A HISTORY OF THE EXPANSION OF EVANGELICAL CHRISTIANITY IN NIGERIA

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To

My Mother, My Wife and My Son

PREFACE

On January 11, 1940 I received appointment from the Foreign Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention as a missionary to Nigeria. My first work as a missionary was that of teaching in the theological seminary. While teaching there I began to collect material for the writing of the story of Southern Baptist Missions in Nigeria. My desire was enlarged to include the efforts of all evangelical groups who sought to introduce Christianity in Nigeria.

During my first term of service I had the advantage of living in Western Nigeria at Ogbomosho where I received my first impression of mission work in Nigeria. On my second term of service I lived in Northern Nigeria at Kaduna and had the opportunity of viewing the work of the missionary societies in this area. I also had the privilege of spending some time in Eastern Nigeria and saw the societies at work there. During these two terms of service I was constantly on the alert for any material, books, pamphlets or conversations that would give me a true picture of Christianity as it expanded. This thesis is the result of the collection of this material.

My aim in this thesis is to trace the course of the expansion of evangelical Christianity in Nigeria

during the first one hundred years, 1842 to 1942. The first chapter, as briefly as possible, presents a description of the physical features, people, religions and history of Nigeria. The history of the expansion of evangelical Christianity is divided into four periods: Chapter II, Exploration and Pioneering, 1842 to 1874; Chapter III, Reoccupation and Laying Permanent Foundations, 1875 to 1899; Chapter IV, Organization, Expansion and Indigenous Development, 1900 to 1918; Chapter V, Years of Progress Between World Wars, 1919 to 1942.

At the close of each chapter I have placed a statistical table to show the growth of Christianity for each period. The figures are based upon personal surveys and the best information that could be obtained from mission secretaries on the field. The name of each society commonly used in Nigeria is used throughout the thesis and wherever abbreviations are used I have followed the most commonly used abbreviation.

In preparation of the material for this thesis I am deeply indebted to the missionaries and secretaries of all societies working in Nigeria for the information they have so kindly given me. I am indebted to the Harrodsburg Baptist Church who provided me with a place to study during the writing of the major part of this thesis and to the Foreign Mission Board of the Southern

Baptist Convention for permitting me to make this study. I am also indebted to Miss Jane Phillips who gave invaluable service in typing and to Mrs. Leo T. Crismon who typed the final copy. I wish to thank Miss Rachel Colvin of the Woman's Missionary Union, Birmingham, Alabama, who prepared the maps from my rough sketches and Dr. Leo T. Crismon who made possible the use of numerous books that otherwise would have been impossible to obtain.

A special word of appreciation is due Dr. Henry Cornell Goerner for his kindly and valued words of advice in the preparation of this thesis.

Louisville, Ky. October 31, 1951 Charles William Knight

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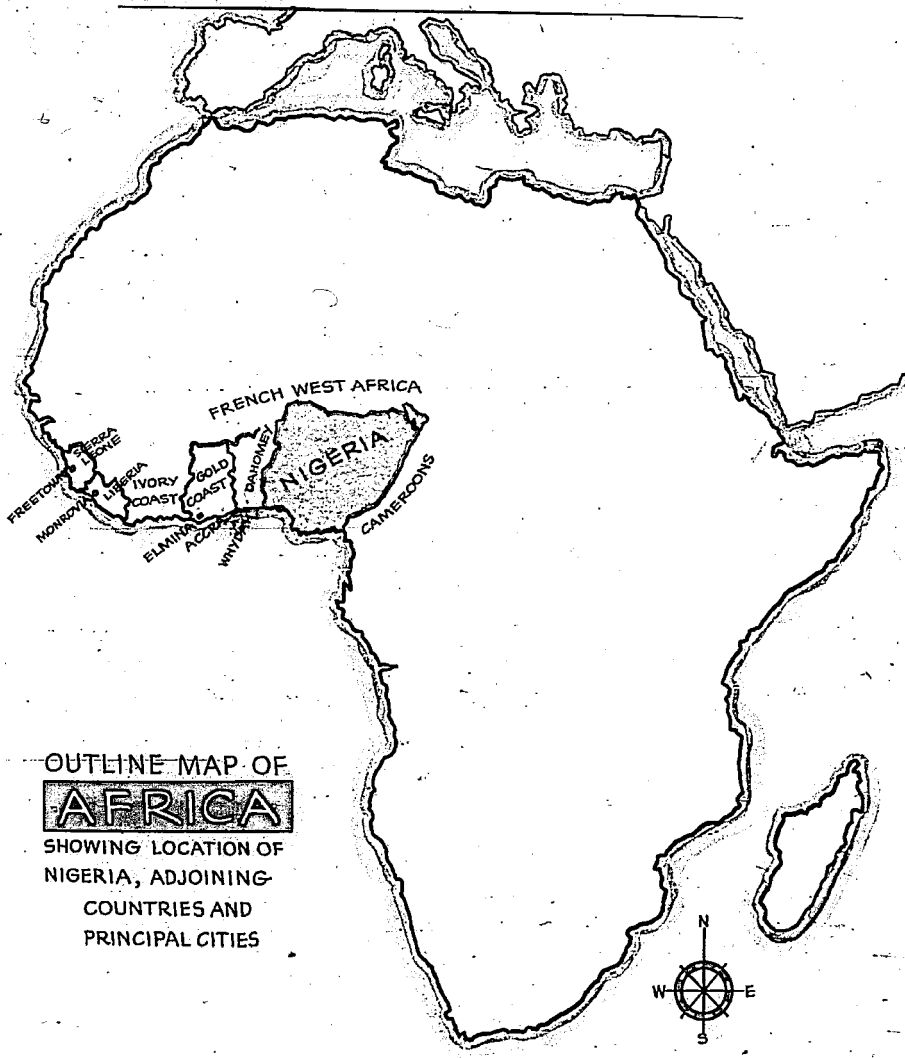

OUTLINE MAP OF

AFRICA

SHOWING LOCATION OF NIGERIA, ADJOINING COUNTRIES AND PRINCIPAL CITIES

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY BACKGROUNDS

Nigeria[1] is the name most commonly given the largest of the British colonies on the west coast of Africa. The colony lies on the turn of the coast line as it bends southward, between the parallels 4¼ degrees and 14 degrees north and 2½ degrees and 14 degrees east. On the north it is bounded by French West Africa, on the east by the Cameroons under French mandate, on the south by the Gulf of Guinea and on the west by the French territory known as Dahomey. The land lies in the shape of a rough square having an area of 372,674 square miles;[2] an area as large as eight of the southern states.[3]

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1 Other names are Soudan, Ethiopia, Nigritia, Tekrour, Genewah or Genowah (which by European custom of throwing the accent to the forepart of the word, has become Guinea), Negroland. Flora L. Shaw (Lady Lugard), A Tropical Dependency (London: James Nisbet and Company, Ltd., 1905), p. 7.

2 This includes 34,081 square miles of the British mandated area of the Cameroons. Nigerian Handbook, (London: West African Publicity Ltd., 1936), pp. 1, 38.

3 Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, Virginia, Tennessee and Kentucky.

I. PHYSICAL FEATURES OF NIGERIA

In so large a country as Nigeria there is naturally a great variety of physical features. The uneven, low lying coast line is characterized by shallow waters and sandy beaches, occasionally broken by rivers pushing their way through to the sea. Most of these rivers are very shallow and difficult to navigate. There are no natural harbors. It is a most inhospitable coast.

Beyond the coast line there are four distinct geographical regions: Salt water-swamp forest, tropical forest, grassland and plateau. The salt water forests are located all along the entire five hundred mile coast line of the country. This is a belt from ten to sixty miles in width. It is interlaced with shallow tidal lagoons and mangrove forests. The mangrove trees[4] which grow in these waters have straight trunks supported by enormous arched roots. Its seeds germinate on the branches and send their roots downward. Very few people inhabit the area.[5]

Behind the swamps and mangrove trees lies a rich forest belt. This area stretches inland across the

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4 Rhizophora racemosa.
5 Nigerian Handbook, pp. 2, 119.

country from ten to a hundred miles in depth. Much valuable timber is found here, such as mahogany, iroko, sasswood and danta.[6] In this deciduous forest the undergrowth is almost impenetrable. Here and there the inhabitants have cleared the forest to make room for farms and villages, connected by narrow bush paths. These paths are just wide enough for travelers to walk in single file.

As the land rises gradually in altitude the forests grow thinner and are succeeded by grasslands with scattered clumps of trees. This grass belt occupies approximately half the area of Nigeria. Animals roam the uninhabited areas. Hartebeest, harnessed and roan antelope, western knob, duiker and elephant are found here. Game birds and water fowls of the African variety totaling thirty species are distributed widely through the area.[7]

North of these open rolling grasslands the land rises to an undulating plateau near the geographical center of the country. Granite hills, rising several hundred feet in the air, reaching an altitude of six thousand feet, are quite numerous in parts of the

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6 Nigerian Handbook, pp. 119-129.
7 Ibid., pp. 148-151.

Bauchi plateau and borders of the French Cameroons. To the east of these highlands the land descends to the dry Bornu plain which borders on Lake Chad.

Between the plateau and the northern boundary of the country, loose sandy spaces together with scrub and thorn forests are constant reminders that the great Sahara desert is not far away. Like the coast line in the south, the Sahara desert in the north proved to be a formidable barrier to all who sought entrance to this area.

The country has an extensive system of rivers, the greatest of which is the Niger. Around this river and its tributaries the life of the country largely revolves. This great river is over two thousand six hundred miles in length, two-thirds of which lies outside Nigeria.[8] It enters the country in the southwest corner of the Sokoto province near the principal town of Dakingari. Here it is joined immediately by an important tributary, the Sokoto river. From this point it flows in a single stream southeast to Yelwa. At Yelwa the river swings directly southward to Jebba. Between Yelwa and Jebba the rapids are almost impassable, except to dugout canoes.

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8 Alan Burns, History of Nigeria (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1948), p. 18.

At Jebba the lower Niger becomes navigable for small steamers. Passing on in a southeasterly direction it is joined at Pategi by the Kaduna river and at Lokoja by its principal tributary, the Benue river. From this point the river continues directly southward, carrying with it tons of rich alluvial soil which it deposits along the way to the sea. As the river nears the sea it splits up into a number of "channels, dividing and subdividing."[9] These branches of the Niger are connected by creeks so numerous that it is difficult to determine the main route of the mighty river.[10] The Cross river, not connected with the Niger system, likewise has its part to play in the life and development of the country.

Vegetation is luxuriant except in the Bornu plain and the northwest part bordering on the Sahara desert. All forms of tropical plant life are found in the south, while desert vegetation exists along the northern border. High on the Bauchi plateau, plants from the temperate zone are cultivated. The Portuguese are credited with having introduced pineapple, peanuts, sweet potatoes, corn, oranges, limes, sugar cane, tomatoes and onions.[11]

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9 Loc. cit.

10 Nigerian Handbook, p. 85.

11 H. H. Johnson, Opening Up of Africa (London: Butterworth, 1889), p. 177 cited by Desmond W. Bittinger, Black and White in the Sudan (Elgin: The Brethren Publishing House, 1941), p. 106.

The climate and rainfall play a major part in the life of the people as well as in the development and progress of the land. The whole country is generally hot, lying within the tropics. Along the coast line and in low altitudes the heat is damp, while in the north in higher altitudes it is dry. The seasons are well defined, a dry season and a rainy season. They vary in length, the dry season being longer in the north (October to April) and shorter in the south.

The dry season is characterized by the harmattan, a dry desert wind which brings particles of sand from the Sahara. These particles cause a very thick haze, which makes visibility impossible for any great distance. During this season the temperature falls to as low as forty degrees Fahrenheit in the early morning and rises as high as a fifty degree variation at noonday. The rainy season usually begins in May and lasts through September. The heaviest rainfall occurs in the south along the coast in the Niger delta,[12] while the lightest rainfall is found in the north along the edge of the Sahara desert.[13] Between these two extremes lies a well-watered area with an annual rainfall of between fifty and seventy-five inches.

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12 Nigerian Handbook, p. 14.
13 Loc. cit.

II. THE PEOPLE OF NIGERIA

Gathered together within the borders of this great land are over twenty-two million people.[14] This figure is based on the tax return of the people and therefore is not as accurate as one might wish. These are all native Africans. One must add to this group the non-native population of five thousand.[15] This group of non-natives is made up principally of Europeans, Syrians, Lebanese, French and Americans. They are business men, government servants, missionaries, miners, scientists and explorers. Only on the high altitudes of the Bauchi plateau do members of the white race stay for any great length of time without leave.

Although the natives of Nigeria are not homogeneous, it is generally accepted that they are all members of what is commonly known as the black race. Records of the aboriginal people are so few that it is very difficult to trace their origin and early development with accuracy.

Before the fifteenth century there existed in the Sudan native African dynasties governing vast areas.[16] These dynasties had their roots in the ancient Mediterranean

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14 C. R. Niven, Nigeria (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd., 1945), p. 3.

15 Ibid., p. 4.

16 S. J. Hogben, The Muhammadan Emirates of Nigeria (London: Oxford University Press, 1930), p. 25.

civilizations of North Africa and the Near East.[17] Within these empires the intermingling of various groups, such as Berber, Arab and aboriginal people, produced a mixed stock that later migrated into what is now Nigeria. These migrations continued until the Moorish conquest in 1590, when the Sudan was closed.[18] They produced the Hausa, Yoruba and Kanuri tribal civilizations. Another important tribe known as the Tiv or Munchi migrated from the south-east.[19]

In addition to these mixed groups of people the Fulani, a group of wandering herdsmen, gradually drifted into Nigerian pasture lands. Some authorities trace their origin back to the Hyksos, the Shepherd Kings.[20] By 1804 they had conquered most of the Sudan, which they ruled until the coming of the British.

The primitive tribal groups, the largest of which is the Ibo, occupy the major part of the territory south of the Benue between the Niger and the Cross rivers. The coastal area is occupied by the Ibibio, Efik, Ijaw, Urohobo, Itsekiri, Jekris and other smaller tribes.

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17 Shaw (Lady Lugard), op. cit., pp. 153 ff.
18 Hogben, op. cit., p. 56.
19 Nigerian Handbook, p. 18.
20 E. D. Morel, Affairs of West Africa (London: Heinemann, 1902), pp. 136 ff, cited by Bittinger, op. cit., p. 24.

North of the Ibo tribe live the Ishan, Kukuruku and Ijara tribes. High on the Bauchi plateau among the hills and rocks live the "pagan tribes."[21] Both sexes wear little or no clothing and have no desire for contact with outside groups. To the west of the "pagan tribes" live the scattered Gbari and Nupes.[22]

All of these tribes have language peculiarities, if not different languages. Niven says, "there are four hundred and more languages and dialects in daily use."[23] This is an ever present problem to the missionary enterprise. However, in the main each area has developed a lingua franca. In many cases, as shall be seen later, mission societies contributed to the advancement of written languages.

III. THE RELIGIONS OF NIGERIA

Before the advent of Christianity there existed in Nigeria two major forms of religion: Animism and Islam. Animism was the religion of the aborigines as well as some of the groups that migrated to this area. It has gradually given away to Islam and Christianity. As late as 1925 J. L. Maxwell estimated that fifty-seven

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21 A term used to designate the small tribal groups on the Bauchi plateau who did not accept Islam.

22 S. F. Nadel, A Black Byzantium, (London: Oxford University Press, 1942), p. 1

23 Niven, op. cit., p. 9.

percent of the people still remained animists.[24]

Since there are many tribal and cultural groups within Nigeria, it follows that a variety of religious beliefs and practices exists. The animists in Nigeria are very religious. Religion, as A. G. Leonard points out, "is their existence and their existence is their religion."[25] It is a religion of substantial practice.[26]

Almost all groups in Nigeria believe in the existence of one supreme God as creator and preserver. It is believed that He is far removed from the individual and practically unapproachable except on special occasions. Therefore man need not fear God since He is not primarily interested in man. Between God and man are intermediaries or minor deities who are thought to be interested in human affairs. They are often represented by mountains, hills, streams, trees and other forms of nature; likewise, they may have human forms and characteristics.[27] These intermediaries are capable of inflicting evil, hence, the people live in a constant state of fear. The people are continually seeking to gain their favor by sacrifice and

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24 J. L. Maxwell, Nigeria; The Land, the People, and Christian Progress (London: World Dominion Press, [1929]), p. 63.

25 A. G. Leonard, The Lower Niger and Its Tribes (London: Macmillan and Co., 1906), p. 471.

26 Loc. cit.

27 S. G. Pinnock, The Romance of Missions in Nigeria (Richmond: Foreign Mission Board of S.B.C., 1917), pp. 89, 90; Maxwell, op. cit., p. 64.

offerings.[28]

There are also spiritual beings confined to animal and vegetal matter, likewise demons who are capable of only evil.[29] Many groups believe in transmigration of the soul into other human beings or animals.[30] This belief is found especially among the Yorubas and the tribes of the lower Niger. Ancestors and deified human beings are also objects of worship.[31] All groups believe in a life after death, something similar to the earthly life, a perfected human existence. Charms and fetishes are worn by all groups, even the Muslims. In such a system of worship much is made of magic. The amount of faith in a magician's ability to work magic is unbelievable.

Disease is usually attributed to evil spirits. Malaria is simply the presence of an antagonistic spirit. "Various diseases have been personified in the form of malignant demons that not only feed upon and eat the flesh, but who would destroy the soul, or at least transform it into a demon ...."[32]

This system of religion calls for a priesthood with much ceremony and ritual. In many instances the

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28 Pinnock, op. cit., p. 93.
29 Leonard, op. cit., pp. 471, 472.
30 Maxwell, op. cit., p. 65.
31 Pinnock, op. cit., pp. 90, 91; Maxwell, op. cit., p. 67.
32 Leonard, op. cit., p. 254.

priests virtually control the whole life of the community. Their services are extremely expensive. Witchcraft is practiced everywhere. Witchdoctors interpret the minds of the spirits, exorcise the devil from a patient, detect crimes and foretell the future. They are the most bitter antagonists of the Christian missionary and a great evil in the country.

The religion of the prophet Muhammad, as well as all forms of animism, is thought by the Nigerian African to be a native religion. This fact has had much to do with the spread of Islam in the country. Early in the thirteenth century Fulani teachers, spreading the doctrines of Islam, drifted into the Hausa and Bornu regions of Northern Nigeria.[33] The teachers no doubt came from the University of Sankore in Timbuktu, the center of Muslim learning for Africa at this time.[34] A few mosques were erected, one of special note by the king of Kano, Yaji. There followed struggles between paganism and Islam, with Islam gradually gaining predominance over paganism. During the reign of Muhammad Rumfa (1463-1499), King of Kano, "we find the first definite records of Muslim emissaries."[35]

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33 Shaw (Lady Lugard), op. cit., p. 382.
34 Hogben, op. cit., p. 50.
35 Ibid., p. 71.

From this time on Muslim customs began to be followed, women were kept in seclusion and the fast of Ramadan was observed.[36] There followed a period in which Islam sank to a very low superstitious level. The mosques were desecrated and destroyed and worship of Allah was almost swept aside by paganism.

This continued until the Fulani conquest of the early nineteenth century led by Usuman dan Fadio,[37] who was the most important figure in Muslim expansion. He was a man of thorough training and of strong religious convictions and soon attained great power and influence as a teacher in Islam in Nigeria. He devoted himself to the preaching of the faith throughout the country with such success that he obtained a great following. Jealousy and fear of his influence and power among the people caused a threat upon his life by some of the rulers; whereupon, he gathered about him his pupils and began a holy war. He was elevated to the religious position of "Sarkin Musulmi," king of the Muslims. There followed a bloody struggle which ended in the establishment of Islam throughout the territory of Northern Nigeria. The faith continued to be spread by force until the British

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36 Ibid., p. 110.

37 Burns, op. cit., pp. 45 f; C. R. Niven, A Short History of Nigeria (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1949), pp. 76-80.

occupation of Northern Nigeria in the beginning of the twentieth century.

At first the people of Northern Nigeria were the only adherents to the faith, but gradually Islam pushed its way south along the trade routes to the coast line. "Today more than half the inhabitants of Lagos are Muslims and elsewhere the religion is gaining ground," wrote Burns in 1948.[38] The tribes of the lower Niger have been the slowest group to turn to Islam.

A great deal of laxity exists among the Muslims of Nigeria in the practice of their religion. Their worship is a poor imitation of the religion of the prophet Muhammad. The writer saw evidences of the influence of animism at the ceremony which ends the one-month fast. There was a display of snake and scorpion handling together with other pagan rites. The hours of prayer are very often neglected, omissions being made up at a more convenient hour.[39]

Schools for instruction in the Koran are carried on by the Mallams, teachers. Arabic is taught but very few pupils gain much more than a recognition of the characters. Usually the school is conducted on the porch of the mosque or in an open court yard. Arabic

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38 Burns, op. cit., p. 239.
39 Maxwell, op. cit., p. 70.

words and phrases are recited aloud and copied on slates of wood. Medicine is often made from the writing on these slates of selected passages from the Koran. The ink is washed off and poured into a cup for drinking.[40] In addition to these schools, other schools very similar to those established by the missions and government have been opened by the Muslims in recent years.

Muslims in other areas of the world are known for their missionary zeal, but this is true only in a very limited way in Nigeria.[41] The religion has made much progress in expansion since the days of Usuman dan Fadio, but mainly by pressure of superior social prestige rather than missionary zeal.

In addition to these two religions is the influence of a modern European and American civilization upon the life of the people. This part of Africa, cut off from the rest of the world for centuries, has seen for the first time during the first half of the twentieth century the accomplishments of European and Western civilizations. This has produced a change in attitude in several thousand persons who no longer live in terror of idols or witchdoctors, for they have learned their secrets. These persons have virtually no religion and

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40 Ibid., pp. 70-72.
41 Ibid., p. 74.

are bordering on secularism and materialism. As the new ideas and inventions take the place of the old there exists for the first time in the primitive society of Nigeria a people without a religion.

IV. THE HISTORY OF NIGERIA

Most of the early history of Nigeria remains a mystery. West Africa had been separated for centuries from the rest of the world by the Sahara desert, impenetrable forests along the coast line, and non-navigable streams. Warlike tribes repelled visitors. Tropical diseases were deadly and their treatment unknown. Men were centuries finding their way across the Sahara desert and discovering the course of the Niger river. West Africans did not leave any written record of their past, for most languages of West Africa before the advent of mission societies were verbal rather than written. Part of Northern Nigeria was within the West African empires of Ghana, Melle and Songhay and their history has been recorded by Arabic historians of the Moorish Empire.[42]

The authentic history of Nigeria begins with exploration in the fifteenth century by groups of

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42 F. D. Lugard, The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa (London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1923), p. 60.

explorers of various nationalities. The history of this period is the history of the attempt of Europeans to engage in trade. The French claim to have made contact with West Africa in the latter part of the fourteenth century; however, these claims lack sufficient evidence.[43]

To the Portuguese must go the credit of discovering, for Europe and the new world, Africa's western coast line. Encouraged by Prince Henry, "The Navigator," traders sent their ships farther and farther south along the West Coast. By 1472 their ships had reached as far south as the Bight of Benin, and by 1482 they laid claim to most of the coast line.[44] Soon they established a trade with the natives. The Portuguese, however, were not to enjoy a monopoly in the lucrative trade of pepper, ivory, gold and slaves very long.

In 1553 the first Englishmen reached the Bight of Benin and the long connection with Nigeria was begun.[45] Again in 1588 and 1590 James Welsh of London made voyages to the area and brought the first palm oil to England.[46] Economic pressure caused by the rapidly increasing population of Europe gradually pushed more nations into

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43 Burns, op. cit., p. 62.
44 Ibid., p. 63; Nigerian Handbook, p. 4.
45 Burns, op. cit., p. 64.
46 Loc. cit.

Africa in search of her products.[47] By the turn of the century Portuguese, Dutch, Danes and English were all trading on the West Coast. The relations of these trading nations were not always peaceful. Forts and implements of war were built to protect the trading interests of each trading nation on the Coast.

Following the discovery of the new world and its opening up, there arose a new demand for slaves. Slavery had been carried on in a limited way by the Portuguese and Spanish since 1441 when the first African slaves reached Lisbon.[48] The nations already trading on the Coast saw an opportunity to enter this profitable business of providing slaves for the new world as well as continuing their existing trade.

French, Dutch, Danes, British, Swedes, Spaniards and Prussians joined in the traffic.[49] There followed a period of lawlessness and suffering which is one of the blackest in all history. "The cruelties practiced by white men in this trade are almost unbelievable."[50] The native rulers likewise joined the Europeans in the drives for slaves as long as they were well rewarded.[51] Most sections of the Coast suffered alike in the slave raids.

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47 Lugard, op. cit., p. 3.
48 Burns, op. cit., p. 63.
49 Ibid., p. 67; Shaw (Lady Lugard), op. cit., p. 333
50 Burns, op. cit., p. 67.
51 Ibid., p. 70.

> In 1771 sixty-three British ships took 23,301 from the Bight of Benin alone, the total export of slaves at that time was 74,000 a year of which British ships were responsible for 38,000; French for 20,000; Portuguese for 10,000; Dutch 4,000 and Danish for 2,000.[52]

From the beginning of the traffic, slavery received the sanction of both the church and government. Charters were granted companies with permission to operate and slave trade was looked upon as a legitimate business.

The Quakers were the first religious group to denounce slavery publicly in England and it was not until 1807 that any legislation was passed prohibiting slavery.[53] "Public opinion was slow in being aroused to a realization of the iniquity of the trade."[54] In 1802 Denmark declared slave trade illegal and in 1807 the British government prohibited the transportation of slaves on British ships or the landing of slaves on British soil. The terrible traffic continued in various parts of the country in a limited way for another century before it was entirely stamped out of Nigeria.[55]

The early part of the nineteenth century witnessed the efforts of European explorers to penetrate unknown Central Africa. The mystery of the Niger river lured

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52 Ibid., p. 69.
53 Ibid., p. 72.
54 Nigerian Handbook, p. 5.
55 Burns, op. cit., p. 73.

exploring parties. A desire to stamp out slavery stimulated religious groups. The need for African products sent all kinds of people to the shores of West Africa in search of trade. In 1788 an African Association[56] for scientific exploration was formed in Great Britain.

In 1795 Mungo Park, a Scottish physician, was sent by the Association for the purpose of exploring the course of the Niger river.[57] He traveled interior from Gambia and reached the Niger at Segeu.[58] His second journey ended fatally at Bussa in 1805.[59] Park believed the Niger and the Congo rivers were one.[60] Most of his party died of fever or perished in the rapids at Bussa.

In 1821 the British government sent another party composed of Major Dixson Denham, Captain Hugh Clapperton and Doctor Oudney, R.N.[61] They set out for the Niger territory from Tripoli. Much information was gathered by this party concerning Northern Nigeria. This information created widespread interest in England. Clapperton revisited the country again in 1825 entering at Badagry and died at Jungavie near Sokoto.[62]

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56 Name later changed to Royal Geographical Society.
57 Burns, op. cit., pp. 76f; Niven, A Short History of Nigeria, pp. 180f.
58 Shaw (Lady Lugard) op. cit., p. 341.
59 Burns, op. cit., p. 77.
60 Niven, op. cit., p. 183.
61 Burns, op. cit., p. 82; Niven, op. cit., pp. 187 ff.
62 Hogben, op. cit., p. 65.

Interest in Africa, after the death of Clapperton, waned in England; it was not until 1830 that Richard Lander, a traveling companion of Clapperton, persuaded the British government to send him and his brother, John, on a further exploration.[63] They entered from the coastal town of Badagry, penetrating as far north as the place of Park's death, Bussa. From Bussa they sailed down the Niger and eventually reached Brass, a town very near the sea, thus solving the mystery of the course of the Niger. This discovery proved useful both to commerce and missions.

When the news of the discovery reached England, Macgregor Laird[64] desired to put it to immediate use by establishing trade with the natives along the course of the Niger river. In 1832 a party entered the Niger Delta, but disease took a heavy toll of the party and Laird returned to England having accomplished very little. Exploration continued in the north and John Beecroft explored the lower Niger, Benin and Old Calabar sections.[65]

In 1841 the largest expedition to date entered the Niger, "empowered to make treaties with the chiefs for the stoppage of slave trade."[66] The idea was to establish

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63 Burns, op. cit., pp. 87, 88.
64 Ibid., pp. 89, 90.
65 Loc. cit.
66 Ibid., p. 91.

settlements along the Niger, encourage agriculture and introduce Christianity. James F. Schon and Samuel Crowther, of the Church Missionary Society, accompanied the expedition.[67] The expedition penetrated as far north as Lokoja, but had to withdraw with heavy loss of life, for again fever proved to be the great obstacle to be conquered. However, the expedition was not a total loss, for much information about languages and dialects was obtained for the future introduction of trade and Christianity.[68]

In 1850, nine years after the latter expedition, the British government sent another party to the Niger area led by James Richardson, Heinrich Barth and Adolf Overweg.[69] The party left Tripoli and penetrated as far south as the Benue river and gathered much information which has been preserved.[70]

Again in 1854, at the request of the British government, Macgregor Laird outfitted a ship, the "Pleiad", to confirm Barth's findings. However, of far greater

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67 Journals of Rev. James Frederick Schon and Mr. Samuel Crowther (London: Hatchard and Son, 1842), p. 4.
68 Ibid., pp. 8, 9.
69 Burns, op. cit., p. 92.
70 Barth published in 1857 a five volume work in English and German entitled, Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa.

importance than confirming Barth's findings was the fact that quinine was used for the first time in treatment of malaria fever on this expedition. It was found that by the use of quinine as a prophylaxis Europeans could live and trade in the Niger region.[71] Thus, another barrier to the introduction of trade and Christianity was forever removed. With the successful return of this expedition pioneer exploration of the Niger territory may be said to have closed.[72]

British interest in the Niger territory continued at a high level after early exploration. As a result of the pioneer efforts of Park, Denham, Clapperton, Lander, Barth and others the interior had become known and treaties had been made with numerous rulers. Trade had likewise been established along the internal water-ways. Since 1827 Great Britain had used the Island of Fernando Po "as a landing-place for rescued slaves and as a base for ships engaged . . . in the supression of slave-trade . . ."[73] British merchants trading in the Bights of Benin and Biafra requested Her Majesty's Government to locate a representative on the coast to regulate trade. This led to the appointment in 1849 of John Beecroft as the first consul for the Bights of Benin and Biafra.[74]

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71 Burns, op. cit., p. 94.
72 Loc. cit.
73 Ibid., p. 106.
74 Loc. cit.

By 1850 the town of Lagos had gained the reputation of being the biggest slave depot on the West Coast. A slave-raiding king by the name of Kosoko ruled it, having overthrown Akitoye, the rightful king.[75] In 1851 Lagos was taken by a British Naval force and Akitoye was restored as king. He signed a treaty to abolish the export of slaves and to encourage the work of missionaries, and a consul was appointed to Lagos for the protection of British interests.[76]

By 1853 Akitoye had died and his son Dosumu[77] was installed as king. Dosumu was a weak king unable to prevent the traffic in slaves. In 1861 he ceded Lagos to the British.[78] The natives were not well pleased with this annexation; neither were the merchants and missionaries. The next year, 1862, Lagos was created a Colony under its own Governor.[79]

From 1854 trade along the Niger and the Benue began to grow. Palm oil was taken out in such large quantities that the area soon gained the name of "Oil Rivers." In 1885 the Berlin Conference recognized the supremacy of British interests in this region and the

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75 Nigerian Handbook, p. 6.
76 Burns, op. cit., pp. 286, 287.
77 Sometimes spelled Docemo.
78 Burns, op. cit., p. 122.
79 Ibid., p. 123.

Oil River Protectorate came into being. By 1891 a system of government had been adopted, consuls and vice-consuls appointed to the various rivers, working under a commissioner at Old Calabar.[80] In 1893 the Protectorate was extended over the hinterland and renamed the Niger Coast Protectorate.[81]

While the British government was busy effecting its administration in the Oil Rivers, British trading companies were opening on the Niger. In 1879 these firms united and in 1881 took the name National African Company.[82] The company requested political sanction to be granted them, but this was not granted until 1886. The name of the company was changed to the Royal Niger Company, Chartered and Limited. By this charter the company acquired an equal position with any territory flying the British flag.

> The Royal Niger Company, Chartered and Limited, filled a great and responsible position in Nigeria from 1887 to the end of 1899, and the legend on the Company's flag, 'Ars, Pax, Jux' stood for achievement as well as for hope.[83]

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80 Ibid., p. 159.
81 Loc. cit.
82 W. Geary, Nigeria Under British Rule (London: 1927), pp. 170-176 cited by A. N. Cook, British Enterprise in Nigeria (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1943), p. 81.
83 Burns, op. cit., p. 158.

On January 1, 1900 the charter of the Royal Niger Company was revoked and all the companyes territories were transferred to the Crown. The name Protectorate of Northern Nigeria was given to the area. Sir Frederick Lugard was named the first High Commissioner. The government continued to be administered in this manner for fourteen years.[84]

In like manner, the name of Niger Coast Protectorate was changed the same year to Southern Nigeria Protectorate. By the turn of the century the whole of Yoruba country had been brought under control and attached as a Protectorate to the Colony of Lagos. In 1906 these two areas were united and designated the Colony and Protectorate of Southern Nigeria.[85]

The country was now rapidly being united into one great unit of government. The great event took place on January 1, 1914 and the country was named the Colony and Protectorate of Nigeria.[86] In 1922 a part of the ex-German territory of the Cameroons was placed under British administration.[87]

It was sixty-three years from the time the British

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84 Ibid., pp. 169f.
85 Ibid., pp. 195 ff.
86 Nigerian Handbook, p. 8.
87 Ibid., p. 38.

captured Lagos until they extended their rule over the whole of Nigeria. British interest, as has been seen, was motivated by a desire for products of Nigeria for British industry; a longing to suppress slavery; and a willingness to preach the Gospel.

Modern Nigeria is a land of contrasts. It has electricity, telephone, telegraph, radios, automobiles, trains and airplanes as well as tallow lamps, drums, jungle, medicine and all that goes with primitive African society. It is a land of Christian churches, Muhammahan mosques and pagan shrines. There are modern stores with attractive window displays and streets with open markets. Modern Nigeria has all the tradition and custom of primitive society in contrast with twentieth century inventions and living.

Its government is administered under a governor. The northern, eastern and western groups of provinces are each administered by a chief commissioner. Two systems of governing the native are practiced: first, direct rule by administrative officers, and second, indirect rule through the native chiefs and kings.

Nigeria's judicial system is administered by a system of courts. Native law and customs are observed and enforced among the natives so long as they are not incompatible with the natural principles of justice

and equity.

Currency has taken the place of cowries and manillas gradually, and since 1912 the West African Currency Board controls and supplies the currency.[88]

The markets of Nigeria are linked with the modern harbors by 1903 miles of railroads. Since 1905, 19,338 miles of motor roads have been built.[89]

In one century Britain has changed this land into the greatest of the Crown colonies. Explorer, scientist, trader and politican have had their part to play in the development of Nigeria. Christian missionaries labored side by side with all these groups. It is the writer's hope that this background material, closely related to the Christian history of Nigeria, will lead to a better interpretation of the expansion of Christianity in Nigeria.

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88 Burns, op. cit., p. 274.
89 Nigerian Handbook, pp. 100, 101.

CHAPTER II

EXPLORATION AND PIONEERING

(1842-1874)

As Portuguese explorers moved along the West Coast of Africa during the fifteenth century they were accompanied by Roman Catholic missionaries. These missionaries were the first to attempt the evangelization of the people of Nigeria. This advance into Nigeria was, however, but a part of the larger scheme of Henry the Navigator,[1] "to unite with the Christians of India against the Moslems and Pagans of that land and to spread the Christian faith."[2]

By 1482 the Portuguese had sufficient knowledge of the coast line to choose a place for development, Elmina on the Gold Coast.[3] In 1486 a Dominican expedition visited Benin without success.[4] Attempts to explore and evangelize the area continued and, according to Jarricus, in 1491 the King of Benin was baptized.[5]

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1 Henry H. Hart, Sea Road to the Indies (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1951), pp. 6 f.

2 K. S. Latourette, The History of the Expansion of Christianity (New York: Harper Brothers, 1939), III, p. 241.

3 Alan Burns, History of Nigeria (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1948), p. 63.

4 Jarricus, (Thesaurus rerum, indicarum), cited by Joseph Schmidlin, Catholic Missionary History (Techny: Mission Press, S. V. D., 1933), p. 242.

5 Loc. cit.

"Churches and monasteries were established, but such conversions as were effected do not appear to have proved lasting and after a while the efforts to spread the Faith in Benin were abandoned."[6] By 1650 all organized efforts to Christianize the people of the area ceased and a period of two hundred years elapsed before any further steps were taken. This time the way was led by evangelical bodies from Europe and the United States of America.

I. EARLY EVANGELICAL MISSIONS TO NIGERIAN SLAVES

Long before any actual missionary work on the soil of Nigeria, natives of this land who had been taken away as slaves were Christianized. This took place in two regions: Sierra Leone and Jamaica. During the sixteenth century the West Coast of Africa was the scene of much European slave trade. For over a century Portugal enjoyed a virtual monopoly of the trade; but her sea power was shattered during the period of her Spanish captivity, 1581-1640, and soon "all the Protestant nations of Europe swarmed to the West African coast to get their share of the trade."[7]

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6 Burns, op. cit., pp. 63-64.
7 Ibid., p. 66.

The freedom of slaves on British soil was secured in 1772; however, this did not stop slave trade between Africa and the colonies.[8] Granville Sharp, who was the leading figure in this achievement, saw the need of making some provision for those freed by this act. In 1786 he led in the establishment of a settlement of freedmen on the "very peninsula of Sierra Leone where Hawkins had kidnapped the first British slave-cargo."[9] Liberated Negro slaves and English farmers and artisans joined in the project. These were joined later by groups from Nova Scotia and Jamaica.[10]

In 1791 a company was formed "to introduce trade, industry and Christian knowledge" in Sierra Leone.[11] William Wilberforce, the British champion of the freedom of the Negro, was appointed director in the company. The little settlement passed through struggle and disaster, and in 1808 it was transferred to the administration of the Crown.[12]

The population of the settlement began to grow.

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8 Eugene Stock, editor, The History of the Church Missionary Society (London: Church Missionary Society, 1899), I, p. 46.

9 Ibid., p. 47.

10 G. G. Findlay and W. W. Holdsworth, The History of Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society (London: The Epworth Press, 1924), IV, pp. 74-75.

11 Stock, op. cit., I, p. 47.

12 Ibid., p. 94.

In 1807 William Wilberforce's Abolition Act became law and the British Navy was commissioned to enforce it. As ships carrying slaves were captured and brought to Sierra Leone, some two thousand freed slaves were added to the population annually.[13]

Among those brought during this period was a little Egba boy from Yorubaland, Adjai, the future Anglican Bishop of the Niger. Like many others, he had been torn from his native home, Oshogun, by slave raiders and sold to the Portuguese slave traders on the coast. He was crowded into a Portuguese ship bound for Cuba or Brazil. Fortunately, the ship on which Adjai was placed was captured by a British warship the second day at sea and all were taken to Sierra Leone.

In Sierra Leone Adjai came into contact with missionaries of the Church Missionary Society, entered school and later learned to know the only true God.[14]

By this time more than one hundred different African tribes were represented in Sierra Leone.[15] The concentration of West Africans in Sierra Leone presented a peculiar challenge to Christian missions. In 1804 the

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13 Phyllis Garlick, With the C. M. S. in West Africa (London: Church Missionary Society, 1935), p. 3.
14 Jesse Page, Samuel Crowther (London: Pickering and Inglis, n.d.), pp. 15-37.
15 Stock, op. cit., I, p. 94.

Church Missionary Society sent two missionaries to the north of Sierra Leone to start work among the Susu tribe on the Rio Pongas river. They were sent with the prayer "to make Western Africa the best remuneration in our power for its manifold wrongs."[16] In 1816, owing partly to a visit of Edward Bickersteth, the Church Missionary Society decided to concentrate its strength in Sierra Leone.[17] British Wesleyan Methodists likewise joined in the effort to preach the Gospel in Sierra Leone in 1811.[18]

The period that followed was characterized by progress in spite of heavy mortality among missionaries. Schools and churches were established; of special note was Fourah Bay College established in 1827 by C. L. F. Haensel.[19] The first name on the roll of students was that of Samuel Adjai Crowther, the first important link with Nigeria.[20] Other freedmen from the Bights of Benin and Biafra living in Sierra Leone likewise became Christians and received training through the mission schools.

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16 Stock, op. cit., I, p. 95.
17 Ibid., pp. 163-164.
18 Findlay and Holdsworth, op. cit., IV, p. 77.
19 Stock, op. cit., I, p. 451.
20 Page, op. cit., pp. 40-41.

In like manner the slaves from the West Coast of Africa, some of whom were from the Nigerian region on the Island of Jamaica, proved to be a challenge to Christian missions. By 1800 five societies were working in Jamaica among the slaves and natives.[21] In 1838 freedom was granted to all the slaves in the West Indies.[22] As in Sierra Leone, many of these freedmen became Christians and some received elementary education. Later these were to prove an important connecting link between the British missionary societies and Nigeria.

II. MISSIONARIES ENTER YORUBALAND

Prior to these contacts in Sierra Leone and Jamaica no contact had been made with the people of Nigeria by any evangelical mission. Little did the missionaries in Sierra Leone and Jamaica realize that they soon would be led by these freedmen to establish Christianity in the Niger area. It should be noted that the initial step to carry the gospel to Nigeria was taken by Africans.

Three particular areas were chosen by the mission societies in this initial period; first, Yorubaland,

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21 Hope Waddell, Twenty-nine Years in West Indies and Central Africa, (London: T. Nelson and Sons, 1863), pp. 23-25.

22 Donald M. McFarlan, Calabar (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1946), p. 4.

centering around Abeokuta, Lagos and Ibadan; second, Fernando Po and Calabar; and third, the interior along the banks of the Niger river. The Wesleyan Methodists and the Anglicans of the Church Missionary Society went to the first area, where they were joined by Southern Baptists; while Baptists of the Baptist Missionary Society of England and Presbyterians of the United Church of Scotland Mission settled in the second area. In addition to Yorubaland, the Church Missionary Society also pioneered the third region.

In 1838 a group of freedmen from Nigeria in Sierra Leone purchased a ship and traveled to Badagry and Lagos. It was a thrilling moment when they reached this area and recognized that it was the very place from which, years before, they had been shipped as slaves.[23] Here on the coast they learned that at Abeokuta King Shodeke had taken a stand against their enemy, the slave trader. Some ventured to Abeokuta to hear first-hand the happenings of their native land since they had been taken away as slaves. At length the group returned to Freetown. Eagerly the Nigerian ex-slaves in Sierra Leone listened to the news of their native land and

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23 George Townsend, Memoir of the Rev. Henry Townsend (London: Marshall Brothers, 1887), pp. 15-16; F. Deaville Walker, A Hundred Years in Nigeria (London: The Cargate Press, 1942), pp. 11, 12.

longed to return.

Between 1839 and 1842 some five hundred Yorubas left Sierra Leone and returned to Badagry and Lagos.[24] Most groups were ill-treated at Lagos, but upon reaching Abeokuta received kind treatment at the hands of King Shodeke.[25]

Some of those who returned to Yorubaland were Christians. In Badagry and Abeokuta there were no churches and Christian repatriates began to long for the church services of Sierra Leone. Urgent appeals were sent to their Anglican and Wesleyan Methodist friends in Sierra Leone for mission teachers.

Both Wesleyan Methodists and Anglicans responded in 1842. Four hundred miles from Abeokuta in the Gold Coast, was stationed Thomas Birch Freeman,[26] a mulatto who has been called "the greatest missionary Methodism ever sent to West Africa."[27] He was requested to answer the call of the Christians in Yorubaland. On September 23, 1842 he reached Badagry accompanied by William DeGraft and his wife, natives of the Gold Coast.[28]

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24 Walker, op. cit., pp. 13-14.
25 F. Deaville Walker, The Romance of the Black River (London: Church Missionary Society, 1930), p. 33.
26 Allen Birtwhistle, Thomas Birch Freeman (London: The Cargate Press, 1950), p. vii.
27 Walker, One Hundred Years in Nigeria, p. 18.
28 Birtwhistle, op. cit., p. 75.

Leaving the little ship on which they had come, they passed over the infamous slave trail where thousands of Africans had marched to board ships anchored off the coast.

The missionary party was welcomed by Chief Warraru and James Ferguson, a Christian from Sierra Leone living in Badagry.[29] Their first objective was obtaining accommodations until a house could be built from the timbers they had brought from the Gold Coast for this purpose.[30] After several days' labor a temporary house was erected which served as a residence and chapel. This arrangement did not last long, for in November, 1842 a party of freedmen arrived, many of whom were Christians, which made a larger chapel necessary.[31]

It was December before the permanent house in Badagry was completed, and Abeokuta had not been visited. Freeman sent a messenger to King Shodeke of Abeokuta, asking for permission to visit him. Shodeke's answer came in the form of a letter, the gift of a horse and fourteen men as escorts.[32] Amid cheering and much excitement, Freeman and the DeGrafts reached Abeokuta on December 11, 1842. King Shodeke gave them a truly

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29 Walker, op. cit., p. 21.
30 Loc. cit.
31 Ibid., p. 23.
32 Ibid., p. 24; Birtwhistle, op. cit., p. 77.

royal welcome. Services were held in the afternoon. During this visit Shodeke called the Muslims and the pagan leaders together and asked that they explain their religious beliefs. Freeman likewise was asked to explain Christianity, which he willingly did. The result of this first visit to Abeokuta by missionaries was very encouraging, for the city had opened its doors to the Christian message.

Upon Freeman's return to Badagry he met Henry Townsend, who had been sent by the C. M. S.[33] from Sierra Leone to answer the call of the Christians in Yorubaland. Townsend arrived in Badagry on December 17, 1842, while Freeman was in Abeokuta.[34] After a few days of fellowship the two pioneers parted. Freeman left Yorubaland to go to Whydah in Dahomey, leaving the DeGrafts and Townsend to proceed to Abeokuta. Townsend was received in Abeokuta in the same manner in which Freeman had been received. He did not tarry long in Abeokuta, but gained a knowledge of the city, secured a site for a mission, and returned to Badagry en route to Sierra Leone, where he carefully prepared his report for the Society in England.[35]

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33 The abbreviation C. M. S. will be used from this point for The Church Missionary Society.

34 Walker, The Romance of the Black River, p. 34; Stock, op. cit., p. 458; Townsend, op. cit., p. 24.

35 Townsend, op. cit., p. 41; Walker, The Romance of the Black River, p. 43.

III. EXPLORATION OF NIGER RIVER, FERNANDO PO AND CALABAR

While migrations of Yorubas from Sierra Leone were taking place, plans were being made by the British government to "utilize the newly-discovered Niger as a highway"[36] for government posts, trading stations and missions.[37] Agriculture and missions were to have a major place in the scheme. An agricultural association was organized by Thomas Fowell Buxton which was to supply the plow, while the C. M. S. was to provide the Bible.[38] J. F. Schon, a German missionary in Sierra Leone, and Samuel Adjai Crowther, the young ex-slave who had become a teacher, were chosen by the C. M. S. to accompany the expedition.[39] Great hopes were placed on the expedition of 1841, but alas, fever and death struck deadly blows and it ended without success.[40] Because of the heavy loss of life among Europeans due to the fever, the C. M. S. passed a resolution the next year calling for the training of natives of the Niger territories in

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36 Ibid., p. 16.

37 Journals of the Rev. James F. Schon and Mr. Samuel Crowther (London: Hatchard and Son, 1842), p. iv.

38 Stock, op. cit., I, p. 454.

39 Journals of James F. Schon and Samuel Crowther, p. iv.

40 Ibid., p. 225.

Sierra Leone, with the view of sending these as teachers when the way should be opened.[41]

A desire to share the Gospel with the people of their native land was also felt by Christian West African ex-slaves in Jamaica, but without backing or organization it was evident that their initial effort would not succeed.[42] However, in 1840 the Baptist Missionary Society passed the following resolution:

> That, in compliance with the representations of our brethren in Jamaica, and following what we apprehend to be the clear indication of providence, we determine, in reliance on the divine blessing, to commence a mission to West Africa.[43]

John Clarke, a British Baptist Missionary, and G. K. Prince, a physician, both from Jamaica, were chosen to explore the West Coast of Africa centering around the Niger Delta.[44] They reached Clarence, the principal town of the Island of Fernando Po, on January 1, 1841, more than a year before Freeman and the DeGrafts landed at Badagry.[45] By 1842 they had visited

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41 Walker, The Romance of the Black River, p. 30.
42 J. B. Myers, editor, The Centenary Volume of the Baptist Missionary Society (1792-1892), (London: Baptist Missionary Society, 1892) p. 156.
43 F. A. Cox, History of the Baptist Missionary Society (London: T. Ward and Company, 1842), p. 353.
44 Ibid., pp. 354-355.
45 Ibid., p. 357.

the mainland and at Clarence had baptized five persons and established a school of seventy pupils.[46] To this group goes the honor of being the first missionaries to respond to the challenge of the people of the Bights of Benin and Biafra. The society in England quickly responded to the message of these early pioneers by sending out Thomas Sturgeon and his wife, who arrived in the spring of 1842, six months before Freeman made his first visit to Badagry and Abeokuta.[47]

Clark and Prince left Fernando Po after a stay of fourteen months to give an account of their exploration to the annual meeting of the Baptist Missionary Society in London.[48] They did not reach London as expected but found themselves once more in Jamaica as a result of a storm that damaged the ship on which they were traveling. This unexpected visit roused the enthusiasm of the Jamaican Baptists and several persons offered to go to the new African field.

In England Clarke and Prince later told their story and in 1843 they were on their way back to

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46 E. B. Underhill, Alfred Saker (London: Alexander and Shepheard, 1884), pp. 10-11.
47 Cox, op. cit., pp. 379 ff.
48 Ibid., p. 372.

Fernando Po with four families, one of which was that of Alfred Saker.[49] The party divided for the return journey; Clarke and Saker went by Jamaica for the Africans who desired to return with them, while Prince led the other group directly to Fernando Po. When both groups arrived in Fernando Po in 1844 they received a hearty welcome and began immediately to introduce Christianity.[50]

In 1846 the British Baptists were followed by Scottish Presbyterians with their converts from their Jamaican Mission. These missionaries had recognized the possibility of Christian freedmen as valuable agents for the propagation of the gospel in West Africa. Upon their emancipation in 1838 these freed slaves spontaneously gave a "freedom's offering" to send the gospel to their own people in West Africa.[51] Requests for teachers had been received from the kings and chiefs of Old Calabar. Both the missionaries and the Jamaican Christians longed to send help, but they were discouraged by the Scottish Missionary Society in 1841. Three years later they formed a new missionary society with Hope M. Waddell as their first representative.[52] He proceeded to Scotland where

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49 Underhill, op. cit., p. 13.
50 Myers, op. cit., p. 158.
51 McFarlan, op. cit., p. 5.
52 Waddell, op. cit., p. 211.

he found the United Secession Church willing to support a mission to Old Calabar.[53] Members of various evangelical denominations also showed a willingness to support the proposed mission.

The British Baptists, who already had missionaries in the area, became disturbed about the new mission and, as Waddell relates, "sent a deputation to our mission committee, to remonstrate against our going thither."[54] The secretary of the Baptist Missionary Society thought their missionaries had already occupied Old Calabar, although Waddell was of a different opinion. It was finally agreed that if Baptists had occupied Old Calabar, the new mission would go elsewhere. Waddell proved his willingness to co-operate by taking out supplies for the Baptist missionaries.[55]

On January 6, 1846 Waddell's pioneer party, consisting of a printer, catechist, carpenter, teacher and one ex-slave, sailed in a mission-owned ship, the Warree, for Old Calabar.[56] They were glad to learn upon arrival that Old Calabar had not been occupied and that the way was, therefore, still open. Sturgeon,

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53 Ibid., p. 228.
54 Ibid., p. 229.
55 Waddell, op. cit., pp. 229 f.
56 Loc. cit.

the resident British Baptist missionary at Clarence, suggested a joint occupation of the station by the two missions.[57] It was finally agreed that, since the new mission of Waddell had received the initial invitation from King Eyamba to occupy Old Calabar, British Baptists should not lay any claim to this location.

The new mission led by Waddell lost no time in building a house on the site given them by the king. During the construction of the house the missionaries lived on board the mission ship. Like Freeman, the Wesleyan Methodist pioneer, they had brought with them materials for a house. Thus, the fourth missionary society moved into Nigeria.

IV. PIONEERING IN YORUBALAND

When the reports of Freeman and Townsend about Abeokuta reached the home committees of the Wesleyan Methodists and C. M. S., only the C. M. S. was able to respond.

The C. M. S. sent a large party of missionaries to Nigeria in 1845 led by Townsend. The party consisted of Henry Townsend and C. A. Gollmer and their wives; S. A. Crowther and his wife and two children; Marsh, a catechist, with his wife and two children; Phillips,

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57 Ibid., p. 240.

a school teacher; Mark Willoughby, an interpreter, with his wife and three children; four carpenters, three laborers and two servants.[58] When the party reached Badagry they found that it was impossible for them to proceed to Abeokuta because of tribal wars. Badagry was not their choice as a center for missions, but since the door to Abeokuta was closed they set themselves to the task of establishing a mission in Badagry, as the Wesleyan Methodists had done earlier. The mission in Badagry did not prove to be a lasting success, but it served as a point of contact with the home base.

After a delay of nine months in Badagry, the party finally reached its objective, Abeokuta. Upon their arrival Crowther stated their purpose to King Sugbua in the Yoruba language.[59] They were received joyfully and Walker remarks, "probably no pioneer missionaries ever received such a spontaneous and joyous welcome to a new mission field."[60] No trouble was encountered in obtaining a building site. The king willingly gave them ample room within the "royal township" and with this the work of the C. M. S. may be said

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58 Walker, The Romance of the Black River, p. 45; Townsend, op. cit., pp. 46, 47.
59 Walker, op. cit., p. 50.
60 Ibid., p. 52.

to have begun in Yorubaland.

Freeman anxiously watched from the Gold Coast the favorable response of the Egbas in Abeokuta to the C. M. S. mission. He longed for the Wesleyan Methodists to expand in strength to the area, but the home committee forbade him to do so. At last, in September, 1847, Freeman succeeded in sending an African catechist to Abeokuta.[61]

The mission of the C. M. S. from the start enjoyed unusual growth. Crowther's being a native of Yorubaland caused the work of the mission to be accepted by the people in a favorable way. He soon found his mother and other members of his family from which he had been torn in early childhood. His mother accepted Christianity and was baptized with the first group of converts on February 5, 1848.[62] The use of native Christians from Sierra Leone by the C. M. S. and Wesleyan Methodists proved to be a great advantage in the introduction of Christianity. The American Baptists had no African Christians with which to begin their work and were at a disadvantage.

During this early period much time was devoted to the work of translation of the Bible into Yoruba.

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61 Walker, A Hundred Years in Nigeria, p. 42.
62 Walker, The Romance of the Black River, p. 55.

Crowther translated a part of the New Testament. In 1864 the Yoruba Auxiliary of the British and Foreign Bible Society was founded.[63] Churches and schools were established in several parts of the town and Christianity began to be recognized as an important movement in the community. Although Christianity had received a warm welcome in Abeokuta, the early African Christians did not escape persecution.

The work of the C. M. S. was not confined to Abeokuta. Upon the arrival of David Hinderer the C. M. S. began to reach out beyond Abeokuta. In 1850 Hinderer settled at Osielle, a small village eight miles from Abeokuta.[64]

The Wesleyan Methodists and the C. M. S. were joined in 1850 by Thomas J. Bowen, a Southern Baptist, from the United States of America. This group of American Baptists[65] had been interested in Africa as a mission field since 1821, when Lott Carey a freedman

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63 Personal Correspondence of the Author, letter from I. Jackson, Assistant Secretary British and Foreign Bible Society, Sept. 10, 1947.

64 Seventeen Years in the Yoruba Country, Memorials of Anna Hinderer (London: The Religious Tract Society, 1872), p. 20; Walker, op. cit., p. 65.

65 In Nigeria the mission of the Foreign Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention is known as the American Baptist Mission. This name will be used in referring to the work of this body.

from Richmond, Virginia sailed for Liberia.[66]

Bowen's purpose was to reach the Sudan. After visiting Liberia and suffering the loss of his missionary colleague, Henry Goodale, he reached Badagry August 5, 1850 and thirteen days later Abeokuta. He was surprised to find a Christian community already in existence in Abeokuta. For several months he sought in vain to reach his objective, Igboho, but repeatedly he was turned back by unfriendly native rulers. He soon contented himself by settling down to learn the Yoruba language in Abeokuta, living with the missionaries of the C. M. S.[67]

Permission to visit several important Yoruba towns was gained after a year and a half. He visited Aberrekodo, Eruwa, Bi-olorun-pelu and Okeho, hoping to reach as far north as Shaki.[68] While Bowen was visiting these towns, King Kumi of Ijaiye sent him a message of special invitation to visit Ijaiye. Although somewhat displeased with having to defer his plan to reach Shaki, he turned aside to Ijaiye and received a warm welcome in what later became the first American

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66 H. A. Tupper, The Foreign Missions of the Southern Baptist Convention (Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Association, 1880), p. 227.

67 T. J. Bowen, Central Africa (Charleston: Southern Baptist Publication Society, 1857), pp. 92, 103, 131-132.

68 Ibid., pp. 152-169.

Baptist mission station.[69] He surveyed the possibilities of Ijaiye as a mission center and became convinced that this was the city in which American Baptists should begin. In 1852 he left his possessions with King Kumi and departed for the United States to arouse the interest of Baptists in this new mission.

While Bowen was at Ijaiye a great thing had happened on the coast. Kosoko, the slave trading king of Lagos, had been overthrown by the British, thus opening up Lagos, the natural gateway to the interior, for trade and missions.[70] The C. M. S. had immediately sent a catechist to occupy the newly opened center. Soon C. A. Gollmer, a member of the first large C. M. S. party, followed and "an important new mission station was thus opened in a key position."[71]

The Wesleyan Methodists likewise occupied Lagos and located Ebenezer A. Gardiner there in 1854. In the same year a Wesleyan Methodist committee from England visited Nigeria to survey the possibilities of the field. Following their visit to the field a great controversy arose in British Methodism which caused a decline in finance, and they were unable to launch a

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69 Bowen, op. cit., pp. 175-176.
70 See Chapter One p. 24.
71 Walker, The Romance of the Black River, p. 76.

program; rather, a retrenchment was ordered.[72] "Freeman, distressed beyond measure, felt that he could not lead a retreat, and he resigned after twenty years of magnificent service. The blame for this disaster lay with the Home Church."[73]

Abeokuta was the hub of Christian activity in Yorubaland. The C. M. S. adopted early the policy to build a strong well-staffed mission in Abeokuta that would minister to the surrounding territory. In 1851 David Hinderer visited Ibadan which later became the scene of his labors for seventeen years.[74] Otta, Ijaiye, Ishagga, Ketu, Ogbomosho and Oyo became outstations and Ife, the holy city of the Yorubas, was entered also.[75] A Christian newspaper, Iwe Irohin, was started in Abeokuta.[76] Cotton gins were sent to Abeokuta and two small industrial schools were established at Abeokuta and Lagos.[77]

The Wesleyan Methodist mission was strengthened in 1861 by the coming of Thomas Champness.[78] Heretofore the leadership of their converts had been in the

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72 Walker, A Hundred Years in Nigeria, p. 44.
73 Ibid., pp. 45-46.
74 Walker, The Romance of the Black River, p. 77; Seventeen Years in the Yoruba Country, pp. 20, 21, 51 ff.
75 Stock, op. cit., II, p. 118; Walker, op. cit., p. 83.
76 Stock, op. cit., II, p. 118; Walker, op. cit., pp. 82, 83.
77 Walker, op. cit., p. 82.
78 Walker, A Hundred Years in Nigeria, p. 49; Findlay and Holdsworth, op. cit., p. 225.

hands of African catechists and the coming of the first resident missionary marked a step forward for the slowly-expanding Wesleyan Methodists.

Champness brought new life to the mission as he sought expansion in the face of intertribal wars. Shortly after his arrival he heard of King Awujale of Ijebu Ode and his desire to see a missionary.[79] Champness immediately responded by a visit which led to the opening of a mission station at a later date.

In 1853 Bowen, the American Baptist pioneer, was back with his wife, two missionary families from America and some Negro Christians from Liberia to begin a Baptist mission in Yorubaland. Their plan was to build a chain of mission stations from Lagos to the interior, spreading out from these stations as centers.[80] Scarcely had the plan to open stations at Abeokuta, Lagos and Ijaiye been adopted when sickness and death left only Bowen and his wife to open Ijaiye.

During the next few years Bowen was joined by more missionaries from America and African Christians from Liberia. In 1855 Bowen went to Ogbomosho to begin a station destined to play a major part in the program

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79 Walker, op. cit., pp. 50-51.
80 Bowen, op. cit., p. 350.

of the American Baptist Mission.[81] In the same year J. W. Harden, a Negro, was transferred from Liberia to Lagos where he opened a station in the port city.[82] Two years later T. A. Reid opened a station at Oyo.[83] The cities of Ijaiye, Ogbomosho, Abeokuta, Oyo and Lagos became the centers from which the American Baptists began to branch out.

V. CONTINUED EXPLORATION ON THE NIGER AND IN NEIGHBORING AREAS

While missionaries were settling in Yorubaland, further exploration was taking place along the Niger river. Macgregor Laird believed that the great river was the key to the land and that the "Niger could and must be opened to the influence of Christian civilization."[84]

A small steamer, the Pleiad, was fitted out in 1854 for this purpose by Laird.[85] An essential part of the project was to introduce Christianity to the people along the river. Crowther and Simon Jonas, who had accompanied a similar expedition in 1841, were chosen

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81 Ibid., p. 182.
82 Loc. cit.
83 S. G. Pinnock, The Romance of Missions in Nigeria (Richmond: Foreign Mission Board S. B. C., 1917), p. 101.
84 Walker, The Romance of the Black River, p. 85.
85 Stock, op. cit., II, p. 120.

as members of the party. From the very start success seemed to be with the party. At Abo, Idda and Onitsha the people were ready to receive Christian teachers. A point two hundred and fifty miles north of any previous expedition on the Niger was reached without the loss of life.[86]

The successful return of the Pleiad removed the threat of discouragement and disapproval of a mission on the Niger. The C. M. S. was ready to respond to Crowther's plea to enter upon a mission on the river.

All along the banks of the river Crowther had found liberated Africans from Sierra Leone who could be used to begin the work.[87] The main problem confronting the society was transportation, for there were no regular steamers on the Niger. A steamer, the Dayspring, was provided jointly by the government and Laird. Crowther gathered a group of Africans and in 1857 departed to start the Niger Mission of the C. M. S.[88]

Great plans were drawn for the new mission. Teachers were to be stationed at important centers along the river as far north as Rabba, and Crowther hoped to visit the great northern city, Sokoto. The

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86 Walker, op. cit., p. 91.
87 Ibid., p. 93.
88 Stock, op. cit., II, pp. 121, 451.

noble plan was not completed, due in part to a shortage of workers, and in part to the wreck of the Dayspring at Jebba the same year of its departure. However, three stations were established at Onitsha, Gbede and Rabba.[89]

As a result of the wreck of the Dayspring the party returned by canoe to Rabba where they waited a year for relief. This time of waiting was not wasted but was used to examine the possibilities of Rabba as a mission center. Crowther became convinced that it was a good center since it was on the caravan route between Ilorin and Kano. From their remote station a messenger was sent overland to establish communications with the coast. Their provisions were soon exhausted, but they were replenished by Wm. H. Clarke of the American Baptist Mission, who was traveling in this area to discover the practicability of extending missionary operations in the direction of the Niger.[90]

The arrival of Clarke from Yorubaland proved to be the necessary incentive for Crowther to explore an overland route to the sea.[91] In the meantime the

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89 Stock, op. cit., II, pp. 451, 452.

90 Wm. H. Clarke, Travels and Explorations of Wm. H. Clarke, (unpublished manuscript, n.d.) pp. 212-214.

91 Walker, op. cit., p. 105.

long awaited relief arrived and Crowther traveled back down the Niger to Onitsha. He did not tarry long, but returned to Rabba by dug-out canoe to carry out his idea of an overland route to the sea. He believed a route through Yorubaland might prove to be a better way to reach the upper Niger rather than the long water route of the Niger. At length, passing through Ilorin, Ogbomosho and Abeokuta, Crowther reached Lagos. The land route thus became a second highway for missionaries to introduce Christianity into the very heart of the great country of Nigeria.

Further development of the Niger Mission was delayed for several years due to hostility of the natives and a disappearance of steamers occasioned by the death of Macgregor Laird, the leading figure in establishing trade along the Niger up to this time.[92] Preaching, teaching, and translating were the methods used by the workers of the Niger Mission. The practical was not overlooked, for Crowther established an industrial school for the purpose of gathering, cleaning and baling cotton for the English market.[93]

The question of a bishop for the Niger Mission faced the C. M. S.. Henry Venn, the society's secretary

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92 Stock, op. cit., II, p. 453.
93 Loc. cit.

for the African field, suggested that, since the "Niger Mission had begun as a purely African enterprise, pioneered, staffed, and directed by men of Negro race; let it continue so under the guidance of an African bishop, Crowther."[94] The European mortality in this area had been exceedingly high, so the society felt that African personnel was better suited for the task. On June 29, 1864 Crowther was consecrated the first African bishop, "Bishop of the Niger Territories."[95]

Soon after consecration Bishop Crowther returned to the Niger territories. Two cities, Bonny and Brass in the Niger Delta, requested the opening of a mission school.[96] A less promising place for a mission could not have been chosen, but no opportumity was lost to introduce Christianity. In both Bonny and Brass the people contributed financially to the support of the mission and Christian footholds were obtained.

The station near the confluence of the Benue and Niger rivers, Gbede, was destroyed in 1867 by tribal wars and the site of the mission was changed to Lokoja.[97]

As the years went by, Crowther experienced

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94 Walker, op. cit., p. 109.
95 Stock, op. cit., II, pp. 455, 456.
96 Ibid., pp. 460-464; Walker, op. cit., pp. 130-137.
97 Walker, op. cit., pp. 137, 138.

victories and sorrows as he confirmed converts, ordained African clergy, and exhorted the Christians to leave off heathenism. By 1875 baptized converts were in every station, but they were little removed from heathenism. Persecution broke out, stirred by "juju" priests in many places. Trading steamers came in increasing numbers bringing traders who complicated the Christian message by their unchristian acts. Christianity that had been planted so recently along the Niger was threatened.

Prior to the founding of the Niger Mission of the C. M. S. the Baptist Missionary Society in 1844 entered in force the scene of the exploration of Clarke and Prince at Fernando Po (cf. p.40). This site was chosen for two reasons: first, Fernando Po was a good base from which to reach the mainland, and second, partial protection could be obtained from the British warships that came to the island.

Alfred Saker began to look toward the mainland immediately after his arrival. He selected a site on the Cameroon river not far from Bimbia, which had been chosen as a tentative station by the earlier party.[98]

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98 Underhill, op. cit., pp. 29, 30; Myers, op. cit., p. 158.

Soon three stations were occupied: Clarence, Bimbia and Cameroons. Clarence, on Fernando Po, became the supply center for the other two stations on the mainland. During these early days much emphasis was placed on language study, and preparation and printing of the Scriptures and hymns in the Fernandian, Duala and Isubu languages.[99]

The work on the Island of Fernando Po came to a close in 1858. The island was a Spanish possession, but had been neglected by Spain and in 1827 an English settlement had been formed under the name of Clarence.[100] Later the Spanish returned and declared that the sole religion of the island should be that of the Roman Catholic Church. For a while some leniency was exercised, but by 1856 it was clear that the mission could not continue to operate on the island.

Alfred Saker believed that a site for a port city should be chosen on the mainland where the British government would develop a center for free trade and a refuge for the oppressed and the slave. After extensive exploration by Saker, the shore line of the Bay of Amboises was chosen and renamed Victoria.[101]

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99 Underhill, op. cit., pp. 33, 34, 47, 49.
100 Ibid., p. 80.
101 Ibid., pp. 80-96.

> Here Mr. Saker resolved to found a colony of African Pilgrim Fathers, where the true worship of God might freely and uninterruptedly be observed, the rights of conscience be secured from the intrusion of Romish intolerance, and a new pharos of spiritual light be erected for the illumination of the surrounding tribes.[102]

Within a year houses were erected and the little community entered joyfully into their new home in 1859. By 1862 eighty-two persons had settled at Victoria.

Additional stations of the mission were established at Hickory, A'qua, Bethel and Bell Town, all on the mainland, although Bimbia, one of the early stations, was closed in 1870. Efforts to reach further interior were continually made but the mission never did extend itself beyond the coast. Myers attributed the lack of expansion to the tribes in control of the trade in the area who refused them entrance.[103] To this must be added the retirement in 1876 of the great pioneer, Alfred Saker. Thomas Comber and George Grenfell, new recruits who arrived in 1875 and 1876, were especially prepared for exploration in the Cameroons. They explored the area to the north of Victoria where stations were opened later but the challenge of a new mission in the Congo drew them away from the Cameroon mission and their much-needed

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102 Ibid., p. 90.
103 Myers, op. cit., pp. 167, 168.

spirit of exploration was lost to the area.[104]

Calabar as well as Fernando Po experienced the presence of missionaries. Duke Town, Creek Town and Old Town were the scene of the labors of the first party of the missionaries of the Church of Scotland Mission. Here in these large and prosperous centers among the Efik people a school had been opened, a printing press established and worship services started.[105] This having been accomplished, a visit to Jamaica to report progress and obtain reinforcements was proposed by Waddell. In 1847 he returned with a second missionary party composed of Hugh Goldie, destined for many years in Nigeria, Newhall, Hamilton and several Jamaican Christians.[106]

The work of the mission during these early days in Calabar was designed to reform the heathen practices of the Efiks. They were a depraved people characterized by slavery, concubinage, human sacrifice, killing of twins, substitutionary punishment for capital crime, magic and witchcraft.[107] During the intertribal wars

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104 Loc. cit.

105 Waddell, op. cit., p. 280; McFarlan, op. cit., p. 32.

106 Waddell, op. cit., p. 298; McFarlan, op. cit. p. 32.

107 Waddell, op. cit., pp. 445 ff; McFarlan, op. cit., pp. 18-27; Hugh Goldie, Calabar and Its Mission (Edinburgh: Oliphant Anderson and Ferrier, 1890), p. 128.

they had been driven from their original habitat to Calabar where they obtained control of the exports, especially palm oil. A hatred for the people of the interior developed among the Efiks which led to acts of revenge that shut off any possibility of trade along the coast except by payment of heavy tribute to the Efiks. In later years this proved to be an obstacle in the advance of missionaries into the interior.

In 1847 the Calabar mission was adopted by the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland and a more regular organization was adopted for carrying on the work of the mission.[108]

The Creek Town station made the most progress of the three original centers. In this town, by 1850, legislation against human sacrifice, substitutionary punishment for capital crime and Sunday markets had been passed by the natives through the influence of missionaries on their kings and chiefs.[109] Of all the heathen practices, killing of twins seemed to be the most difficult to destroy. King Eyo of Creek Town responded to the teaching of the missionaries and gave his support to all these reforms.

The need of medical treatment was seen at once

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108 McFarlan, op. cit., pp. 35, 36.

109 Waddell, op. cit., p. 439; Goldie, op. cit., pp. 140 ff.

by the mission. Waddell began a dispensary at Creek Town for the treatment of minor ailments. He was often helped by surgeons from the ships that frequently called at Calabar and Fernando Po.[110] In 1855 Waddell was joined by the first medical missionary, Doctor Hewan. Vaccination for smallpox was introduced during this early period.[111] The following health rules were taught; "use no native medicine, employ no native doctor, drink no rum, pray to Jesus for a blessing, and praise Him for recovery."[112] Waddell's continuous stay in Creek Town removed the fear of the harmattan that had driven all Europeans from the rivers during the months of December to March, thus proving that Europeans could live at Calabar the year round.[113]

From 1847 to 1851 the missionaries earnestly sought to explore the rivers. The chiefs of Calabar kept a constant watch over the advance of the missionaries with an eye of disapproval. By 1856 enough knowledge had been gained to choose a permanent interior station. The opening of the first of the new stations, Ikonetu, broke much of the prejudice and custom that had hedged Calabar so long. Hugh Goldie and his wife along

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110 Waddell, op. cit., p. 453.
111 McFarland, op. cit., pp. 39, 49.
112 Loc. cit.
113 McFarlan, op. cit., p. 42.

with Euphemia Johnston occupied the new station. Soon another station was opened, Ikorofiong.[114]

In October, 1853 the first convert was baptized, Esien Esien Ukpobio, who became the first teacher and first native minister of the mission.[115] By 1859 the work had grown so that there was a need for a presbytery, which was constituted September 1, 1859.[116] Trained African ministers were needed in these new stations. A class for African ministers was started by Alexander Robb, who had arrived in 1856 to revise the existing translations of the Scriptures and to translate the Old Testament into Efik.[117]

By the early 1870's five principal stations, fifteen outstations and twelve day schools had been established.[118] During the same period the missionary staff had dwindled until the African Christians were carrying fully half of the work.[119] Many young active missionaries had been lost by death. These losses caused a crisis in the mission. As this first period of mission endeavor in Calabar came to a close, Calabar sorely needed missionaries.[120]

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114 Goldie, op. cit., p. 225.
115 Ibid., pp. 166, 167.
116 Ibid., p. 195.
117 Goldie, op. cit., p. 192; McFarlan, op. cit., p. 51.
118 McFarlan, op. cit., p. 69.
119 Loc. cit.
120 Loc. cit.

VI. WAR, PERSECUTION AND WITHDRAWAL

Yorubaland enjoyed a comparatively peaceful period between 1849 and 1860. The work of all mission societies in the area gave evidence that exploration and pioneering had been received favorably by the native people. In 1861 Lagos came under the British flag. Most of the missionaries and merchants welcomed British rule, which brought the suppression of the slave trade and the establishment of well-ordered government, but considerable opposition and criticism came from various groups due to loss of prestige and influence.

Prior to the raising of the British flag at Lagos war broke out between various branches of the Yoruba nation. The Egbas and Ijebus were enjoying exclusive trade with European merchants in Lagos and wished to keep it all in their hands, thus cutting off Ibadan and all other northern towns.[121] This dispute led to war between these groups because of the selfish economic position held by the Egbas and Ijebus. Among the missionaries there were divided opinions as to who was right in the conflict.[122] Some Africans felt that the missionaries were involved in the conflict. The

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121 Burns, History of Nigeria, pp. 127 ff.
122 Stock, op. cit., II, p. 435.

war was not aimed directly against the Christians or missionaries, but it caused much misery to all mission societies. David Hinderer and his wife, C. M. S. missionaries, were shut up in Ibadan for five years.[123]

All the while the Yoruba war continued, Abeokuta and her allies were subject to repeated attacks by the Dahomian army. In 1862 Ishagga was destroyed by the Dahomians and Ijaiye by the Ibadans. Several Christians were murdered and some sold into slavery at Ishagga.[124] When Ijaiye was destroyed the first American Baptist station was destroyed. E. Roper, a missionary of the C. M. S. in Ijaiye, was taken as a prisoner to Ibadan where Hinderer obtained his release.[125]

Some of the refugees from Ijaiye fled to Abeokuta and settled there, forming the Ijaiye quarter of that town. The American Baptists continued their work with the Ijaiye people here.[126] Among those who fled were a number of Yoruba boys who had been taken into the homes of the Baptist missionaries. In later years some of these boys became leading native Baptist preachers,

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123 Seventeen Years in the Yoruba Country, pp. 210 ff; Stock, op. cit., II, p. 435.
124 Stock, op. cit., II, p. 436.
125 Loc. cit.
126 Louis M. Duval, Baptist Missions in Nigeria (Richmond: Foreign Mission Board of the S. B. C., 1928), p. 92.

namely, Moses L. Stone, L. O. Fadipe and Lajide Tubi.[127] The industrial work of the American Baptists was also continued in Abeokuta under the direction of J. C. Vaughan, a colored man from Liberia, who came under the employment of the American Baptists.[128]

At length the Dahomians proposed an all-out effort to destroy totally their age-long enemy, Abeokuta, putting "white and black Christians alike to the sword."[129] The acting governor of Lagos, Captain Glover, issued an order for all Europeans to leave Abeokuta. The missionaries refused to leave, preferring to remain with their converts. Glover thereupon ordered a blockade of Abeokuta, forbidding any form of assistance to the Egbas against the Dahomians. This unwise act aroused much ill-feeling toward the British.

When accounts of the imminent danger of the missionaries reached England, many British Christians responded to the call of the C. M. S. to prayer for the Christians and missionaries in Abeokuta. The result of the Dahomian campaign was the amazing retreat of the whole army when only seven miles from the city.

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127 Duval, op. cit., p. 93.
128 Loc. cit; The Yoruba Baptist Association Year Book, 1915, p. 60.
129 Stock, op. cit., II, p. 436.

G. F. Buhler wrote:

> I consider the retreat of the Dahomians as one of the greatest victories the Church of God has obtained by prayer. The King of Dahomey has not come into this city, nor has he shot an arrow here . . . by the way that he came, by that same way has he returned. There is great rejoicing among all people, and many heathen acknowledge that it is the arm of the Lord.[130]

The following year the Dahomians came again but were turned back after heavy fighting.

Prejudice and ill-feeling continued between the British authorities and the Egbas. Townsend of the C. M. S. tried to lead in the adjustment of the difference, but was not able to do so. The position of the missionaries of all three societies Wesleyan Methodists, C. M. S. and American Baptists became most difficult. It was suggested by some of the agitators that the missionaries were betraying the Egbas into the hands of their enemies.[131]

The Egba chiefs on Sunday, October 13, 1867 issued a statement forbidding any sort of public Christian worship. The missionaries tried to reason with the chiefs but it was of no use, for they were determined to expell them. Persecution and destruction of the churches and mission property followed. Finally the chiefs ordered

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130 Walker, The Romance of the Black River, p. 120.
131 Ibid., p. 121.

all the missionaries to leave Abeokuta and, but for the fine personal conduct of the missionaries, great loss of life would have resulted.[132] Missionaries were not permitted in any part of the interior after this expulsion. Hinderer was the last to leave from Ibadan in 1869.[133]

The missionaries believed that they soon would be granted permission to return, but it was not until 1873 that any European missionary was able to return to the once friendly city of Abeokuta. However, Christianity was not driven out, even though buildings were destroyed. The Christians continued to worship in their homes under the leadership of African pastors.

Lagos became the center of missionary activity in Yorubaland. Following the exodus of the missionaries from Abeokuta many African Christians came to Lagos and joined with the Christians there, forming a sizeable Christian community. American Baptists waited in Lagos for an opportunity to return to Abeokuta, but the health of their missionaries caused them to withdraw from the field. There was no American

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132 Stock, op. cit., II, pp. 441, 442; Walker, The Romance of the Black River, pp. 121, 122; Walker, A Hundred Years in Nigeria, pp. 58-63; Duval, op. cit., pp. 94-95.

133 Stock, op. cit., III, p. 381; Seventeen Years in Yoruba Country, pp. 209 ff.

Baptist missionary in Nigeria from 1869 to 1875.[134]

During the next few years the expansion of Christianity moved steadily forward in the flourishing city of Lagos. The main institutions at Abeokuta were reestablished in Lagos. Strong churches with considerable financial strength grew up within the city. Those of the C. M. S. relieved the society of much support of the schools. The organization of a native pastorate was started in 1870 and the following year four Yoruba clergymen received Anglican ordination.[135]

The American Baptists had not taken a great deal of interest in Lagos, hence, when they had to withdraw their numbers were small. The responsibility of the work during their absence fell upon a colored woman, Mrs. Sara Harden, wife of the founder of the church at Lagos, with the assistance of Joseph Rhodes, a Wesleyan Methodist.[136]

By the close of 1874 Lagos was the strongest Christian center in the whole country. Missionaries of the C. M. S. and Wesleyan Methodists were living there, waiting with eagerness any opportunity to penetrate

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134 Duval, op. cit., p. 95; Pinnock, op. cit., p. 102.

135 Stock, op. cit., II, p. 445.

136 Pinnock, op. cit., p. 103.

the interior; but bitterness continued between the Egbas and the British. The expansion of Christianity reached a standstill. Lagos, with its sixty thousand people, was a challenge, but the missionaries longed to penetrate the interior. These days proved valuable in later years, for the Lagos churches became the pattern for the whole of Yorubaland. When the door to the interior of Yorubaland opened, Christianity entered a new phase of its expansion.

During this first period exploration and pioneering were not all completed. Christianity entered the country and made its impression in three particular areas; namely, Yorubaland in the southwest, the Calabar region in the southeast with the adjacent Island of Fernando Po, and interior along the banks of the Niger river. This early expansion followed the lines of contact received through missionaries in Sierra Leone and Jamaica. The spread, in a large measure, was determined by the physical geography of the country.

There were five mission societies that had undertaken to plant Christianity in the hearts and lives of the people by 1874; the Anglicans of the C. M. S., the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, the American Baptist Mission, the Church of Scotland Mission and the Baptist Missionary Society. The Anglicans, located

in Yorubaland and along the banks of the Niger, had been the most successful, winning a following of over five thousand.[137] The Wesleyan Methodists, also located in Yorubaland, had been slower in establishing stations and had less than two thousand followers.[138] American Baptists, the last to reach the Yoruba field, numbered a little less than one hundred.[139]

In southeastern Nigeria the Church of Scotland Mission had located at Calabar and the Baptist Missionary Society at Fernando Po and later on the mainland opposite the island. These two latter societies obtained a following although not as large as that of the Anglicans or Wesleyan Methodists.

After a little over three decades in Nigeria, the Christian forces were encamped along the coast line and waterways ready for a quarter of a century of reoccupation and the laying of permanent foundations for the growth of evangelical Christianity.

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137 Stock, op. cit., II, p. 445.
138 Walker, A Hundred Years in Nigeria, p. 67.
139 Yoruba Baptist Association Year Book, 1915. p. 71.

STATISTICS FOR 1874*

	Communicant Members	Total Christian Community
C.M.S.	400	5000
Wesleyan Methodists	250	2000
American Baptists	75	200
Church of Scotland	100	500
Baptist Missionary Society	75	300
TOTALS	900	8000

*The statistics for 1874 are the personal estimate of the author based on materials listed in the bibliography as no statistics were found by the author for this period.

CHAPTER III

REOCCUPATION AND LAYING PERMANENT FOUNDATIONS

(1875-1899)

The last quarter of the nineteenth century forms a definite period in the expansion of evangelical Christianity in Nigeria. During the latter part of the 1860's all white missionaries were driven out of interior Yorubaland. From this time until the middle of the 1870's the door remained closed to European and American missionaries. When the missionaries were again permitted to reoccupy interior Yorubaland evangelical Christianity entered a new era of expansion.

The reoccupation of interior Yorubaland was gradual. The C. M. S., Wesleyan Methodists and American Baptists who labored here during the period of exploration and pioneering retraced their steps to the interior and continued throughout this period. The work at old stations was renewed and a good part of the untouched areas of Yorubaland was brought into contact with the missionaries. The foundations for several leading institutions and churches were laid during this period.

All along the Niger river increased means of transportation and the arrival of much-needed recruits were signs of the new era in mission expansion. The

C. M. S. continued its work on the Niger river in spite of grave problems arising out of administration and personnel. The United Church of Scotland Mission continued, laying permanent foundations for a mission at Calabar. During this period the Baptist Missionary Society of England withdrew from the field never to return.

Toward the close of the period five additional societies entered the field: the Qua Iboe Mission, the Primitive Methodist Missionary Society, the Sudan Interior Mission, Basle Mission and the German Baptist Mission. The Qua Iboe Mission located along the Qua Iboe river a hundred miles west of Calabar. The Primitive Methodists likewise located near Calabar on the Aqua Effey river. The Sudan Interior Mission attempted to enter the interior north of Yorubaland. The Basle Mission and German Baptist Mission located in the Cameroons and took over the work of the Baptist Missionary Society after their withdrawal. A group of evangelists, known as the "Joyful News Evangelists," came to Nigeria and worked with the Wesleyan Methodists.

I. REOCCUPATION OF YORUBALAND

The expulsion of the missionaries from interior Yorubaland did not blot out all the influence of Christianity upon the people who so recently had become

Christians. In Abeokuta, although the Christians were forbidden the use of the church buildings, they forsook not the assemblying together for worship. The Christians in the rival cities of Abeokuta and Ibadan were reported to have exchanged tokens of good will, saying,

> However great misunderstandings may be among the heathen of Abeokuta and Ibadan, let unity and peace be among us Christians of the two rival cities, for we are followers of the Prince of Peace.[1]

In other towns like Oyo and Ogbomosho, where so recently work had been started before the expulsion, the work was practically destroyed and had to be started anew.[2]

During these years the missionaries and African pastors in Lagos tried to keep in contact with the Christians from whom they were separated. Communications were difficult to maintain, but they grew easier as bitterness between the Egbas and the British died down. After two years a renewal of the former relationship no longer seemed impossible. In 1869 the Wesleyan Methodists believed it was time to re-enter Abeokuta, since a new king had been elected who showed signs of friendship.[3]

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1 F. Deaville Walker, The Romance of the Black River (London: Church Missionary Society, 1930), p. 123.

2 Louis M. Duval, Baptist Missions in Nigeria (Richmond: Foreign Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention, 1928), p. 94.

3 F. Deaville Walker, A Hundred Years in Nigeria (London: The Cargate Press, 1942), p. 64.

An experienced African, Thomas Marshall, was chosen, rather than a European missionary for the task. Marshall received a cordial welcome at Abeokuta and was given the privilege to resume work in the town. He found that worship had not been neglected, but the Christians had grown lax in their Christianity. The response was encouraging for Walker reports, "members awakened to new spiritual life, heathen people began again to respond to the call of Christ."[4]

Townsend, a missionary of the C. M. S., returned from a furlough in England in 1870.[5] He learned that the new king of Abeokuta desired his return to Abeokuta, his former field of service. In May, 1871 Townsend attempted to reach Abeokuta, but when he had traveled as far as Isheri he found the way blocked, so he was forced to return to Lagos.[6]

In 1873 the king of Abeokuta did give consent for two European missionaries of the Wesleyan Methodist Society to visit Abeokuta, John Milum and William Jones.[7] They received a warm welcome by the chiefs and Christians. Their visit was brief, but it did much toward ironing out ill-feeling toward the white missionaries.

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4 Loc. cit.
5 George Townsend, Memoir of the Rev. Henry Townsend (London: Marshall Brothers, 1887), p. 111.
6 Ibid., p. 113.
7 Walker, A Hundred Years in Nigeria, p. 65.

White missionaries again visited Abeokuta in January, 1875. This time the Townsends were successful in reaching their former station.[8] They arrived two months before the last Dahomian attack on the Egba capital. During the siege the missionaries encouraged and ministered to the Egba defenders. When the Dahomians were driven off the Townsends traveled back to Lagos after a stay of only a few months in Abeokuta.

Slow indeed was the process of re-entering interior Yorubaland. W. J. David and W. W. Colley, a colored man, arrived in Lagos October 14, 1875 to renew the efforts of American Baptists in Yorubaland.[9] The following year David visited Abeokuta and wrote, "I reached Abbeokuta, . . . July 15th and was cordially received by the King and Elders. I found there sixteen of our members."[10] Like his predecessors he did not tarry long in Abeokuta. He likewise visited Ogbomosho, a former American Baptist station, where he found only one Baptized Christian and twelve or fifteen others who were interested.[11] Before the close

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8 Eugene Stock, The History of the Church Missionary Society (London: Church Missionary Society, 1899), III, p. 83; Townsend, op. cit., p. 125.

9 H. A. Tupper, The Foreign Missions of the Southern Baptist Convention (Richmond: Foreign Mission Board of S. B. C., 1880), p. 428.

10 Ibid., p. 429.

11 Ibid., p. 434.

of the year, 1877, he was able to complete mission houses at both Abeokuta and Ogbomosho.[12] Two new out-stations between Lagos and Abeokuta were opened at Gaun and Hausser Farm.[13]

Several attempts were made to re-enter Ibadan, the largest city in Yorubaland. In 1876 Aaron E. Franklin, an African preacher of the Wesleyan Methodist Society, made several attempts to locate there. After repeated efforts to enter the city and much waiting he abandoned the idea.[14]

In 1877 James Johnson, an African preacher of the C. M. S., was sent to Abeokuta to be the superintendent of its Interior Mission.[15] He threw himself whole-heartedly into the work. Faithfully he protested against domestic slavery as practiced among the Christians. He also urged the Egba Christians to reach a high degree in self-support. In 1880 V. Faulkner went to Abeokuta to fill the place vacated by James Johnson. This marked the return of the first C. M. S. missionary to Abeokuta since the expulsion thirteen years before.[16]

During the days of reoccupation the C. M. S. opened a new station at Ode Ondo, northeast of Lagos in Yoruba--

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12 Ibid., p. 436.
13 Ibid., pp. 23, 629-630.
14 Walker, A Hundred Years in Nigeria, p. 79.
15 Stock, op. cit., III, pp. 82, 381.
16 Ibid., III, p. 381.

land. In 1876 Charles Phillips, an African preacher, was stationed there and began work in the new center.[17]

By the close of the decade all three societies were well on their way to reoccupying their former stations. For the most part African pastors were used to reoccupy the stations and, as the way opened, Europeans followed. This was particularly true of the C. M. S. and Wesleyan Methodists.

II. GREAT ACHIEVEMENTS IN LAYING PERMANENT FOUNDATIONS IN YORUBALAND

Although total reoccupation was not complete, by 1880 the expansion of Christianity showed signs of further development in some sections.

Lagos, by this time, had become a permanently established base from which various attempts mentioned in the first section of this chapter had been made to re-enter the interior. This had come as a result of the years of labor by missionaries when they were denied entrance into the interior.

The Wesleyan Methodist Mission had experienced remarkable growth in Lagos. In March, 1878 the Lagos Boys' High School was opened. The school under Principal

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17 Ibid., III, pp. 82, 382.

W. Terry Coppin "soon established itself and became a tower of strength to the Church and the community generally."[18] The following year a high school for girls was opened in Lagos.[19] Four churches had been established in Lagos with good congregations. This growth called for a change in organization and in 1878 the Yoruba and Popo Districts became a separate District with John Milum as its first chairman.[20]

The C. M. S., since the arrival of Gollmer in 1851, had considered Lagos a key station. When the missionaries had been driven out of Abeokuta, Lagos had become their headquarters and strong churches and schools had grown up. Important sites along the "Marina" facing the Lagoon and at strategic places throughout the city were chosen for future development.

The C. M. S. Mission in Lagos and the interior up to this time had been a part of the Diocese of Sierra Leone. During Bishop Cheetham's episcopate, 1870 to 1882, the Native Church in Lagos was gradually organized after the Sierra Leone Plan.[21] Parishes were designated,

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18 Walker, A Hundred Years in Nigeria, p. 67.
19 Ibid., p. 68.
20 G. G. Findlay and W. W. Holdsworth, The History of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society (London: The Epworth Press, 1922), IV, p. 202.
21 Stock, op. cit., III, pp. 101, 416, 417.

each with its native pastor who was to be supported by native church funds. All the churches participated in the new plan except Christ Church, Faji.

During the late 1870's and early 1880's the old C. M. S. pioneers, Townsend, Hinderer and Gollmer passed on and the leadership fell upon new shoulders. Several young men were sent out to the Yoruba mission, but none served very long.[22] During this time a new policy of employing single ladies went into effect and the mission profited greatly by this new policy, especially the girls' school in Lagos.[23]

When David and Colley renewed the efforts of American Baptists in 1875 they found forty-five Baptists in Lagos.[24] Soon these, with others who were baptized in the meantime, were organized into a church and in eight months the membership doubled.

In 1878 the Foreign Mission Board of the Colored Baptist State Convention of Virginia sent Solomon Cosby to Lagos.[25] He used the church building of the American Baptists while their lone representative moved to Abeokuta.[26] Cosby labored in Nigeria until his death

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22 Stock, op. cit., III, p. 380.
23 Ibid., pp. 381, 383.
24 Tupper, op. cit., p. 429.
25 Ibid., p. 438.
26 Loc. cit.

in 1881.[27] Efforts were made to secure the co-operation of colored Baptists in all the southern states in the prosecution of the mission, but the effort did not prove successful.[28]

A mission residence was built in Lagos in 1881 and David wrote, "Building our splendid mission-house last year . . . has lifted us out of the dust of obscurity and brought us into the respect of the civilized, as well as the uncivilized citizens of the colony."[29]

Much-needed recruits arrived at this time; P. A. Eubank in 1881 and in 1883 C. E. Smith, S. M. Cook and W. W. Harvey.[30] In 1885 David returned from furlough with materials for a new church building in Lagos which was a credit to the work of American Baptists.[31] In November of the same year an academy for higher education was opened in Lagos.[32]

In 1888 there arose a dispute in the Lagos Baptist Church, involving also the academy. The problem led to the resignation of three of the leading Baptists in Lagos,

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27 H. A. Tupper, A Decade of Foreign Missions 1880-1890 (Richmond: Foreign Mission Board of the S. B. C., 1891), p. 217.
28 Ibid., pp. 120, 121, 169, 170.
29 Ibid., p. 215.
30 Ibid., p. 878.
31 Ibid., p. 387.
32 Ibid., p. 879.

S. M. Harden, Majola Agbebi and M. L. Stone. All the members of the church except eight withdrew and formed an independent "Native Baptist Church" which was named "Ebenezer."[33] The movement was not entirely local, but spread to the Baptist work in Ogbomosho and to churches connected with other societies.[34]

In 1891 another independent church was formed, "The United Native African Church." This was not a secession from one society or church, but rather from several different churches in Lagos. The purpose of the group in the establishment of the church was to establish a native African church free from foreign control.[35]

The leaders in the organization were W. E. Cole, John O. George and G. A. William. The first public service was conducted in Phoenix Hall, Lagos. Branches were opened at Ilaro and Ijebu in 1892 and Ebute Metta in 1893.[36] The group was fairly orthodox doctrinally.

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33 Tupper, op. cit., p. 629; S. G. Pinnock, The Romance of Missions in Nigeria (Richmond: Foreign Mission Board of S. B. C., 1917), pp. 107-108.

34 Louis M. Duval, Baptist Missions in Nigeria (Richmond: Foreign Mission Board of S. B. C., 1928), p. 118.

35 J. Lowry Maxwell, Nigeria, The Land, the People, and Christian Progress (London: World Dominion Press, 1929), pp. 83-84; P. A. Talbot, The Peoples of Southern Nigeria (London: Oxford University Press, 1926), IV, p. 118.

36 Talbot, op. cit., IV, p. 118.

They developed along the lines of the Anglican church, having bishops, surpliced choirs and Prayer Books.[37]

Interior Yorubaland showed signs of development, although much slower than in Lagos. Stations occupied by African preachers were visited and missionaries located there. During the first period Abeokuta had been the center of Christian activity in Yorubaland, but after reoccupation it never again gained that prominence.

In 1887 the District Chairman of Wesleyan Methodist Mission, J. T. F. Halligey, attempted to locate J. Dawson Sutcliffe in Abeokuta.[38] Rumors of a connection with Dahomey reached Abeokuta before the missionaries did and upon their arrival they were assailed by a mob and their goods stolen. They were forced to stand trial, but fortunately the Abeokuta Christians and the civil chiefs came to their aid. The next year Halligey returned at the invitation of the King and received a royal welcome.[39]

The American Baptists sought to strengthen their work in the Ijaiye section of Abeokuta, but a shortage

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37 Personal correspondence of the Author, letter from Geoffrey Parrinder, Department of Religious Studies, University College, Ibadan, March 22, 1951.
38 Walker, A Hundred Years in Nigeria, p. 87.
39 Loc. cit.

of missionaries caused many changes and finally in 1889 Abeokuta was again without American Baptist missionaries.

The important cities of Ibadan, Oyo and Ogbomosho where work had been formerly established likewise developed. No longer were these cities lonely outposts, but the scene of vigorous missionary activity. The Wesleyan Methodists and C. M. S. occupied Ibadan. On the outskirts of this city the C. M. S. established three stations while the Wesleyan Methodists chose to work at the crowded market places.[40]

At Oyo, thirty miles north of Ibadan, all three pioneer societies had missionaries by 1890. American Baptists had formerly occupied Oyo, but were forced to leave in 1864 and did not return until 1890.[41] The Wesleyan Methodist work had been started by T. E. Williams, an African, who was followed in 1890 by Albert C. Matthews, a European.[42] The C. M. S. moved their training institution for catechists and school teachers from Lagos to Oyo in 1887.[43]

Ogbomosho was the scene of the early labors of

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40 Ibid., p. 102.
41 Tupper, Foreign Missions of the S. B. C., p. 422.
42 Walker, A Hundred Years in Nigeria, p. 104.
43 Outline Histories of C. M. S. (London: Church Missionary Society, 1905), I, p. 35.

the American Baptist missionaries, but like many other stations African preachers occupied the station in the years of reoccupation. In 1885 C. E. Smith visited the city and shortly settled there.[44] The C. M. S. converts in Ibadan showed an interest in teaching the people of Ogbomosho and for several years carried on the C. M. S. work.[45] Wesleyan Methodists placed a catechist in Ogbomosho in 1888.[46]

Iseyin, thirty miles northeast of Oyo, had been visited heretofore by missionaries but none had settled there. In 1888 Halligey, a Wesleyan Methodist, visited the city and stationed an African catechist there.[47]

Closely related to the work of the Wesleyan Methodists was the work of a group of evangelists known as the "Joyful News Evangelists". Thomas Champness, a Wesleyan Methodist missionary in Yorubaland from 1861 to 1864, upon his return to England began theological classes for men who had not been able to secure them in their youth. He issued a paper called Joyful News. Champness believed in a simple and inexpensive method of missionary service and sought men in his classes to

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44 Duval, op. cit., p. 112.
45 Outline Histories of C. M. S., I, p. 35.
46 Walker, op. cit., p. 89.
47 Loc. cit.

carry out his ideas.[48] Between 1888 and 1900 he sent five evangelists to Yorubaland who worked with the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society.[49]

The years 1890 to 1899 do not form a distinct period in the history of the expansion of Christianity in Nigeria, but they are years of great achievement in laying permanent foundations.

New fields within Yorubaland were entered by the Wesleyan Methodists and C. M. S. The Lagos Native Churches of both societies led in missions to the Ijebu country. In the beginning they were extensions of the Lagos churches supported by the Africans, but later the societies came to their aid. Wesleyan Methodists established centers at Shagamu, Ikorodu and Iperu, and the C. M. S. at Ijebu Ode.[50]

Another part of Yorubaland, the Ijesha country northeast of Ibadan, was occupied by the Wesleyan Methodists and C. M. S. in 1898.[51] Several men from the main Ijesha city, Ilesha, came in contact with Christianity in Lagos where they were living to escape the dangers of

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48 Findley and Holdsworth, op. cit., IV, p. 225.
49 Walker, op. cit., p. 95.
50 Stock, op. cit., III, pp. 727-728; Walker, The Romance of the Black River, p. 172; Walker, A Hundred Years in Nigeria, pp. 95-102.
51 Walker, A Hundred Years in Nigeria, pp. 108-112.

slavery.[52] One of the group in due time was elected to be the king of Ilesha. He declared his intention to follow some of the traditions and customs of the office, but others he refused to participate in. This proved to be a great help in the introduction of Christianity in Ilesha.

When the African preachers arrived, the king provided a house for them and a place in his palace for public worship. When the time came to build a church building, he called upon the people to help in the construction. At his death there were no pagan rites, but rather a Christian funeral was conducted by African preachers of the Wesleyan Methodist and Anglican churches.[53]

During this decade there were ecclesiastical changes within the C. M, S. that led to definite progress in the work of the society throughout Nigeria. The Lagos-Yoruba mission from the beginning had been under the jurisdiction of the bishop in Sierra Leone. Under this plan Yorubaland had virtually an absentee bishop. The Niger Mission of the C. M. S. had been ministered to by Bishop Crowther. Upon his death in 1891 it seemed wise to unite all the C. M. S. work in Nigeria under one

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52 Walker, op. cit., p. 109.
53 Ibid., p. 116.

bishop. Thereupon the two sections of the work were united into one diocese and it was given the name, The Diocese of Western Equatorial Africa. Joseph S. Hill was elected to be the new bishop over the diocese.[54]

The Archbishop in England suggested that Hill go immediately to Nigeria to refresh his knowledge of the country, (for he had done one term of service in Nigeria) and to survey the problems. While in Nigeria Hill chose two experienced African preachers, Isaac Oluwole and Charles Phillips, to be his assistants in the new bishopric. Upon their return to England all three were consecrated on June 29, 1893.[55]

The party which sailed with the new bishop was a large one, twelve new missionaries. Scarcely had they reached their destination in December, 1893 when Bishop Hill and his wife both died. Hill and his wife were followed by others until a total of six new missionaries were struck with the tragic swiftness of yellow fever.[56] The year 1894 was called the "black year" for missions in Nigeria for not only the C. M. S. suffered losses, but also the other societies.[57]

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54 Walker, The Romance of the Black River, p. 164.
55 Walker, op. cit., p. 165.
56 Stock, op. cit., III, pp. 398-399.
57 Pinnock, op. cit., p. 124.

This tragedy called for the immediate action of the C. M. S. in the appointment of replacements. Two months after the death of Bishop Hill, Herbert Tugwell was chosen to fill the vacancy. After receiving consecration he turned his face toward the tremendous task. Bishop Bardsley said to a group in Exeter Hall, "some of you may ask, 'might not the men who have given their lives in Africa have done longer and more useful service in our home parishes? Wherefore this waste?' Brethren, let us not take up words from the mouth of Judas Iscariot."[58]

Bishop Tugwell set himself to the former plan of the society, with Bishop Oluwole and Bishop Phillips as his assistants. Oluwole was placed in charge of the Lagos, Abeokuta and Ijebu districts, and Phillips the northern part of Yorubaland with Ode Ondo as a center. This arrangement set Tugwell free to visit the Niger district and to have the general oversight of all the C. M. S. work in Nigeria.[59]

Throughout Yorubaland the work of the C. M. S. prospered. In 1895 the jubilee of the mission was celebrated in Abeokuta.[60] A new church building was

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58 Walker, The Romance of the Black River, p. 167.
59 Ibid., p. 169.
60 Stock, op. cit., III, p. 728.

started there in 1898 as a memorial to the work of Henry Townsend and J. B. Wood.[61] In the same year another church building was started in Ibadan as a memorial to David and Anna Hinderer.[62] The training institution in Oyo, known as Saint Andrews College, began to turn out more teachers and preachers.

During these days of progress there was a great curse upon the people, the liquor traffic.[63] Reports indicated that some four million gallons were imported into the country every year.[64] A great many natives of Yorubaland, pagan, Muslim and Christian were in favor of a strong temperance policy. In 1895 several meetings were held at Abeokuta, Lagos and Ibadan to arouse the interest of the people against the traffic. Resolutions were adopted at most of these meetings. In Abeokuta a document two hundred and fifty feet long having 8,207 signatures or marks was adopted and sent to England.[65] This had its effect in the checking of this terrible state.

American Baptists prospered during these years

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61 Loc. cit.
62 Loc. cit.
63 Ibid., III, p. 725.
64 Loc. cit.
65 Stock, op. cit., III, p. 726.

as well as the C. M. S. They had been strengthened by the arrival of two missionary parties in 1884 and in 1889. In 1891 S. G. Pinnock, a Joyful News Evangelist, became a Baptist and was appointed a regular missionary of the American Baptist Mission.[66]

A theological class was started in 1897 by C. E. Smith in Ogbomosho.[67] The same year Smith called together the African Baptist brethren for a "conference of prayer and mutual counsel."[68] A second conference was held in 1899 and from these conferences grew the indigenous movement among the adherents of the American Baptist Mission.[69]

Thus, permanent foundations for the future growth and expansion of evangelical Christianity were laid in Yorubaland.

III. DEVELOPMENTS ALONG THE NIGER RIVER

The C. M. S. was the first society to open stations along the banks of the Niger river.[70] Since their beginning in 1857 Crowther had pioneered and directed the work. In 1879 John Milum, superintendent of the Wesleyan Methodists asked this question, "Why

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66 Pinnock, op. cit., pp. 35-36.
67 Ibid., pp. 143 f.
68 Yoruba Baptist Association Year Book, 1915, p. 2.
69 Loc. cit.
70 See Chapter II, pp. 53-55.

should not Methodism take its share in this great enterprise?"[71]

Milum that same year led to the Niger a party composed of a catechist, W. Allakwra Sharpe, and an African preacher, T. E. Williams.[72] They visited the delta cities of Bonny, New Calabar and Opobo. Passing on through the delta region they came to Akassa where the party obtained passage on a river steamer that was going up the Niger river. As they passed up the main stream of the Niger they visited the stations of the C. M. S. at Onitsha and Lokoja. The steamer continued, reaching Egga, an important trading station of the lower Niger.[73]

Milum hoped to open a chain of stations from Lagos to the Niger. Egga was the first link in the chain. They found that work had already been started here by an African Methodist named George. He was employed in one of the factories and had gathered the workers in the factory and taught them the catechism. It was decided that W. Allakwra Sharpe, the catechist, should remain here and continue the work begun by George.[74]

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71 Walker, A Hundred Years in Nigeria, p. 71.
72 Findlay and Holdsworth, op. cit., IV, p. 222.
73 Walker, op. cit., p. 72.
74 Ibid., p. 73.

The original plan of the party was to return by way of Ilorin, Ibadan and Abeokuta, but wars were raging in that part of the country at this time. Since they must pass along the banks of the Niger, a visit to obtain the good-will of the king of Bida who controlled this area was thought wise. After a profitable visit in Bida the decision to press on in spite of war was reached. They passed through Shonga, Share, and reached the large city of Ilorin. Here their plan had to be abandoned and they retraced their steps to the Niger, and from thence by river steamer to Lagos. Milum requested funds for a follow-up, but again expansion was prohibited because of lack of funds.[75]

By 1875 the stations of the C. M. S. on the Niger were quite numerous. They needed oversight, but traveling by dugout canoe or waiting for an occasional river steamer was not a satisfactory means of travel. It became evident that Crowther needed a steamer to travel quickly from station to station. In 1878 friends in England provided a paddle steamer which was named the Henry Venn.[76] The next year a journey one hundred and forty-miles beyond the expedition of 1854 was reached in the Henry Venn.[77]

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75 Ibid., pp. 74 ff.
76 Stock, op. cit., III, p. 83.
77 Walker, The Romance of the Black River, p. 147; Stock, op. cit., III, pp. 384-385.

During the 1880's the Niger mission of the C. M. S. passed through a difficult period filled with trouble and problems. At Onitsha, fearless Africans fired upon a trading steamer and the incident was followed by attacks on British subjects. The matter was settled only after drastic steps were taken by the British. The people were given ample warning and the city was bombarded by a British warship. A large part of the town was destroyed, including the mission and church.[78] After the destruction of Onitsha the mission was transferred to Asaba on the opposite side of the river and a new beginning was made.[79]

A laxity in discipline and slackness in the practice of Christianity crept into the mission. Catechists and teachers had little training for their tasks and the immensity of the area kept the aging bishop from giving sufficient oversight to the diocese. To stem this tide, an English layman was appointed to take charge of the secularities and two African archdeacons to aid Bishop Crowther. One of the archdeacons was Crowther's own son, Dandeson C. Crowther. He was placed in charge of the delta and the other archdeacon, Henry Johnson, the stations north of Onitsha to Lokoja.[80]

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78 Walker, op. cit., p. 148.
79 Loc. cit.
80 Stock, op. cit., III, p. 384.

The delta work showed progress, but unfavorable reports continued to come from the stations up-river. A committee was appointed with J. B. Wood as secretary with authority "to bring his long missionary experience to bear upon the actual missionary work."[81] Wood's unfavorable report of the mission led to a conference at the Madeira Islands called by E. Hutchinson, lay secretary of the C. M. S. Bishop Crowther, his son the archdeacon, two African preachers, J. B. Wood and Ashcroft were invited to attend. Wood was the only one who did not attend.[82]

The committee found that the evils on the river were underrated.[83] They proposed as a remedy "the appointment of an English clergyman who should not merely pay visits . . . but actually live on the Niger, and be the Bishop's friend and counsellor."[84] Thomas Phillips was chosen for the task. He was ordained by Bishop Crowther and this was the first ordination of an Englishman by an African.[85] Phillips remained only nine months on the Niger. James Hamilton took his place and for a few years the Niger Mission went on quietly.[86]

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81 Ibid., III, p. 385.
82 Loc. cit.
83 Loc. cit.
84 Ibid., III, p. 386.
85 Loc. cit.
86 Ibid., III, p. 387.

In 1883 the C. M. S. attempted to open medical work at their most northern station on the Niger, Lokoja. Percy Brown, a physician, was sent out to begin the work. He died before reaching Lokoja and the medical project was abandoned.[87] Another European was appointed in 1887 as secretary of the Niger Mission. John Alfred Robinson, a Cambridge scholar, was chosen for the task. Two lay missionaries were sent to assist him, G. F. Packer, an architect, and C. T. Kelsey, an engineer, who made great use of the new stern-wheeler which had arrived in 1883.[88]

Since 1875, at the meeting of the Muslim Conference of the C. M. S., the society had been interested in Hausaland. General Lake urged the C. M. S. to attempt evangelization of these Muslims who were being neglected by all mission agencies.[89]

In 1888 Graham W. Brooke, who had been stirred by General Gordon to reach the heart of Muslim Africa, visited the Niger.[90] Upon his return to England he told the C. M. S. of his plan to go up the Niger as an independent missionary to the Hausa nation, working in close connection with the C. M. S. Mission. For a year

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87 Loc. cit.
88 Ibid., III, p. 389.
89 Ibid., III, p. 117.
90 Ibid., III, p. 362.

he and a companion surveyed the area and returned desiring to join the C. M. S. and form a C. M. S. Sudan Mission. John A. Robinson, the secretary of the Niger Mission, also volunteered for the new mission and the proposals were accepted by the society.[91] C. F. Harford-Battersby and Eric Lewis were also appointed for the new mission.

This first mission to the Hausa nation adopted unique methods. They proposed to adopt native dress, and native food and to live in native huts. Their plan was to become as much like the Hausas as possible. No protection of the British government was desired. They wanted to be able to say to the Hausa convert in danger, "you and I are both in equal peril: nothing will be done for me that would not be done for you; if you have to suffer for Christ, so have I."[92] If they were imprisoned or even killed, they wanted no interference or reparation to be made in their behalf.[93] They completely abjured their rights as British subjects.

This new mission, however, caused some changes in organization on the Niger. All the stations north of Lokoja became a part of the new mission. The stations between Onitsha and Lokoja and the delta became a

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91 Ibid., III, p. 389.
92 Ibid., III, p. 390.
93 Loc. cit.

separate mission. New English missionaries, F. N. Eden, H. H. Dobinson and P. A. Bennett were appointed, and Archdeacon Crowther continued as heretofore in the delta. Both missions were under the episcopal superintendency of Bishop Crowther.[94]

Great hopes were placed on the Hausa mission and the change in organization on the lower Niger. After a great meeting in January, 1890 in Exeter Hall, in which Bishop Crowther was the principal speaker, the missionaries for the mission and those for the lower Niger sailed together for Nigeria.[95]

The Hausa mission led by Brooke and Robinson located in the upper Niger at Lokoja where they began a work of correction in the Lokoja church. Scarcely had the work started when Robinson died June 25, 1891.[96] Brooke and his companions carried on in spite of much sickness. One by one the party had to return to England until Brooke was alone. On March 5, 1892 Brooke died. Harford-Battersby returned for a short time and finally he withdrew.[97]

The interest in Hausaland did not pass with the

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94 Ibid., III, p. 391.
95 Walker, The Romance of the Black River, p. 169.
96 Stock, op. cit., III, p. 394.
97 Loc. cit.

passing of the first party. After the death of J. A. Robinson an association was formed in England in his memory to further the study of the Hausa language. The first task was to prepare a dictionary and begin the translation of the Scriptures. C. H. Robinson, a brother of J. A. Robinson, was sent to Nigeria to begin this work. He visited as far north as Keffi and "was the first Christian to reach Kano with a missionary purpose in view, though he did not himself go as a missionary."[98]

These efforts were followed by visits of Bishop Tugwell to Bida and Keffi in 1895 and 1896.[99] To the east of Lokoja in the Bassa country Tugwell journeyed and in 1897 stationed J. L. Macintyre and E. F. Wilson-Hill the first missionaries.[100] The same year Tugwell and L. Nott visited Loko on the Benue and Keffi and upon their return from that journey sent requests to open up the great north.[101]

On the lower Niger the reorganization of the mission was a work of pruning and purification. At Onitsha the work was at a low ebb and virtually had to be started afresh. Schools for boys and girls were

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98 Walker, op. cit., p. 177.
99 Stock, op. cit., III, pp. 726, 727.
100 Ibid., III, p. 728.
101 Walker, op. cit., p. 178.

reorganized and a printing press was put to work. In the delta the work had not declined as had that of Onitsha, but showed signs of promise.[102]

At a meeting of the new committee for the lower Niger in Onitsha, serious division arose between the English and African representatives over policy and personnel.[103] An inquiry into the matter was made by the society whose report and decisions, while defending Bishop Crowther and his clergy, called for higher standards in character and efficiency.[104]

In July, 1891 Bishop Crowther suffered a paralytic stroke which caused his removal from the Niger to Lagos where he died December 31, 1891. Thus ended the life of one of Africa's most remarkable Christians. From slavery to the founder of a new mission!

> He lived in an atmosphere of suspicion and scandal, yet no tongue, however malicious, of white or black man, ventured to whisper reproach against his personal reputation. If it must be allowed that he was an Eli in exercising discipline too lightly, he was an Eli, too, in simplicity and sincerity of character.[105]

After Bishop Crowther's death the Niger mission

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102 Ibid., p. 161.
103 Stock, op. cit., III, p. 392.
104 Ibid., III, p. 393.
105 Ibid., III, pp. 396-397.

was united with the Lagos-Yoruba mission under one bishop.

The same year of Bishop Crowther's death Bonny and its outstations, under Archdeacon Crowther, declared their independence and formed the "Delta Pastorate."[106] They raised funds for the support of the church helped by Lagos sympathizers and never again looked to the society for financial help.

The new church continued to recognize the bishop in spite of a strong desire for self-government. After a visit in 1895 by James Johnson and Bishop Tugwell, the secretary of the C. M. S. wrote asking if Archdeacon Crowther and the clergy would like to be put again on the list of the society's missionaries although independent financially. They accepted the invitation of the society and returned to the C. M. S.[107]

The society spent the last few years of the century regaining the confidence of the churches. Racial feelings that had arisen were replaced by congenial co-operation between the European and African workers. A new period was dawning on the Niger for the C. M. S.

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106 Ibid., III, p. 397.
107 Ibid., III, p. 730.

IV. PROGRESS AND WITHDRAWAL IN CALABAR AND AREA

During the closing years of the pioneer period the Church of Scotland Mission lost many of its missionaries. For a decade the secretary of the mission pled for missionaries to fill the gaps in the personnel of the Calabar Mission. In response to this plea, four young men, R. M. Beedie, Thomas W. Campbell, Alexander Morton and Alexander Cruickshank were appointed and sent out.[108] Also in 1876 a young woman, Mary Mitchell Slessor, who was to become one of Christianity's heroines in West Africa, arrived in Calabar.[109]

New areas were crying out for missionaries, but there were not enough missionaries to meet the needs at the established bases. Visits to the outstations continued, but the work among the up-river people could never be developed until missionaries were sent there to live. Finally, in 1877 the presbytery felt that at all cost missionaries should be sent to the interior. They proposed to send Thomas W. Campbell, followed the next year by James D. Swan, but the mission board in Scotland would not agree.[110]

In the latter part of the 1870's a difference of

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108 Donald M. McFarlan, Calabar (London: Thomas Nelson & Sons, Ltd, 1946), p. 69.

109 Ibid., p. 70; W. P. Livingston, Mary Slessor, the White Queen (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1938), p. 23.

110 McFarlan, op. cit., p. 74.

opinion arose over the administration of the work at Duke Town. A. Ross had been left in charge while Anderson was on furlough. The dispute was of such a nature that an investigation was made by the presbytery and a special committee from Scotland. It was thought best that Ross should be recalled, but he refused.[111]

Instead of retiring from Calabar, Ross opened an independent mission very near the Church of Scotland Mission and much bitterness followed. The minds of the Africans were confused and the progress of Christianity in Calabar retarded.[112] After the death of Ross the work was carried on by a young man from the Grattan Guinness Institute in London, much to the disfavor of the Church of Scotland Mission.[113]

In spite of the schism progress continued as more new missionaries were added to the staff. In 1882 Hopetoun Gillies Clerk and Ezekiel Wright Jerrett of Jamaica arrived in Calabar. They were followed by John Morison, Carl Ludwig and his wife, and three ladies, Misses McPhun, Hogg and Mrs. Lyall.[114] The coming of

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111 Hugh Goldie, Calabar and Its Mission (Edinburgh, Oliphant Anderson and Ferrier, 1890), pp. 247-248.

112 Loc. cit.

113 J. Du Plessis, The Evangelization of Pagan Africa (Cape Town: J. C. Juta, 1929), p. 154.

114 McFarlan, op. cit., p. 75.

these recruits filled some of the vacancies in the base. In 1884 an up-river station was opened at Idotana. Gradually other stations were opened at Unwana and Emuramura.[115]

Carl Ludwig and his wife became dissatisfied with the slow advance of the mission in their up-river stations and resigned. The area to the north of Unwana had attracted their attention so with the financial help of friends they occupied this area. At the end of three years Ludwig died and the independent project came to an end.[116]

Several new missionaries were added to the mission during the 1880's. In 1892 another group arrived, Ebenezer Deas, J. W. McKenzie and Friedrick A. W. Fischer, a physician. Fischer's arrival made it possible to open a medical station up-river but after only two years he had to withdraw because of ill health.[117]

Outstanding work among the native women was done by Mesdames Goldie, Edgerley, Anderson and Euphemia and Mary Johnson.[118] Into their homes unwanted twins and orphans were brought and cared for. These children were

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115 Ibid., pp. 77, 79.
116 Ibid., p. 82.
117 Ibid., p. 87.
118 Ibid., pp. 91-92.

taught and some became mission leaders.

The most remarkable woman in the Calabar Mission was Mary Slessor. Although unconventional in her habits of life and methods of missions she acquired an extraordinary influence over the people with whom she worked.[119] She attacked the social evils of slavery, murder of twins and debauchery of womanhood. In 1892 Miss Slessor was appointed vice-consul over the people with whom she worked, a position much questioned by the mission presbytery, but well cared for by the lady missionary.[120]

In 1879 Edgerley had suggested that the mission start an industrial school, but it was not until 1892, after a stirring letter written by Mary Slessor, that the matter was considered in a favorable light. Robert Laws and W. Risk Thomson of Jamaica came out to start the new school which was named the Hope Waddell Training Institution in honor of the founder of the Calabar Mission. A school for girls was also planned, which was later moved from Calabar to Creek Town and was known as the Girls' Institute.[121]

Thus, during this quarter of a century, the Calabar Mission was strengthened at the bases and permanent

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119 Livingston, op. cit., pp. 23-35.
120 Ibid., op. cit., p. 61; McFarlan, op. cit., p. 100.
121 McFarlan, op. cit., p. 102.

foundations were laid up the Cross River for mission stations.

To the southeast of Calabar on the shores of the Cameroon estuary lay the stations of the Baptist Missionary Society of England. After thirty-two years of pioneering the great founder of the mission, Alfred Saker, retired leaving the work to younger missionaries. Two of these young missionaries, Thomas J. Comber and George Grenfell, joined the Society's new mission to the Congo and became the pioneers in that land.[122] During the latter part of the 1870's and early 1880's the mission advanced steadily at several stations amid frequent interruptions.

In 1884 political changes in the Cameroons altered the whole course of the Baptist Missionary Society on the West Coast. Several attempts had been made prior to this to get the British to establish a protectorate over this area, but Britain had shown little interest in the Cameroons other than the appointment of consuls.[123] In 1882 instructions were given to the consul in the area to visit the Cameroons and obtain

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122 John B. Myers, editor, The Centenary Volume of the Baptist Missionary Society (1792-1892) (London: Baptist Missionary Society, 1892), p. 168.

123 Alan Burns, History of Nigeria (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1948), p. 140.

information relative to annexation. The matter was dealt with very slowly, and finally when they did decide to move in the Germans had raised their flag over Duala four days before the arrival of the British.[124] A short while later the British town of Victoria, founded by Alfred Saker, fell into the hands of the Germans.[125]

The Baptist Missionary Society itself was in a most difficult situation. English was no longer permitted in the schools, but rather the language of the rulers, German. After much consideration the society felt that the work should be transferred to some evangelical German missionary society. A Swiss mission society called the Basle Mission had work up the coast and after a period of negotiation the stations were handed over to this mission society. All the missionaries of the Baptist Missionary Society withdrew and the work of the society came to a close in the Cameroons.[126]

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124 M. L. Leuschner and others, Call of the Cameroons, (Cleveland: Roger Williams Press, 1949), p. 11

125 Myers, op. cit., p. 166.

126 Loc. cit.; P. Steiner, Kamerun als Kolonie und Missionsfeld (Basel, Verlag der Basler Buchhandlung, 1909), pp. 54-58; Harry R. Rudin, Germans in the Cameroons (1884-1914) (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1938), pp. 361-362. The work of the Basle Mission in the German Cameroons does not lie within the scope of this thesis. The churches of the Baptist Missionary Society that were within the British Mandated territory of the Cameroons for the most part declared their independence or were cared for by the German Baptists.

At Buguma, a trading center on the New Calabar river several miles from the sea, the people had come in contact with Christianity through visits by Bishop Crowther. The C. M. S. had a station at Abonema and passed through Buguma often. A carpenter named Wilson from Sierra Leone also helped to introduce Christianity.[127]

During the latter part of the 1880's William Hughes, a Baptist missionary of the African Institute, Colwyn Bay, North Wales, came to Buguma.[128] He proposed to open a school to teach boys to make guns, and hatchets and to saw lumber. The chief gave him a site for the school across the river and he began work immediately. Hughes not only opened an industrial school but also an elementary school. He was active in evangelistic work. After two years he returned and E. S. Schole, a native of Jamaica, came to take his place.[129]

As yet the converts at Buguma were not organized into churches. Hughes saw that he could not continue, so he wrote Majola Agbebi of the Native Baptist Church, Lagos requesting that he look after the Christians. Agbebi accepted the invitation and soon Baptist churches

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127 George Green, Notes On Bush Treking (unpublished manuscript, n.d.), (pages not numbered).
128 Duval, op. cit., p. 131; Green, op. cit., (pages not numbered).
129 Duval, op. cit., pp. 131, 132.

were formed. These later were organized by Agbebi into the Niger Delta Baptist Mission of which he became the director.[130]

This work at Buguma was independent of the American Baptist Mission with which Agbebi had been formerly connected; however, there was co-operation between the two groups. Agbebi took two young men, W. A. Amakiri and K. John-Bull to Lagos for training. These two men came into touch with American Baptist Missionaries and later attended the Baptist Seminary. In later years the American Baptist missionaries visited the area from time to time, but the general oversight remained in the hands of the Africans.[131]

V. OTHER MISSIONARY SOCIETIES CAME TO NIGERIA

During this period four additional missionary societies entered the field. Of these four societies three located in the southeastern part of Nigeria: The Qua Iboe Mission, Primitive Methodist Missionary Society and Baptist Cameroons Missionary Society of Germany. The other group attempted to enter Northern Nigeria. This group later was organized into the Sudan Interior Mission.

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130 Green, op. cit., (pages not numbered).
131 Duval, op. cit., p. 137.

The first of these societies to enter the field was the Qua Iboe Mission. In 1886 several people of the Ibuno tribe, who lived to the west of Calabar on the Qua Iboe river, visited Calabar for trading purposes.[132] While here they had their first contact with Christianity. Upon their return to their homes a trader opened some classes for their instruction. These classes were called "God palavers."[133]

It soon became evident to them that a missionary would be able to teach them better, so they expressed their desire to have a missionary in a letter to missionary Foster of the Church of Scotland Mission in Calabar. He transmitted the letter to Grattan Guinness of Harley College, London. During a breakfast hour in 1887 at the college the letter was read and Samuel A. Bill offered to go in response to the request.[134] By September, 1887 he was ready for departure and arrived in Calabar October 6, 1887.[135]

Before Bill reached Calabar a young woman working with Bishop Taylor's mission came to Calabar with the idea of settling on the Qua Iboe river among the Ibuno

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132 Robert L. M'Keown, In the Land of the Oil Rivers (London: Marshall Brothers, 1902), p. 60.

133 Loc. cit.

134 Robert L. M'Keown, Twenty-five Years in Qua Iboe (London: Morgan and Scott, 1912), pp. 52-53.

135 Ibid., p. 55.

people. A house was built and all was in readiness, but in the meantime she changed her plan and settled in the Congo.[136]

Bill, upon arrival at Calabar went to Foster of the Church of Scotland mission, to receive the information about the request of the Ibuno people. After a short stay in Calabar he proceeded to the scene of his future labors at Ibuno arriving December 1, 1887.[137] He immediately went to work teaching the alphabet to the young people and holding services on Sunday with the help of a colored English-speaking trader named Williams.[138]

Bill's travel expense to Calabar had been defrayed by Guinness with the hope that upon his arrival he could take care of his own livelihood by trading. This was found to be impossible so he appealed to his friends for aid.[139] In 1888 Bill was joined by A. Bailie who had, prior to his departure from Ireland, helped in the organization of a group for the support of the mission under the name, "Qua Iboe Missionary Association."[140]

In 1890 Bill returned to Ireland to regain his health and to make plans for the future of the mission.

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136 M'Keown, In the Land of the Oil Rivers, p. 62.
137 M'Keown, Twenty-five Years in Qua Iboe, p. 55.
138 Ibid., p. 56.
139 Ibid., pp. 55, 57.
140 M'Keown, In the Land of the Oil Rivers, p. 66.

Within a year an Interdenominational Council was formed with headquarters at Belfast. The project was placed on a firm footing with every indication of a rich future.[141]

After a year in Ireland Bill returned to Ibuno. During his first term he formed the idea that preaching and teaching should be supplemented by some kind of industry. In 1894 with the help of the British government he built a sawmill. He soon gathered a group of young men and taught them the operation of the sawmill. Later he added printing, book-binding and soap-making to his course of training.[142]

Upon the return of Bailie from furlough another station was added to the mission among the Ibibio people at Okat. Two particular things helped in getting the work started here: first, a coffee plantation which provided employment and, second, Bailie's little son whom the people came from miles around to see.[143]

During these years the foundations were laid for a new day in Qua Iboe land with the coming of a new century.

When the Germans took possession of the Cameroons

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141 Ibid., pp. 67, 68.
142 M'Keown, Twenty-five Years in Qua Iboe, pp. 77, 78.
143 Ibid., pp. 103-110.

in 1884, the interest of German Baptists also turned to the area. The Baptist Missionary Society offered to turn their stations over to the Baptists of Germany, but they did not see fit to accept the offer.[144]

In 1891 Walter Rauschenbusch wrote the Baptists in Germany that there was a young man, August Steffens, in the Rochester Baptist Seminary who wished to go as a missionary to the Cameroons. As a result Steffens was appointed by the Baptist Mission Committee in Berlin. He proceeded to Germany and the project was endorsed by the Baptist General Conference in Hamburg.[145]

On August 8, 1891 Steffen and his wife arrived in the Cameroons. He did not live long, but did a marvelous work until his death July 3, 1893. Steffen was followed by Emil Suevern who had a long period of service in the Cameroons. In 1895 Peter Wadel joined the mission and labored for a two year period.[146]

The personnel and support for the work of the Cameroon Mission came from German Baptists in America and the Baptists of Germany. During the 1890's Benjamin Graf, Heinrich C. Enns and Carl J. Bender from America

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144 Rudin, op. cit., p. 34; Leuschner, Call of the Cameroons, p. 12.
145 Leuschner, op. cit., pp. 13, 14.
146 Ibid., 14-16.

and Misses Dora Karls and Frieda Lutz from Germany came to serve in the Cameroons.[147]

These were years of pioneering for the German Baptists as their work was directed toward the Baptist churches formerly connected with the Baptist Missionary Society of England. Many of the churches had declared their independence of any society and were difficult to reach. It soon became evident that these churches did not desire missionary supervision. Beginning with the new century the German Baptists changed their policies and began to open new stations.[148]

The Primitive Methodist Missionary Society had been laboring on the Island of Fernando Po since 1870. Their work on the island was small and difficult. They longed to open work on the mainland of Africa less than one hundred miles away. In 1893 Robert Fairley visited the mainland with a view of finding a place to open work. The area of Rio del Rey which he visited was not a favorable place for a mission since it was in the hands of the Germans.[149]

Fairley heard of a chief who was anxious to have

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147 Ibid., p. 17.
148 Du Plessis, op. cit., p. 171; Rudin, op. cit., p. 362.
149 H. G. Brewer, Invasion For God (unpublished manuscript, 1944), p. 2.

missionaries in his town, Archibong. The town was located on the Aqua Effey river within the territory of the British. It seemed best to open work here and Marcus Brown was appointed to open the new station. After a year the first Primitive Methodist Church was organized. It was not long until two outstations were established at Bassey Willey Town and Ekanem Esin Town.[150] A second station was opened in 1897 at Jamestown by W. J. Ward.[151]

The occupation of Archibong as a station did not continue long. About this time a boundary commission was set up by the British and German governments to establish a boundary between the two areas. The Aqua Effey river was chosen as the boundary line. Thus, the first station of the Primitive Methodists could no longer be continued as it fell on the German side of the river.[152]

A new site was chosen for the station on a high cliff-top called Oron, sixteen miles up the river from Jamestown. An entirely new beginning had to be made. Ekpe Esuk and Effiom, converts of the Church of Scotland, joined the Primitive Methodists and became the foundation stones for the work at Oron. With these beginnings in

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150 Brewer, op. cit., pp. 2, 3; W. J. Ward, In and Around the Oron Country (London: W. A. Hammond, n.d.), p. 57.

151 Brewer, op. cit., p. 3.

152 Loc. cit.

the period a new century brought advance into the adjoining territory.[153]

Up to the 1890's all evangelical missions were located in either Yorubaland or Eastern Nigeria. The territory north of the Niger river had not been penetrated by missionaries. Brooke and Robinson of the C. M. S. had attempted to reach the area in 1890, but both had died in their attempt.

In 1893 Walter Gowans, Thomas Kent and Rowland V. Bingham of Canada formed a party to penetrate "The Central Sudan." They endeavored to enlist the interest of a mission society and failing to do so they attempted to organize a society. Both attempts failed, but they decided to go forth without support of any church or society.[154]

The party of three landed in Lagos December 4, 1893. They rented a house which became the headquarters for the group. Soon contact was made with the missionaries already in Lagos and from these missionaries they learned much about Nigeria. They told of their proposed journey to the north with Kano as the first objective and the missionaries advised against it. They would not

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153 Ibid., p. 5.
154 Rowland V. Bingham, Seven Sevens of Years and a Jubilee, (Toronto: Evangelical Publishers, 1943), pp. 17-18.

be discouraged by inadequate resources or difficulties of the journey. Instead, they entered a week of prayer before the journey, disposed of keepsakes including their watches, in preparation for the journey.[155]

When the party landed in Lagos their total purse had been one hundred and fifty dollars. This was not sufficient for the journey, but a few days prior to their departure to the interior a check for five hundred dollars was received from friends in Canada. This was sufficient to proceed with their plans. Bingham, whose health was not good, remained in Lagos to obtain new supplies and maintain contact with the homeland. Kent and Gowans proceeded as far north as Bida. It then became necessary for one to return to Lagos for supplies, so Kent returned.[156]

After a short time in Lagos Kent left hoping to rejoin Gowans, but Gowans had passed away. The town where he had been waiting the return of Kent had been raided by the king of Kontagoro for slaves. All of Gowans' possessions had been taken and he had escaped to Zaria. At Zaria a party of Europeans, seeing his sickened condition, had organized a group to take him

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155 Ibid., pp. 19, 20.
156 Ibid., pp. 20, 23.

to the coast, but he died on the way at Gierku, a few miles east of Kaduna. Kent likewise laid down his life for the cause of Christianity and was buried at Bida.[157] When the news of the death of Gowans and Kent reached Bingham in Lagos he decided to return and try to arouse interest in the project.

Another party from England also attempted to open up "The Central Sudan". It was composed of three young men Holt, Greenwood and Lomax. They met with much hostility as they moved northward.[158] Holt adopted the dress of an Arab and in 1895 he was mistaken for a slave trader and killed. At Bida Greenwood and Lomax met Kent of the former party; in his sickness they ministered unto him and at the time of his death laid him to rest. The two reached the coast and returned to England.[159]

By the close of the century Christianity had spread extensively in the three major areas of missionary activity, Yorubaland, the Niger Delta and along the Niger south of Lokoja and the Calabar region. An opening was attempted in Northern Nigeria which paved the way for the advance of missionaries in the new century.

The work of the pioneer societies, Wesleyan

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157 Ibid., pp. 24, 25.
158 Walker, Romance of the Black-River, p. 177.
159 Pinnock, The Romance of Missions in Nigeria, pp. 125, 126.

Methodist, C. M. S., American Baptist in Yorubaland after reoccupation was marked by great achievements. The number of Christians increased and church and school buildings were erected at strategic centers. Mission stations were opened and by 1899 most of Yorubaland, with the exception of the Shaki area, had been visited by missionaries. The foundations for indigenous Christianity were firmly planted and never again were its representatives driven out of Yorubaland.

Wesleyan Methodists in Yorubaland had grown to a total membership of 2,685 in forty-six churches. In addition to these full members over four thousand other people were under the ministry of the society.[160] The C. M. S. at this time reported 2,449 baptized adherents and 732 catechumens in Yorubaland.[161] American Baptists, the smaller group reached a total of 385 members in eight churches.[162] Thus, a total Christian community of over seven thousand existed in Yorubaland in 1900.

Along the Niger the work had grown in spite of various setbacks and numerous obstacles. In this area the C. M. S. had 1231 baptized adherents and 509 catechumens.[163] In the delta the two new societies, Qua

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160 Walker, A Hundred Years in Nigeria, p. 119.
161 Walker, The Romance of the Black River, p. 226.
162 Duval, op. cit., p. 139; Annual Report of the Southern Baptist Convention, 1900, p. 120.
163 Walker, The Romance of the Black River, p. 221.

Iboe Mission and Primitive Methodist, less than a decade old in their ministry, had only a small following. The Qua Iboe Mission reported three hundred communicants and the Primitive Methodists less than one hundred.[164]

The Church of Scotland Mission at Calabar passed through trials with dissatisfactions resulting in the withdrawal of some of its missionaries, but amid all these obstacles progress was made. Their members were few, but by 1899 they numbered a little less than one thousand communicants.

During this period the racial factor asserted itself, and a certain measure of independence was seen in the church and school affairs of the American Baptists and C. M. S. The effect was not all together destructive to Christianity, but rather a spirit of self-government and self-support appeared. Both societies were regretful of the events involved, but tried to make the most of the situation.

African leadership came into prominence during this period. Early in the first period missionaries of the C. M. S., Wesleyan Methodists, American Baptists and Church of Scotland Mission had taken into their homes African boys whom they taught and trained for

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164 M'Keown, In the Land of the Oil Rivers, p. 84; Brewer, op. cit., p. 4.

places of leadership among the African Christians. By the beginning of this period a good number were of sufficient age and training that they were placed in important places of leadership. With the growth in the number of Christians the demand for more pastors and teachers led to the establishment of institutions to train others.

A great interest had been aroused in the territory north of the Niger and Benue rivers. Several exploratory parties had visited there without settling. As the period drew to a close the forces of Christianity had traveled from their encampment along the coast at the beginning of the period, to portions just south of the Niger and Benue rivers waiting the coming of the new century.

STATISTICS FOR 1899

	Communicant Members	Total Christian Community
C. M. S.	4,749[1]	10,000[2]
Wesleyan Methodists	2,685[3]	7,000[3]
American Baptists	385[4]	750[2]
Church of Scotland	834[1]	2,000[2]
Primitive Methodists	88[1]	275[2]
Qua Iboe Mission	340[1]	600[2]
German Baptists	150[2]	150[2]
Native Churches	200[2]	200[2]
TOTAL	9,431	20,975

1 Figure based on the personal correspondence of the author with secretary of the society.
2 Personal estimate of the author based on the materials listed in the bibliography.
3 Walker, A Hundred Years in Nigeria, p. 119.
4 Annual of The Southern Baptist Convention, 1900, p. 120.

CHAPTER IV

ORGANIZATION, EXPANSION AND INDIGENOUS DEVELOPMENT (1900-1918)

The beginning of a new century marked the beginning of a new period in the story of the spread of evangelical Christianity in Nigeria. No longer was the presence of Christianity a question, for it had won a place in the life of many communities and never again was driven out. During the last period the basic foundations for organization and expansion throughout Nigeria were laid. The work was largely an effort to establish bases for operation. Outcroppings of indigenous developments were seen before 1900, but the larger part of the move toward indigenization took place in the new century.

At the opening of the new century the British extended their control over all the country by establishing protectorates over the North and South. Slavery and tribal wars were curtailed to a degree that they no longer threatened the peace of the land. A harbor was built at Lagos opening the gate city of the country to ocean going vessels. Electricity was introduced. The construction of bridges and roads opened new highways.

A railroad was built from Lagos to Ibadan.[1] All these developments pointed to a new period in the expansion of Christianity.

In Yorubaland all the pioneer societies, Wesleyan Methodists, C. M. S. and American Baptists, showed new life. They were better staffed and a more efficient organization appeared. Much attention was given to the education of African youth and medical missions was introduced on a larger scale. The work of the Y. W. C. A. was started and one new society, the Seventh-day Adventist, opened work in Yorubaland.

In Eastern Nigeria the situation was similar to that in the west as the work was greatly expanded and developed. All the societies formerly working along the Niger and in the delta continued under better supervision. Education and medicine were made available to more areas. Throughout the whole area of Calabar and the Niger delta great strides were made in expansion and organization.

Up to 1900 the region north of the Niger river was one of the largest untouched mission fields in the world. At the close of the last period Christianity had penetrated as far north as the Niger river. In

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1 Alan Burns, History of Nigeria (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1948), pp. 198-203.

1900 the advance into Northern Nigeria started and this marked the expansion of Christianity into every area of Nigeria. The advance was led by the C. M. S. and followed by the Sudan Interior Mission, Sudan United Mission and United Missionary Society of the Mennonite Brethren in Christ.

I. WESTERN NIGERIA

All the territory west of the Niger, inside the bend of the river, was occupied by the Yoruba people and their allies. As the government for the whole of the country developed at Lagos and people from other areas came in, Yorubaland took on the larger term Western Nigeria.

At the opening of the twentieth century this area was the scene of many new developments and vigorous political activity. A new order replaced the old order. With the opening of roads and the building of railroads it became possible to travel in a few hours the same distance that had previously required several days. Messages from the coast were transmitted by telegraph to the interior in a few minutes. Thousands received employment from the government and were paid in money for the first time.

Up to this time the mission societies had been

responsible for much of the development in the country. They had reduced many of the languages to writing and introduced the printing press, the cotton gin and the sawmill. By 1900 the British government began to assume its rightful place of leadership in matters of government, economics, education and the general welfare of the people.

The forces of Christianity began to pursue new courses and to take advantage of the new opportunities to spread Christianity. All the societies increased their missionary personnel to meet the new opportunities. The Wesleyan Methodists appointed a new secretary, W. H. Findlay, who was a missionary statesman and organizer of the first rank. He saw that an increase in staff was necessary and brought about measures which led to the appointment of a number of new missionaries.[2] The C. M. S. mission, likewise, increased its staff. In 1900 a third assistant bishop was consecrated, James Johnson.[3] Recruits from Jamaica of African descent were added also.[4] The American Baptists added to their staff during this period a goodly number of

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2 F. Deaville Walker, A Hundred Years in Nigeria (London: The Cargate Press, 1942), pp. 113, 114.

3 Eugene Stock, editor, The History of the Church Missionary Society (London: Church Missionary Society, 1916), IV, p. 63.

4 Ibid., p. 65.

missionaries who served many useful years in Nigeria.[5]

In the established bases much emphasis was placed upon discovering new outlets for expansion. All three societies, Wesleyan Methodists, C. M. S. and American Baptists, developed the "mother church" plan in which one strong church had several branches in the outlying districts. The Yoruba people were great traveling traders and wherever they went they established churches. The influence of Yoruba Christians was far reaching.

In the Ijebu country there were movements which well might be termed mass movements toward the acceptance of Christianity.[6] These were led in the main by native pastors and Christians from the Lagos Anglican and Wesleyan Methodist churches. The Wesleyan Methodists opened new stations at Igbora, Ilesha and in the Ekiti country.[7]

The northwestern part of Yorubaland centering around Shaki was the only unoccupied section of Western Nigeria in 1900. American Baptist missionaries had visited there several times but had never remained. In 1902 Louis M. Duval and wife, American Baptists,

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5 Louis M. Duval, Baptist Missions in Nigeria (Richmond: Foreign Mission Board of S. B. C., 1928), pp. 140 ff.
6 Stock, op. cit., IV, p. 18.
7 Walker, op. cit., pp. 116, 117.

opened a station at Shaki where they received a warm welcome.[8]

Education for the youth of Nigeria was provided entirely by the mission societies up to 1899.[9] In the 1890's the government began to take an interest in education and appointed an inspector of schools. The inspector saw the popular demand for education and appealed to the government for a generous support. It was impossible for the mission schools to meet the demand for education. In 1903 the Education Department was formed and rules and regulations for elementary and secondary education were drawn up.[10] Provision was made for payment of grants-in-aid to all schools working under the system. In 1906 this policy of education was extended over the Colony and Western and Eastern Nigeria. By 1912 there were fifty-nine government primary schools and ninety-one mission schools in receipt of government grants.[11] Female education received attention in Western Nigeria; this was unique, for all other areas lagged far behind in this respect.[12]

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8 Duval, op. cit., pp. 140, 141.
9 S. Phillipson, Grants in Aid of Education in Nigeria (Lagos: Government Printer, 1948), p. 12.
10 Ibid., p. 13.
11 Loc. cit.
12 Ibid., p. 14.

During this period many schools were established by the government and mission societies. The C. M. S. enlarged its program of training teachers in the Oyo Training College to meet the increasing demand for teachers.[13] The Wesleyan Methodists, likewise, strengthened their Lagos High School. In 1905 they opened a training institution in Ibadan for African lay evangelists.[14]

American Baptists had not been as active in the field of education as had the C. M. S. or Wesleyan Methodists. During the 1890's, C. E. Smith laid the foundation for a theological school which was opened in 1900 in Ogbomosho. Two separate courses had been offered in the school and in 1911 the school was divided into an academy located in Ogbomosho and a theological seminary in Shaki.[15] Prior to this, in 1908 an industrial school had been opened at Shaki by L. M. Duval and E. G. MacLean.[16] In 1908 Mrs. Carrie Green Lumbley began a school for girls in Abeokuta, and in 1913 a school for boys was founded by S. G. Pinnock in the same city.[17]

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13 Stock, op. cit., IV, p. 68.
14 Walker, op. cit., pp. 114, 115.
15 Duval, op. cit., pp. 152, 153.
16 Duval, op. cit., 148, 149; E. G. MacLean had been practicing dentistry in Nigeria privately before receiving appointment from the American Baptists.
17 S. G. Pinnock, The Romance of Missions in Nigeria (Richmond: Foreign Mission Board of S. B. C., 1917), pp. 112, 144.

Thus, education began to take a major place in the program of all mission societies.

During this period a new emphasis was placed upon medical missions. Heretofore medical work had been done on a small scale by most missionaries, but now trained medical practitioners were sent to the field, The first to reach Western Nigeria was George Green, of the American Baptist Mission, who located in Ogbomosho in 1907.[18] In 1910 the second fully qualified doctor, B. L. Lockett, was sent to Nigeria by American Baptists. For a while he lived in Abeokuta, but later removed to Oyo where plans were laid for a hospital which was never built.[19] In 1912 the Wesleyan Methodists opened medical work at Ilesha. J. R. C. Stephens was the first doctor to arrive on the field. He was supported by the Wesley Guilds of Great Britain.[20]

Indigenous developments appeared during the period in the work of all societies. Within the Anglican churches of the C. M. S. in Lagos, Abeokuta and Ibadan, councils were formed. Through these councils the way was opened for complete synodical organization of the diocese. In 1906 a group of the

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18 Duval, op. cit., p. 148.
19 Pinnock, op. cit., p. 146.
20 Walker, op. cit., p. 117.

clergy and laity met in Lagos and approved a constitution for an Anglican synod.[21] The same year the Anglican bishops on the west coast met and discussed the formation of an ecclesiastical province, but the way was not opened during this period.[22]

The pastoral care of the churches was entirely in the hands of African ministers. Not every church had an ordained minister, but with few exceptions, all the churches had pastors. The support of the churches was maintained also by the people with very little help from the societies. The missionaries of the C. M. S. and Wesleyan Methodists devoted their energies to institutionalism.

The churches established by the American Baptists grew in size, in number and in strength. African pastors under missionary supervision cared for the churches. The conferences started by C. E. Smith in the 1890's continued to be held at irregular intervals until the adoption, by the mission in 1910, of a resolution which called for an annual conference of native workers.[23]

In 1912 an effort to organize the churches of

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21 Stock, op. cit., IV, p. 70.
22 Ibid., IV, p. 71.
23 The Yoruba Baptist Association Year Book, 1915, p. 2.

the Yoruba country into an association proved futile. The next year S. G. Pinnock led in a renewed effort to organize an association. The churches responded to the call and the conference met at Ibadan in March, 1914. The Yoruba Baptist Association was organized and Majola Agbebi was elected president.[24]

Since the pioneer days the Wesleyan Methodists, C. M. S. and American Baptists had been the only societies in Western Nigeria. In 1913 the Seventh-day Adventists from America sent D. C. Babcock to begin work in Western Nigeria.[25] He settled near Ibadan where he began a mission school which grew into the West African Union Training School.[26]

In addition to the work of the societies another work was started that was distinctly Christian. In 1906 Bishop Tugwell started the work of the Young Women's Christian Association. This branch was recognized by the World's Committee of the Young Women's Christian Association in 1907.[27]

There were several secessions from mission

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24 Ibid., pp. 2, 4.
25 Personal Correspondence of the Author, letter from J. I. Robison, Associate Secretary, General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, July 10, 1947.
26 Loc. cit.
27 Personal Correspondence of the Author, letter from M. Marianne Mills, Assistant General Secretary World's Y.W.C.A., September 15, 1947.

societies during the period. In 1901 discontented members of the Anglican Church in Lagos formed a native church under the name, Native African Church, commonly known as "Bethelites." It followed the Anglican liturgy. The church allowed polygamy among the members and proved to be a thorn in the flesh to all missionaries and Africans connected with the societies.[28]

A secession arose in the Ebenezer Baptist Church, Lagos. Majola Agbebi withdrew as pastor of the Ebenezer church and formed the Ararome Baptist Church in 1908.[29] The church was not altogether an independent church, for it co-operated with other churches of the American Baptist Mission in the formation of the Yoruba Baptist Association.

In 1917 a group broke away from the Wesleyan Methodist Ereko Church, Lagos and formed the United African Methodist Church. Branches were established in the Colony and Abeokuta province.[30]

Between 1914 and 1918 the spread of Christianity was curtailed by World War I as the societies faced new problems within Western Nigeria. At the outset of

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28 J. Lowry Maxwell, Nigeria, The Land, The People and Christian Progress (London: World Dominion Press, [1929]), pp. 83, 84.

29 Duval, op. cit., p. 148.

30 P. A. Talbot, The Peoples of Southern Nigeria (London: Oxford University Press, 1926), IV, pp. 113, 118; Maxwell, op. cit., p. 84.

the war, controls, which continued throughout the war, were placed on the price and sale of exports and imports. There was a great drop in revenue obtained from dutiable goods and the civil staff of the country was reduced to a minimum.[31] There was very little dislocation of the native people and the only local fighting was in the Cameroons to the east.

The societies continued their work but great difficulty was encountered by missionaries in matters of transportation for furloughs. When a missionary left Nigeria it was very difficult to obtain return passage and the missionary personnel dwindled each year.

The American Baptists adopted a new policy in the appointment of single ladies as missionaries. The first single women to be appointed were Olive Edens, a teacher, and Clara Keith, a nurse.[32]

In 1916 the British and Foreign Bible Society, which had operated the Yoruba work from Sierra Leone, began work on a Bible House for Nigeria. It was located at Lagos and served as the residence for the secretary, A. W. Banfield. The money for the house was provided by friends of the Winnipeg Bible House in

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31 Burns, op. cit., pp. 215, 216.
32 Duval, op. cit., p. 160.

Canada.[33]

As the war came to a close in 1918 there were evidences that a new period would emerge and truly it did emerge in Western Nigeria as shall be seen in the closing chapter.

II. EASTERN NIGERIA

At the beginning of the new century all the territory to the east of the Niger river, including the Niger delta and the Calabar area, was beginning to be recognized by the government and missionary societies as a unit, although this did not occur offically until 1939. The area was without any unifying bonds of tribe or language; however, sociologically there existed a striking similarity among all the tribes east of the Niger river.[34]

In 1900 a more efficient government was established. It began to tackle the problems of slavery, cannibalistic cults and cruel heathen practices which had hindered, from the beginning, the expansion of Christianity.[35] Soon all tribes were under British control and the development of the area began; however, it came a few

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33 Personal Correspondence of the Author, letter from I. Jackson, Assistant Secretary, British and Foreign Bible Society, September 10, 1947.

34 A. G. Leonard, The Lower Niger and its Tribes (London: Macmillan and Co., 1906), p. 11.

35 Burns, op. cit., p. 200.

years later than in Western Nigeria.

The missionary societies, Church of Scotland Mission, Qua Iboe Mission and Primitive Methodist Mission confined their work to this area. The only societies that had work both in this and other areas were the C. M. S. and American Baptists.[36] Very shortly after 1900 the societies met in Calabar to discuss lines of advance.[37] In 1911 another conference was held for the same purpose.[38] In all the societies there was a consciousness of the need of organization and co-operation in expansion of Christianity in the area.

The troubles of the C. M. S. in the 1890's along the Niger and in the delta did not come to naught. Out of the separation from the society of the churches in the delta and the organization of a semi-independent church, grew an archdeaconry that recognized the authority of the bishop at Lagos.[39] The work along the river that had been the scene of much controversy,

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36 American Baptist missionaries began to visit the work turned over to Majola Agbebi by Hughes; see p. 109.

37 Donald M. McFarlan, Calabar (London: Thomas Nelson & Sons Ltd., 1946), p. 116.

38 Robert L. M'Keown, Twenty-five Years in Qua Iboe (London: Morgan and Scott, 1912), p. 161.

39 F. Deaville Walker, The Romance of the Black River (London: Church Missionary Society, 1930), p. 211.

likewise, was organized into an archdeaconry with Africans and Europeans working together harmoniously.[40]

In the Niger Delta Pastorate self-support continued and converts were added to the church. A theological institution was erected at a cost of twelve hundred pounds in 1912. It was dedicated as a memorial to Bishop Crowther.[41]

In 1915 a revivalist agitation took place within the Niger Delta Pastorate. It was led by a catechist named Garrick Sokari Braid who claimed to be Elijah of Malachi 4:5 with power to heal the sick by prayer. He and his messengers preached repentance and that people should destroy their idols and abstain from the use of alcoholic beverages. Braid claimed that the white man's power had ended and that the native church was to rule the country under the "prophet people." He obtained a large following, but in 1916 he was convicted of sedition and extortion and soon the movement collapsed.[42]

In the upper archdeaconry centering around Onitsha a complete change had taken place. No longer

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40 Loc. cit.

41 Stock, op. cit., IV, p. 69.

42 The International Review of Missions, VI, 1917, pp. 46, 47; Talbot, op. cit., IV, p. 118; Julius Richter, Geschichte der evangelischen Mission in Afrika (Gutershloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1922), pp. 141, 142.

did problems between the Europeans and Africans on the mission staff disrupt the work, but all members of the staff labored side by side as the work grew. The work of women missionaries of the society was outstanding. Church councils were organized and soon towns and villages all over the territory on both sides of the Niger river had little bands of converts. The influence of the society extended as far as the Ijaw and Urohobo country.[43] In 1915 a "mass movement" was reported by J. D. Aitkin as two thousand persons destroyed their idols and accepted Christianity.[44]

The demand for teachers in the church schools continued to rise and calls were issued for reinforcements. To meet this demand the C. M. S. opened a companion institution of St. Andrews College, Oyo, at Awka in 1906.[45]

The discovery of coal in the Onitsha province at Enugu, followed by the construction of a railroad from Port Harcourt to Enugu, brought much development to the area. New ideas arose and a spirit similar to that found in Western Nigeria developed at the opening of the century. Thus another highway into the

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43 Talbot, op. cit., IV, p. 70.
44 Loc. cit.
45 Ibid., IV, pp. 212, 213.

interior was opened which proved to be the line of advance in the east as the Niger river had been in the west.[46]

In the Calabar area the new century brought an end to the tragic years of work restricted by heathenism and slavery. Freedom had been won by the successive waves of pioneer missionaries into the interior. The destruction of the Long Juju at Arochuku[47] in 1901 by the British authorities freed this area forever from the evils of slave raids and slave dealing on an organized scale.[48]

In 1900 the Calabar Mission came under the United Free Church of Scotland which was formed by the union of the Free and United Presbyterian Churches of Scotland. This change did not alter the policies of the Calabar Mission, but rather added strength for organization and expansion.[49]

Up to 1900 the work of the mission centered around Calabar and the territory immediately north between the Cross and Calabar Rivers. In 1902

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46 Burns, op. cit., p. 206.

47 The Long Juju refers to the Oracle of the Aro people, Chuku, who resided in a deep ravine surrounded by trees. An uncanny underground intelligence system existed which was the means of much vice and cruelty. Often humans were demanded by the Oracle, but only the disabled were sacrificed while all others were sold into slavery.

48 McFarlan, op. cit., p. 105.

49 Ibid., p. 109.

the Ibibio country, west of the Cross River, was opened to missionaries.[50] Luke, a Church of Scotland missionary, lamented about this area, that after over fifty years' work as a mission, the Ibibio country was so little known to the Calabar Mission; but death and sickness in their staff and only a trickle of volunteers had prohibited expansion.[51]

The mission was not prepared to move into this area but "Mary Slessor resolved to go on her own where the home church could not send missionaries."[52] Shortly afterward she took advantage of an invitation to move into Itu as a sort of protection for the town against the Calabar traders with whom they had had a dispute. In 1903 a church and school were started. She likewise visited Arochuku, the seat of the infamous oracle. No help was available to follow up this beginning, but in 1904 some progress was made by the sending of a missionary to take Mary Slessors' place, thus setting her free for her explorations.[53]

She began to visit the towns and villages along

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50 Handbook of the Foreign Fields of the Church of Scotland (Edinburgh: Foreign Mission Committee Church of Scotland, 1936), p. 55.
51 McFarlan, op. cit., pp. 109, 110.
52 Ibid., p. 110.
53 Ibid., pp. 110, 111.

the Enyong creek and soon several schools and churches were opened. Itu seemed to be the natural and strategic center. The mission adopted a resolution that a station be opened as soon as possible at Itu as a medical base.[54] A member of the Braid Church in Edinburgh gave the money to begin the medical work at Itu as a tribute to the pioneer work of Mary Slessor. In September, 1905 David Robertson, a physician, was transferred to occupy the new hospital at Itu.[55]

Following the occupation of Itu came the occupation of Arochuku by John Rankin and Ikot Obong by Mary Slessor.[56] Mary Slessor was not content to remain in one place and moved on to Use where in 1907, upon her return from furlough, she built a settlement for mothers with twins and refugee women.[57] Ikpe was the last place opened by Mary Slessor before her death in 1915. After her death MacGregor described her, "as a whirlwind and an earthquake and a fire and a still small voice, all in one."[58]

While the opening of Ibibioland was taking place,

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54 McFarland, op. cit., p. 114; W. P. Livingston, Mary Slessor the White Queen (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1938), pp. 89 ff.
55 Ibid., p. 115.
56 Ibid., p. 118.
57 Livingston, op. cit., pp. 100-101.
58 Ibid., p. 125.

A. Cruickshank was leading the older up-river stations between the Cross and Calabar rivers into new life. He placed much emphasis on giving and self-support of the church.[59] Churches and schools were opened as the work was extended. Among the iron-working Ibos north of the Enyong creek, stations were opened at Ututu, Ohafia and Abiriba. Fierce opposition on the part of the chiefs was encountered here by the mission. A young person who became a Christian was refused family and tribal rights, but in spite of this schools and churches were established.[60]

In 1912 John W. Hitchcock, a physician, was sent into the Ibo area north of Ohafia to discover the best line of advance for the mission. After a very thorough survey of the country he returned and recommended that a medical station be opened at Uburu on the Asu river. The mission and the home committee were ready to follow his recommendation so, after a short furlough, he returned and began work on the new station.[61]

This was a day of expansion for the Calabar mission. In 1914 a party of missionaries set out to

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59 McFarlan, op. cit., pp. 120. 121, 124.
60 Ibid., pp. 132-134.
61 Ibid., pp. 138-140.

explore the Ugep, Ujilaga and Okuni areas, about one hundred and seventy-five miles up the Cross river. From thence they passed in a northeasterly direction to Abakaliki.

> From this journey of exploration the mission council drew the conclusion that Arochuku was of supreme importance as a centre for missionary work. If the Christian Gospel could move along the lines of Aro influence much could be accomplished.[62]

As the war years started appeals were made to strengthen the work in the Arochuku and Unwana districts and in the upper part of the Cross river towns and villages. The work that had gotten under way was carried on during the war but expansion came to a standstill.

The country to the west of Calabar bay and on the Qua Iboe river was the scene of the labors of the Qua Iboe Mission and the Primitive Methodists. Their work had been started during the last period.

The work of the Qua Iboe Mission began to show great development from three stations, Ibuno, Okat and Etinan. To the east and west of the Qua Iboe river stations were opened. A new steam launch made travel easier and progress greater.[63]

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62 Ibid., p. 143.
63 M'Keown, op. cit., pp. 122, 124, 153.

Much emphasis was placed upon self-support in the churches. The native workers were supported jointly by the mission and native churches up to 1908. In this year the council passed a resolution, "that all native work should find its support from native sources."[64] The marvel of the response of the Christians was that not a single outstation was closed. In 1902 the native Christians contributed a total of one hundred pounds and by 1911 this had grown to an annual contribution of one thousand two hundred and fifty pounds.[65]

The work of education, printing and medicine received attention. In 1904 a training institution was opened at Okat, and in 1907 a school for girls was added. Numerous schools around the principal stations sprang up as the work of education progressed.[66]

In 1900 Bill returned from furlough with a small hand printing press. This he used in the production of material for the churches and schools until 1907 when it was destroyed by fire. When the news of the loss reached home friends provided funds for a complete new press.[67]

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64 Ibid., p. 90.
65 Loc. cit.
66 Ibid., pp. 94, 153, 163.
67 Ibid., pp. 164, 165.

Since the early days of the mission medicines had been dispensed by all the missionaries. During these days the services of the missionaries were extended as simple surgery was attempted together with the use of commonly known healing remedies of Europeans. They longed for a fully equipped hospital with a physician in charge but this did not develop until the next period.[68]

As the work of all the societies in this area began to grow and expand it became necessary to work out the direction in which each society should advance. The sphere of the Qua Iboe Mission was to extend in a line a few miles west of the road between Ikotobo and Uyo passing on to outposts of the Church of Scotland mission near Itu and Use.[69] By 1914 much of this area was known and occupied by the Qua Iboe missionaries, but the war prohibited any further expansion.

Between the Qua Iboe river and Calabar the Primitive Methodists were laboring at Oron and Jamestown. After establishing these stations in the latter part of the 1890's, they opened a third station inland at Urua Eye at the beginning of the century. These

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68 Ibid., p. 165.
69 Ibid., p. 168.

three towns form a triangle and between 1902 and 1909 the work centered in this triangle. In 1905 a training institute was opened at Oron with W. J. Ward as the principal.[70]

In 1909 a station was opened some thirty miles to the north at Adadia by F. W. Dodds. Soon Oyubia was added, thus forming a chain of mission stations from Jamestown in the south to Adadia in the north.[71]

The missionaries desired to push still farther north, but according to their agreement, the land between Adadia and Ikotepene was to be left to the Qua Iboe Mission. Primitive Methodists were free to expand northward, so in 1910 a station was opened at Ikotepene by W. Groves and the work had a phenomenal growth from this beginning.[72]

The same year a party composed of Primitive Methodists and Church of Scotland missionaries pushed farther north to discover other openings among the Ibos.[73] As a result of the journey the Primitive Methodists opened work at Bende. Within four years Bende developed into a center with outstations at

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70 H. G. Brewer, Invasion for God (unpublished manuscript, 1944), p. 5.
71 Ibid., p. 7.
72 Ibid., p. 8.
73 F. W. Dodds, Ibo Openings (unpublished manuscript, 1943), p. 1.

Iyila, Amoda and Ogu Itu. Work was also going on at Ovim Abayi, Ozu Item and Uzuakoli.[74]

In 1913 and 1914 Enugu was a little village waiting for development, but when coal was found it became a thriving city that was soon connected to Port Harcourt, the new seaport, by a railroad. Enugu lay in the line of advance of the Primitive Methodists, but they did not enter, for as soon as the importance of the area was known the C. M. S. stationed an African worker there. The Primitive Methodists wanted a footing nearby so a station was opened at Nara in 1917 by A. H. Richardson. The work proved difficult and in a few years the center of operations was moved to Agbani.[75]

The mission desired to take advantage of the opportunities created by the railroad into the interior, but the war raged in Europe, and advance and expansion in Nigeria was hindered. Therefore, their forces had to await new recruits for the task of introducing Christianity into the newly opened country.

East of Calabar in the territory north of Victoria the Baptists of Germany continued their work. Carl H. Bender was the leading figure in the work between 1900 and 1914. North American (German) Baptist churches supported the mission with young people and gifts. Over

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74 Ibid., p. 9.
75 Ibid., pp. 13, 17.

a score of missionaries reached the field during this period, but the outbreak of war in 1914 brought a temporary halt in the work.[76]

III. NORTHERN NIGERIA

Up to 1900 the land to the north of the Niger and Benue rivers remained in the hands of the Africans. For many centuries the Hausas ruled their own people but they were overrun by the Fulani in the first part of the nineteenth century.[77] For nearly one hundred years these Fulani rulers brought oppression and cruelties to their subjects in the area.

Toward the latter part of the nineteenth century European explorers penetrated this area. The Niger river was the route most commonly followed; however, an overland route was not impossible. Trade along the river led to the formation of the Royal Niger Company, which under charter from the British government carried out the duties of the government and began to develop the area.[78]

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76 M. L. Leuschner, and others, Call of the Cameroons (Cleveland: Roger Williams Press, 1949), pp. 17-19; William Kuhn and others, These Glorious Years (Cleveland: Roger Williams Press, 1944), pp. 145, 146.

77 C. R. Niven, A Short History of Nigeria (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1949), pp. 74-110.

78 Ibid., pp. 209-211; Burns, op. cit., p. 191.

Shortly before the opening of the twentieth century an announcement was made "that all the area under the company's administration was British."[79] This was followed by the establishment on January 1, 1900, of a protectorate over Northern Nigeria with Frederick Lugard as High Commissioner.[80] A policy of indirect rule was adopted whereby the area was ruled through representatives of the people, emirs, chiefs and councils. The next decade was spent in occupying the whole area and this was not accomplished without resistance.

Missionaries penetrated Northern Nigeria before the existence of an organized government, as was true in the case of the coastal area and Western Nigeria. During the last half of the nineteenth century Christianity had penetrated as far north as the Niger river and missionaries had made some exploration of the area, as seen in Chapter III. The occupation of Northern Nigeria by missionaries coincided with the extension of a protectorate over the area by the British.

While the British government was preparing

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79 Niven, op. cit., p. 210.
80 Burns, op. cit., p. 169.

statesmen, soldiers and administrators for the political task in Northern Nigeria, two groups were preparing for the introduction of Christianity. The missionaries chose the north African city of Tripoli for language study. Here lived a small community of Hausa-speaking Nigerians. They ministered to the Muslim pilgrims from their native land as they journeyed to Mecca. This was not the usual route to Mecca, but since war had closed the shorter route pilgrims had to journey to Tripoli and from thence to Alexandria, Cairo and Mecca.[81]

The conditions for study at Tripoli proved to be ideal for the study of the Hausa language. The C. M. S. party was composed of J. Claude Dudley-Ryder, A. E. Richardson and W. R. Miller.[82] This group was followed by another party composed of two men who later were members of the first Sudan Interior Mission party that established a permanent station in Northern Nigeria.[83]

The C. M. S. party, trained in the Hausa language of Northern Nigeria, reached Lagos December 25, 1899.[84] Here they met Bishop Tugwell who had sent the request

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81 W. R. Miller, Reflections of a Pioneer (London: C. M. S., 1936), p. 17.

82 Walker, The Romance of the Black River, p. 179.

83 R. V. Bingham, Seven Sevens of Years and a Jubilee (Toronto: Evangelical Publishers, 1943), p. 31.

84 Personal interview with W. R. Miller, Jos, Nigeria, 1950.

to the society three years before for missionaries for the expansion into Northern Nigeria. On January 22, 1900 the party of five which included the three men trained in Tripoli, J. R. Burgin and Bishop Tugwell left Lagos.[85]

They passed through Western Nigeria, crossing the Niger river at Jebba. News of the party soon spread throughout the land and the chiefs and emirs began to send messengers to one another to find out what should be done about the approaching party.[86]

About this time news reached the emirs of the north that the British were coming to rule over them and that soldiers were on their way up the Kaduna river.[87] Some no doubt connected the advance of the missionary party with the advance of the political party. It was under these conditions that the missionaries proceeded north into Hausaland.

They reached Zaria April 6, 1900 and, after a very cautious reception, explained the purpose of their visit. The emir was surprised to know that they were not connected with the British force and seemed eager for them to remain, but their objective was Kano. After

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85 Walker, op. cit., p. 179.
86 Ibid., pp. 181, 182.
87 Niven, op. cit., pp. 218-219.

words of gratitude to the emir for his hospitality, and upon receiving letters of introduction from him to the Emir of Kano, they departed with the goodwill of the Emir of Zaria.[88]

As they journeyed northward and came into the outposts of the emirate of Kano they met a spirit of hostility. Aliu Baba, the emir, was a usurper of the throne and was very suspicious of the white men, lest they should turn against him and cause him to lose his position. They were refused permission to remain in Kano and after eight days were forced to retrace their steps to Zaria.[89]

The situation had changed at Zaria in their absence. No longer was the emir willing to receive them. During the interval Colonel Moreland of the British forces had visited Zaria and advised that the missionaries return to Gierku a few miles east of the present site of Kaduna.[90]

The British forces were encamped at Gierku and it seemed best to follow the advice given by Colonel Moreland. Gierku was a small town with a population of about three hundred inhabitants. The missionaries had been there only a few days when Dudley-Ryder died

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88 Walker, op. cit., pp. 182-183.
89 Ibid., p. 191.
90 Ibid., pp. 191, 192.

and was buried beside Walter Gowans who had died a few years before. It is interesting to note that among the first to lay down their lives for Christianity in Northern Nigeria were these two who were buried in the same small town.[91]

With great difficulty and much sickness they opened a dispensary and built a small church and school at Gierku. At the beginning of the year 1901, with increasing illness and much hostility from the emir, they retired to Loko on the Benue river. They remained here five years.[92]

After the initial effort of R. V. Bingham's party to open the Sudan and his return to America, he organized an interdenominational missionary society, the Sudan Interior Mission in Toronto.[93] In 1900 Bingham, with two young men, set out again for Nigeria, but this second attempt also proved to be unsuccessful.[94]

In 1901 a third attempt to open a mission station in the Sudan was successful. The party was composed of E. A. Anthony, the leader, Charles Robinson, Albert Taylor and A. W. Banfield. They were well prepared for

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91 Walker, op. cit., p. 192; Personal interview with W. R. Miller, Jos. 1950.
92 Walker, op. cit., p. 193; Personal interview with W. R. Miller, Jos. 1950.
93 Bingham, op. cit., p. 26.
94 Ibid., p. 27.

the task since two had studied Hausa in Tripoli and the other two had received training at the stations of the Zambesi Industrial Mission.[95]

They opened a station on the opposite bank of the confluence of the Niger and Kaduna rivers at Pategi.[96] The next year they were joined by Andrew Park Stirrett, a man of unusual abilities and devotion to Christian missions. His appointment was questioned because of his age; after offering his property, stocks and bonds to the mission and the completion of a course in Tropical Medicine, he proceeded to Nigeria and received probationary appointment on the field.[97]

At Pategi the people were members of the Nupe tribe. Although Banfield had been sent out because of his mechanical abilities, he mastered the language and began to reduce it to writing. He began work on a dictionary and the translation of the Gospels.[98]

Before the mission could grow in size, Anthony, the field superintendent, returned home because of ill health and he was followed by Robinson.[99] Banfield took the place of the field superintendent, but in two

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95 Ibid., p. 31.
96 Ibid., p. 32.
97 Douglas C. Percy, Stirrett of the Sudan (New York: Sudan Interior Mission, 1948), pp. 17, 18.
98 Bingham, op. cit., pp. 33, 34.
99 Ibid., p. 32.

years he had to return to Canada.[100]

While Banfield was on furlough he visited the conferences of the Mennonite Brethren in Christ Church in Ontario, Michigan, Indiana and Ohio. Soon these four conferences were organized into a missionary society, Mennonite Brethren in Christ Missionary Society, for work in Africa and E. A. Anthony was elected the first president. A. W. Banfield and his wife became the first missionaries.[101] They arrived in Nigeria in 1905 and opened a station at Shonga, a Nupe town about seventy miles up the Niger river from the first S. I. M.[102] station, Pategi.[103]

In Britain the interest of evangelical Christians in the Sudan continued to rise. The Muslim advance into this large pagan area, which had been brought so recently under British control, was making great headway in turning the pagan tribes to Islam. Several unofficial representatives of various denominations came together to consider what could be done to stem this tide.[104]

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100 E. R. Storms, What God Hath Wrought (Springfield: The United Missionary Society, 1948), p. 32.

101 Ibid., pp. 32, 152.

102 The abbreviation S. I. M. will be used from this point for the Sudan Interior Mission.

103 Storms, op. cit., p. 33.

104 Annual Report of the S. U. M., 1908, p. 31.

The evangelical missionary societies were unable to accept the responsibility, so a resolution was passed as follows:

> In view of the present crisis in the West Central Sudan, where, unless the Gospel of Christ be brought within the next few years to Northern Nigeria, the million numbered pagan people of that new British Protectorate . . . will go over to Islam, and, in view of the fact, that none of the Missionary Societies of Baptist, Congregational, Methodist, or Presbyterian churches of Great Britian or Ireland feels itself at present able to do anything for the evangelization of the Sudan, we should rejoice if the Lord should enable the Free Churches of this country to join in a United Sudan Mission.[105]

The result of the meeting and resolution was the formation of the Sudan United Mission on June 15, 1904 in Edinburgh.[106]

At the first meeting the sending of an investigating party to the upper Benue river and plateau country was proposed. J. L. Maxwell, J. G. Burt, Bateman and H. Karl Kumm were selected for the task. They sailed on the same ship with Frederick Lugard, High Commissioner of Northern Nigeria. This proved to be a valuable association for the new missionaries.

Upon their arrival in Nigeria the Commissioner

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105 Ibid., p. 32.
106 Ibid., pp. 32, 33.

gave assistance in their journey northward and later approved the general plan of the mission, arranging a grant of land at the foot of the Murchison hills north of Ibi.[107]

The first station of the S. U. M.[108] was opened at Wase, which was used as a base from which to explore the area. After a survey, Kumm returned to England to give his report. He recommended the sending out of a strong detachment of men to occupy the main centers of Katana, Shendam, Wukari and Muri.[109] This was an ambitious undertaking for the young mission, but in 1905 several ministers in England expressed their desire to help bring the recommendation to pass in the Sudan.[110]

In 1904 the Cambridge University Mission Party was organized in Cambridge as a result of the work of the Student Missionary Union.[111] The mission was inter-denominational, supported entirely by members of the party. It was discovered that the movement needed a more practical financial plan. Two of the leaders were related to officers in the C. M. S. and soon an

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107 Ibid., p. 33.
108 The abbreviation S. U. M. will be used from this point for the Sudan United Mission.
109 Annual Report of S. U. M., 1908, pp. 33 ff.
110 Ibid., p. 38.
111 Walker, The Romance of the Black River, p. 229.

affiliation was arranged.[112] A field on the Bauchi plateau was chosen and the first missionary, J. W. Lloyd, arrived in 1907. One station was opened at Panyam and a second at Kabwir.[113]

In the course of five years five mission societies, the C. M. S., S. I. M., S. U. M., United Missionary Society and the Cambridge University Missionary Party, moved into Northern Nigeria and began to spread Christianity.

In these pioneer days in Northern Nigeria missionaries found it practically impossible to enter the Muslim emirates, so they turned to the pagan tribes living along the upper Niger and Benue rivers and on the Bauchi plateau. The C. M. S. had been successful in establishing a station on the Benue river at Loko and in 1903 Bishop Tugwell succeeded in planting a station in the capital city of the Nupe people, Bida. A number of outstations were established: Mokwa, Katcha and Kutigi.[114]

Between the time of the departure of the first C. M. S. party in 1900, and 1905 when a second attempt

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112 Stock, op. cit., IV, p. 72.
113 Ibid., IV, p. 72.
114 Walker, op. cit., pp. 227, 230.

was made, the British brought most of the territory under control.[115]

Following British occupation Christianity began to penetrate the area gradually. When Sokoto was brought under control, Lugard, the commissioner, at the installation of the new Sultan of Sokoto gave a promise "that the Muhammadan religion would not be interfered with and that all men would be free to worship God as they chose."[116] The interpretation of this promise was much disputed by government representatives and missionaries. The missionaries maintained that a properly conducted mission to Northern Nigeria was no breach of this promise, while government officials maintained:

> if the advent of missions is authorized by the government, it is extremely difficult to avoid the conclusion in the minds of the people that they are under the special aegis of Government. In a country where it is of vital importance to maintain the prestige of Europeans, insults to missionaries must of necessity be resented by the Government.[117]

Thus, within areas where missionaries were not permitted large numbers of pagan people were cut off

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115 Niven, op. cit., pp. 221-231
116 Burns, op. cit., p. 239.
117 Loc. cit.

from Christianity. Protests were made from time to time by various mission groups, but there was very little relaxing of this policy.[118]

In 1905 W. R. Miller, a C. M. S. physician, made a break through. He requested the commissioner for permission to travel north and, much to his surprise, permission was given. Miller had been a member of the first party to visit Zaria and upon his arrival he was recognized. This time he was permitted to stay in Zaria and in a short time a small dispensary was opened.[119]

The compound was located within city walls and the mission buildings were patterned after the houses of the African people. Miller's aim was to introduce nothing that would separate him from the people.[120] He was soon joined by W. A. Thompson from the West Indies, who proved to be a very versatile missionary.[121] Permission was obtained for three women to come north, one of whom was Miller's sister, and work was begun among the women.[122]

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118 Maxwell, op. cit., pp. 109-111.
119 Walker, The Romance of the Black River, pp. 227, 228.
120 Miller, op. cit., pp. 87, 88.
121 Ibid., p. 80.
122 Ibid., p. 99.

At Zungeru the government had started a home for freed slaves. Miller was allowed to select five boys from the home and take them to Zaria. These five boys formed the nucleus of the first C. M. S. school in Northern Nigeria.[123]

After gaining a foothold in Zaria, in 1910 Miller made a second attempt to enter Kano. This time he had the advantage of being accompanied by Christian mallams but again he was turned back from the great city.[124] In 1912 the railroad to Kano was opened and this changed the situation. Many people from the south came to Kano, among whom were a number of Christians. The C. M. S. requested permission of the Government for an African preacher to be stationed in Kano to work among the foreigners and permission was granted. This was the first Christian foothold in Kano.[125]

In the middle of the nineteenth century a movement began in Kano which led to the establishment of the first Christian community in the north. Ibrahim, a mallam in the court of the emir of Kano, studied the Koran and came to the conclusion that

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123 Ibid., p. 95.
124 Stock, op. cit., IV, pp. 72, 73.
125 Walker, op. cit., pp. 230, 231.

there was one greater than Muhammad, Jesus. He went to the emir, but the mallams of Kano incited the emir against him and he was put to death. Before Ibrâhim's death he had prophesied that God would reveal the true faith to them, and told his followers to flee to the borders of the emirate where they would be safe.[126]

His followers scattered, and a good number settled at Ningi. Yahayya became the leader of the people. He reassured the people that someone would come to give them the true knowledge about Jesus. These people, as far as records go, had no contacts with Christians; they were Muslims with some slight deviation in their ritual.[127]

In 1913 two of the descendents of these people came to the C. M. S. Mission in Zaria. They had heard Christians talking in the market and came to investigate. They remained a very short time, but long enough to know that the missionaries could teach them concerning Jesus. They returned home with the news for their people and soon the way was opened for the teachings of Christianity. Missionaries and African Christians visited them with the result that several accepted

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126 Miller, op. cit., pp. 106, 107
127 Ibid., p. 108.

Christianity. They requested a grant of land where they could live together, have a church and be a Christian community. Lugard, the governor, granted the land and within three months there were about one hundred and twenty in the new community called, Gimi.[128]

All went well for a few years until one after another, young and old, the people began to die. At this time nothing was known about trypanosomiasis, but in a short time this disease took the whole population save a few school children who were taken to Zaria.[129]

The first Christian village was destroyed but a remnant of this community, in the lives of the school children, was saved and made a contribution in the work of the C. M. S. in Hausaland.

While the C. M. S. was pushing north into the Muslim country the young S. I. M. was at work along the Niger among the Nupe people. In 1904 a second station was opened at Wushishi. Wushishi was on a caravan route and at night large numbers of traveling traders whom the missionaries visited nightly encamped here. When the railroad was built this affected the caravans and the work was turned into

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128 Ibid., pp. 110-112.
129 Ibid., pp. 112-115.

a training school for girls.[130]

On a visit south of Pategi, the missionaries came in touch with a branch of the Yoruba tribe called Yagba. In 1908 Tommy Titcombe opened a station among these people at Egbe and in 1911 he was joined by Guy Playfair. Very shortly two other stations were opened at Oro and Aguyin.[131]

The same year a station was opened to the north of the Niger river at Paiko among the people of another tribe, the Gbari. This tribe had been the victim of much slave raiding and lived in scattered villages. Work among them was difficult but the missionaries found an open opportunity and a warm welcome from the people.[132]

The areas occupied by the S. I. M. were in low altitudes, so Stirrett journeyed in 1910 to the plateau in search of a site where missionaries could go for periods of rest and recuperation. In the same year a station was opened at Kwoi near Kafanchan on the plateau. The rest home at Miango was opened two years later.[133]

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130 R. V. Bingham, The Burden of the Sudan (pamphlet, n.d.), pp. 20, 21.
131 Ibid., pp. 22, 23.
132 Ibid., pp. 26, 27.
133 Ibid., pp. 27, 29.

From these centers the work spread into the neighboring towns and villages during the next few years. Stations were opened at Karu (1911), Oro agor (1912), Minna (1913), Zagan (1915), Isanlu (1916) and Kaltungo (1917).[134]

The Mennonite Brethren in Christ Missionary Society which had a station at Shonga, likewise, began to expand. By 1907 their pioneer, A. W. Banfield, was joined by three single women and I. W. Sherk.[135]

The work of the society developed along two lines, healing the sick and the printing of literature. Sherk opened a dispensary and soon "a long line of the sick began to ask for the white man's medicine."[136] Banfield established a small printing press and called it "The Niger Press." This, however, was not exclusively a Mennonite project. The C. M. S. supplied the press, the S. I. M. paid for the erection of the printing shop and Banfield was supported by the Mennonites.[137]

Other stations were opened among the Nupe people. In 1910 Banfield opened a station at the important river town of Jebba. The next year Mokwa, which had been connected formerly with the C. M. S., was opened

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134 Sudan Interior Mission Calendar, 1949, pp. 7-20.
135 Storms, op. cit., p. 33.
136 Ibid., p. 33.
137 Bingham, The Burden of the Sudan, p. 18.

and an African Christian placed in charge. By 1914 the three stations Shonga, Jebba and Mokwa were operating very effectively and the neighboring towns and villages were contacted. During the war years the mission grew very little. A. W. Banfield resigned to accept the office of secretary for West Africa for the British and Foreign Bible Society with headquarters in Lagos.[138]

The Sudan United Mission, which located at the foot of the Murchison hills, had as its objective the Christianization of the pagan tribes before they were won by Islam. In order to get this plan under way Karl Kumm felt that it was necessary to establish branches of the S. U. M. in other countries of the world, so branches were organized in America and South Africa. Later, branches in Australia, New Zealand and Denmark were added.[139]

The second S. U. M. party arrived in 1905. They opened work among the Ankwe people to the north of the Benue river and the next year a station was opened at Wukari. In 1907 the work was extended to Dampor, Bukuru and Langtang.[140]

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138 Storms, op. cit., pp. 35, 37, 38, 45.
139 Annual Report of the S. U. M., 1908, pp. 38, 46.
140 Ibid., p. 51.

Since the establishment in 1902 of the government headquarters for Northern Nigeria in Zungeru, a home for freed slave children had been in operation in Zungeru.[141] In 1908 the government proposed to transfer one hundred and eighty slave children from the government home at Zungeru to the S. U. M. A home was built by the S. U. M. as a memorial to Lucy Kumm at Rumasha on the Benue river. The Lucy E. Kumm Memorial Home was opened August 24, 1909. The mission proposed to give the children industrial and agricultural training in the home.[142]

During the next few years other stations were opened as each branch of the mission sought to develop a given area. The branches accepted the responsibility for finance and missionary personnel in each area. The American branch located in the country to the south of the Benue river; the British to the north; the South Africans in the Yola Province and the Danish branch at Numan.[143]

The war years hindered the expansion of the S. U. M. The women in the mission were ordered to leave their stations along the Cameroon border and

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141 Burns, op. cit., p. 183.
142 Annual Report of S. U. M., 1909, p. 52.
143 Annual Report of S. U. M., 1910, p. 17; Annual Report of S. U. M., 1914, p. 9.

were not allowed to return until after the end of hostilities.[144]

In 1916 the South African branch of the S. U. M. was taken over by the Dutch Reformed Church of South Africa. The Dutch Reformed missionaries had been working with the S. U. M. since 1908 and had established two stations at Salatu and Zaki-Biam. The objective of the new society was to evanglize the Tiv tribe which inhabited the area around Makurdi on both sides of the Benue river. During World War I there were only three missionaries on the field, George Botha and A. J. Brink and his wife.[145]

At the end of the first decade of the expansion of Christianity in Northern Nigeria, the societies came together for a conference at Lokoja. There were representatives from all the societies working in the north, S. U. M., S. I. M., C. M. S., United Missionary Society and the Dutch Reformed Church Mission. The main subjects discussed were church organization, translation and language, educational policies and relation of mission to government.[146] Another conference

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144 Annual Report of S. U. M., 1916, p. 9.

145 Personal Correspondence of the Author, letter from A. J. Brink, Chairman Dutch Reformed Church Mission, July 14, 1950.

146 Annual Report of S. U. M., 1911, p. 60.

was held in 1913 at Lokoja and this was the last until 1926.[147]

For a decade and a half the spirit of progress dominated all the work of Christianity in Nigeria. The established bases were strengthened and enlarged for the forward movement. Those untouched sections of Western and Eastern Nigeria were brought under the ministry of the societies. Additional missionary societies joined in the spread of Christianity as the Muslim territory of Northern Nigeria was penetrated. Educational and medical work became an essential part of the work of each society.

The first world war brought an end to this period of organization and expansion. One of the first evidences of this was the decrease in missionary personnel. Many of the mission volunteers entered the service of their country and were unable to serve under the mission societies. Missionaries found travel to and from Nigeria difficult, and the few remaining missionaries were forced to carry the whole responsibility during the war years. Secondary education, which was directed mainly by missionaries, was greatly curtailed and medical work was reduced. In some cases the work

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147 Minutes of Conference of Missions Northern Provinces, Nigeria, 1926, p. 21.

had to be closed entirely.

It was evident that the period of expansion that had produced such a striking increase in the number of Christians had come to a temporary halt. It was necessary to wait for the end of hostilities which would release the resources for a greater period of progress. By 1918 Nigeria was aware of the development that evangelical Christianity had brought to Nigeria and even Muslim Northern Nigeria was beginning to open the door to Christianity.

STATISTICS FOR 1918

	Communicant Members	Total Christian Community
C.M.S.	16,738[1]	50,000[2]
Wesleyan Methodists	6,563[3]	13,878[3]
American Baptists	9,749[4]	10,000[2]
Seventh-day Adventists	150[2]	150[2]
Qua Iboe Mission	7,586[1]	14,000[2]
Primitive Methodists	3,413[1]	8,000[2]
Church of Scotland	5,538[1]	9,000[2]
Dutch Reformed Church Mission	25[2]	25[2]
S.U.M.	112[1]	400[2]
S.I.M.	1,000[1]	3,000[2]
German Baptists	200[2]	200[2]
Native Churches	5,000[2]	5,000[2]
TOTAL	56,074	113,653

1 Figures based on the personal correspondence of the author with secretary of society.

2 Personal estimate of the author based on the materials listed in the Bibliography.

3 Walker, A Hundred Years In Nigeria, p. 119.

4 Annual of the Southern Baptist Convention, 1918, p. 338.

CHAPTER V

YEARS OF PROGRESS BETWEEN WORLD WARS (1919-1942)

The war years dealt heavy blows to the expansion of Christianity in Nigeria. Missionaries on furlough found it difficult to return and recruits were not available. Materials necessary for building and all other imported goods were difficult to obtain in Nigeria. The work was reduced to a bare minimum during these years.

Along the eastern borders a military campaign had been conducted against the German colony of the Cameroons which resulted in the capture of this territory. At the end of the war the Cameroons was divided between France and England both of whom were responsible to the League of Nations for its administration. In 1922 that part of the area under British control was added to Nigeria for purposes of administration.[1] "It is most important to remember that no part of the mandated area is British territory as Nigeria is."[2]

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1 C. R. Niven, A Short History of Nigeria (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1949), pp. 238-242.

2 Ibid., p. 244.

A period of remarkable prosperity began with the end of war in 1918. Sir Hugh Clifford succeeded Sir Frederick Lugard as governor of Nigeria. The railroads that had been started earlier were extended further interior. The port of Lagos was enlarged and the lagoon dredged. Houses and roads were built, followed by a great commercial development. The central machinery of government was overhauled, making way for expansion in education, medicine, and law enforcement.

In 1931 the depression came; extreme shortages in money occurred in all countries of the world. The exports of Nigeria dropped and all programs of expansion were stopped, as well as drastic cuts in allocations for administration. The result was an abrupt check in the development of Nigeria. This situation was not relieved until 1935.[3] From 1935 the country made steady progress as developments were renewed and fresh enterprises were undertaken.[4]

With the signing of the Armistice in 1918 the lull in the expansion of Christianity came to a close and a period of progress began. Missionaries who had

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3 Ibid., p. 247.
4 Ibid., p. 253.

been detained in their homeland were able to secure passage for their return and volunteers began to appear. The older societies strengthened their work in the fields of education, medicine and vocational training. Many responsibilities formerly borne by the societies were placed on the shoulders of the African churches. New societies entered the field and accomplished in a few years what had taken the older societies years to accomplish. In the twenty-two year interval between the wars the influence of evangelical Christianity was felt throughout the length and breadth of Nigeria.

During this period the government officially divided the country into three divisions, Western, Eastern and Northern Nigeria. The story of expansion in this period falls into these three geographical divisions.

I. WESTERN NIGERIA

Western Nigeria, which had been the scene of much development and activity in the early part of the century, came through the war years without any unusual disturbance. Christianity here was somewhat in advance of the other areas and therefore did not suffer, for most of the missions were well established

with African leadership. A considerable degree of self-support, self-government and self-propagation were achieved by the churches connected with the older societies before the World War I years. When the missionary staff was reduced to a minimum during the war it was the outposts which suffered, and in this area these were cared for from the central stations.

At the beginning of the period there were major changes in the personnel of the mission societies. Edgar W. Thompson was put in charge of the West African field of the Wesleyan Methodists. He continued the forward movements begun by his predecessor, W. H. Findlay.[5] In 1932 a union of the Methodist churches in Britain occurred which resulted in the uniting of the forces of the Primitive Methodists in Eastern Nigeria and Wesleyan Methodists in Western Nigeria into one society called the Methodist Missionary Society.[6]

In 1920 Bishop Tugwell resigned after twenty-eight years of faithful service in the C. M. S. He was succeeded by F. Melville Jones who devoted his entire time to the Lagos diocese since the Niger diocese had been separated from the Lagos diocese

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5 F. Deaville Walker, A Hundred Years in Nigeria (London: The Cargate Press, 1942), p. 121.
6 Ibid., pp. 121, 132.

in 1919.[7]

The American Baptists, immediately following the close of the war, began to send new recruits to Nigeria. Between 1918 and 1920 a total of twelve missionaries reached Nigeria. This was the largest number of missionaries to be sent for any two year period up to this time.[8]

During the years of the war the Seventh-day Adventist mission work was at a standstill, but shortly after the war new missionaries arrived from England. Among them were William McClements, J. Clifford, J. J. Hyde and W. G. Till, all destined for over two decades of service in Nigeria.[9] They developed a strong station at Ibadan and made much use of the printing press.

The Young Women's Christian Association carried on in connection with members of the churches until 1929 when Lady Thomson, wife of the governor of Nigeria, invited the World's Y. W. C. A. to consider Nigeria as a possible field for work. Four years

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7 F. Deaville Walker, The Romance of the Black River (London: Church Missionary Society, 1930), p. 222.

8 L. M. Duval, Baptist Missions in Nigeria (Richmond: Foreign Mission Board of the S. B. C., 1928), pp. 168, 169.

9 Personal Correspondence of the Author, letter from J. I. Robison, Associate Secretary, General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, July 10, 1947.

later the British Y. W. C. A. sent out the first secretary, Miss B. Bentall. In Lagos the Y. W. C. A. opened one center, one hostel and obtained a following of one hundred fifty members.[10]

Since the turn of the century the popular demand for education had been on the rise in Southern Nigeria.[11] The enrollment in the schools had grown from forty-two thousand in 1912 to seventy-four thousand in 1918.[12] At the beginning of the century the mission societies were carrying the major responsibility in education, but gradually the government began to open schools and to grant financial aid to those who met their standards.

The interest of the people in education, by the close of the war, far exceeded the facilities of both the mission societies and government in their provision for education. The number of schools increased so rapidly that it was "beyond the effective supervision and control of many of the agencies which had sponsored them in answer to local demand."[13] Many of these schools were ill-equipped and of the poorest quality.

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10 Personal correspondence of the Author, letter from M. Marianne Mills, Assistant General Secretary World's Y. W. C. A., August 15, 1947.

11 This includes the Western and Eastern Provinces of Nigeria.

12 S. Phillipson, Grants in Aid of Education in Nigeria (Lagos: The Government Printer, 1948), p. 16.

13 Ibid., p. 18.

A large number were located in church buildings, but this did not insure quality.

This mushroom growth in the number of schools led to government measures of control in the schools and to proposals to entrust future elementary education in the southern provinces to the Christian missions.[14] There followed a period of relative financial prosperity in which a number of mission schools received financial assistance from the government.

By 1929 efforts of consolidation were in progress. The prejudice and jealousy of single villages had to be broken down before this could be accomplished. There was much to be gained in central schools since the number of qualified teachers was limited and a pooling of limited funds provided much-needed equipment.[15]

The 1930's were difficult years for mission schools for they were filled with setbacks and frustrations. The necessity for economy dominated the decade, but in spite of this difficulty educational work grew. In 1930 a union of teachers was formed which did much to improve the conditions of the service of teachers.[16]

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14 Loc. cit.
15 Ibid., p. 23
16 Loc. cit.

Between the wars several institutions were established and others were enlarged in Western Nigeria. The Wesleyan Methodists increased their training facilities by the organization of Wesley College in Ibadan in 1922. This provided for more than double the enrollment of forty in the old training institution.[17] In 1932 the Wesleyan Methodists and the C. M. S. formed a United College at Igbobi just outside Lagos to meet the demand for higher education.[18] The two societies also united in a Women's College at Ibadan.[19] Saint Andrews College, Oyo, continued to be the power house of the Lagos diocese of the C. M. S.[20]

The American Baptists, who had been rather slow in response to the demand for education, entered the field whole-heartedly after the war. The Lagos Academy, which had gradually lost ground without missionaries for a twenty-seven year period, was reorganized and reopened in 1922. In Ogbomosho a combination of the old training school and the theological school entered new buildings under the

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17 Walker, A Hundred Years in Nigeria, p. 122.
18 Ibid., p. 124.
19 Loc. cit.
20 Phyllis Garlick, With the C. M. S. in West Africa (London: Church Missionary Society, 1935), p. 36.

name, the Baptist College and Seminary. In 1938 the college department was moved to Iwo. During this period the Baptist Boys' High School in Abeokuta entered new buildings and began a successful career of secondary education.[21]

By the close of this period educational work occupied a large place in the scheme of all missions in Western Nigeria. Primary schools were maintained in most of the church buildings of all societies and secondary schools were located at strategic centers throughout the area. By 1942 there were over forty-two thousand schools with a total enrollment of three hundred thousand.[22]

Most of the books and materials for the schools were supplied by the C. M. S. Bookshop "which began in the early days of the mission by one of the missionaries advancing five pounds to be expended on books for sale."[23] This was a special feature of the C. M. S. In Western Nigeria the C. M. S. was the only society that maintained any bookshop. Branches of the bookshop were established at several different places, thus making materials for schools and churches fairly accessible. These bookshops were the main outlet for

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21 G. W. Sadler, A Century in Nigeria (Nashville: Broadman Press, 1950), pp. 131, 132, 133, 134.
22 Phillipson, op. cit., p. 109.
23 Gerlick, op. cit., p. 31.

the British and Foreign Bible Society after the closure of the Lagos Bible House in 1930.[24]

The services rendered in the field of medicine by the mission societies were not comparable in magnitude with their services in the field of education. In the early days each missionary did some minor medical work, but it was not until the last period that fully trained physicians began work.

During the latter part of World War I the Ilesha medical mission of the Wesleyan Methodists was closed. In 1920 it was reopened by E. U. MacWilliam, a physician. He found that the small building for the dispensary would not accommodate an enlarged medical program. Gradually, one by one, buildings were erected; wards for male and female patients, operating theater, waiting rooms for outpatients, consultation rooms and houses for the staff.[25]

Additional staff members were necessary for the enlarged program. Stella Liony, a trained nurse, was added to the staff. As in the case of T. B. Freeman, her father was an African and her mother a European. She assisted the doctor and developed an infant welfare

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24 Personal Correspondence of the Author, letter from I. Jackson, Assistant Secretary, British and Foreign Bible Society, September 10, 1947.

25 Walker, A Hundred Years in Nigeria, pp. 122, 123.

department which cared for motherless babies.[26]

The Wesleyan Guild Hospital, Ilesha, showed tremendous growth. In 1942 there were two doctors, three missionary nurses and eighteen Africans on the staff. Its fifty-five beds cared for some one thousand four hundred inpatients annually and more than fifty-three thousand outpatients were treated each year.[27]

Apart from the hospital, a circuit medical work was developed by Joyce Ludlow. She was one of the first European women fully trained as a physician to come to Nigeria. She traveled from Afon, as a center throughout the Ilorin province with her mobile medical unit.[28]

The medical work of the American Baptists centered at Ogbomosho. From one room, in the home of the first physician, George Green, the work had grown until it occupied a three room house surrounded by large grass roofed sheds. Through the funds contributed by the Judson Centennial Fund and the Seventy-five Million Campaign much-needed hospital buildings were made possible. The Young Woman's Auxiliary of Woman's Missionary Union of Virginia gave three thousand five hundred dollars toward this project.[29] The new buildings

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26 Ibid., p. 123.
27 Ibid., p. 128.
28 Loc. cit.
29 C. E. Maddry, Day Dawn in Yorubaland (Nashville: Broadman Press, 1939), pp. 165, 166.

were opened and dedicated on July 4, 1923.[30]

Prior to the dedication of the new hospital buildings new recruits joined the medical staff of the American Baptists, Ruth Kersey, a nurse, and W. P. Meredith, a physician, and his wife. In 1925 an African mother died in childbirth and the child was brought to Miss Kersey. She took the baby and fed it from a bottle and that was the beginning of the home for motherless infants. The Woman's Missionary Union of Virginia again, in 1930, gave a gift for medical missions and the home for motherless children was erected in Ogbomosho.[31]

The medical missionary staff was strengthened by the return of B. L. Lockett in 1926 and the appointment of J. Clarence Anders, in 1928, who had acquired a British qualification in medicine from Edinburgh, Scotland. This led to an advance in all the medical work of the American Baptists. The African staff at the hospital was organized and a nurses' training school was formed.[32] In 1930 Green, Lockett and Anders laid the plans for a partial self-supporting industrial leper colony. A site was obtained three miles out from

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30 George Green, Following in the Footsteps of the Great Physician (unpublished manuscript of an address given at the Nigerian Baptist convention, 1950), pages of manuscript not numbered.

31 Ibid., pages of manuscript not numbered.

32 Ibid., pages of manuscript not numbered.

Ogbomosho along the Oshogbo road.[33] Beginning in 1940, the ministry of the colony was extended and clan settlements were established in other parts of the Oyo Province.

The work of E. G. MacLean, a dentist, added to the medical ministry of the American Baptists. Though fully qualified as a dentist, MacLean spent much of his time as a builder. He ministered to the aching jaws of African and European alike throughout his thirty-three years in Nigeria.[34]

During the latter part of the 1930's the general medical work of American Baptists was expanded. Dispensaries were opened at Igedi, Iwo and Shaki and fully trained American nurses were placed in charge. The dispensary at Oyo was also continued. By the close of this period more than six thousand different patients were enrolled annually for treatment in the hospital and dispensaries; two hundred and eighty-eight surgical operations were performed; and the total number of treatments had reached fifty thousand.[35]

The C. M. S. did not attempt medical work among

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33 Ibid., pages of manuscript not numbered.
34 Nan F. Weeks, editor, Builders of a New Africa (Nashville: Broadman Press, 1944), pp. 77-100.
35 Annual of the Southern Baptist Convention, 1942, p. 180.

the Yorubas until the 1930's and then on a very limited scale. In 1937 medical work was opened at Ado Ekiti. Treatments were given and minor surgery was performed but it was not considered a hospital. During the early part of the war a German refugee woman physician was in charge of the work.[36]

Just before the outbreak of World War II the Seventh-day Adventists began work on the building of a hospital and nurses' training school at Ile Ife. As soon as the buildings were completed, the British Army took over the buildings and operated an army hospital there during the war.[37]

After World War I indigenous developments within the churches of the older societies continued and much of the work virtually became independent of the mission societies that had fostered it. Trained African pastors were elected to positions formerly held by missionaries. Once the chief burden rested upon the mission societies but gradually it became a partnership, with the African churches as the predominant partner. At this time the great task was that of providing a trained leadership. Africans were

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36 International Review of Missions, Vol. XXV, 1936, p. 62; Vol. XXX, 1941, p. 66.

37 Personal Correspondence of the Author, letter from J. I. Robison, Associate Secretary of General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, July 10, 1947.

sent to England and America and much of the financial responsibility was accepted by the churches.

It was during this period that work was developed among the women in the Anglican, Methodist and Baptist churches in Western Nigeria. In 1919 the Baptist Woman's Missionary Union was organized. This organization did much to contribute to the growth and development of Christian womanhood in Baptist churches.[38] Among the women of the Anglican and Methodist Churches guilds were formed. The Anglican Women and Girls' Diocesan Guilds were a marked feature of the church during this period.[39]

The Boys' Brigade and Girl Guides, Christian interdenominational youth organizations, were introduced in the Western Provinces. The Methodist Mission at Shagamu led in getting these organizations started, which were designed to provide Bible training as well as recreation for the youth of Nigeria.[40]

After World War I, in addition to the existing African churches, several African separatist sects arose in Southern Nigeria. In 1930 Joseph Babalola,

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38 Handbook of the Baptist Woman's Missionary Union of Nigeria (pamphlet, n.d.), p. 2.

39 Garlick, op. cit., p. 50.

40 Walker, A Hundred Years in Nigeria, p. 131; The Boys' Brigade, Aims and Methods, (pamphlet, n.d.), pp. 2, 3.

a worker on the public roads, claimed to have received a vision which caused him to leave his work and go over the country preaching this vision. He claimed to heal disease by prayer and faith in a bottle of water which he had blessed. He was given the name Aladura, man of prayer. Hundreds of people turned from their idols and were baptized and "The African Apostolic Church" was formed. Churches were started in Ibadan and several other cities in Yorubaland.[41]

In the 1920's a revivalist movement started called the "Seraphim" or "Sacred Society of Cherubim and Seraphim." The members of the movement were eclectic, wore white robes, removed shoes to enter the church and used the sign of the cross. They burned incense and used holy water and oil in their ritual. This group was influenced greatly by the literature from the Faith Tabernacle in the United States.[42]

Jehovah's Witnesses also came to Nigeria. They preached that missionaries were not servants of God but of the evil one. They told the Africans "there should be no paid workers, no churches, and so no

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41 W. J. Platt, From Fetish to Faith (London: Edinburgh House Press, 1935), p. 80; Garlick, op. cit., pp. 33, 34.

42 Personal Correspondence of the Author, letter from Geoffrey Parrinder, Department of Religious Studies, University College, Ibadan, March 22, 1951.

demand upon Christians for money."[43] In spite of all these extremists and obstacles Christianity continued to grow.

After World War I three additional societies began operations in Western Nigeria. In 1920 the Salvation Army began work in Lagos. The first representatives to reach Lagos were Colonel Soutar and his wife. A party of Jamaican officers arrived from the West Indies in time for the first meeting which was held in Saint George's Hall, Lagos, November 15, 1920. A training garrison was opened in Lagos to train officers. From this beginning the work spread beyond Lagos. In 1925 the government requested that work be started among delinquent boys and the Army answered that request. The Army's work developed along the lines of the other missions and soon schools and churches were opened in most of the larger towns. They attempted no medical work.[44]

The literature of the Apostolic Church Missionary Movement received a response from a few Africans in Lagos and in 1931 a committee from England visited the area. Their reports were favorable and the following year

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43 Platt, op. cit., pp. 82, 83.

44 Personal Correspondence of the Author, letter from Henry D. Gore, International Secretary of the Salvation Army, September 15, 1947.

the first two missionaries, George Perfect and Idris Vaughan, arrived to commence the work.[45]

The work developed in Lagos and spread rapidly into the surrounding territory and it became evident very soon that European missionaries could not be sent in sufficient numbers to look after the churches. In view of this, much of the work was placed in the hands of the Africans. Training centers were formed "for the education of the young native converts in the elementary principles essential to the shepherding of the groups of people assembling themselves under the name of the Apostolic Church."[46]

In 1938 the Apostolic work in Western Nigeria was divided into two areas, Lagos and Ilesha. The Lagos area was divided into four districts, Ebute Metta, Ijebu Ode, Ibadan and Modakeke with forty-five assemblies. The Ilesha area, likewise, had four districts with one hundred assemblies: Ilesha, Yagba, Ekiti and Ilorin.[47]

In 1934 Arthur Clapham, the first representative of the General Conference of the New Church (the organization in Great Britain which bases its worship and teach-

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45 Hugh Mitchell, The Glorious Vision, A Report of the Apostolic Church Missionary Movement, n.d., p. 21.
46 Annual Report of the Apostolic Church Missionary Movement, 1945, p. 8.
47 Ibid., p. 9.

ings on Swedenborg's revelation), visited Nigeria. He spoke in Port Harcourt, Aba, Ibadan and Lagos.[48]

In 1936 the New Church obtained a following in Owo among a group of people who had seceeded from the C. M. S. Africanus Mensah, a native of the Gold Coast who had been suspended by the Methodists for teaching Swedenborgianism, became the leader.[49] In 1941 there were three hundred and fifty members and four hundred and eighteen children connected with the church. The Swedenborg Memorial School had an enrollment of four hundred children with twelve teachers.[50]

Toward the latter part of the 1920's, through the interest of the various mission societies in the common task of education, a United Missionary Council for education was formed. The first meeting was held at Bishops-court, Lagos, December 16, 1929. At this meeting the council that was formed also considered matters of missionary policy. In 1930 the original idea of an educational council for the Southern Provinces grew into a much more comprehensive scheme for a Christian Council for the whole of Nigeria and

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48 Brian Kingslake, Africanus Mensah and the New Church in Nigeria (London: The General Conference of the New Church, 1947), p. 17.
49 Ibid., pp. 15, 20, 21.
50 Ibid., p. 43.

the name was changed to "The Christian Council of Nigeria."[51]

The meetings were set to take place every two years, but this plan was not followed. All of the regular mission societies operating in Nigeria were invited to join. The main leadership, however, was taken by the Methodists, Anglicans, American Baptists, Qua Iboe Mission, Church of Scotland Mission and Niger Delta Pastorate.

In 1939 the pressure of another World War began to have its effect upon Christianity. In Western Nigeria much of the leadership was in the hands of the Africans, who did a noble work in the absence of missionary leadership. Most of the Christians in Nigeria were south of the Niger river and the churches and schools had African leadership. During the period from 1939-1942 the medical, printing and educational work suffered most. Missionary visitation of churches and schools also was reduced to a minimum. By 1942 the period of progress had come to a close.

II. EASTERN NIGERIA

The Eastern region of Nigeria was the scene of considerable activity following the first of the world

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51 Report of the Christian Council of Nigeria, 1930, pp. 3, 4.

wars. Much of the development that had taken place in Western Nigeria prior to the war was half finished or in the initial stage of beginning in the eastern part. The railroad, that reached as far as Enugu, was extended into the northern region and joined the western division at Kaduna. This gave Nigeria a second highway through to the sea, at their new sea port, Port Harcourt. A seat of government for the area was placed at Enugu. Business and commerce were on the boom. All these developments affected the spread of Christianity in the eastern region.

The same spirit of progress that characterized the expansion of Christianity in Western Nigeria after World War I was seen in Eastern Nigeria. The older mission societies developed along the lines of medical and educational missions establishing institutions for these purposes. Indigenousness increased and new areas were entered. Within the period five additional societies entered the area.

The desire for education on the part of the people in Eastern Nigeria was a counterpart of that which was seen in Western Nigeria.[52] Large numbers of elementary schools sprang up in response to this desire

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52 See p. 178 f.

and, like the schools of Western Nigeria, they were poorly staffed and equipped. The societies were unable to meet the demands for elementary education efficiently. The result was that the major responsibility for elementary education fell into the hands of the Africans with the societies giving as much missionary supervision as possible. This was particularly true in the schools established by the Anglicans and to a lesser degree in other schools which looked to various societies for help.

In addition to these schools, mission societies established institutions for specific purposes, as vocational and theological training, "Brides' Schools" and regular secondary education. The training college of the C. M. S. for the Niger Diocese was located at Awka and that of the Niger Delta Pastorate at Ihie.[53] At Onitsha, the headquarters of the Niger Diocese, the C. M. S. located the Dennis Memorial Grammar School. A "school for brides" was opened at Ebu Owerri and a vocational school in carpentry for boys at Enugu.[54]

The Primitive Methodists continued the Oron Boys' High School. In the beginning this school had as its chief purpose the training of leadership for village

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53 Walker, The Romance of the Black River, pp. 213, 221.

54 Ibid., pp. 213-215.

schools and churches with the primary emphasis being placed upon Scripture and religious knowledge. In 1924 it became a government assisted school with some modification in the curriculum. In 1923 the Uzuakoli Institute was opened. In due time as the work was extended the name was changed to the Uzuakoli Methodist College. The school was developed to cover the whole range of education from kindergarten to teacher training. In 1927 the Mary Hanney Memorial School for girls moved to a new location at Eyo Bassey. A new girls' school was opened in 1929 at Ovim for Ibo girls. In 1937 the C. M. S., Church of Scotland Mission and the Methodists formed a United College for women at Arochuku. It was later moved to Umuahia.[55]

The Church of Scotland Mission added additional training to some of its schools. To the Edgerley Memorial School was added secondary education and to the Hope Waddell Training Institution, a normal college and secondary education.[56] In 1926 the theological college, Hugh Goldie Memorial College, was moved to a new site at Arochuku.[57] The boys' vocational school at Ididep con-

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55 H. G. Brewer, Invasion for God (unpublished manuscript, 1944), pp. 20-23; D. M. McFarlan, Calabar (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd., 1946), p. 165.
56 McFarlan, op. cit., pp. 165, 168.
57 Ibid., p. 172.

tinued training in cane-work, poultry-keeping and agriculture while the Slessor Memorial Home for girls at Arochuku continued normal education and domestic science.[58]

The Qua Iboe Mission continued to train teachers and evangelists at the boys' institute at Etinan and education for girls moved forward at the Grace Bill School.[59] The American Baptists had elementary schools at Buguma, Port Harcourt, Benin and Sapele, and the German Baptist elementary schools, few in number, were located north of Victoria.

Medical missions received much more attention in Eastern Nigeria than in Western Nigeria. There were four mission societies actively engaged in this work: the C. M. S., Church of Scotland Mission, Primitive Methodists Mission and Qua Iboe Mission. Through hospitals, leper colonies, dispensaries and maternity homes healing was brought to the people of Eastern Nigeria.

The C. M. S. medical work was headed up at the hospital located at Iyi Enu five miles from Onitsha. The hospital contained one hundred and fifty beds and

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58 Ibid., pp. 160, 167.
59 From the Qua Iboe to the Benue (pamphlet, n.d.) pp. 17-19.

a medical staff of four doctors and sixty-six African nurses.[60] The C. M. S. in 1934 also began to operate a mobile medical work in the Owerri province. A woman physician was located at Ebu and clinics were held at various centers.[61] In close connection with the Iyi Enu Hospital was the Niger diocesan maternity service which consisted of thirty maternity homes scattered throughout the diocese.[62]

The Church of Scotland Mission continued its emphasis upon medical missions in the Calabar region. The two medical stations of Itu and Uburu were developed and hospitals built. A training school for dispensers and nurses was connected with the hospital at Itu. In 1936 a dispensary was opened at Abiriba. Francis Akanu Ibiam, an African, who had taken medical studies at the University of St. Andrews, offered his services to the mission and became the first African medical missionary. The work was a success from the start.[63]

In 1921 A. B. Macdonald, a physician, arrived in Nigeria and was placed in charge of the Uburu hospital. After a short period he was moved to the Itu Hospital.

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60 Sydney Phillipson, Grants in Aid of the Medical and Health Services Provided by Voluntary Agencies in Nigeria (Lagos: Government Printer, 1949), p. 56.
61 Ibid., p. 62.
62 Loc. cit.
63 McFarlan, op. cit., pp. 153, 159.

In 1926 at Itu he began to treat leprosy and in a short time he had four hundred patients under treatment.[64] In 1928 he obtained one hundred and sixty-eight acres of land from the Itu chiefs and began the first leper colony in Nigeria. It was not altogether the society's project, for the government provided an annual grant of money and the Toc H Movement and British Empire Leprosy Relief Association gave assistance in men, money and medicine.[65]

By 1931 there were eleven hundred patients resident in the colony. This necessitated some additional land and in 1934 another two hundred and fifty acres were added. Industries were added to the colony and a school and a church established. "Every Sunday there is a congregation of over 2,000 young and old, of many tribes and tongues . . . the communicants are not many but they certainly are alive."[66] By 1942 more land was added to take care of well over two thousand patients.

In 1921 the Primitive Methodists began medical work in connection with their women's work. Nurses

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64 A. B. Macdonald, Can Ghosts Arise? (Edinburgh: Church of Scotland Mission Committee, 1946), p. 13.

65 Ibid., pp. 14, 19; P. B. Clayton, Toc H and B.E.L.R.A. (unpublished manuscript, 1950), pp. 1-21. Toc H is an interdenominational organization for Christian social service, founded as a memorial to British youth who perished in World War I.

66 Macdonald, op. cit., p. 60.

opened dispensaries at Ama Achara, Ifa, Ituk Mban, Ikotekpene and Oyobia. In 1929 the first Methodist physician, T. L. Scott, was appointed. From these dispensaries grew three hospitals located at Ama Achara, Ituk Mban and Uzuakoli, the largest of which is the Mary Leuty Hospital at Ituk Mban.[67]

Following the opening of dispensaries the government requested the Primitive Methodists to staff and manage a leper settlement, financed by the Native Administration of the Owerri province. They accepted the invitation and a site was chosen at Uzuakoli. More than one thousand lived within the settlement and fourteen thousand received treatment in 1942.[68]

The Qua Iboe Mission also began medical work on a larger scale during this period. In 1927 a hospital was built at Etinan with fifty beds. The mission opened ten outstation clinics and a leper colony in connection with the hospital.[69]

Much progress was made in the development of the African churches in Eastern Nigeria. In the Anglican churches the congregations built their own buildings, paid their own pastors and maintained their own schools.

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67 Brewer, op. cit., pp. 24, 25.
68 Loc. cit.
69 From the Qua Iboe to the Benue, pp. 14, 16.

In the towns of Bonny, Port Harcourt, and Onitsha large churches developed with pipe organs and all necessary materials for worship. Great strides were made in the direction of self-government through the Niger diocesan synod. In the Niger diocese the Delta Pastorate continued to be autonomous.[70]

In comparison with the development of education and medical work of the Church of Scotland the growth of the church was slow. By 1936 there were fifty organized congregations organized into two presbyteries. "The leadership rests almost exclusively with the African members, and the annual number of baptized converts has risen to about 900."[71]

Methodism likewise took root as churches and circuits became self-supporting. All churches and schools were staffed and maintained by Africans. Of the seven hundred village churches established by the Qua Iboe Mission most of them were self-supporting and, in the case of those unable to sustain the work, the stronger congregations helped to bear the burden.[72] The Baptist churches in the East, Sapele, Benin and

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70 Walker, op. cit., pp. 234-237.

71 Handbook of the Foreign Fields of the Church of Scotland (Edinburgh: Foreign Mission Committee, 1936), p. 56.

72 From the Qua Iboe to the Benue, p. 13.

Buguma cooperated with the American Baptist Mission and remained self-supporting.

In Iboland, at Iselle Uku, an independent Baptist work was started. During the second decade of this century an Ibo boy came into contact in Kano with a Christian trader by the name of Martin. The boy accepted Christianity and was taken to America where he was placed in an industrial school in Kansas. The young African adopted the name of his benefactor and was known as Samuel Martin. After finishing the industrial school he worked his way through various schools and was invited to become the assistant pastor of the Pilgrim Baptist Church in Chicago.[73]

In the early part of the 1920's he returned to Iselle Uku and began a mission. It was a difficult task but in spite of opposition and persecution he opened a school for boys. The Foreign Mission Board of the National Baptist Convention, Inc., Philadelphia promised to give fifty dollars monthly for this work, but they were unable to do so. In spite of lack of support Martin continued. In 1937 the Southern Baptists of America began to support the work to the extent of three hundred dollars annually. By 1940 the work had grown to include an industrial and

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73 Maddry, op. cit., pp. 173-174.

primary school and a large self-supporting church.[74]

Between the world wars six additional societies came to work in Eastern Nigeria, Seventh-day Adventist, Apostolic Church Movement, Salvation Army, New Church Mission, Assemblies of God Mission and Mission Board of the Lutheran Synodical Conference of North America. In addition, the North American Baptist Missionary Society assumed the responsibility for the German Baptist work in the Cameroons.

The Seventh-day Adventists, who had work in Western Nigeria, extended their work into the eastern region. The first station was opened by J. Clifford at Aba in 1923. A training school was built, followed by the establishment of a girls' school. As the work grew, outstations with elementary schools were opened in the adjoining area. A second station was opened at Awtun by A. G. Till. In 1930 work was opened at Elele near Port Harcourt.[75]

Following an initial visit to Nigeria by leaders of the Apostolic Church Missionary Movement in 1932, Idris Vaughan and George Perfect visited the Calabar

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74 Ibid., pp. 175-176.

75 Personal Correspondence of the Author, letter from J. I. Robison, Assistant Secretary, General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, July 10, 1947.

area. They found about thirty people who were anxious to be set in order as an Apostolic Assembly. In 1933 Vaughan returned and located at Calabar. From Calabar the work spread to the neighboring towns and later centers were opened at Ikotekpene and Amumara.[76] In the early 1940's there were more than two hundred assemblies in Eastern Nigeria.[77]

The Salvation Army expanded from its original station, Lagos, into Eastern Nigeria in the 1920's. Stations were opened at Port Harcourt and Egwanga. As in Western Nigeria the Army took its place as a regular mission; opened schools and established churches.[78]

In the 1930's Africanus Mensah, a correspondence student in the New Church Theological College in England, opened a book room in Port Harcourt for the sale of New Church literature. After a visit to Nigeria in 1935 by Arthur Clapham, Mensah was appointed "Lay Missioner and agent for the sale and distribution of New-Church literature in West Africa."[79] The book room was not successful, but Mensah obtained permission to teach

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76 Annual Report of the Apostolic Church Missionary Movement, 1946, pp. 15-23.

77 Annual Report of the Apostolic Church Missionary Movement, 1945, p. 9.

78 Personal Correspondence of the Author, letter from Henry D. Gore, International Secretary Salvation Army, September 15, 1947.

79 Kingslake, op. cit., p. 18.

religion to the children of the Cunardia School (a private school). He began public services in the Palladium Cinema but attendances were small and so Mensah moved to Owo.[80]

After Mensah left Port Harcourt centers were developed at Degema, Umuana Ndume, Egbolom, Minama, and Abua. The New Church Mission was conducted in the main by Africans except for occasional visits from representatives from England.[81]

During the 1930's thousands of papers, tracts, and books were sent to Nigeria by the Faith Tabernacle, Philadelphia. As a result several Faith Tabernacles were opened in Nigeria by Africans. Later the Faith Tabernacle in Philadelphia split and a group called the First Century Gospel came into existence. In like manner the First Century Gospel Church came into existence in Nigeria.[82]

These groups wrote to the Assemblies of God missionaries in the Gold Coast requesting that they come over and assist them. In 1939 W. L. Shirer and his wife visited the Calabar-Port Harcourt area and the following

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80 See p. 190.
81 Ibid., pp. 27, 29, 38.
82 W. L. Shirer, An Open Door in French West Africa (pamphlet, 1943), pp. 4-5.

year Everett Phillips and his wife arrived at Port Harcourt and became the first Assemblies of God missionaries to Nigeria.[83]

In the early part of the 1930's dissatisfactions arose among the adherents of the Qua Iboe Mission in the Ibesikpo section of the Ibibio country. A large number withdrew from the mission and set up the Ibesikop United Church. In America an Ibesikpo boy was in school and wrote concerning the Lutheran Church, whereon the Ibesikpo Christians invited the Lutherans to send missionaries to them.[84]

In 1935 a committee from the Mission Board of the Evangelical Lutheran Synodical Conference of North America visited the area and gave a favorable report upon their return. The following year Henry Nau and his wife went to Nigeria to begin the work.[85] They found sixteen groups of people scattered throughout the area and each group had a school in connection with the church.[86]

Gradually the Lutherans began a work of instruction

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83 Personal Correspondence of Author, letter from C. D. Goudie, Superintendent of Assemblies of God Mission, June 28, 1950.

84 Henry Nau, We Move into Africa (Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1946); pp. 25, 205-207; International Review of Missions, Vol. XXVI, 1937, p. 65.

85 Nau, op. cit., pp. xi, xii.

86 Ibid., pp. 208-243.

which led the churches to carry their share in the responsibility of the development. In 1937 Nau and his wife were joined by others, W. H. Schweppe and V. Koeper and their wives and a nurse, Helen Kluck.[87] The work grew and developed from this beginning.

The work of the German Baptists was resumed, after the first world war, by Carl H. Bender and his daughter, Erica. They arrived in 1929. In 1931 Paul Gebauer from America arrived on the field and began work in the heart of the Cameroons about four hundred miles north of Victoria at Mbem. He succeeded in organizing the Cameroons Baptist Mission (USA).[88]

In 1936 the Baptist Society from Germany turned over to the North American Baptist Missionary Society, a newly formed organization with headquarters in Forest Park, Illinois, supported by German-American Baptists, all their work because they were unable to finance the work. The Cameroons Baptist Mission (USA) from this time forward began a work of progress. Additional missionaries were added, Edith Koppin, a nurse, in 1936, George A. Dunger and wife in 1938. At the beginning of the second world war the missionaries from Germany were interned at Jamaica and Paul Gebauer

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87 Ibid., pp. 323-332, 411.

88 M. L. Leuschner and others, Call of the Cameroons (Cleveland: Roger Williams Press, 1949), p. 19.

entered the United States Army as a chaplain and the work was virtually at a standstill.[89]

In Eastern Nigeria Christianity had truly taken root and was flourishing at the beginning of the second world war. By the time the war had been in progress two years Christianity here began to feel the effects and, as in the Western area, expansion was retarded.

III. NORTHERN NIGERIA

In 1919 developments in Northern Nigeria that had been brought to a standstill by World War I began to take place. The new capital of the Northern provinces at Kaduna was the scene of much delayed development. Additional railroads were built to bring the products of Northern Nigeria to the markets of the world. Commercial centers sprang up throughout the North as progress continued.

Missionaries had found an altogether different situation in the North from that of the East and West. Here they faced strong Hausa emirates with Muslim exclusiveness and the prejudice of walled cities. All the attempts of missionaries in the last period to enter the Muslim emirates except those of C. M. S., had been turned back. The societies, in the face of

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89 Ibid., pp. 20, 21.

this refusal, started work among the pagan people of the plateau and areas to the north of the Niger and Benue rivers. The work was a slow process of individual contacts with relatively small groups under the influence of teachings of the missions.

In the 1920's there was a slight relaxing of the policy of the government which had kept mission societies from entering the Muslim emirates. The government took the position that it would not exert its influence in any way, for or against the coming of missionaries, but should the emirs desire their entrance the government would not interfere.[90] Following this slight change mission societies gradually entered the area.

In 1919 the C. M. S. had four footholds in Northern Nigeria: Bida, Zaria, Kano and the Bauchi Plateau. The society felt that effective oversight could not be carried on from Lagos. In 1925 Archdeacon A. W. Smith was consecrated assistant bishop, with special care of the work in the North. He established his residence on the government reservation at Ilorin, a city from which he could easily travel over the area and still maintain contact with Lagos.[91]

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90 International Review of Missions, Vol. XXIII, 1934, p. 66; R. V. Bingham, The Burden of the Sudan (pamphlet, n.d.), pp. 21, 22.

91 Walker, op. cit., p. 234.

Signs of progress were seen in the work of the C. M. S. At Bida a boys' school was opened to which was attached a class for evangelists. These evangelists manned some fifteen outstations in the nearby country. The buildings in the outstations were built by the Christians at no cost to the C. M. S. Muslim opposition lessened as the Emir of Bida permitted the licensing of the church at Bida for Christian marriage.[92]

In 1935 Garlick wrote about the Nupe work:

> Progress in the Nupe country is hindered, not because of any lack of African evangelists or applications for resident teachers, but through lack of funds. Three evangelists and one schoolmaster are now supported by the gifts of the Nupe Christians, and to the great joy of the little Christian community their senior evangelist was recently accepted as the first Nupe candidate for ordination.[93]

At Zaria the educational and medical work continued under the supervision of W. R. Miller. A hostel for girls was opened which was the first educational effort for girls in the North.[94] Between 1926 and 1929 several new missionaries joined the mission at Zaria. Quite early it seemed to these new missionaries that the mission should be moved from the small quarters inside the walled city of Zaria to a place that made possible

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92 Garlic, op. cit., p. 49.
93 Ibid., p. 50.
94 Walker, The Romance of the Black River, p. 233.

further development. The older missionaries felt that the strategic position, inside the hardly won city should not be surrendered. The C. M. S. committee in London, however, after weighing carefully the pros and cons suggested that a move be made.[95]

In 1929 the mission was moved to Wusasa two miles from Zaria and the first group of buildings was erected. At Wusasa the missionaries believed that medical work was the spearhead of evangelism. A hospital was built which took care of all the maternity cases in the city of Zaria. Three other medical centers were opened at Masha,[96] Chafe[97] and a leper settlement on the Kaduna road. The Sultan of Sokoto expressed his approval of opening a dispensary in his province.[98]

At the new mission site the educational work of both the boys' and girls' schools reached a higher standard. There was a great demand for those trained by the mission in the departments of the government and commercial firms.[99]

The church at Wusasa, with its one hundred and

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95 W. R. Miller, Reflections of A Pioneer (London: Church Missionary Society, 1936), p. 215.
96 Garlick, op. cit., p. 47.
97 Miller, op. cit., p. 219.
98 Garlick, op. cit., p. 47.
99 Ibid., pp. 46, 47.

eighty-two registered members, was the only indigenous church of Hausa Christians in Northern Nigeria. The building was made of mud like all other Hausa buildings. It was built in the shape of a cross with the east window cut cross-shaped out of the mud. In 1942 there were evidences of an encouraging forward move in Hausaland.

In the Kano station, in which very little had been accomplished before World War I, encouraging developments appeared. In 1921 the C. M. S. received permission to open a bookstore on the edge of the market. J. F. Cotton and his wife opened the store, assisted by a Hausa Christian from Zaria.[100] The work was a success from the start as the mission gradually won the friendship and goodwill of the Hausa people of Kano.

The Christians were divided into three congregations in Kano: Hausa, Southern Nigerian and the European church. In 1933 a mud-brick church took the place of the little thatched hut as the house of worship of the Hausa Christians. Most of the money for the erection of the building was raised by the growing congregation. The church of the southern tribes grew in proportion to the number of Christians that came to the North to

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100 Walker, op. cit., p. 232.

work for the government and commercial firms.[101] The European church consisted of the white government officials who resided in the city of Kano. It was built by J. F. Cotton.[102]

On the Bauchi plateau at Panyam and Kabwir the work was not without success. For several years the C. M. S. had maintained a small staff of European and African missionaries on the plateau. In 1929 the C. M. S. felt that its finances could no longer be stretched to include this work, so it was handed over to the S. U. M. This gave the C. M. S. an opportunity to concentrate on their Muslim work, which they did effectively.[103]

The S. I. M. entered a remarkable period of growth following the first world war. Between 1918 and 1922 the income of the mission doubled and a total of twenty-nine new missionaries were sent to the field. From this time on an average of twenty-five new missionaries were sent to the field each year.[104] With this large missionary personnel, over forty new mission stations were opened by the S. I. M. in Northern Nigeria during this period.[105]

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101 Garlick, op. cit., pp. 47, 48.
102 Loc. cit.
103 Walker, op. cit., p. 230; The Lightbearer, Vol. 26, 1930, p. 59.
104 Bingham, The Burden of the Sudan, p. 25.
105 Prayer Calendar of S. I. M., 1946, pp. 5-14.

The work of printing, production and distribution of literature became a vital part of the work of the S. I. M. During World War I "The Niger Press" was purchased by "Evangelical Publishers,"[106] Toronto and moved to Minna. In 1918 E. F. George and his wife came to operate the press. They were later followed by C. V. Nelson and Robert Kitch. In 1928 "The Niger Press" was moved from Minna to Jos.[107] At Jos a central bookstore was opened with branches in Kafanchan, Gusau, Kano, Minna, Katsina and Sokoto.

Wherever the S. I. M. opened a mission station a dispensary for the treatment of outpatients was also opened. The dispensary was operated by a European missionary who had received a recognized course in dispensary work. No beds were provided in the dispensaries.[108]

In 1935 the S. I. M. was given permission to open leper settlements in the Kano, Katsina, Sokoto and Bornu provinces. These settlements grew rapidly with the government providing financial assistance for each

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106 An organization started and carried on by R. V. Bingham in close connection with the S. I. M.

107 Bingham, The Burden of the Sudan, p. 18; _____, Seven Sevens of Years and a Jubilee (Toronto: Evangelical Publisher, 1943), p. 34.

108 Phillipson, Grants in Aid of the Medical and Health Services by Voluntary Agencies in Nigeria, p. 64.

project. Other leprosy treatment centers were opened in connection with dispensary work.[109]

In the early years of the S. I. M., elementary education received very little attention; however, Bible schools for the training of evangelists were conducted from the beginning. Vernacular schools were operated at several centers but, as the country developed, this type of training was not sufficient. In the latter part of the 1930's the position of the mission changed and educational work occupied a much more important place in the program of the mission.

Personal evangelism by the missionaries was the outstanding characteristic of the mission. Itinerant European and African evangelists paved the way for the opening of stations, and congregations were formed in connection with most of the stations. Unlike the work in the eastern and western parts of the country much of the pastoral care was carried on by the missionaries, but by 1942 there were several African evangelists who were of sufficient strength to be placed in charge of congregations.

The work of the Boys' Brigade was started in Northern Nigeria in 1938 by F. B. Whale, a missionary

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109 Ibid., p. 72; Bingham, The Burden of the Sudan, p. 34.

of the S. I. M. He did the work in his spare time, at first, but later the S. I. M. allowed him to devote his full time to this work. The Brigade was organized on stations of five different mission societies with approximately three thousand boys under its influence.[110]

The S. U. M., which had as its objective to throw a chain of mission stations across the Sudan, moved steadily forward after the war. The mission was unique in its organization, in that each of its branches was autonomous with an area allotted to each to develop. The mission adopted a plan to develop an African church, "Ekklesiya cikin Sudan," (the church in the Sudan) which would be self-supporting, self-governing and self-propagating.[111]

The first forward step following the war was the opening of additional medical work. In 1923 a hospital was opened at Vom on the plateau. It developed into a large hospital with over one hundred beds. In connection with this hospital a leper settlement was opened nearby. The Danish branch of the mission opened a hospital at Numan and later the Bambur Hospital was

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110 F. B. Whale, The Boys' Brigade in Northern Nigeria (unpublished manuscript, 1950), pp. 1-2.

111 The Lightbearer, Vol. XVIV, No. 3, July-September 1948, pp. 36-37.

opened in the Adamawa province.[112]

Educational work was first attempted in the vernacular. The mission curriculum consisted of religious instruction, writing and notation of figures. Some of these classes were converted into schools of higher training. "Until recent years an African Vernacular was considered by the Mission to be the proper medium of education."[113] The trend in most of the schools in 1942 was to change the medium of instruction to English.

Several new areas were opened by the mission. In 1919 a station was opened at Lupwe in the Benue province. This was followed by the opening of several stations in the Southern and Jama'a division of the Plateau province. Work was also extended into the Bauchi (1927) and Bornu provinces (1938). By 1942 there were over thirty S. U. M. stations in Nigeria.[114]

In 1938 the first two African pastors of the "Ekklesiya cikin Sudan" were ordained. Thus, the mission moved on in its effort to stem the Muhammadan advance.[115]

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112 Phillipson, Grants in Aid of the Medical and Health Services Provided by Voluntary Agencies in Nigeria, p. 61.

113 Phillipson, Grants in Aid of Education in Nigeria, p. 130.

114 Ibid., p. 129; The Lightbearer, Vol. XLIV, No. 3, July-September, 1948, p. 37.

115 The Lightbearer, Vol. XLIV, No. 3, July-September 1948, p. 37.

In 1919 Johanna Veinstra, a member of the Christian Reformed Church, went to work at Lupwe under the S. U. M.[116] Through the use of her pen and through public addresses, Johanna Veinstra laid before the Christian Reformed Church the need of support for a mission to the Sudan.

On January 1, 1940, the Lupwe-Takum field of S. U. M. was taken over by the Christian Reformed Church.[117] There were four missionaries on the staff when the mission started, E. H. Smith and his wife, Jennie Stielstra and Tena Huizenga, a nurse.[118] The next year the little group was joined by another nurse, Anita A. Vissia.[119] Medical and educational work grew and Bible classes were started for evangelists. There was only one congregation connected with the mission in 1942.[120]

The United Missionary Society, formerly known as the Mennonite Brethren in Christ Missionary Society, increased its work along the Niger river and opened new stations in the Ilorin and Niger provinces. Following the war two of the stations, Jebba and Mokwa, showed

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116 John C. DeKorne, To Whom I Now Send Thee (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1945), p. 27.
117 Ibid., p. 41.
118 Ibid., p. 53.
119 Ibid., p. 75.
120 Ibid., p. 83

encouraging signs of development. A new church building was constructed to take care of the growing congregation at Jebba. In 1931 a dispensary was opened here, "where literally tens of thousands of medical treatments have been given."[121] Work on the Jebba Island was begun in 1930 as well as in the adjoining villages.[122] At Mokwa medical work developed as well as a school and some ten outstations.[123] Shonga, the first station of the society, did not prove successful although the gospel was faithfully given, so the station was closed in 1925.[124]

Between 1920 and 1937 four new stations were opened by the United Missionary Society: Share, Igbetti, Salka, Zuru and Yelwa. Dispensaries and schools were operated in all these stations as well as a strong evangelistic program.[125] The greatest success of the mission was at Igbetti where an average of five hundred attended the Sunday morning service.[126]

Very little headway was made by the Dutch Reformed missionaries among the Tiv[127] people before the end of the war. When war ceased new missionaries were appointed

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121 E. R. Storms, What God Hath Wrought (Springfield: The United Missionary Society, 1948), pp. 39, 40.
122 Ibid., pp. 37-44.
123 Ibid., pp. 45-51.
124 Ibid., p. 35.
125 Ibid., pp. 53 ff, 63 ff, 73 ff.
126 Ibid., p. 58.
127 Sometimes called Munchi.

and six stations were opened: Sevan, Mkar, Turan, Kunav Makurdi and Shangev. In these years of beginning progress was slow and the numbers won were very few.[128]

As there were no books in the native language of the Tiv people the missionaries set themselves to the task of producing school books and the translation of the Scripture. Schools were opened and training was given in the vernacular and later elementary departments were added. In 1927 expansion was practically stopped because of restrictions enacted by the government. All the evangelical mission societies protested and in 1934 they were cancelled and more schools were opened.[129]

During the short ministry of the society in this difficult field seven congregations were won and organized with elders and evangelists. Up to 1942 no African pastors had been ordained. A General Church Council of all congregations was organized which meant much to the progress of the mission.[130]

Medical work was opened at Mkar during this period. Here a hospital with forty-five beds was established, staffed with a trained medical personnel and four

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128 Personal Correspondence of the Author, letter from A. J. Brink, Chairman Dutch Reformed Church Mission, July 14, 1950.

129 Letter to Mr. Chamberlain from A. J. Brink, Chairman, Dutch Reformed Church Mission, December 1, 1949.

130 Personal Correspondence of the Author, letter from A. J. Brink, Chairman, Dutch Reformed Church Mission, July 14, 1950.

dispensaries were opened in nearby stations. The mission, likewise, began a treatment center for leprosy which grew into a large settlement.[131]

The Igala and Bassa country, southeast of the confluence of the Niger and Benue rivers, was opened by missionaries of the Christian Missions in Many Lands. In 1919 A. A. Hewstone and wife accompanied by Miss. E. S. Gillett, a sister of Mrs. Hewstone, arrived at Donga, a station of the S. U. M. After a survey of the field they opened a station at Abajikolo. A school was opened for six freed slave children who were turned over to the mission by the government.[132]

In 1920 two others joined the mission, J. Ramsden and Mary Scott. Six months later Ramsdan opened a second station at Ayangba fifty-five miles southeast of Abajikolo. The following year the mission was strengthened by the arrival of A. MacLaughlan and Raymond Dibble and his wife. In 1922 Dibble opened a station at Akwacha.[133]

The next fifteen years were filled with losses and disappointments for the mission. Six months after the arrival in 1926 of Miss Arnott, a nurse, she passed

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131 Loc. cit.
132 Raymond Dibble, Christian Missions in Many Lands in Nigeria, (unpublished manuscript, 1947), p. 1.
133 Loc. cit.

away and the next year Mrs. Dibble also passed away. This same year the entire station at Abajikolo was destroyed by fire and never was rebuilt. In the early part of the 1930's Hewstone and his wife retired and Ramsden passed away. In 1939 two nurses joined the mission but six months later both retired from the field.[134]

In spite of these disappointments the mission grew. By 1942 there were some fifteen congregations with a Christian community of approximately three thousand.[135]

A station of the Christian Missions in Many Lands was also opened at Kano by Mr. and Mrs. Pomeroy in 1924. Within four years Pomeroy died and his wife remained there until her death.[136]

In 1932 the Qua Iboe Mission extended its work into the Igala area. African evangelists from the churches in the south volunteered to go into the Igala area. Stations were opened at Idah, Ankpa and Adoru.[137]

In 1936 George Curry crossed the Benue river and opened work among the Bassa people. The first station opened by Curry was at Kanyehu. This was found

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134 Ibid., pp. 1, 2.
135 Ibid., p. 2.
136 Ibid., p. 3.
137 Qua Iboe Mission Quarterly, No. 34 (New Series), May, 1947, p. 441.

to be a difficult field but in spite of all the problems progress was made. Part of the New Testament was translated and classes for religious instruction started.[138]

The interest of the Church of the Brethren in a mission to the Sudan was aroused by an appeal by Karl Kumm of the S. U. M. In 1918 the Mission Board of the Church of the Brethren announced its willingness to accept money for work in the Sudan. In 1920 and 1921 a deputation from the Mission Board visited Africa and recommended that a mission be opened in Northern Nigeria.[139]

In 1922 Albert D. Helser and H. Stover Kulp were sent out to find a location and prepare for the coming of their wives. They secured the consent of the government to open work among the pagan Bura tribe at a place called Garkida. Their plan was to evangelize the eighty to one hundred thousand who inhabited this area and expand into the adjoining territory. The missionaries were limited geographically in these early days but in 1931 the government partially withdrew some of these limitations and permitted the opening of other stations.[140]

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138 Ibid., p. 442.
139 Elgin S. Moyer, Missions in the Church of the Brethren (Elgin: Brethren Publishing House, 1931), p. 190.
140 Ibid., pp. 192-194.

Medical work was opened by the Church of the Brethren Mission. In 1924 the first doctor arrived on the field. As this phase of the work grew, the need for a hospital was made known to the women of the Church of the Brethren who responded by giving the money necessary for the building. Medical work was extended to Lassa and Marama.[141] The Garkida leper colony was opened in 1929. A five hundred acre tract of land was obtained and buildings erected. The American Mission to Lepers aided the mission with a grant for surgical and medical supplies. A church and school were established for the patients which numbered between four and five hundred in 1942.[142]

In addition to medical work the mission placed great emphasis upon evangelism. Every year each missionary made a one, two or three months evangelistic tour in the adjoining area. Industrial and educational work had a part in the program of the mission.[143] The numbers of converts were not great but the foundation for a

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141 Marguerite S. Burke, The Medical Work in Africa (unpublished manuscript, n.d.), p. 5.

142 Howard A. Bosler, Our Leper Colony in Northern Nigeria (Elgin: General Mission Board Church of Brethren, n.d.), pp. 3-7.

143 Mrs. Desmond Bittinger, Evangelistic Work in Africa (unpublished manuscript, n.d.), p. 1; Mrs. A. D. Helser, Educational Work in the African Mission (unpublished manuscript, n.d.), p. 1.

thoroughgoing program of missions was laid which began to bear fruit in the 1940's.

In 1932 the Seventh-day Adventists extended their work into Northern Nigeria. A station was opened by J. J. Hyde on the plateau at Jengre. Hyde preached in the villages near-by and soon a following was won among the pagan people of this area. Mrs. Hyde opened a dispensary which later grew into a hospital operated by her son, J. A, Hyde, a trained physician.[144]

In addition to the work of the mission societies in the north was the work of the African Christians. Following the first world war, along the railroad and at market centers scattered throughout the area, people from both the eastern and western parts of the country came in search of employment and to trade in the products of the North. Some of these were Christians who established places of worship without the assistance of missionaries. As a result Anglican, Methodist, Baptist and Apostolic churches sprang up in the North. The language of the largest group of people was used in all public services. In connection with these churches, schools were operated like those in the eastern and western provinces.

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144 Personal correspondence of the Author, letter from J. I. Robison, Associate Secretary General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, July 10, 1947.

Native independent African churches were also established in the North: United Native African Church, Native African Church, Faith Tabernacle, First Century Gospel Church, Seraphim and Aladura.

In Northern Nigeria there was co-operation between all the missions in two organizations started for this purpose. The first was a "Council of Missions for Northern Provinces, Nigeria" in which all those missions with work among the natives of the north were invited to attend. They met annually to consider lines of advance, relation of missions to government and a united church for Africa. The second was "Conference of Missions of Northern Provinces, Nigeria." The conference began in 1926 and was composed of delegates based on the number of missionaries under appointment: one delegate for every twenty missionaries. It met every three years until 1935 when it was dissolved.[145] In 1935 the name of the "Council of Missions for Northern Provinces, Nigeria" was changed to "Annual Meeting of Representatives of Missions."[146]

The second world war, which began in Europe in

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145 Minutes of the Conference of Missions Northern Provinces, Nigeria, November 13-18, 1926, (pages not numbered).

146 Log Book, Council of Missions in Northern Provinces, p. 254.

1939, and which in 1941 involved the United States, gradually began to slow down the advance of Christianity in Nigeria. The momentum that Christianity had gained during this period of progress carried the expansion well into the war years before any great change was seen.

By 1942 it was evident that the period of progress had come to a close. Missionaries no longer were available to open new fields, but had to carry double loads to maintain the established work. Travel to and from Nigeria was at a premium. Nigerian troops took a part in the war campaigns in East Africa and India.[147] Materials for educational and medical work were scarce. Printing and production of literature was greatly reduced. In spite of all these difficulties the second world war did not hinder the expansion of Christianity as greatly as had the first world war. Thus the greatest period of progress in the expansion of Christianity came to a close.

147 Niven, op. cit., p. 254.

The first century of the expansion of evangelical Christianity in Nigeria (1842-1942) was a century of achievement in spite of heavy losses paid by all who sought to introduce the Christian message. Long before missionaries began work in the country people from Nigeria were evangelized in Sierra Leone and Jamaica. The desire of these Christian ex-slaves to return to their native home coupled with a desire of the missionaries to preach the Gospel led missionaries to Nigeria.

Three lines of advance developed: first, Fernando Po and Calabar area, second Yorubaland and third, interior along the Niger river. The first to arrive on the field to investigate the possibilities of the Fernando Po and Calabar area were the missionaries of the Baptist Missionary Society of England in 1841. They were followed in 1846 by missionaries of the Church of Scotland. In Yorubaland the first to arrive were the Wesleyan Methodists in September, 1842, followed by the C. M. S. in December, 1842 and American Baptists in 1850. The third area was opened by the C. M. S. in 1857 after several earlier expeditions.

For a period of thirty-two years missionaries explored and pioneered these areas, but in 1867 the missionaries in Yorubaland had to withdraw to Lagos because of tribal hostilities. In Calabar and Fernando Po the loss

of missionaries by death caused a crisis in the mission in the 1870's and non-Christian traders hindered the advance of Christianity along the Niger river.

In 1875 the situation began to change and a new period developed in the expansion of Christianity. The societies gradually returned to Yorubaland and laid permanent foundations for the expansion of Christianity. Foundations were also laid along the Niger and in the Calabar area. Toward the latter part of the period there were several secessions from the mission societies and African independent churches were formed. During this period the Baptist Missionary Society withdrew from the field and their work was partially taken over by the Basle mission and later some of the churches came under the influence of the Baptists from Germany. Three additional mission societies opened work; the Qua Iboe Mission (1887), German Baptists (1891) and Primitive Methodists (1893) in the Calabar area. Efforts were also made by the C. M. S. and a group, which later became the S. I. M., to establish work in Northern Nigeria but they did not prove successful. By the close of the nineteenth century the forces of Christianity had penetrated relatively all of the western and eastern portions of Nigeria.

The birth of the new century brought a period of

organization, expansion and indigenous developments. Institutions for educational and medical work were established by all societies. Elementary education was entirely in the hands of the societies which during this period developed the facilities for providing trained teachers. Institutions for theological training likewise developed. A large part of the work became self-supporting during this period. One new society, the Seventh-day Adventists, entered Yorubaland in 1913.

The great territory to the north was opened at the beginning of the century. The C. M. S. led the way, followed by a number of additional societies: S. I. M. (1893), S. U. M. (1904), United Missionary Society (1905), and Dutch Reformed Church Mission (1916). Since the Muslim territory was closed, most of the societies began work among pagan peoples. One break into the Muslim territory was made by the C. M. S. at Zaria. The advance of this new century was brought to a close by the first of the world wars.

When the war ceased Christianity entered its greatest period of progress. All over the territory of Nigeria Christianity began to expand and grow. Educational, medical, industrial work were a part of the work of every mission. Printing and the production of Christian literature were also well established.

Ordained ministers, teachers and a trained hospital staff carried a large share of the responsibility for the work. Churches were in most of the towns and villages in the east and west and in the important towns of the north. The Muslim emirates were entered as Christianity became Nigeria-wide. Several societies came into Nigeria and began work following the war: Christian Missions in Many Lands (1919), Salvation Army (1920), Church of Brethren (1922), Apostolic Church Missionary Movement (1932), New Church Missionary Society (1934), Lutheran Synodical Conference of North America (1936), North American Baptist Missionary Society (1936), Assemblies of God Mission (1940) and The Christian Reformed Church Mission (1940).

In 1939 when a second world war came the expansion of Christianity was slowed down, but by this time there were many Christians who accepted responsibilities and the war did not totally stop expansion. However, the period in which Christianity had enjoyed its greatest growth came to a close looking forward to an even greater day when hostilities ceased.

At the close of the first period (1842-1874) the total number of Christians won by evangelical mission societies was 900, but by the end of the century the number had risen to 9,431. The majority were located

in the eastern and western portions of the country. In the new century there was even a greater growth in the eastern and western portion and the addition of a few hundred in the north. At the end of the first world war the total number of evangelical Christians was 56,074. In the next two decades Christianity had the highest percentage of growth of any period. In 1942 the total number of members reached 227,822.

Much was accomplished in this first century of missionary work in Nigeria, but much remains to be done. To the Christians of every tribe and tongue who have been redeemed by the blood of Christ and freed from bondage and fear, comes the challenge to minister to all who yet sit in darkness in the second century for Christ in Nigeria.

STATISTICS FOR 1942

	Communicant Members	Total Christian Community
C.M.S.	63,650[1]	327,880[3]
Methodists	22,253[1]	81,321[3]
American Baptists	9,214[4]	12,000[2]
Seventh-day Adventists	3,893[1]	3,893[1]
Qua Iboe Mission	52,689[1]	80,673[3]
Church of Scotland	13,500[1]	32,000[1]
Dutch Reformed Church Mission	200[2]	5,000[2]
S.I.M.	4,967[1]	6,585[3]
S.U.M.	2,227[1]	5,000[2]
United Missionary Society	175[2]	1,000[2]
Church of the Brethren Mission	535[1]	657[3]
Salvation Army	8,000[2]	8,000[2]
Apostolic Church Missionary Movement	3,000[2]	5,000[2]
Christian Missions in Many Lands	70[5]	3,000[8]
Christian Reformed Church Mission	104[6]	635[6]
Assemblies of God.....	150[2]	150[2]

	Communicant Members	Total Christian Community
North American Baptist General Missionary Society	1,000[2]	1,000[2]
New Church Mission Society	1,000[7]	1,000[7]
Lutheran Synodical Conference of North America	400[2]	4,000[2]
Native Churches	50,000[2]	50,000[2]
TOTAL	227,822	616,694

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1 Figures based on the personal correspondence of the author with secretary of society.

2 Personal estimate of the author based on the materials listed in the bibliography.

3 Joseph I. Parker, Interpretative Statistical Survey of the World Mission of the Christian Church (New York: International Missionary Council, 1938), p. 68.

4 Annual of the Southern Baptist Convention, 1942, p. 177; The system of counting was changed in 1919 which accounts for the low figure of American Baptists.

5 J. Lowry Maxwell, Nigeria: The Land, the People and Christian Progress, p. 146.

6 John C. DeKorne, To Whom I Now Send Thee, p. 81.

7 Brian Kinglake, Africanus Mensah and the New Church, p. 53.

8 Raymond Dibble, Christian Missions in Many Lands in Nigeria, p. 2.

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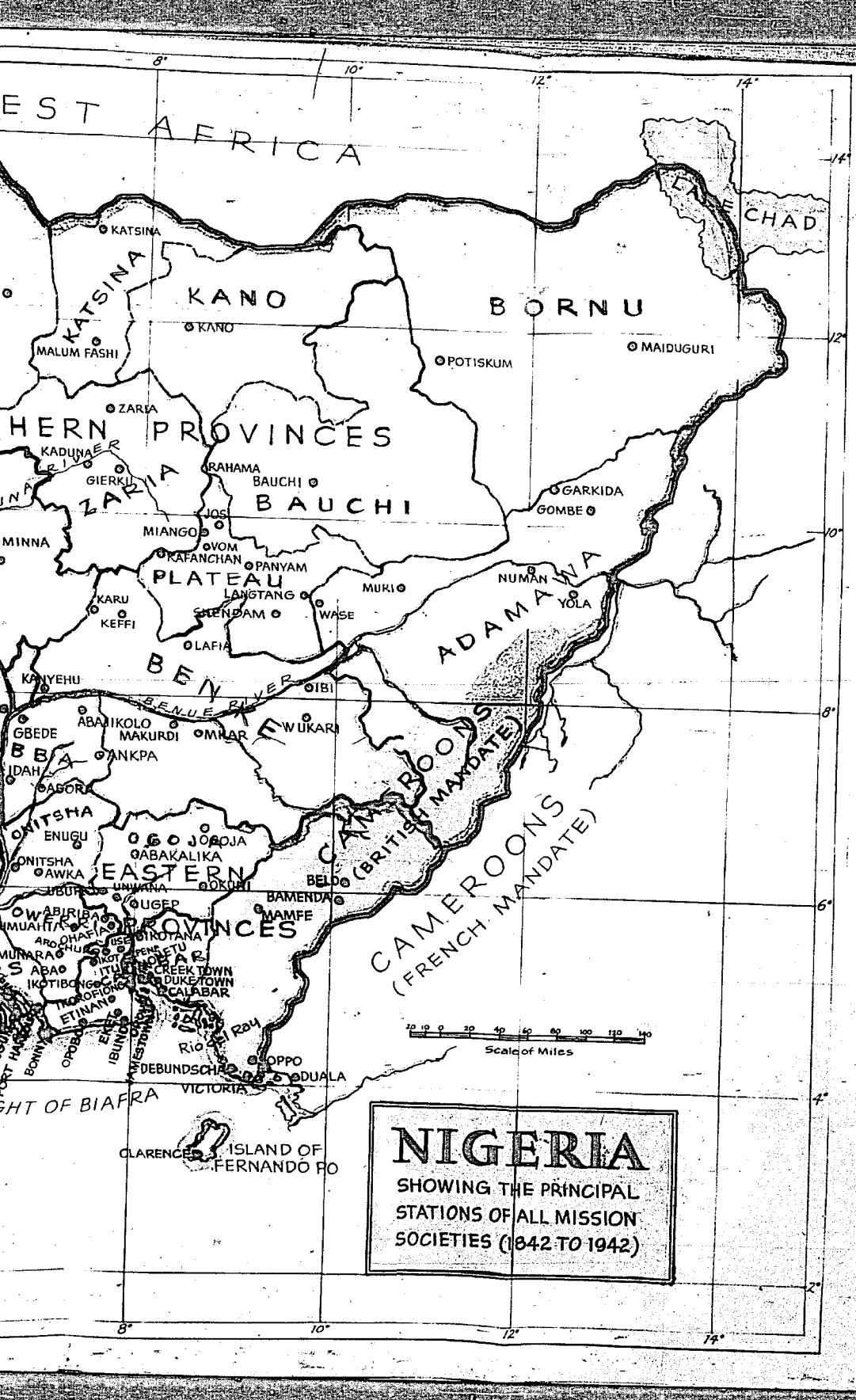
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NIGERIA
SHOWING THE PRINCIPAL STATIONS OF ALL MISSION SOCIETIES (1842 TO 1942)