Maddocks, Mss. afr. s. 11794, Secret and Personal Documents, 30 July 1953, signed by A. E. T. Benson Esq. CMG, Nigerian Secretariat, Lagos, 1953.
- 27 Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, whom Governor Macpherson considered a "splendid" and amiable personality, also called for the construction of major roads that

- would connect Northern communities with river transit systems of the Niger and Benue Rivers to facilitate trade with the Eastern and Western Regions. See Resident Letchworth, former Resident, Bornu Province, typescript of interview, 1969, RHL.
- 28 For two impressive books on the role of this preeminent Yoruba leader, Obafemi Awolowo, in local and national politics, see Nolte, *Obafemi Awolowo and the Making of Remo*; Adebawo, *Yoruba Elites and Ethnic Politics in Nigeria*.
 - 29 For a detailed analysis of Awolowo's assessment of Nigeria's geopolitical configuration, see Awolowo, *Path to Nigerian Freedom*.
 - 30 Nigerian Constitution Conference, Sir Kenneth Maddocks, Mss. afr. s. 11794, Secret and Personal Documents, 30 July 1953, signed by A. E. T. Benson Esq. CMG, Nigerian Secretariat, Lagos, 1953.
 - 31 The Action Group supported the move, and equally important, in expressions of legal opinion, the chief justice of Nigeria, Sir John Verity, threw his weight behind a proposal that insisted on the security of Nigerian citizens domiciled in communities outside their home region. See Marshall, former attorney general of the Northern Region of Nigeria, typescript of interview, No. 7, 1969, RHL.
 - 32 See Ostien, *A Study of the Court Systems of Northern Nigeria*.
 - 33 The opposition of the Bornu Youth Movement to the NPC reflected old animosity between Hausa-Fulani Muslim rulers and Kanuri Muslim rulers that can be traced to the assault of Sokoto Jihadists on Kanem-Bornu in the early nineteenth century. Although Sokoto Jihadists failed to bring Kanem-Bornu under their control, the antipathy between Hausa-Fulani Muslim rulers and Kanem-Bornu persisted into the twentieth century. See Ilesanmi, *Religious Pluralism and the Nigerian State*, 139–140.
 - 34 Whitaker, *The Politics of Tradition*, 322; see also Harnischfeger, *Democratization and Islamic Law*, 60–61.
 - 35 Marshall, former attorney general of the Northern Region of Nigeria, typescript of interview, No. 8, 1969, RHL.
 - 36 In reaction to claims of growing NPC domination of ethnic and religious minorities in Middle Belt areas of the Northern Region, the United Middle Belt Congress (UMBC), a party established in 1952 to promote the interest of the diverse peoples of the Middle Belt in the Northern Region, strongly petitioned the Willink Commission, a commission of inquiry established by the British authorities in 1957 to investigate claims of political domination of minorities by the major political parties in the three regions of the federation. Although the Willink Commission acknowledged that there were legitimate grounds for concern of NPC domination of Middle Belt minorities, the commission nevertheless rejected the UMBC's call for the creation of a Middle Belt state out of the Northern Region. Consequently, the Willink Commission contended that there was viable legal mechanism within the prevailing constitutional order to address the concerns of Middle Belt minorities within the regional political system. For detailed account, see Great Britain, Colonial Office, *Nigeria: Commission Appointed to Enquire into the Fears of Minorities and Means of Allaying Them*.
 - 37 Institute of Administration Northern Nigeria, Local Government Wing, Lecture Notes Series, November 1954, Mss. Afr. s. 1871 (2), 1954.

- 38 Kukah, *Religion, Politics, and Power in Northern Nigeria*, especially chapter 1.
- 39 Paden, *Religion and Political Culture in Kano*; see also Paden, *Faith and Politics in Nigeria*, 27–28.
- 40 Sharwood-Smith, Mss. afr. s. 2103, SG, 3228/1957, Governor's Office, Northern Region, Kaduna, February 20, 1957.
- 41 Ibid.
- 42 Ibid.
- 43 Hickey, Catholic Mission in Northern Nigeria (Gongola), typescript of interview, 1969, RHL.
- 44 CMS Missionary File, Bishop Cecil Patterson, Mss. afr. s. 2302, RHL.
- 45 Ibid.
- 46 Ibid.
- 47 Customary Law and Its Application to English Law, RHL.
- 48 Ibid.
- 49 Conference on the Future of Law in Africa, December 1959–January 1960, Mss. afr. s. 1193, RHL.
- 50 Ibid.
- 51 Ibid., “Introduction, Relationship between Islamic Law and Customary Law in Africa, Emphasis on Northern Nigeria,” Professor J. N. D. Anderson, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 1959.
- 52 Doi, “The Impact of English Law and Concepts on the Administration of Islamic Law in Nigeria.”
- 53 Conference on the Future of Law in Africa.
- 54 Ibid.
- 55 Oba, “Islamic Law as Customary Law,” 831–832.
- 56 Ibid.
- 57 Conference on the Future of Law in Africa.
- 58 Ado-Kurawa, *Shari'ah and the Press in Nigeria*, especially chapter 5.
- 59 Ostien, *A Study of the Court Systems of Northern Nigeria*.
- 60 Oba, “The Sharia Court of Appeal in Northern Nigeria,” 862–863.
- 61 Doi, “The Impact of English Law and Concepts on the Administration of Islamic Law in Nigeria.”
- 62 Ostien, *A Study of the Court Systems of Northern Nigeria*.
- 63 Ibid.
- 64 Ibid.
- 65 Conference on the Future of Law in Africa.
- 66 Kukah, *Religion, Politics, and Power in Northern Nigeria*, especially chapter 2.
- 67 Conference on the Future of Law in Africa.
- 68 J. N. D. Anderson, *Islamic Law in Africa*.
- 69 Conference on the Future of Law in Africa.
- 70 Ibid.
- 71 For detailed analysis, see Great Britain, Colonial Office, *Nigeria: Report of the Commission Appointed to Enquire into the Fears of Minorities and Means of Allaying Them*; see also Vickers, *Ethnicity and Sub-Nationalism in Nigeria*.

- 72 Marshall, former attorney general of the Northern Region of Nigeria, typescript of interview, May 15, 1970, Mss. afr. s. 2339, RHL.
- 73 Conference on the Future of Law in Africa.
- 74 Indeed, in the early period following independence (1963), the sardauna disciplined the powerful emir of Kano, Alhaji Mohammed Sanusi, for not complying with regional government policies.
- 75 Marshall, former attorney general of the Northern Region of Nigeria, typescript of interview, May 15, 1970, Mss. afr. s. 2339, RHL.
- 76 Ibid.
- 77 See J. N. D. Anderson, "Introduction."
- 78 Edu et al., *The Sharia Issue: Working Papers for a Dialogue*.
- 79 Marshall, former attorney general of the Northern Region of Nigeria, typescript of interview, No. 7, RHL.
- 80 Ibid.
- 81 Ibid.
- 82 Ibid.
- 83 Ibid.
- 84 Musa, *Shari'ah in a Multi-Faith Nigeria*.
- 85 Ludwig, "Christian-Muslim Relations in Northern Nigeria since the Introduction of Shari'ah in 1999," 608.
- 86 Yadudu, "Colonialism and the Transformation of the Substance and Form of Islamic Law in the Northern States of Nigeria," 29.
- 87 Marshall, former attorney general of Northern Region of Nigeria, typescript of interview, 1969, RHL.
- 88 Ibid.
- 89 Ibid.
- 90 Ibid.
- 91 Conference on the Future of Law in Africa.
- 92 Marshall, former attorney general of the Northern Region of Nigeria, typescript of interview, RHL.
- 93 Yusuf, *Nigerian Legal System*, chapter 5.
- 94 Ostien, *A Study of the Court Systems of Northern Nigeria*.
- 95 Oba, "The Sharia Court of Appeal in Northern Nigeria," 863.
- 96 Gumi, *Where I Stand*, 77.
- 97 Marshall, former attorney general of the Northern Region of Nigeria, typescript of interview, RHL.
- 98 Conference on the Future of Law in Africa.
- 99 Ibid.
- 100 Ibid.
- 101 For landmark analyses on the role of the political classes of the three regions in the politics of decolonization, see Coleman, *Nigeria*, and Sklar, *Nigerian Political Parties*.

- 1 The United Middle Belt Congress (UMBC), the party that represented the interest of Christian minorities in the Middle Belt communities of the Northern Region, evolved from a non-Muslim associational interest group, the Non-Muslim League, founded in 1949. In 1950, this group became the Middle Zone League, the quasi-political party that was the forerunner for UMBC founded in 1952. For an excellent analysis of the role of UMBC in Northern Nigerian politics during decolonization and in the early years of independence, see Ochonu, *Colonialism by Proxy*, especially chapter 7. For pioneering works, see Coleman, *Nigeria*; Dudley, *Parties and Politics in Northern Nigeria*.
- 2 Diaries of Administrative Officer, J. W. Watt, Mss. Afr. 117, 1960, RHL.
- 3 See Dudley, *Parties and Politics in Northern Nigeria*; see also Ochonu, *Colonialism by Proxy*.
- 4 Moses Ochonu notes that NPC authorities freely used strategies of cooptation and state repression during UMBC-inspired Tiv uprising in 1963–1964 and in the Tiv-Hausa conflict in Makurdi in the early 1960s. See Ochonu, *Colonialism by Proxy*, 206.
- 5 Afigbo, “The National Question in Nigerian History, Politics and Affairs.”
- 6 Tayob, “Sub-Saharan African Islam,” 428.
- 7 Kendhammer, “Muslims Talking Politics,” 84.
- 8 *Ibid.*, 85.
- 9 Enwerem, *A Dangerous Awakening*, 52.
- 10 Ochonu, *Colonialism by Proxy*, 194.
- 11 Paden, *Religion and Political Culture in Kano*, 182–186.
- 12 *Ibid.*
- 13 Lubeck, “Nigeria.”
- 14 Kendhammer, “Muslims Talking Politics,” 86.
- 15 Paden, *Faith and Politics in Nigeria*, 33.
- 16 Enwerem, *A Dangerous Awakening*, 62.
- 17 Paden, *Faith and Politics in Nigeria*, 33.
- 18 Dudley, *Instability and Political Order*.
- 19 For detailed analysis of the factors that led to the carving out of a region, the Mid-West Region, from the Western Region during the AG crisis of 1962–1966, see Post and Vickers, *Structure and Conflict in Nigeria*.
- 20 For an overview of the crisis that led to the Nigerian Civil War, see Kirk-Greene, *Crisis and Conflict in Nigeria*.
- 21 *Broadcast to the Nation by His Excellency Major-General J. T. U. Aguiyi Ironsi, Head of the National Government and Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces, Tuesday, May 24, 1966*.
- 22 Dudley, *Instability and Political Order*.
- 23 During the horrific attacks on Igbo Christians in Northern cities, Hausa-Fulani Muslims conflated Igbo and Christian in a peculiar way. They contended that the Hausa-Fulani ummah had been assaulted because of the assassination of the two most prominent Northern Muslim leaders—Sir Ahmadu Bello, premier of the Northern Region, and Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, prime minister of the Federal

- Republic of Nigeria—by predominantly Igbo Christian military officers. The effects of these assassinations were further aggravated by the imposition of policies considered inimical to Hausa-Fulani Muslim interest by a military government led by an Igbo Christian military head of state, Major-General Aguiyi Ironsi. These factors provided the rationalization for strong anti-Igbo (and to a lesser extent anti-Southern Christian) sentiments in the Northern Region. These attacks on Igbo Christians in Northern cities led to the crisis that culminated in the Nigerian-Biafra Civil War of 1967–1970.
- 24 With this special relationship between Governor Katsina and Northern emirs, the Northern Military Governor replaced native authority councillors in the Northern Provinces with nominees of emirs.
 - 25 Acting on instructions from military authorities in Lagos, Katsina twice summoned the emirs to the regional capital in Kaduna, where he assured them that the Federal Military Government would carefully consider their recommendations. See “Soldiers and the Sultan,” *West Africa*, June 11, 1966.
 - 26 Shankar, *Who Shall Enter Paradise*, 139.
 - 27 Dudley, *Instability and Political Order*, 136–139.
 - 28 Ibid.
 - 29 Despite their compromise with the Gowon administration, Hausa-Fulani Muslim rulers, according to Abubakar Gumi, strongly resented the carving out of states—especially Benue-Plateau and Kwara (the new Middle Belt states)—from the Northern Region. See Gumi, *Where I Stand*, 125.
 - 30 Kukah, *Religion, Politics, and Power in Northern Nigeria*, especially chapter 2.
 - 31 It is significant to note that Yakubu Gowon, Nigeria’s new military head of state, is a Christian from the Middle Belt, with deep cultural affinity with Hausa-Fulani Muslims. As a Christian minority from the Middle Belt section of the Northern Region, Gowon, a Sandhurst graduate, projected himself as a voice of reconciliation, even as Nigeria’s federal troops unleashed a vicious war against the secessionist Republic of Biafra, dominated by Igbo communities, from 1967 to 1970.
 - 32 Kukah, *Religion, Politics, and Power in Northern Nigeria*.
 - 33 Governor Macpherson, typescript of interview, 1970, RHL.
 - 34 Enwerem, *A Dangerous Awakening*, 153–159.
 - 35 Ibid., 153–154.
 - 36 Ibid., 76.
 - 37 For a comprehensive analysis of CAN, see Enwerem, *A Dangerous Awakening*.
 - 38 Paden, “Islam and Democratic Federalism in Nigeria,” 1–10.
 - 39 Following the recommendation of a Customary Courts Reform Committee, the government also reinstated customary and area courts in states where they had been removed, and affirmed their authority in states where they had remained. These military government decisions were justified on the grounds that Islamic and customary courts remained the dominant medium of legal administration for the masses of Nigerians. For detailed discussion of customary and area court reforms under the military in the 1970s, see Collett, “Recent Legislation and Reform Proposals for Customary and Area Courts in Nigeria,” 165.

- 40 In many Northern states, military initiatives at legal reform had eroded the authority of Islamic law during the turbulent period of the Civil War in the late 1960s. Before the outbreak of the war, many of these military state governments had replaced the native courts with “area” courts and folded Islamic law into the jurisdiction of customary law. Significantly, in 1967, the Military Government’s Area Courts Edict limited the scope of sharia and simplified the rules of personal jurisdiction in customary law. For detailed analysis, see Obilade, “Jurisdiction in Customary Law Matters in Nigeria,” 228–229.
- 41 Kenny, “Shari’a and Christianity in Nigeria.”
- 42 Laitin, “The Sharia Debate and the Origins of Nigeria’s Second Republic.”
- 43 Ibrahim, “Religion and Political Turbulence in Nigeria.”
- 44 In 1976, General Mohammed was assassinated by a group of dissident army officers, notably Middle Belt Christians, loyal to the ousted former military ruler, General Gowon. This abortive coup further revealed the deep ethnic and religious divisions among Nigerian military officers in the 1970s. After the assassination of General Mohammed, the chief of staff of the Supreme Headquarters, Lieutenant General Olusegun Obasanjo, a Yoruba Christian, succeeded to the position of head of state and supreme commander of the armed forces.
- 45 Diamond, “Nigeria.”
- 46 The National Movement reflected an alliance of powerful emirs with a younger generation of influential Northern senior civil servants and businessmen who had consolidated their power base during the intervening years of military rule. See D. Williams, *President and Power in Nigeria*.
- 47 D. Williams, *President and Power in Nigeria*.
- 48 The editor of the acclaimed weekly magazine *West Africa*, David Williams, underscored the Makaman’s crucial role in Shehu Shagari’s nomination as the NPN presidential candidate in 1979. See *ibid*.
- 49 It was not unusual, for example, in his official capacity as president of the federal Republic of Nigeria and as the Turaki in the sultan of Sokoto’s court, for Shehu Shagari to pay courtesy calls on Northern emirs and Southern traditional rulers. He also conferred prestigious national awards on them during his tenure as president. See *ibid*.
- 50 As part of the military’s transition program to democracy, seven new states were created by the Mohammed/Obasanjo regime in 1976, bringing the number of states in the federation to nineteen.
- 51 Abdullaheem, “Politics in Nigeria’s Second Republic.”
- 52 *Ibid*.
- 53 *Ibid*.
- 54 Clarke, *Local Practices, Global Controversies*.
- 55 For a penetrating analysis of religious violence in Nigerian politics, see Falola, *Violence in Nigeria*.
- 56 John Hunwick argues that the growing politicization of religion was intimately connected to the structural challenges confronting the Nigerian state in the 1970s

- and 1980s. For detailed analysis, see Hunwick, “An African Case Study of Political Islam.”
- 57 Abubakar, “Ethnic Identity, Democratization, and the Future of the African State.”
- 58 Joseph, *Democracy and Pre-Bendel Politics in Nigeria*.
- 59 Lubeck, “Islamic Protest under Semi-industrial Capitalism.”
- 60 Bienen, “Religion, Legitimacy, and Conflict in Nigeria.”
- 61 Boer, *Nigeria’s Decades of Blood*.
- 62 Kenny, “Shari’a and Christianity in Nigeria.”
- 63 Boer, *Nigeria’s Decades of Blood*.
- 64 Ibid.
- 65 Ibid.
- 66 *Africa Confidential*, April 10, 1985.
- 67 Many analysts believed that the Babangida regime’s decision to join the OIC was intended to placate Northern emirs and Muslim clerics. See “Time to Withdraw from OIC,” *Challenge*, no. 4, 1986.
- 68 *Catholic Bishops’ Stand on the O.I.C. Issue*.
- 69 Adigwe, “Nigeria Joins the Organization of Islamic Conference.”
- 70 In the pamphlet, which became a blueprint for a vocal anti-OIC movement, Monsignor Adigwe observed that the secrecy in which the Babangida regime handled the OIC matter not only widened suspicion between Christians and Muslims, but also had serious implications for the status of Nigeria as a secular state. See *ibid.*, 1–5.
- 71 *Ibid.*, 17.
- 72 *Address Delivered at the Inaugural Meeting of the Committee on Nigeria’s Membership of the Organization of Islamic Conference by Major General Ibrahim Badamosi Babangida, CFR, President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces, in Abuja on Monday, 3rd February, 1986*.
- 73 Representatives of the Nigerian Military Government at the OIC conference in Fez, Morocco, include Northern Muslim stalwarts such as Rilwanu Lukman, federal minister of petroleum; Abubakar Alhaji, federal permanent secretary in the Ministry of National Planning, and Abdulkadir Ahmed, governor of the Central Bank. See Adigwe, “Nigeria Joins the Organization of Islamic Conference,” 6.
- 74 *Statement of the Consultative Committee on Nigeria’s Full Membership in the OIC*.
- 75 Vatican Council II, *Declaration on the Relations of the Church to Non-Christian Religions*, No. 3.
- 76 Arinze, *Progress in Christian-Muslim Relations Worldwide*.
- 77 Anih, *The Cathedral and the Mosque*, 44–45.
- 78 Anih, *An Introduction to the Fundamentals of Religious Ecumenism in Nigeria*, 133, and *Religious Ecumenism and Education for Tolerance*.
- 79 *Military Rule and Religion as a Political Platform: Politics of a Secular State and the Babangida Agenda*, Lagos.
- 80 Ibid.
- 81 Paden, “Islam and Democratic Federalism in Nigeria,” 1–10.
- 82 Onaiyekan, *Religion*.

- 83 Ibid.
- 84 Kenny, "Shari'a and Christianity in Nigeria," 351.
- 85 Ibid.
- 86 Lateef Adegbite, keynote address delivered at the opening ceremony of the Sixteenth Annual Conference of the Nigerian Association for the Study of Religions, October 8, 1991, Ilorin, Nigeria.
- 87 Isyaku, *The Kafanchan Carnage*.
- 88 *General Observations and Recommendation of the Donli Panel*, 2.
- 89 *Reaction of the Christian Association of Nigeria to the Report and Recommendation, Submitted by the Committee to Investigate Causes of Riots and Disturbances in Kaduna State*, 1.
- 90 Kukah, *Religion, Politics, and Power in Northern Nigeria*, especially chapter 6.
- 91 *Catholic Bishops of Nigeria*.
- 92 Ibid.
- 93 Gumi, *Where I Stand*, 14–22.
- 94 Ibid., 135.
- 95 For an insightful analysis of Izala-Sufi conflict, see Lomeier, *Islamic Reform and Political Change in Northern Nigeria*.
- 96 Paden, *Faith and Politics in Nigeria*, 29.
- 97 Ibid., 108.
- 98 Ibid., 189.
- 99 Kane, "Izala," 490–512.
- 100 Larémont, *Islamic Law and Politics in Northern Nigeria*, 159.
- 101 Ibid., 154–160.
- 102 Oyediran, "Transition without End."
- 103 *Report of the Political Bureau* (1986), 2.
- 104 *West Africa*, July 2, 1987.
- 105 *Report of the Political Bureau*.
- 106 O. Vaughan, *Nigerian Chiefs*, especially chapter 9.
- 107 For a comprehensive analysis of economic and political liberalization under the Babangida regime, see Ihonvbere, *The Politics of Adjustment and Democracy*.
- 108 Mustapha, "Structural Adjustment and Agrarian Change in Nigeria."
- 109 Kenny, "Shari'a and Christianity in Nigeria."
- 110 Oba, "Islamic Law as Customary Law," 831–832.
- 111 Essien, "The Jurisdiction of State High Courts in Nigeria," 271.
- 112 Kenny, "Shari'a and Christianity in Nigeria."
- 113 Emekwue, *Democracy and Religion*.
- 114 Amnesty International, *Nigeria*.
- 115 Paden, "Islam and Democratic Federalism in Nigeria," 1–10.
- 116 Ibid.
- 117 Ostien, *A Study of the Court Systems of Northern Nigeria*.
- 118 In recognition of the annulled June 12 presidential election that would have ushered in Nigeria's third democratic system, "The Third Republic," Nigerian political analysts generally referred to the post-Abacha constitutional democratic period as

the Fourth Republic. The aborted democratic transition that would have ushered in the Abiola presidency is placed in the chronology of Nigerian political history as a historic moment in the country's constitutional democratic system.

CHAPTER 6: RELIGIOUS REVIVAL AND THE STATE:
THE RISE OF PENTECOSTALISM

- 1 Olupona, "The Changing Face of African Christianity," 181.
- 2 Wariboko, *Nigerian Pentecostalism*.
- 3 Marshall, "Power in the Name of Jesus."
- 4 Wariboko, *Nigerian Pentecostalism*.
- 5 For a detailed analysis see Kalu, Wariboko, and Falola, *African Pentecostalism*.
- 6 For a detailed analysis see Marshall, *Political Spiritualities*.
- 7 Sanneh, *The Crown and the Turban*.
- 8 Ilesanmi, "From Periphery to Center," 1.
- 9 Marshall, *Political Spiritualities*, 68.
- 10 Kalu, "Pentecostalism and Mission in Africa," 283.
- 11 *Ibid.*, 284.
- 12 *Ibid.*
- 13 Marshall, *Political Spiritualities*, 103–104.
- 14 See Marshall-Fratani, "Mediating the Global and the Local in Nigerian Pentecostalism," 278–315.
- 15 Marshall, *Political Spiritualities*, 110–111.
- 16 Kalu, "Who Is Afraid of the Holy Ghost?," 88.
- 17 M. A. Ojo, "The Contextual Significance of Charismatic Movements in Independent Nigeria," 141.
- 18 Kalu, "Pentecostalism and Mission in Africa," 285.
- 19 Olupona, "The Changing Face of African Christianity," 182.
- 20 *Ibid.*, 283–285.
- 21 *Ibid.*, 285.
- 22 M. A. Ojo, "The Contextual Significance of Charismatic Movements in Independent Nigeria," 177.
- 23 *Ibid.*, 182.
- 24 *Ibid.*, 178.
- 25 *Ibid.*, 187.
- 26 Kalu, "Pentecostalism and Mission in Africa," 285–286.
- 27 *Ibid.*, 288.
- 28 M. A. Ojo, "The Contextual Significance of Charismatic Movements in Independent Nigeria," 69–71.
- 29 M. A. Ojo, "Deeper Christian Life Ministry," 152.
- 30 Kalu, "Pentecostalism and Mission in Africa."
- 31 thekingsparish.org/statementsoffaith.html, The Redeemed Christian Church of God, The King's Parish, Walthamstow, London E17 5QX. Accessed April 12, 2014.

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- 84 A critical reading of the extensive scholarship on economic globalization and the global South is essential to developments on religion, state formation, and transnationalism in the age of globalization. World systems scholar Immanuel Wallerstein contends that globalization is another turning point in the crisis of global capital regardless of its unique qualities. As this crisis deepens, globalization provides new infrastructure for capitalism to reinvent itself so that it can reorder social relations at national and global levels. Nevertheless, most historical sociologists will agree that the phenomenon we now call globalization is integral to late capitalism. But what we are concerned with here is the most recent manifestation of globalization: the postwar variant that has its foundation in the quadrupling of the world economy before the global economic meltdown of 2007. For detailed analyses, see Wallerstein, "Contemporary Capitalist Dilemma." See also Vaughan, "Africa, Transnationalism, and Globalization," 17–37; Ilesanmi, "From Periphery to Center."
- 85 Wallerstein, "Contemporary Capitalist Dilemma."
- 86 Federici and Caffentzis, "Globalization and Professionalization in Africa."
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- 88 Ibid. The most successful Nigerian Pentecostal immigrant churches with worldwide reach are the RCCG (Redeemed Christian Church of God), Church of the Pentecost, Living Faith Worldwide (Winners' Chapel), Deeper Life, and Light-house. Many other Pentecostal churches, notably Kingsway International in London, Embassy of the Blessed Kingdom of God in the Ukraine, All Nations Church in Toronto, and the House of Praise in Toronto, also have had a great impact on Nigerian immigrant populations in many European and North American cities.
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CHAPTER 7: EXPANDED SHARIA: THE NORTHERN
 UMMAH AND THE FOURTH REPUBLIC

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 3 Lubeck, “Nigeria,” 245.
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 6 Rashid, *Islamic Law in Nigeria*.
 7 For detailed discussion, see Jinadu, “Federalism, the Consociational State, and Ethnic Conflict in Nigeria,” 71–100; see also Laitin, “The Sharia Debate and the Origins of Nigeria’s Second Republic,” 411–430.
 8 Odinkalu and Civil Liberties Organisation, *Justice Denied*.
 9 Ibid.
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 11 Rashid, *Islamic Law in Nigeria*.
 12 Sambo, *Shari’a and Justice*.
 13 Oba, “The Sharia Court of Appeal in Northern Nigeria,” 900.
 14 Ibid.
 15 Ibid., 817–850.
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 22 Ludwig, “Christian-Muslim Relations in Northern Nigeria since the Introduction of Shari’ah in 1999,” 617.
 23 “Winds against Shari’a’s Soul,” *National Concord*, July 14, 2000.
 24 Gumi, *Where I Stand*, 127.
 25 See Muhibbu-Din, *Shari’ah in a Multi-Faith Nigeria*.
 26 *A Memorandum on the 1999 Constitution to the Government and National Assembly*.
 27 Gusau, *A Case for Shari’ah in Nigeria*.
 28 Harnischfeger, *Democratization and Islamic Law*, 224.
 29 Not least chapter VII, part 2, article B, section 275 (1), which guarantees, “There shall be for any State that requires it a Sharia Court of Appeal.” See *Constitution of Nigeria*, 1999.

- 30 Chapter I, part 2, section 10 states, “The Government of the Federation or of a State shall not adopt any religion as State Religion.” See *Constitution of Nigeria*, 1999.
- 31 Oba, “Islamic Law as Customary Law,” 817–850.
- 32 Edu et al., *The Sharia Issue: Working Papers for a Dialogue*.
- 33 Harnischfeger, *Democratization and Islamic Law*, 13.
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- 38 Hackett, “Rethinking the Role of Religion in the Public Sphere,” 86–89.
- 39 Sanusi, “The West and the Rest,” 257.
- 40 “Pending Cases in Zamfara to Be Heard in Shari’a Courts,” *National Concord*, January 17, 2000.
- 41 There is substantial constitutional evidence for such an argument, particularly in chapter VII, part 2, article B, section 277 (1) of the Nigerian Constitution, which reads in part, “The Sharia Court of Appeal of a State shall, in addition to such other jurisdiction as may be conferred upon it by the law of the State, exercise such appellate and supervisory jurisdiction in civil proceedings involving questions of Islamic personal Law which the court is competent to decide.” See *Constitution of Nigeria*, 1999; see also Edu et al., *The Sharia Issue: Working Papers for a Dialogue*.
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- 43 Ibid.
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- 49 “Core North Has a Right to Shari’a Law—Speaker,” *New Nigerian*, February 2000.
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- 51 Nasir, “Women’s Human Rights in Secular and Religious Legal System.”
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- 53 Ibid., 89–93.
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- 55 For example, the subject of citizen’s economic rights is defined in chapter II, section 16 of the Constitution, part of which asserts that “the state shall . . . without prejudice to the right of any person to participate in areas of the economy within the major sector of the economy, protect the right of every citizen to engage in any economic activities,” and section 17, which reads in part, “The State shall direct its policy toward ensuring that . . . all citizens, without discrimination on any group whatsoever, have the opportunity for securing adequate means of livelihood.” See Nwobi, *Sharia in Nigeria*.

- 56 Nwobi contends that this would violate chapter IV, section 41 (1) of the Constitution: “Every citizen of Nigeria is entitled to move freely throughout Nigeria and to reside in any part thereof.” See *Constitution of Nigeria*, 1999; see *ibid*.
- 57 Chapter IV, section 38 (1) of the 1999 Constitution reads in part, “Every person shall be entitled to freedom of thought, conscience, and religion, including freedom to change his religion or belief.” See *Constitution of Nigeria*, 1999.
- 58 Quoted in Ludwig, “Christian-Muslim Relations in Northern Nigeria since the Introduction of Shari’ah in 1999,” 613–614.
- 59 Section 38 (3) of the 1999 Constitution notes: “No religious community or denomination shall be prevented from providing religious instruction for pupils of that community or denomination in any place of education maintained wholly by that community or denomination.” See *Constitution of Nigeria*, 1999.
- 60 Odinkalu and Civil Liberties Organisation, *Justice Denied*, 1992.
- 61 Legislative provisions among the twelve Northern states varied from state to state, with sharia courts in each state having their own distinct characteristics. However, these provisions in all twelve Northern states include the creation of sharia courts, the enactment of a penal code based on Islamic law, and the expansion of the jurisdiction of the Sharia Court of Appeal. In all of these states, sharia courts replaced the old area courts as courts of first instance in Islamic legal matters. Now under the supervision of the grand qadi, the courts have jurisdiction in criminal cases on all matters involving Muslims; in civil cases, sharia courts have jurisdiction on Muslims as well as on consenting non-Muslims. Appeals in sharia courts of first instance could only be adjudicated in superior sharia courts, with ultimate appeals only to the Sharia Court of Appeal. Significantly, the Sharia Court of Appeal for the first time since its creation now has jurisdiction in criminal cases. See Oba, “The Sharia Court of Appeal in Northern Nigeria,” 883–884.
- 62 Yesufu, *World Inter-Religious Crisis*, especially chapter 2.
- 63 Ado-Kurawa, *Shari’ah and the Press in Nigeria*, 2000.
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- 66 Oba, “Islamic Law as Customary Law,” 820.
- 67 Ado-Kurawa, *Shari’ah and the Press in Nigeria*.
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- 75 Oba, “The Sharia Court of Appeal in Northern Nigeria,” 892.
- 76 Laremont, *Islamic Law and Politics in Northern Nigeria*, 211–216.
- 77 Lubeck, “Nigeria.”
- 78 *Kaduna State Shari’ah Penal Code*, 2001.

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- 80 “Bauchi Moves to Adopt Shari’a,” *National Concord*, October 25, 1999.
- 81 “The Right Belief Is Based on Shari’a,” *New Nigerian*, January 21, 2000.
- 82 Callaway and Creevey, *The Heritage of Islam*.
- 83 Last, “The Search for Security in Muslim Northern Nigeria,” 47.
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- 85 *Ibid.*, 58.
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- 87 “National Shari’a Seminar Opens Today,” *New Nigerian*, February 11, 2000.
- 88 Justice Mohammed Bello, GCON, CON, “Shari’a and the Constitution,” *New Nigerian*, February 15, 2000.
- 89 See Edu et al., *The Sharia Issue: Working Papers for a Dialogue*.
- 90 Sulu Gambari, “Understanding Shari’a Law,” *New Nigerian*, February 16, 2000.
- 91 “Violence Erupts in Sokoto,” *National Concord*, March 8, 2000.
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- 95 “Sharia Implications for Nigeria,” *National Concord*, February 2, 2000.
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- 97 “Sharia Implications for Nigeria,” *National Concord*, February 2, 2000.
- 98 A. Bello Alkali, “The Zamfara Initiative,” *New Nigerian*, January 4, 2000.
- 99 Bello Adamu Sakkwato, “Shari’a in Zamfara: Problems and Prospects,” *New Nigerian*, January 5, 2000.
- 100 Danlami M. B. Takko, “Governor Mu’azu, a Word on Shari’a,” *New Nigerian*, February 16, 2000.
- 101 “Ugly Face of Contradiction,” *New Nigerian*, January 12, 2000.
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- 103 “Ugly Face of Contradiction,” *New Nigerian*, January 12, 2000.
- 104 “Shari’ah,” *New Nigerian*, January 3, 2000.
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- 106 Ado-Kurawa, *Shari’ah and the Press in Nigeria*.
- 107 See Muhibbu-Din, *Shari’ah in a Multi-Faith Nigeria*; see also *A Memorandum on the 1999 Constitution to the Government and National Assembly* (2000).
- 108 “Understanding Shari’a Law,” *New Nigerian*, February 16, 2000.
- 109 Gumi, *Where I Stand*, 79.
- 110 Harnischfeger, “Sharia and Control over Territory,” 438.
- 111 Ladan, “Women’s Rights and Access to Justice under Sharia in Northern Nigeria.”
- 112 Lubeck, “Nigeria,” 269.
- 113 Ibrahim, *Shari’ah and Muslims in Nigeria*.
- 114 “Shari’a in the North: Fear of the Unknown,” *New Nigerian*, February 27, 2000.
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- 121 "Jalo Wants Hashidu to Introduce Shari'a," *New Nigerian*, January 3, 2000.
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- 123 "In Search of a Peaceful Society," *National Concord*, June 30, 2000.
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- 125 "In Zamfara, Tension over Shari'a," *National Concord*, October 21, 1999.
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- 144 See Muhibbu-Din, *Shari'ah in a Multi-Faith Nigeria*.
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- 146 Tayob, "The Demand for Shari'ah in African Democratisation Processes," 45.
- 147 "Towards a Northern Renaissance," *New Nigerian*, January 30, 2000.
- 148 "The Way Forward," *National Concord*, May 5, 2000.
- 149 "We Need One Party State," *National Concord*, August 2, 1999.
- 150 "Governor Mu'azu, a Word on Shari'a," *New Nigerian*, February 16, 2000; see also "Give Shari'a a Chance," *New Nigerian*, February 8, 2000.
- 151 "Of Elders Fora and the North," *New Nigerian*, February 21, 2000.

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- 153 “More People Flee Kaduna . . . Students Vacate Campuses . . . Soldiers Drafted to Kano,” *Sunday Concord*, February 27, 2000.
- 154 “Shari’a: From Zamfara to Kaduna,” *Weekend Concord*, February 26, 2000.
- 155 “Community Leaders Alert on Imminent Religious Violence,” *National Concord*, April 10, 2000.
- 156 “No Religious Crisis in Iwo—Muslim Youths Declare,” *National Concord*, July 8, 2000.
- 157 “Zamfara Governor Hailed over Shari’a,” *New Nigerian*, January 3, 2000.
- 158 “Zamfara Organizes Seminar for Royal Fathers on Shari’a,” *New Nigerian*, February 9, 2000.
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- 165 David, “Islamic Law May Spread in Nigeria.”
- 166 Bello Adamu Sakkwato, “Shari’a in Zamfara: Problems and Prospects,” *New Nigerian*, January 5, 2000.
- 167 “Kwara Muslims Allege Arms Importation,” *New Nigerian*, January 5, 2000.

CHAPTER 8: EXPANDED SHARIA: RESISTANCE,
VIOLENCE, AND RECONCILIATION

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- 4 Edu et al., *The Sharia Issue: Working Papers for a Dialogue*.
- 5 Craig Keener, “Mutual Mayhem: A Plea for Peace and Truth in the Madness of Nigeria,” *Christianity Today*, November 2004.
- 6 *Weekend Concord*, February 26, 2000.
- 7 “Religious Leaders and Violence,” *Weekend Concord*, March 4, 2000.
- 8 “Sharia: Our Stand,” *National Concord*, March 10, 2000.
- 9 “Peace and Stability in Kaduna State,” *National Concord*, May 30, 2000.
- 10 Harnischfeger, “Sharia and Control over Territory,” 431.
- 11 Adigwe, “Nigeria Joins the Organization of Islamic Conference, O.I.C.”
- 12 Ngban, *Is Shari’ah the Law of God?*
- 13 Harunah, *Shari’ah under Western Democracy in Contemporary Nigeria*.
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- 15 Byang, *Shari'a in Nigeria*.
- 16 Debki, *The Tragedy of Sharia: Cry and the Voice of Masses*.
- 17 "Spiritual War over Obasanjo," *Weekend Concord*, September 25, 1999.
- 18 "CAN Dismisses Kure's Claim," *New Nigerian*, January 23, 2000.
- 19 "Clergyman Sues for Peace over Shari'a," *Sunday Concord*, June 25, 2000.
- 20 "Shari'a Will Fail," *National Concord*, January 26, 2000.
- 21 "Shari'a Will Lead to Confusion," *National Concord*, October 26, 1999.
- 22 "Shari'a: Why Christian Leaders Are Worried," *Weekend Concord*, October 23, 1999.
- 23 "Shari'a: Why the Opposition?," *New Nigerian*, January 3, 2000.
- 24 "The Two Nigerias," *National Concord*, January 21, 2000.
- 25 "Zamfara Plans to Sponsor Shari'a in S-West, East," *National Concord*, February 17, 2000.
- 26 "Human Rights and Shari'a in Nigeria," *National Concord*, June 15, 2000.
- 27 "Shari'a: Why Christian Leaders Are Worried," *Weekend Concord*, October 23, 1999.
- 28 "Kaduna Shari'a Panel in Dilemma," *New Nigerian*, February 25, 2000.
- 29 "Shari'a: Days of Rage, Blood, and Death in Kaduna," *Weekend Concord*, February 26, 2000.
- 30 "More People Flee Kaduna . . . Students Vacate Campuses . . . Soldiers Drafted to Kano," *Sunday Concord*, February 27, 2000.
- 31 "Fear Grips Kano as Death Toll Hits 400 in Kaduna; Britain Forewarned FG, U.S. Worried; Criminal Part of Shari'a Unconstitutional," *National Concord*, February 26, 2000.
- 32 "100 Killed . . . As Kaduna Riot Rages—Commissioner Missing," *National Concord*, May 24, 2000.
- 33 "Kaduna Riot Toll Hits 300: 1,000 Houses Burnt; Presidency Summons Governor," *National Concord*, May 25, 2000. In February 2000, a peaceful protest in Kaduna State had escalated into widespread killings. Anti-sharia activist Bee Debki provides a summary of the human toll and suffering that resulted. Specifically, she claimed that Muslims torched churches and escalated the crisis in Rigasa; killed Christian minorities in Tudun Wada; looted properties and burned houses including a Baptist Theological Seminary in Kawo; killed a pastor in Kwaru/Badarawa; were repelled by strong Christian resistance in Sabo after a fierce struggle; killed Christians in Kachia; burned a church in Barnawa. Debki's list indicates the extent of the violence in Kaduna State; corroborating reports putting the death toll in Kaduna State at about two thousand. Thousands of Christian students from Southern and Middle Belt states studying at Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, the Federal College of Education, and Kaduna State Polytechnic fled en masse from the state. For detailed discussion, see Debki, *The Tragedy of Sharia*.
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- 35 "CAN Pleads with Riot Victims," *National Concord*, March 6, 2000.
- 36 "Shari'a, a Monstrous Spoiler?," *National Concord*, July 24, 2000.

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- 38 Debki, *The Tragedy of Sharia.*
- 39 "Zamfara Government Is Neglecting Development," *National Concord*, February 7, 2000.
- 40 "Shari'a: Reversion to Primitivity," *National Concord*, January 27, 2000.
- 41 "Shari'a: Why Christian Leaders Are Worried," *Weekend Concord*, October 23, 1999; "Shari'a, an Attempt to Destabilize Civil Rule," *National Concord*, October 20, 1999.
- 42 "Christians, Muslims at Loggerheads over Shari'a in Niger," *National Concord*, January 17, 2000.
- 43 "Tension in Kano . . . over Shari'a," *National Concord*, January 15, 2000.
- 44 "Christians Not Opposed to Shari'a for Muslims," *National Concord*, April 18, 2000.
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- 46 *Africa Confidential*, July 12, 2002.
- 47 "Church Leaders Hit Zamfara Governor over Shari'a, Say: 'It Is a Decision from Hell!'" *Weekend Concord*, October 30, 1999; "Cleric Advises Obasanjo on Shari'a," *National Concord*, October 19, 1999.
- 48 "Shari'a Riots: Cleric Lambasts Senate, Governors," *National Concord*, November 2, 1999.
- 49 Lubeck, "Nigeria," 265–266.
- 50 "Archbishop Visits Zamfara," BBC, February 3, 2001, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/1152031.stm>.
- 51 For example, Southern notables such as Lam Andesina, AD governor of Oyo State; Professor B. O. Nwabueze, leader of Ndigbo, the preeminent Igbo interest group; Kayode Eso, former justice of the Supreme Court; and prodemocracy activist Arthur Nwankwo strongly denounced expanded sharia. See *National Concord*, July 10, 2000.
- 52 "Kaduna Riots Planned in Kano," *National Concord*, April 17, 2000.
- 53 "Sharia: Obasanjo Has Failed Nigeria," *Weekend Concord*, July 15, 2000; "Winds against Sharia's Soul," *National Concord*, July 14, 2000; "Let Sharia States Have Their Ways," *Sunday Concord*, July 16, 2000.
- 54 "Sharia Scare: Banks May Pull Out of Zamfara," *National Concord*, October 26, 1999.
- 55 Ludwig, "Christian-Muslim Relations in Northern Nigeria since the Introduction of Shari'ah in 1999," 615.
- 56 *Ibid.*, 631–632.
- 57 "Shari'a: Why Christian Leaders Are Worried," *Weekend Concord*, October 23, 1999.
- 58 "Shari'a Takes Off in Zamfara," *New Nigerian*, January 23, 2000; see also "Sokoto Backs Down on Shari'a," *National Concord*, January 17, 2000.

- 59 "Alcohol Consumers Beat Shari'a . . . Take Liquor out of Cellophane Bags," *National Concord*, July 31, 2000.
- 60 "First Week of Shari'a in Zamfara," *Weekend Concord*, February 5, 2000. One writer reported no noticeable drop in crime or corruption in sharia states. See Jessi Herman, "A Divided Nigeria," Institute for Global Engagement, November 30, 2001, <http://www.globalengage.org>.
- 61 "Shariacracy on Trial."
- 62 Harnischfeger, *Democratization and Islamic Law*, 29.
- 63 *Ibid.*, 124–126.
- 64 "Nigerian Bishops Decry Adoption of Shari'a Law," *National Catholic Reporter*, October 4, 2002.
- 65 Harnischfeger, *Democratization and Islamic Law*, 128–184.
- 66 "Shari'a for the Abachas," *Weekend Concord*, July 22, 2000.
- 67 "Apply Shari'a on Muslims Only," *New Nigerian*, February 2, 2000.
- 68 Nwobi, *Sharia in Nigeria*.
- 69 Shehu, *Sharia*.
- 70 Ludwig, "Christian-Muslim Relations in Northern Nigeria since the Introduction of Shari'ah in 1999," 612–613.
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CHAPTER 9: SHARIA POLITICS, OBASANJO'S PDP
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CONCLUSION

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