Pan-African Journal of Theology, Vol. 4, No. 1, 68-96
https://doi.org/10.56893/pajot2025v04i01.03

Transatlantic Evangelical Fervour, Ethnoreligious Tensions, and the Rise of Christianity in Kaduna Metropolis, 1880-1960

Terhemba Wuam[1] and Sunday Moses Adebayo Aloko[2]

[1]Kaduna State University, Nigeria
[2]Nigerian Defence Academy, Nigeria

Abstract

This paper examines the complex interplay of transatlantic religious fervour, indigenous ethnoreligious dynamics, and colonial policies that shaped the rise of Christianity in the Kaduna metropolis between 1880 and 1960. It employs a historical research methodology, which collects and analyses both primary and secondary sources. Therefore, the historical and theological roots of Evangelical Christianity in Nigeria were traced to the evolution of Protestant Evangelicalism and the abolitionist movements of the 19th century. The study finds that Christian missionary activities in Northern Nigeria began in the mid-1850s, intending to convert the Hausa people, albeit with little success due to a strong Islamic presence and the caliphate's opposition. It reveals that Missionaries later found success in non-Muslim areas of Southern Kaduna, partly due to a history of conflict with the Muslim-dominated north, and the British colonial policies, which restricted missionary activities in the emirate for the sake of stability in the region. It also argues that despite earlier restrictions, the 1930s saw a more relaxed policy towards missionaries. This, coupled with leadership changes sympathetic to their cause, led to a surge in Christian activities. Consequently, Missionaries adopted new strategies, like medical outreaches, leprosariums, and the establishment of schools to gain trust and make converts, even in Muslim strongholds. This resulted in the establishment of various Christian denominations such as ECWA, the Baptist, the Roman Catholic, etc. The study concludes that despite facing opposition from the Zaria Emirate and the Northern Regional administration, Christianity had made

significant inroads in the Kaduna Metropolis by 1960, with established churches and educational institutions.

Keywords: Transatlantic, religious fervour, ethno-religious tensions, Christianity, Kaduna Metropolis

Introduction[1]

Religion has always been a critical aspect of Nigerian national life. It has shaped individual and group identities and continues to influence how people interact within the society. Kaduna State presents a micro view of Nigeria's religious diversity. The burgeoning Muslim-Christian divide that features prominently in Nigeria is vivid and has even polarised the state into two: Kaduna North and Kaduna South. This regional divide is mainly the result of ethno-religious tensions and conflicts, caused by mutual fear and suspicion, the desire to dominate the other for political and economic reasons, and the failure of civil authorities to effectively manage the state's religious diversity.

Before Islam and Christianity, polytheistic indigenous religions dominated the religious landscape. They coexisted peacefully despite their deep-seated differences and approaches in their relationships with supernatural forces, and due to their non-proselytising nature, which meant that there were minimal intrusions into the religious practices of other communities. Against this background, Matthew Kukah has argued that the tolerant attitude exhibited by followers of indigenous religions played a major role in the planting and spread of both Islam and Christianity across Northern Nigeria.[2] However, it is instructive to note that the history of the early relations between

---

1 This article is a working paper derived from an ongoing Ph.D. dissertation titled *Pentecostalism in Kaduna Metropolis: A Study of Impacts and Challenges*, by Sunday Moses Adebayo Aloko in the Department of History and Strategic Studies, Kaduna State University (KASU), Kaduna, Nigeria. The research is being conducted under the supervision of Professors Terhemba Wuam and Abdullahi Musa Ashafa.

2 Mathew H. Kukah, *Religion, Politics and Power in Northern Nigeria* (Ibadan, Nigeria: Spectrum Books, 1993), 9.

Christian missionary societies and the practitioners of traditional religions shows more resistance than tolerance.

This article traces the evolution and development of Christianity and early protestant churches in Northern Nigeria. To this end, it delves into the religious landscape of the metropolis, which was dominated by African Traditional Religion (ATR), and later Islam after the Jihad in Hausa land, and the subsequent establishment of the Sokoto Caliphate, which sought to expand to non-Muslim areas of Northern Nigeria, and Kaduna in particular. It also delves into the challenges faced by the Christian missionary societies in their attempts to plant Christianity due to resistance from the leaders of the Caliphate, its emirates, and restrictions by the British colonial authorities seeking a stable environment for their colonial enterprise. The strategies adopted by the evangelizing missionaries to achieve their religious objectives in the context of administrative changes in the metropolis in the 19th century are also the focus of this article.

Transatlantic Evangelicalism and the Genesis of Christian Missionary Activities in Nigeria

Religion remains a vital part of daily life in the world, and continues to evolve in how individuals and communities engage with it. It functions as a means of education, socialisation, identity formation, and belonging. Shaped by personal, institutional, and societal forces at multiple levels, religion's definition and components remain subjects of scholarly debate. Durkheim posits that religion is defined by a cohesive set of beliefs and rituals.[3] This underscores the interconnected nature of religious beliefs and rituals and their roles in shaping religious phenomena. Hjarvard and Lovheim see religion as a complex interaction of human behaviours, beliefs, and symbols centered around faith in supernatural beings

[3] E. Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 45.

and their relations with the natural world.[4] Therefore, religion in principle involves beliefs in the supernatural, often accompanied by practices and experiences that are sometimes beyond human comprehension.

In her examination of the subject of religion, Victoria Harrison points out that religion is a multifaceted phenomenon and that a parochial approach to it may be inadequate in capturing the myriad ways individuals believe and behave within religious contexts.[5] She delineated three distinct methodologies for examining religion: the intellectual approach, which concentrates on belief systems; the affective approach, which focuses on emotional aspects; and the functional approach, which gives precedence to religious practices.[6] Although each of these approaches has its limitations, it is our contention that approaching the study of religion from the depths of religious practices in societal contexts will enable a more profound and nuanced understanding of the intricate interplay between religion and societal structures in Nigeria, and Kaduna Metropolis in particular.

Evangelical and Protestant movements in Europe and the United States form the distant roots of Christianity in Nigeria. Evangelicalism, a global interdenominational movement within Protestantism, emphasizes evangelization and personal piety. Emerging from the Protestant Reformation in the 16th century, it was shaped by figures such as Martin Luther, whose 1517 *Ninety-Five Theses* affirmed *Sola Scriptura*—the authority of scripture and gospel preaching—as central to church life. The term "evangelical" thus came to denote a commitment to gospel-centered faith and

---

4 S. Hjarvard, "The Mediatisation of Religion: A Theory of the Media as Agents of Religious Change," in *Northern Lights: Film and Media Studies Yearbook*, 6(1), (2008): 9–26; M. Lövheim, "Mediatisation of Religion: A Critical Appraisal," in *Culture and Religion*, 12(2), (2011): 153–166.

5 Victoria S. Harrison, "The Pragmatics of Defining Religion in a Multi-cultural World," in *International Journal for Philosophy of Religion*, 59(3), (2006): 133–152.

6 Harrison, "The Pragmatics of Defining Religion in a Multi-cultural World," 145.

practice.[7] David Bebbington's framework brilliantly encapsulates the essence of evangelical identity and illustrates its diverse nature. Each component—conversionism, emphasising personal faith experience, biblicism, focusing on the authority of the Bible, crucicentrism centering on the significance of Christ's crucifixion, and activism advocating for social engagement—reflected a holistic approach to faith that resonated with believers.[8] This synthesis of beliefs continues to shape the practices and priorities of contemporary evangelical communities.

The origins of modern evangelicalism are generally traced to 1738, shaped by several theological influences such as Pietism, Radical Pietism, Puritanism, Quakerism, and Moravianism, particularly the work of Nicolaus Zinzendorf and his community at Herrnhut.[9] A key figure in this movement was John Wesley, along with other early Methodists, who played a crucial role in initiating the evangelical revival of the period. Modern evangelicalism emerged in the 18th century as a synthesis of diverse Protestant traditions, combining emotional intensity with theological depth. Originating in Britain and spreading to its North American colonies, it was invigorated by the First Great Awakening. Evangelicalism integrated Pietism's fervent spirituality, Presbyterianism's doctrinal precision, and Puritanism's introspective piety to form a distinct identity.[10] High Church Anglicanism further influenced the movement through its disciplined spirituality and institutional innovations.

The 17th-century Pietist movement within European Lutheranism emerged as a response to the perceived rigidity of orthodox doctrine, aiming to renew Christian devotion through experiential faith and

---

7 Cited in Martin E. Marty, *Righteous Empire: The Protestant Experience in America* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1986), 56-78.

8 Marty, "Righteous Empire," *95.*

9 Alan Hunter, *The Evangelical Tradition in America* (New York: Harper & Row, 1976), 156-189.

10 John Smith, *The History of Evangelicalism* (London: HarperCollins, 2005), 210.

moral reform.[11] Emphasising personal piety, spiritual renewal, and lay participation, Pietism significantly influenced the development of evangelicalism and movements such as Quakerism. George Fox's Quakerism, with its focus on inward transformation and the pursuit of Christian perfection, exemplified Pietist ideals and challenged established Anglican norms. The Presbyterian tradition, originating in 17th-century Scotland and Northern Ireland, significantly shaped evangelicalism through its emphasis on orthodox doctrine, revivalism, and active lay participation in preaching, prayer, and Scripture study.[12] Its insistence on personal conversion as a basis for church membership resonated with emerging evangelical ideals. Similarly, Puritanism in colonial New England, rooted in Calvinist theology and a strong emphasis on conversion, initially thrived through the Congregational Church. However, efforts to address declining religious zeal, such as the 1662 Half-Way Covenant, which allowed unconverted parents to baptise their children while restricting full communion, ultimately diluted its fervour and contributed to its decline by the 18th century.[13]

High-Church Anglicanism also played a formative role in the development of evangelical ideals during the period. It emphasised a return to early Christian practices, community engagement, and regular participation in Holy Communion, often through organised societies. Key among these were the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (1698), which advanced Bible distribution, religious education, and literacy, and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (1701), which supported missionary work in British colonies.[14] The involvement of the Wesley family

[11] Smith, *The History of Evangelicalism*, 213; Michael Horton and Timothy George, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of European Evangelicalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 320-324.

[12] Horton and George, *The Oxford Handbook of European Evangelicalism*, 325.

[13] Horton and George, *The Oxford Handbook of European Evangelicalism*, 325.

[14] David Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Europe: A Historical and Theological Introduction* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2010), 89.

illustrates the convergence of High-Church Anglicanism with emerging evangelicalism and shows how established traditions could inform and shape new religious movements.

The 18th-century Great Awakening was a major religious revival that revitalised Protestant piety and significantly shaped evangelicalism. Marked by its characteristic emotional expression and emphasis on personal salvation, the movement challenged established religious norms and promoted experiential faith.[15] These revivals began in New England and Britain and were more widespread and fervent than earlier ones. A notable example occurred in Northampton, Massachusetts, under Jonathan Edwards, whose preaching on justification by faith alone sparked deep spiritual renewal and extended the revival across surrounding regions.[16] The revival movement rapidly expanded beyond New England, with notable developments in Connecticut, New Jersey, and Britain. At Yale, students experienced revival, while Gilbert Tennent in New Jersey emphasised the need for converted ministers. In England and Wales, Howell Harris and Daniel Rowland initiated the Welsh Methodist revival.[17] George Whitefield, following his conversion, preached salvation by faith alone. The movement was profoundly shaped by Pietism, which influenced figures like Jonathan Edwards.[18] The Moravian Brethren also played a key role, particularly in shaping John Wesley's emphasis on assurance of salvation and missionary zeal.

The Great Awakening transformed American Christianity, prioritising personal salvation, piety, and experiential faith over ritual and tradition. Evangelical preachers harnessed print media to promote revival and moral renewal among the laity.[19] The movement

---

15 Jonathan Edwards, *The Great Awakening: Religion in Colonial America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977), 56.

16 Edwards, *The Great Awakening*, 65.

17 Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Europe*.

18 Edwards, *The Great Awakening*.

19 Horton and George, *The Oxford Handbook of European Evangelicalism*, 99-120.

challenged ecclesiastical authority, encouraged individual scriptural interpretation, and reshaped religious practice. It also spurred the growth of evangelical denominations—particularly Methodists, Baptists, and Congregationalists—and significantly influenced American religious culture, values, and identity.[20] In the 19th century, Protestantism grew rapidly in missionary activity and evangelical revivalism, with both Evangelical and High Church groups founding missionary societies. The American Second Great Awakening spurred significant expansion of Methodist and Baptist churches. This revivalism emphasised personal salvation alongside social reform, advocating moral improvement through political and civic engagement—a commitment exemplified by William Wilberforce's successful abolitionist campaign.[21]

The Wesleyan-Holiness movement, grounded in John Wesley's doctrine of sanctification, rose to prominence within 19th century Evangelicalism, prompting the formation of new denominations such as the Free Methodist and Wesleyan Methodist Churches. Its urban appeal stemmed from a less exclusive and censorious approach than that found in rural settings. The Third Great Awakening (1857–1860) invigorated the *fait interior missions*, which emphasised reliance on faith for support and focused on evangelising indigenous and previously unreached populations.[22] This revival helped launch the "faith" mission movement, exemplified by Hudson Taylor's China Inland Mission, and contributed to a global surge in missionary efforts. The era also witnessed the emergence of mega-churches, including Charles Spurgeon's Metropolitan Tabernacle in London and Dwight L. Moody's Illinois Street Church in Chicago.[23]

---

20 Smith, *The History of Evangelicalism*, 45-67.

21 Jonathan D. Grossman, *The Second Great Awakening: Religious Revival and Social Change in America, 1790-1870* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 315-20.

22 Fait interior missions in colonial contexts were Christian efforts to evangelise isolated indigenous populations in inland regions with little prior contact with Christianity or European influence.

23 Grossman, *The Second Great Awakening,* 330.

Evangelical movements in Europe and the U.S. were central to both the abolition of the trans-Atlantic slave trade and the introduction of Christianity in Nigeria. Convinced that missionary work could not succeed alongside slave trading, given earlier failures like those of the Portuguese, evangelicals linked abolition with evangelism. However, economic motivations also shaped their efforts; many abolitionists, influenced by the Industrial Revolution, saw West Africa as a site for both religious outreach and commercial expansion.[24] Thus, the intersection of evangelical and economic interests underpinned missionary strategies in 19th-century West Africa. Prominent evangelical abolitionists Granville Sharp and Rev. Thomas Clarkson founded the Committee for the Abolition of the Slave Trade in 1787, later joined by William Wilberforce, whose parliamentary advocacy was important. Their efforts aligned with those of the Society of Friends (Quakers), early opponents of slavery.[25] By the early 19th century, a growing transatlantic consensus led to anti-slavery legislation, with Denmark acting in 1804, followed by Britain and the U.S. in 1807 and 1808. However, economically weaker nations like Portugal and Spain persisted in the trade, prompting Britain to enforce abolition through naval patrols.[26]

The abolition of the slave trade in Britain and the U.S. led to the founding of Sierra Leone (1791) and Liberia (1822) as settlements for freed slaves. Sierra Leone was established by the British, while Liberia was founded by the American Colonization Society. These initiatives were driven by both humanitarian concerns and economic interests, as the Industrial Revolution spurred demand for raw materials and encouraged expanded commercial activity in

---

[24] Benjamin C. D. Diara & Nche George Christian, "Anglican Church and the Development of Pentecostalism in Igbo land," in *Journal of Educational and Social Research* 3(10) (December 2013): 43-55; A. U. Agha, *Early European Mission to West Africa* (Enugu: Calvary Side Printing and Publishing Co., 1997), 34-70.

[25] Agha, *Early European Mission to West Africa*, 58.

[26] Bishop Samuel Ajayi Crowther was for instance rescued from a slave ship and trained as a missionary in Sierra Leone.

Africa alongside European exploration. The arrival of freed slaves in Sierra Leone marked a critical moment for Christian missions in West Africa. Numerous religious organisations—including the CMS, Wesleyan Methodists, Basel Mission, Baptists, and others moved in to evangelise the region. In Northern Nigeria, major Protestant missions included the Sudan Interior Mission (SIM), Sudan United Mission (SUM), CMS, and the Southern Baptists.[27] Early efforts, such as those led by Rev. Melville Horne in 1792, revealed the limitations of European-led missions due to high mortality rates, leading to a strategic shift toward training African converts.[28] From the 1840s, educated Africans, many being freed slaves and local converts, played a central role in spreading Christianity, particularly in Lagos and Southern Nigeria.

Colonial Encounters and Resistance

Having dealt with Christian missionary activities in Southern Nigeria, understanding Christianity in the Kaduna metropolis cannot be extricated from the activities of Christian missionaries in Northern Nigeria and their relationships with the colonial administration, the followers of Islam, and the African Traditional Religion (ATR).[29] This needs to be briefly highlighted as a foundation for understanding Christianity in Kaduna and the making of Protestant churches on which Pentecostalism was to

[27] E.A. Ayandele, *The Missionary Impact on Modern Nigeria, 1842-1914: A Political and Social Analysis* (London: Longman, 1966), 72-95.

[28] Ayandele, *The Missionary Impact of Modern Nigeria*, 102.

[29] The people of Kaduna had developed a multitudinous indigenous religions that varied from one region to another in the course of their historical development. Ethical principles evolved from these religions and gave rise to societal norms, regulations, legal frameworks, cultural practices and prohibitions, which were anticipated to be adhered to by all individuals due to the absence of the prevalent philosophy of individualism in most contemporary societies. Some of the traits they share in common include reverence for ancestors and invocation of spirits to bless conformists and to pronounce curses on deviants. These practices served to foster intrinsic and extrinsic relationships between humans and supernatural entities and between the spiritual and material worlds. The coming of Islam and Christianity fundamentally relegated these religions to the background.

have a solid foundation in the Kaduna metropolis, being the then Headquarters of the Northern Region.

By 1841, Christian missionary organisations from Britain, the U.S.A., Canada, and Italy began showing interest in Northern Nigeria. For example, the founder of the Niger Missions in 1857, Samuel Ajayi Crowther and Dr. S. F. Schon were said to have aimed at spreading the gospel in Hausa land in Northern Nigeria which means, they created the first tentative Hausa dictionary to support their mission.[30] Though not highly successful, the expedition in the Emirates paved the way for future missionary efforts in the region. For instance, Crowther was said to have established mission stations in Bida, Kabba, and Nassarawa and later sent an Arabic version of the New Testament Bible from Salisbury Square to the Sultan of Sokoto and the Emir of Gwandu in 1864.[31] This was remarkable to have been considered as the foundation of Christian missionary efforts in Northern Nigeria. Following the expedition, the Hausa/Sudan Party, led by Rev. Graham Wilmot Brook, set out to convert Muslim areas in the region in December 1891.[32] Brook

[30] The Upper Niger Mission was a missionary effort in church history that aimed to make converts in the emirates and establish Christianity in Sokoto and Gwandu, the primary centres of Islamic faith in Northern Nigeria. The missionaries believed that by successfully converting these key areas, they would pave the way for spreading Christianity throughout the region. For details, see Andrew F. Walls, "Crowther, Samuel Ajayi," in *Dictionary of African Christian Biography*, accessed on April 3, 2024. https://dacb.org/stories/nigeria/legacy-crowther/.

[31] Interview with Tanko Mishon, 78 Years, "First Christian Convert in the Sokoto Province," Kwatarkwashi, On February 2, 2000; cited in Mukhtar Umar Bunza and Dr Jamilu Shehu, "Sudan Interior Mission (Sim): An Evangelical Operation for a Unique Task in Northern Nigeria to 1960", in *Journal of Religion and Theology,* 2, 1(4), (2018): 29-37. The acceptance of the Holy Bible sent was a diplomatic gesture that should not be interpreted as an attempt to give Christianity a chance to spread. The diplomatic overtures of the period came to an abrupt end as a result of the aggressive push of the imperial Royal Niger Company (RNC) to Lokoja.

32 W. R. S. Miller, "Diary of the Hausa Party 1900," No.54-4960, M.81, Ibadan Library, Ibadan; Bunza and Shehu, "Sudan Interior Mission (SIM): An Evangelical Operation for a Unique Task in Northern Nigeria to 1960," in *Journal of Religion and Theology*, 2 (2018): 29-37.

expected a very quick result, such that he asserted that "within six months, the cross will oust the crescent in Hausa land."[33] In 1880, the Wesleyans also began missionary work in Nupe land, followed by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM), which expressed interest in starting Christian missions in Northern Nigeria in 1881. Furthermore, W. A. Allakura Sharpe, a Kanuri ex-slave, advocated for training local Christian missionaries to evangelise Kanem Borno in Northern Nigeria.[34] Between 1881 and 1889, the RCM, American Baptist Mission (ABM), UMS, Sudan Missionary Society (SMS), SUM, and SIM joined the race for religious space in Northern Nigeria.

Heinrich Barth's descriptions of the Hausa people in Northern Nigeria as highly civilised, industrious, and prosperous, with a large population eager for European goods and superior literacy compared to the coastal people, fuelled the keen missionary interest in the region.[35] His views were supported by E.W. Blyden, a renowned Liberian Pan-Africanist who described the inhabitants of Northern Nigeria as potentially receptive to Christianity.[36] Blyden's submission seemed to have been based on the common belief that the Fulani people imposed Islam on the Hausa people during and after the Jihad of 1804. The enthusiastic missionaries were, however, disappointed to see Christianity thrive in the Southern region than it did in the North. The missionary societies also seemed to have been oblivious to the fact that Islam in Northern Nigeria predated the Jihad of the 19th century. Historically, Islam entered Hausa land through Muslim traders and scholars from West Africa and was first embraced by the ruling class for economic

---

33 J. H. Boer, *Missionary Messengers of Liberation in a Colonial Context: A Case Study of Sudan United Mission* (Amsterdam, 1979), 85.

34 Ayandele, "The Missionary Factor in Northern Nigeria," 505.

35 Heinrich Barth, *Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa: Including Accounts of Tripoli, the Sahara, the Remarkable Kingdom of Bornu, and the Countries around Lake Chad* (London: Ward, Lock, 1890), 286-310.

36 Edward W. Blyden, *The African Problem and Other Discourses, Delivered in America in 1890* (London: W. B. Whittingham, 1890), 90-104.

reasons. By the 14th century AD, it had started spreading among the urban Hausa population.[37] According to Arnett, Islam was first introduced into Zaria around 1456 AD, but its spread was slow due to the persistence of non-Islamic practices.[38]

It is also important to note the obvious, as Toyin Falola has shown that Islam was the first religion to significantly influence most African societies by blending indigenous customs with Islamic beliefs. He observes that traditional religious practices endured in Hausa states due to the rulers' reverence for influential cults and priests, which led them to uphold ancient rituals.[39] Hence, a large number of people who converted to Islam in Northern Nigeria and Kaduna in particular tolerated indigenous religious practices for political and social reasons, which ensured stability. Consequently, conversion efforts by existing Muslim communities were impeded by political leaders' tolerance of non-Islamic practices and compromises with traditionalists in governance. This led to a mutual exchange of religious practices between Islamic adherents and the practitioners of ATR in the Kaduna area, where Islam integrated indigenous elements like charms and divinations into its belief system.[40] The result was peaceful coexistence between those who maintained their traditional religious beliefs and others who gradually accepted Islam. It was only during the Jihad and after the establishment of the Sokoto Caliphate by the Fulani Jihadists, and their quest to consolidate their territorial gains in Northern Nigeria, that most Hausa people took Islam more seriously.[41]

---

37 Richmold Palmer, *Sudanese Memoirs: Being Mainly Translations of a Number of Arabic Manuscripts Relating to Central and Western Sudan* (London: Cass, 1967), 92-132.

38 M.G. Smith, *Economy of Hausa Communities of Zaria: For the Colonial Record* (London, 1955), 66.

39 Toyin Falola, *Violence in Nigeria: The Crises of Religious Politics and Secular Ideologies* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 1998), 25.

40 S. A. Balogun, "History of Islam Up to 1800," in *Groundwork of Nigerian History*, ed., O. Ikime (Ibadan, Nigeria: Oluseyi Press, 1980), 215-20.

41 Mervyn Hiskett, *The Sword of Truth: The Life and Times of the Shehu Usuman Dan Fodio* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), 4-12.

It was only during the Jihad and after the establishment of the Sokoto Caliphate by the Fulani Jihadists, and their quest to consolidate their territorial gains in Northern Nigeria, that Islam was imposed on the Hausa people through violent conflicts.[42] Therefore, the Muslim rulers of Zaria were not favourably disposed to the presence and activities of missionaries in the emirate for fear of converting their people to Christianity. They also restricted the missionaries' access to non-Muslim areas in Northern and Southern Kaduna, with the intention of eventually Islamising them. In fact**,** during the second phase of Christian missionary activities in Kaduna (1888-1900), Muslim rulers considered missionaries as agents of European imperialism.[43] This perception constituted a major setback in their efforts at conversion in the region. As a result, the Christian missionaries had limited success, mainly in the non-Muslim areas, which were dominated by the adherents of ATR. This was partly due to the missionaries' accommodating approach, which involved operating within local customs and politics while respecting traditional authorities and seeking their support during their missions.[44]

Already, Christian missionaries were to meet an environment where the Jihad in Northern Nigeria also brought about significant changes in inter-ethnic relations between the dominant Hausa and Fulani Muslims and minority groups in Southern Kaduna due to

---

[42] Mervyn Hiskett, *The Sword of Truth,* 4-12.

[43] The missionaries faced challenges in non-Muslim areas of the emirate, but their patience and perseverance led to limited success. Dr. Walter Miller of the CMS at Girku in 1901 experienced an assassination attempt by the Emir of Zaria, Kwasau, who also tried to burn down the church built for missions in Zaria. Despite the church being destroyed, Miller escaped with the help of Captain Abadie and continued his work with relative peace for 25 years after Emir Aliyu Dan Sidi's intervention. However, opposition arose again from Emir Ibrahim when he planned to build another church in Zaria. For detail, see Walter Miller, *1872-1952: An Autobiography* (Zaria: Corporation, 1949); NAK: JOSPROF C.213, 1930.

[44] Interview with Joseph Jakanda, 70+, A Retired Civil Servant, Interviewed at Malali, on March 2, 2024. He is 70 years of age and narrated how his father told him of his family's conversion experience after the missionaries respected the constituted authority of his community in Southern Nigeria.

attempts by the Jihadists, and later, the emirate leaders, to convert the non-Muslim populace.[45] The resultant resistance against the leadership of the emirate was largely political and economic. This was because the emirates wanted to expand territorial control and to expand economic opportunities, which were both through trade and slave raiding, which the people resisted. Besides, conversion to Islam, which was mostly by association, would have limited the economic opportunities for slaves, since Islam forbids enslaving fellow Muslims.

What most writers do not understand is that Hausa and emirate rule over Southern Kaduna came with Pax Britannica.[46] Colonialism succeeded in making the emirate's rule over these communities successful in the form of indirect rule, which the emirate of Zaria failed to achieve before colonial rule. The appointment of District and Village Heads, especially from 1906 when it was first introduced, facilitated submission, not for the fear of the Hausa rulers, but the power of colonial exigencies, which the people could not withstand. This development led to the emergence of intricate relationships between the non-Muslim communities in the area and the predominantly Muslim population of Zaria. Over time, the Hausa and Fulani enclaves became the dominant economic and political forces in Southern Kaduna.[47]

Kazah-Toure's study on Zaria provides insight into the complexities of slavery and servitude in Kaduna, the involvement of various groups, and the motivations behind slave-taking. He contends that slavery played a central role in the relationships between the "pagan" communities of Southern Kaduna and the

[45] B. Y. Galadima and Y. Turaki, "Christianity in Nigeria: Part 1," in *Africa Journal of Evangelical Theology* 20 (1), 2001: 85-101.

[46] Pax Britannica refers to a period of relative peace and stability in the British Empire during the 19th century, when Britain dominated global trade and maintained naval supremacy. The term translates to "British Peace," and suggests that the global order under British hegemony helped reduce major conflicts and allowed for the expansion of British influence in Africa, India, and the Americas.

[47] M. G. Smith, *Government in Zazzau 1800-1950* (London: Oxford University Press, 1964).

emirate of Zaria. For instance, the Jema'a Emirate was required to supply slaves, agricultural produce, and other goods as tributes.[48] Consequently, both Jema'a and Zazzau viewed the non-Muslim communities in Southern Kaduna as legitimate sources of slaves. This led to periodic raids on these communities, particularly those perceived as hostile.[49] The subservient dynamic in the relationship heightened the hostility between the non-Muslim groups and the Zaria Emirate. He also observed that while the non-Muslim communities were the primary victims of raids, enslavement, and aggression, there were instances in which some Hausa and Fulani communities also suffered unpleasant experiences within the emirate.[50]

The British occupied Northern Nigeria, including what is now known as Kaduna State, amidst this complex socio-political and religious milieu. The British preference for the emirate system of governance and their attempts to extend it to the Middle Belt, where various ethnic groups had shown resistance or suspicion towards it, exacerbated existing tensions.[51] The British preference for the indirect rule system was never a coincidence, but deliberately designed to make virtues out of expediency and not because the British believed in any superiority of Islam. Against this backdrop, the Hausa and Fulani agents were tasked with the mission of "civilising" them, because they were perceived as culturally and administratively inferior.[52] This meant that both the British colonial

---

48 Toure Kazah-Toure, "The Political Economy of Ethnic Conflicts and Governance in Southern Kaduna, Nigeria: Deconstructing a Contested Terrain," in *Africa Development,* XXIV (1&2), (1999): 109-144.

49 Kazah-Toure, "The Political Economy of Ethnic Conflicts and Governance in Southern Kaduna."

50 Kazah-Toure, "The Political Economy of Ethnic Conflicts and Governance in Southern Kaduna," 115.

51 Moses Ochonu, "Colonialism within Colonialism: The Hausa-Caliphate Imaginary and the British Colonial Administration of the Nigerian Middle Belt," in *African Studies Quarterly* 10 (2&3), 2008: 95-127.

52 Frederick Lugard*, Northern Nigeria 1900-1901* (London: H. M. Stationary Office, 1911), 13. Accessed April 10, 2024, https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=njp.32101013344468;view=1up;sep.

administrators and the Hausa and Fulani elite targeted the Middle Belt Region, portraying it as a pagan area in dire need of centralised governance, through colonisation. The non-Hausa-Muslim communities of Southern Kaduna were consequently subjected to forced labour for the construction of personal houses of the Native Authority officials and markets. They also faced heavy taxation, extortion, and their women were exploited as carriers of loads and suppliers of firewood, among other tasks.[53] The Southern Kaduna communities, like their counterparts in the Middle Belt, considered the strategy employed by British officials as a form of what Moses Ochonu refers to as "colonialism within colonialism". This was because the British employed the elite in the emirate to oversee the affairs of governance in Southern Kaduna. Besides this, however, nothing distinguished the indirect rule system in the 'upper' and 'lower' North.

Therefore, the British intervention in Northern Nigeria empowered the Hausa and Fulani elite, through the agency of the Sokoto Caliphate and its component units, the emirates. These unequal historical relationships between the Muslim and non-Muslim communities of Kaduna, as well as the unfair treatment believed to have been meted out to the latter by the colonial government, made them favourably disposed to Christianity.[54] In other words, conversion to Christianity in the non-Muslim communities of Southern Kaduna was profoundly a religious movement, meant to spite the leadership of the emirate that they felt had brought them under subservient relationships, with the help of the British.

Missionary Strategy in Kaduna, Religious Transformation & Demographic Change

The RCM and the Baptist Mission (BM) were the major missions around Kaduna Metropolis and commenced work in 1908 and 1914,

[53] Kazah-Toure, "The Political Economy of Ethnic Conflicts and Governance in Southern Kaduna," 115.

[54] Ochonu, "Colonialism by Proxy," 2013.

respectively. Unfortunately, however, the British administration had distanced itself from missionaries and expressed opposition to their enterprise in both Muslim and non-Muslim communities of Kaduna between 1900 and 1918. In particular, Lugard's attitudes to missionary activities in Northern Nigeria have sparked debates in historical studies due to their conflicting nature.[55] Although he was a nominal Christian, he did believe that Christianity produced a higher civilisation and was more likely to aid the British efforts in maintaining 'law and order' in colonial Nigeria than Islam.[56] In line with his belief, he approved a protected missionary journey to Kano by the Hausa Party in 1899 after an official meeting with Tugwell in London.[57] It may be safe to argue that if Lugard was really against missionaries as his critics often suggest, he would not have approved the trip. His subsequent prohibitionist policies toward missionary activities in Northern Nigeria may have been influenced by the outcome of the trip to Kano, which was reported to have upset the Emir and also threatened law and order in the Kano Emirate.[58] This experience likely shaped his belief that Christian missionary efforts would also struggle in Muslim-majority areas like Kaduna in Northern Nigeria. It is also likely that Lugard felt that any European Christian mission in the emirate would be viewed as a colonial government's activity and a breach of the agreement of non-interference with Islam, which could result in a

[55] This topic has been over flogged in a plethora of scholarly works such that we feel it does not deserve much of our attention. For details of these arguments, see Ayandele, "The Missionary Factor in Northern Nigeria, 1870-1818," 503-522; Ubah, "Christian Missionary Penetration of the Nigerian Emirates," 515-18; E. P. T. Crampton, *Christianity in Northern Nigeria*, 1975.

[56] F. D. Lugard, *The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa* (London: Frank Cass, 1922), 75-78.

[57] The party, organized under the CMS, was also known as the Sudan Party and initially comprised eleven graduates from the prestigious Cambridge and Oxford Universities. Their main objective was the conversion of the ''civilised Hausa people'' to Christianity.

[58] Lugard, "Northern Nigeria 1900-1901," 15.

loss of confidence in the colonial government.[59] In the agreement, the Emirs were made to swear an oath of allegiance to the Crown: They said:

> I swear in the name of Allah, and of Mahomet (sic) his Prophet, to well and truly serve His Majesty King Edward VII and his Representative, the High Commissioner of Northern Nigeria, to obey the laws of the Protectorate, and the lawful commands of the High Commissioner and the Resident, provided that they are not contrary to my religion.[60]

From the above, it can be deduced that Lugard's relationship with the Emirs and missionaries was primarily driven by economic and administrative motives. Christian missions in Northern Nigeria and Kaduna Metropolis, in particular, were impeded by administrative restrictions, which the colonial state predicated on the continued hostility of successive emirs. While this oath favours imperial Britain and the Emirs, it became a major setback for Christian missions in Northern Nigeria. This is because the agreement protected the cultural and religious identity of the majority of Hausa and Fulani, particularly their Islamic heritage, which they feared would be threatened by Christian missionary enterprise and its intellectual wing, Western education.

Critics of Lugard often gloss over the fact that the pro-Muslim policies commonly associated with him featured more prominently under his successors. For example, Girouard, a devout Catholic Christian who took over from Lugard in 1907, granted more powers to the Emirs, restricted missionary activities in Muslim and

---

[59] Lugard, *The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa,* 592; NAK: ZARPROF, No. 34532: Statement by the District Headman Soba, in 'CMS in Zaria' file, 4 February 1928; NAK: SNP 16/3, C.0053: Report of the Zaria Resident to Secretary Northern Provinces, 20 July 1926.

[60] F. D. Lugard*, The Years of Authority, 1898–1945* (London: Collins, 1960), 26; Also see, Miller W.R.S., "Islam in Africa," in *International Review of Missions,* XV (59), July 1926: 556-558.

sometimes non-Muslim areas, and also supported the dominance of minority ethnic groups by the Muslim rulers of Zaria. He also encouraged the use of the Hausa language for employment and promotion, and demanded the removal of Christian missionaries from Northern Nigeria due to their perceived disruption of peace and stability in the region.[61] This was because both Muslims and Christians in the region were scrambling to make converts, especially amongst the adherents of ATR.

From the foregoing, it is our contention that both Lugard and his successors shared common attributes; they wanted stability in Northern Nigeria to enable them to achieve the economic imperative of British imperialism. They tended to pitch their tent with the Hausa and Fulani people, as well as the Islamic religion, because of their dominance in the region and their indisputable comparative advantage to the realisation of British colonial enterprise in the region. However, there were cases in which Lugard equally interfered with the Islamic religion to strengthen the British grip on the region. For example, he subordinated the emirate leaders to British officials, hindered the spread of Islam through wars as was the case in the 19th century, introduced a judicial system that counteracted the Sharia law, and eliminated slave raiding, which was a major source of revenue for the emirates. [62]

It is instructive to note that during this challenging period, missionary work in Kaduna continued unabated, through a school and village approach that catered to the educational and welfare needs of the local population, particularly in remote areas. The SIM, for instance, made notable progress in Kagoro and Kafanchan. It was part of the Faith Missions, which drew inspiration from the American Holiness Movement under the leadership of Rowland Bingham. Bingham's arrival in Nigeria in 1901 led to the establishment of the first missionary station in Patigi in 1902, followed by the Kwoi and Karu Mission stations in what was then Nassarawa Province in

[61] NAK: ZARPROF 1554 Vol. 1: "Administrative Policies, 1921-35.

62 NAK: Zarprof 2386, 1905 for the details of Lugard's anti-Islam policies.

1910.[63] Its early opposition to the school's approach to evangelism hindered its progress in Kaduna Metropolis.[64] The RCM and the BM achieved more in the Metropolis. In 1908, for example, the RCM held its first mass at the present-day Kakuri Bus Stop under Rev. Fr. Berengario Cerminati's leadership.[65] Also, the first small church of St. Joseph began construction in 1912, with the inaugural mass held in 1916.[66] By 1917, a father's house was constructed on the land, and on April 25th of the same year, Cerminati baptised 57 converts of the RCM.[67] This was one of the earliest breakthroughs of the church, which was continued in the 1930s.

Similarly, the first Baptist Church Kaduna began as a prayer meeting held at Makera on 14 January 1914 in the compound of one Mr. Daniel Teru, with 25 persons in attendance.[68] In Doka, Kaduna, near the Railway Station, an interdenominational group of Anglicans and Baptists emerged and built a small church close to the Roman Catholic Missions. They worshipped together until December 1917, when they split due to doctrinal differences and conditions to be met for church burial.[69] While the Anglicans insisted on baptism by sprinkling, the Baptists favoured baptism by immersion.[70] The former's perspective was seen as an attempt to persuade the Baptists to become Anglicans, leading to a split. In 1918, Baptist missions began holding Sunday night services

63 Yusufu Turaki, *An Introduction to the History of the Sudan Interior Mission (ECWA in Nigeria), 1893-1993* (Jos: Challenge Press, 1993).

64 Turaki, *An Introduction to the History of the Sudan Interior Mission.*

65 See, "A Brief History of the Archdiocese of Kaduna," accessed on 8th April, 2024, https://archkd.org/about.

66 See, "St. Joseph Cathedral," accessed on 8th April, 2024, https://archkd.org/stjoseph.

67 "St. Joseph Cathedral."

68 The Church Historical Committee, *A Church and its Mission Work: History of First Baptist Church Kaduna, 1918-2003* (Kaduna: Mogba Technographic Press, 2003), 1-3.

69 The Church Historical Committee, *A Church and Its Mission Work.*

70 CMS Archives London: Miller's Annual Letter January 1922. http://archiveshub.jisc.ac.uk/data/gb150-cms

in a shed owned by Mr Ilorin on plot 1.6 Prince Edward's Way (now Ahmadu Bello Way) in Kaduna. Mr Thomas owned the plot and received 2s. 6d (25k) per month from the church for using his shed.[71] The First Baptist Church in Kaduna originated from this location.

In the 1930s, the policy of exclusion began to weaken due to pressure from missionaries. This was supported by changes in leadership in Lagos and Kaduna in the 1930s, with Sir Donald Cameron and C.W. Alexander being sympathetic to the missionaries' cause.[72] The paradigmatic shift came as a result of an inspection of missionary activities in Northern Province in 1934, in which their contributions were acknowledged and esteemed. The report revealed that their activities inculcated morals in the colonised people and provided valuable welfare services to the communities they had reached.[73] These contributions were in addition to their educational impact and medical outreaches, which helped to solidify the socio-cultural influence of Britain in the region. The report also revealed that they systematically avoided conflicts with Muslims and carefully maintained friendly relations with the Native Authority.[74] From the foregoing, it may be apt to say that coordinated missionary pressure brought about a relaxation of colonial restrictions as note was taken of missionary educational and medical contributions.

Missionary societies in the Metropolis did not take this opportunity for granted. The SIM took advantage of the liberal spirit of the period and set up a Christian Mission Leprosarium for the treatment of leprosy in Kaduna Metropolis, Katsina, and Sokoto.[75] The specialist mission centre attracted both Muslims and non-Muslims due to the absence of a local cure for leprosy

---

71 The Church Historical Committee, *A Church and Its Mission Work.*

72 For details on the administrative change, see NAK: ZarProf. No. C.4082, 1930.

73 The detail of the report can be accessed in NAK: ZARPROF C.9, 1939.

74 NAK: ZARPROF C.9, 1939.

75 AHAK: SNP. NO. 2651 6/4/S .4/10 5, 31ST October, 1939.

in Northern Nigeria.[76] In the 1930s, it established its first school, which aided its expansion. By 1940, it had established 62 mission stations in the Metropolis.[77] Therefore, the SIM, instead of direct evangelism, resorted to the use of medical and humanitarian options, which assisted it in making converts in the stronghold of Islam and ATR in Kaduna Metropolis. Another factor that worked in its favour was its commitment to the Indigenous church principle, which gave its convert a sense of belonging.[78] For example, its Nigerian churches metamorphosed into an autonomous body; the Evangelical Churches of West Africa (ECWA), with headquarters in the northern city of Jos in 1954.[79]

Their achievements alarmed and infuriated the Emir of Zaria, who demanded the intervention of the colonial authority. This was because the act of conversion through the curing of leprosy and the provision of education had been discovered. The Sultan of Sokoto reported the matter to the Resident Colonial Official for intervention to prevent civil unrest.[80] Consequently, the Secretary of the Northern Provinces (SNP) cautioned the missionary groups in the metropolis against further conversion due to the disapproval of the Sultanate in Sokoto and the emirate in Zaria.[81] However, the missionary groups ignored the Secretary's plea and warning. The SIM field director defended their services as voluntary and that they could not have prevented adults from seeking them and the services they were rendering.[82] In other words, those who converted made free choices as adults.

---

[76] AHAK: SNP. NO. 2651 6/4/S .4/10 5, 31st October, 1939.

[77] Turaki, *An Introduction to the History of the Sudan Interior Mission.*

[78] Interview with Rev Dr. Abbas, 50+, a Baptist Pastor and Teacher at BTS Kawo, Interviewed at BTS Kawo compound, on April 3, 2024.

[79] Turaki, *An Introduction to the History of the Sudan Interior Mission.*

[80] See, NAK: SOKPROF, 1940, 23.

[81] For details of the Secretary's rebuke of the missionary groups in Kaduna, see, AHAK SNP. NO. 26516/4/S.4/105, 31/1939.

[82] See, NAK: SNP 4/39 for details of the letter; NAK: ZARPROF C.9/1939, "Missionary Activities: Itinerant missions, Mission Leper Colonies," 1939,149.

The Baptist mission in Kaduna was also actively involved during this period. It commenced its Kawo mission in 1942 on a piece of land belonging to the late Mallam Tanko, through the efforts of prominent Yoruba missionaries, viz. Rev. E.O Akingbala and Rev. Adejumobi.[83] These missionaries successfully convinced the Baptist Church at Awe to support the work at Kawo, which led to the establishment of the Eugenia Fund for its take-off. With the support of the Muslim chief at that time, a plot of land was granted for the construction of a small building for worship.[84]

In 1945, however, opposition arose against the church, with the aim of demolishing it. A telegraph was quickly dispatched to Dr. I.N. Patterson, soliciting his intervention. He visited Kaduna and was advised to apply for a Certificate of Occupancy (C-of-O). His sustained efforts and the support of F.E. Runyan led to the granting of a C-of-O in 1952 *for church missions and a Baptist school, now the Baptist Theological Seminary (BTS) at* Hayin Banki, Kawo.[85] On September 20, 1959, the church was officially organised, and a service was held with both European and African missionaries present.[86] Furthermore, established between 1949 and 1960 in Kaduna Metropolis were the following Baptist churches: Ebenezer Baptist Church, Makera, Nazia Baptist Church, Angwan Shanu Baptist Church (now Ibukun Oluwa Baptist Church), Albarka Fellowship Baptist Church, English Baptist Church (now United English Baptist Church in Borno Road), Tudun Wada

[83] The Church Historical Committee, *A Church and Its Mission Work*, 36-45.

[84] The Church Historical Committee, *A Church and Its Mission Work*.

[85] The Church Historical Committee, *A Church and Its Mission Work*.

[86] Interview with D'anna Shotts, 72+, a Missionary, interviewed at BTS Hayin-Banki, Kawo Kaduna, on April 4, 2024. Shotts is a 72-year-old American missionary who has dedicated about forty years of her life to serving in Nigeria. She is currently engaged at BTS and divides her time between Kaduna Metropolis and the city of Jos.

Baptist Church (now Alafia Oluwa Baptist Church), and Kamazou Baptist Church.[87]

The RCM also made gains during this period, such that the Kaduna metropolis became its administrative headquarters/ prefecture in the Northern Region in 1934.[88] The prefecture, which consisted of Sokoto, Katsina, Kano, Minna, and Zaria, operated mostly among migrant workers from Southern Nigeria.[89] These migrants settled in the *Sabon Gari* (new town) areas due to the British divide-and-rule policy, which prohibited them from residing with Muslims in major towns. These areas often housed mission stations with resident priests for evangelism.[90] Due to the growing number of worshippers at Kakuri, the RCM prefecture in the metropolis built a bigger church at Kakuri in 1934 under the guidance of the late Monsignor Thomas Hughes, who relocated his base from Kano to Kaduna in that year.[91] The prefecture also spearheaded the expansion of the RCM and the building of catholic churches all over what is now Kaduna State, with special attention given to the southern parts and the metropolis. Mrs. D'anna Shotts noted that during the 1950s, other Christian denominations also made gains in the metropolis, despite facing stiff resistance from the Northern Region's administration.[92] The reason is not far-fetched. While commercial ideas had motivated missionaries for much of the 19th century, by the early 20th century, these were fading. The post-millennial ideas of the early 19th century had given way to the dispensational premillennialism of the late 19th and early 20th

87 Shotts, Interview.

88 Interview with Peter John, 80+, Retired Teacher and church historian. Interviewed at Zaria, on March 20, 2024. Mr John taught church history at the West African Christian University (WACU), Zaria and other bible schools in Zaria before retiring in 2014 on age and health grounds. One of his areas of specialization is missionary activities in Northern Nigeria.

89 John, Interview.

90 John, Interview.

91 "St. Joseph Cathedral."

92 Shotts, Interview.

centuries.[93] Therefore, evangelising as many as possible before the ''imminent'' return of Christ became more important.

The resistance was notably felt in Southern Kaduna, where the influence of Christianity had been growing steadily since the 1950s.[94] As a countermeasure, Sir Ahmadu Bello pursued a conversion campaign in the Northern Region to preserve its 'religious and cultural identity'.[95] Consequently, the Middle Zone League (MZL), representing non-Hausa and non-Muslim minorities, faced suppression from the Premier and the Northern People's Congress (NPC) because they opposed these initiatives.[96] As a result, the non-Muslims in the Middle-Belt region perceived the NPC as predominantly led by conservative Muslims who were intent on securing all seats in the Northern Regional House of Assembly (NRHA).[97] Similarly, missionaries in the region were apprehensive about the potential subjugation and dominance of their minority Christian converts in post-colonial Nigeria. To safeguard the influence of Christianity in the region, they encouraged and promoted the unity of the non-Muslim groups.[98]

The 1951 regional elections in Nigeria exposed the scale of religious tensions between adherents of Islam and Christianity.

---

93 Post-millennialism of the early 19th century envisioned a gradual improvement of the world leading to Christ's return, while dispensational premillennialism of the late 19th and early 20th centuries emphasised a sudden, catastrophic end before Christ's millennial reign. Missionaries, thus, considered the conversion of the people an mergency before the imminent return of Christ, which has been said to be at hand.

94 J. D. Y. Peel, "The Politicisation of Religion in Nigeria: Three Studies," in *Journal of the International African Institute,* 66 (4) (ND), 607-611.

95 International Crisis Group (ICG), "Northern Nigeria: Background to Conflict," *Africa Report* (168), 20 December 2010: https://www.refworld.org/reference/countryrep/icg/2010/en/77021.

96 E. O. Ojo, "Minority Groups: Bridgeheads in Nigerian Politics, 1950s-1964," in *Turkish Journal of Politics,* 3(2), 2012: 53-66.

97 NAK: ZARPROF C.69 (Constitutional Crises in the Middle Belt Region, 1953-1955).

98 Public Record Office, Colonial Office (hereafter PRO CO) 554/372: Situation in the Northern Province of Nigeria, 1952.

According to a 1952 colonial officer's report, the relationships between Christians and Muslims in the NRHA were strained and proved very difficult for Mr Niven, the president of the House, to handle.[99] This was because he struggled to prevent religious debates within the house, especially during discussions about grants for mission schools. In one of the incidents, Christian members vocally defended their faith when a Muslim speaker attempted to belittle Christianity.[100] The discord negatively impacted Christian-Muslim relations in the North and contributed to the formation of the United Middle Belt Congress (UMBC) in 1955.[101] The UMBC represented the interests of minorities in the fight for independence and advocated for the creation of a Middle Belt Region with its distinct legislative bodies: a House of Chiefs and an Assembly.[102] Despite its minority status in the NRHA, the UMBC advanced the cause of minority groups and protected the achievements of missionary societies in Northern Nigeria. Also, despite the challenges the Christian missionary enterprise encountered throughout the colonial period, considerable progress was made in their attempt to plant Christianity in Kaduna and the Metropolis in particular. The table below gives a picture of their progress between 1952 and 1963.

Table 1.

Population of Religious Groups in Kaduna between 1952 and 1963

Year	% Muslims	% Christians	% ATR
1952	57.3	11.2	31.5
1963	55.7	25.1	19.2

Source: Constructed from *Census Population of Nigeria (Northern Region)*,

[99] PRO CO, 1952.

[100] PRO CO, 555/374: Situation in the Northern Province of Nigeria, 1953.

[101] Great Britain, *Problems of Nigerian Minorities: Willink Recommendations* (Lagos: Pacific Publications, 1958), 30.

[102] Middle-beltism is a political concept that emerged due to the formation of the UMBC, which consisted mainly of non-Christians and non-Muslims. This concept goes beyond the traditional geographical description of the area.

Vol. II (Lagos, Nigeria: Federal Office of Statistics, 1963), 215-270.

From the table above, the impact of missionary works on the religious landscape of Kaduna is clear. It shows that while the Christian faith trailed behind Islam and the ATR in the early 1950s, it grew steadily to become the second-largest religion in the area within eleven (11) years. The table also reveals that the majority of the converts made by the Christian missions were from the practitioners of the ATR, given the protective nature of Islam in its strongholds. The present religious balance between Islam and Christianity in Kaduna was the result of sustained evangelism by the missionary churches and the efforts of the Charismatic and Pentecostal Christian Renewal Movements that emerged as one of the fastest-growing Christian denominations in the metropolis since independence.

Conclusion

The article argues that the transatlantic religious fervour, embodied by missionary zeal during the 19th century, influenced the spread of Christianity in Nigeria, and Kaduna Metropolis in particular. It shows that the origin of Christianity in the Kaduna metropolis dates back to the late 19th century, when European Christian missionary societies began to show interest in the area. This interest was predicated on the accounts of the 19th century European travellers and scholars who claimed that the people of Northern Nigeria would be favourably disposed to Christianity because Islam was imposed on the Hausa people by the Fulani Jihadists in the same century. It posits that the report turned out to be false because the leaders of the caliphate opposed missionary activities in both Muslim and non-Muslim communities in the metropolis to uphold Islam's dominance in Northern Nigeria. Thus, the role of ethno-religious tensions, particularly between indigenous groups and Muslim communities, in shaping the Christianisation process was also brought to the fore.

The article also contends that colonial policies and administrative practices impacted the growth and development of Christian communities in Kaduna. For instance, the policy of the colonial

government restricted evangelism in the region during the first two decades of the 20th century. It noted, however, that the colonial state was not in favour of Islam, nor was it against Christianity, as widely held by scholars. Conversely, it was uncompromisingly focused on maintaining law and order to enable it to achieve its colonial economic objectives in the metropolis. It reveals that the 1930s were a golden moment in missionary endeavours in the metropolis. This was a result of administrative changes in Lagos and Kaduna and the colonial government's recognition of the contributions of the missionaries to colonial rule, despite the restrictions on their activities. The progress made in the period was a result of a multifaceted approach and cultural sensitivity, and the combination of evangelism with the provision of free education, healthcare, and social welfare services, which met the needs of the people.

Hence, Christianity took root in the metropolis despite the stiff resistance that emanated from the emirate and the government of the defunct Northern Region. However, the success of the missionary enterprise in the metropolis was more among the adherents of ATR, who had long resisted attempts by the caliphate to subjugate them. This took an entirely different but interesting dimension from the 1970s and 1980s, when Pentecostalism began to enjoy a new atmosphere for development in the area of study. Importantly, this article explored the interplay between transatlantic evangelicalism, colonial politics, and indigenous resistance in shaping the religious landscape of Kaduna Metropolis between 1880 and 1960. It contributes to the historiography of Nigerian Christianity by focusing on Northern Nigeria, a region typically overshadowed by studies on Southern Christianity. It also revealed how ethno-religious tensions and missionary pragmatism shaped religious identity formation in the Kaduna Metropolis.