

# Colonial Foundations of Christian Missions in Tivland, 1911 – 1959

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## ABSTRACT

The work of Christian Missionaries has seldom been divorced from the history of colonial activities in Africa. In some places, Christian Missions attracted their home government from Europe to set up colonies. In other locations, establishing a colonial hold opened the way for the Mission to enter the subjugated land. This paper “Colonial Foundations of Christian Missions in Tivland, 1911-1959” sketches a historical narrative of the consort of Christian Missions and colonial authorities in their establishment in Tivland and the social, cultural, economic, and political distortions brought to it. Using the historical narrative, secondary and tertiary sources were analyzed. The conclusion arrived at following the Liberalism and Empire theory shows that Christian Missions and colonialism effectively complemented each other in bringing about the subjugation of Tiv society.

**Keywords:** *Colonial, Christian Missions, Foundations, Tivland*

## Introduction

Between the European Christian missionaries and colonial government officials, the question of who arrived

first differs from place to place. The missionaries opened stations in some places before some form of European state power stepped in. In others, subjugation preceded the Christian Missions. In northern Nigeria, the declaration of Protectorate heralded Christian Missions. This paper looks at the impact of the collaboration of missionaries with British colonialists in Tivland between 1911 and 1959. The work is divided into the following sections. Conceptual and theoretical framework, the advent of Christian Missions in Nigeria, advent of colonial rule in Tivland, colonial beginnings of the Church in Tivland, Colonial and Evangelical impact on Tiv society, and the conclusion.

### **Conceptual and Theoretical Framework**

The phenomenon referred to as colonialism is not a modern one. Beginning with the incorporation of settlements next door, advances in navigation among other variables made possible the subjugation of overseas territories. Kohn and Reddy described colonialism as “a practice of domination, which involved the subjugation of one people to another”.<sup>1</sup> It is used to capture the process of European settlement, violent dispossession, and political domination over the rest of the world.<sup>2</sup>

When a foreign power carries control of the cultural, economic, political, and social life of a people for a prolonged period, it is termed colonialism. Thus “Colonialism is the combination of territorial, judicial, cultural, linguistic, political, mental/epistemic and or economic domination of one group of people by another (external) group of people”.<sup>3</sup> This presupposes the existence of internal colonialism, popularized by Robert Blauner in distinguishing between colonization as a process and colonialism as a social, economic and political system.”<sup>4</sup> This represents the situation where a group of people is discriminated against and exploited by another or other groups within the same nation-state based on race, ethnicity, color or religion. Gonzalez-Casanova

explains that “Internal colonialism corresponds to a structure of social relations based on domination and exploitation among culturally heterogenous, distinct groups”<sup>5</sup>.

Colonialism and imperialism used interchangeably by many are not the same in conception. Both involve some form of domination and exploitation of the weaker by the stronger. Yet colonialism involves more physical domination of a territory, while imperialism involves political and economic domination of a territory without direct takeover but creating dependency.<sup>6</sup> Colonialism as used in this paper refers to the domination and exploitation by a foreign power of the political, social, economic as well as epistemic and territorial rights of another over a period.

There are several theories of colonialism, some seeking to justify it and others condemning it. The changing morality of colonialism gives rise to the lack of clear agreement on its definition and theory.<sup>7</sup> Both Liberal and Mercantilist models of colonialism identified by Strausz-Hope and Hazard curtailed the liberties of the natives and exploited them.<sup>8</sup> The “Civilizing Mission Theory” is a Eurocentric justification of conquest for the Christianization of the heathen. This was founded on the ‘Petrine Mandate’, which assented to overthrowing the political, economic, and socio-cultural life and laws of the native people; and confiscating their lands and resources in the name of Christianization and civilization in contradiction to the theory of ‘Natural Law and Justice’ which posits everyone has intelligence and right to self-determination. The Petrine Mandate sought to justify the overthrow of native governments because they were unable to rule themselves and needed to be civilized through Christianization and Europeanization. There was also the theory of the ‘Law of Nations’ which supposedly naturally gives access to peaceful trade and travel; and where the native violated that law, they could be legitimately forcefully subjugated.

Among theories condemning colonialism you have the 'Liberalism and Empire Theory' also called the "Development Theory," This gave rise to anti-colonial political theory. Its promoters included Emmanuel Kant, Adam Smith, Denis Diderot, and Franz Fanon among others.<sup>9</sup> They, generally agreeing that Christian Missions and colonialism have been in cohorts over the centuries, condemned colonialism and advocated the right of the natives to self-determination. The Development theory lends itself to the analysis in this paper and it is thus adopted.

### **The Advent of Christian Missions in Nigeria**

Three factors precipitated Christian missionary activities in Africa; the abolitionist movement, geographical explorations, and the European colonization of Africa. In Baur's opinion, the anti-slavery movement led the way for decades as a reason for evangelization in Africa."<sup>10</sup> A new Christian moral awakening, swept through Europe and America known as the Evangelical Movement giving rise to a strong and active desire to spread the Gospel to non-Christian peoples."<sup>11</sup> Peter Falk agrees that "the revival of Christianity in Europe and America during the eighteenth century brought about an effective renewal of Christian enterprise in Africa."<sup>12</sup> The evangelical revival motivated social reforms in Europe and America and Christians from those nations went abroad on Missions. This revival caused a reinterpretation of the concept of social justice that saw slavery and the slave trade as a social evil and made Christians speak out against it in the Church and Parliament. Anti-slavery groups were formed by people of like minds and resulted in the Anti-slavery Movement that gained ground with the 1772 judgment by the Chief Justice of the King's Bench, Lord Mansfield in the case of Somerset V Stewart in England.<sup>13</sup> By 1807 slavery was abolished throughout the British Isles and 1853 all over the British Dominions. The Society of Friends first published against slavery and the

slave trade in 1688. It was proclaimed in the English colonies in America the following year. By 1758 and 1773 Society of Friends set up committees to promote abolition in the colonies in Britain respectively<sup>14</sup>

John Wesley (1703-1791) led the evangelical attacks on the institution of slavery. This was initially “directed, not to abolishing the status of slavery but improving on the condition of slaves and freed slaves. But as he developed his evangelical doctrine of sin and redemption...He concluded that...slavery was not just a cruel inhuman practice that should be improved but a sin that must be abolished”.<sup>15</sup> This was how the evangelical revival became a powerful force in the Anti-Slavery Movement of the 18th and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. Most evangelicals saw it as a tool to bring life to the hitherto ‘dead conscience’ of Christians that permitted slavery and considered it, not their duty to reach their neighbours everywhere in the world with the gospel of the grace of God.

The slave trade had to be replaced with trade in agricultural produce, artifacts, and minerals. in developing new fields of trade in West Africa.”<sup>16</sup> The financing of explorations into the interior of Africa to open the avenues to legitimate commerce and influential laymen encouraged their governments “ to undertake pioneer expeditions through the large waterways into the interior to make treaties with chiefs and to demonstrate what opportunities there were for private capital; that industrialists and merchants should follow the lead of the government and invest capital in the development of Africa, and it would be the new trade that would displace the slave trade.”<sup>17</sup>

Alan Burns reports the 1841 expedition was sent out to the Niger River by the British Government with no expenses spared under the command of naval officers accompanied by Missionaries on the expedition.<sup>18</sup> Thomas F. Buxton and his Society for the Extinction of Slavery with

the slogan 'The Bible and Plough' set out to; "afford essential assistance to the natives by furnishing them with useful information as to the best mode of cultivation, as to the productions, which command a steady market and by introducing the most improved agricultural implements and seeds."<sup>19</sup> The slave trade had been abolished but the African chiefs and traders, with European and American clients, had to be policed. However, without enforcement, both Christianity and commerce would not flourish. "There were situations for which the occasional appearance of the warships on patrol was unsuitable and for which both traders and missionaries were beginning to demand the full-time services of a resident British official."<sup>20</sup> In 1847 when two French boats visited Calabar and tried to make trade agreements with King Eyo Honesty I, the British Missionaries and traders requested for a British warship to come and plant the Union Jack. The Rev. Hope Waddell further sent a request to the government through the Foreign Missions' Office in Edinburgh asking that Calabar be made a British protectorate."<sup>21</sup>

John Beecroft was appointed Consul of Her Britannic Majesty in the Bights of Benin and Biafra to be headquartered in Fernando Po, with William Duncan as Vice Consul in Dahomey. For the missionaries and their supporters, "the abhorrence of the slave trade was...a religion."<sup>22</sup> The Naval Squadron captured Lagos in 1851 dethroning King Kosoko and installing Akintoye who signed a treaty with the British on 1st January 1852 with "a clause ...guaranteeing to missionaries of all nations freedom to follow 'their vocation of spreading the knowledge and doctrine of Christianity and extending the benefits of civilization."<sup>23</sup> Through the help of the Navy the missionaries had assurance of carrying on their Church work with less apprehension.

## **The Advent of Colonial Rule in Tivland**

Colonial rule was established in Tivland along with other areas in what became northern Nigeria more than forty years after Lagos was declared a colony in 1861. The Royal Niger Company (RNC) was granted a royal charter in 1886<sup>24</sup> giving it political (military and administrative) and economic (trading) rights from the Niger Delta to Benue. It was empowered to sign treaties with the chiefs, to exercise political authority, to administer justice and maintain order, to discourage and abolish any system of servitude existing among the inhabitants, and to levy such customs duties and charges as were necessary for the provision of revenue for the expenses of government. By 1887, using the treaties signed with Chiefs along the Niger and Benue, the British crown declared a protectorate over the Niger area. Three years later the charter of the RNC was revoked and the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria was declared on 1st January 1900. The Niger Delta or Oil Rivers Protectorate was merged with the Southern Protectorate and Lagos Crown Colony and Protectorate to form the Southern Protectorate of Nigeria.<sup>25</sup>

After declaring Northern Nigeria a protectorate, British forces set out to pacify all areas in the region including Tivland. Between 1900 and 1914, the British administration fought numerous battles to subjugate the Tiv. "There were many Tiv groups, each of which was independent of the next and had to protect itself against any possible encroachment."<sup>26</sup> According to Obaro Ikime, "The first clash of arms between the British and Tiv occurred as a consequence of the British crossing of Tiv territory to construct this telegraph line."<sup>27</sup> The British most likely never gave a thought to consulting with the Tiv to seek their cooperation or permission in laying the lines. Tiv farms were destroyed by the work of those officials. According to Kwaghkondo Agber; "in the course of the construction, the team destroyed carefully tilled farmland belonging to the Tiv near Akwanaja, a settlement close to the Tiv – Bassa border. In a swift reaction, the Tiv attacked the construction party."<sup>28</sup> The Tiv farmers would

normally rise to defend their farms. In the confrontation, several lives were lost on each side. Concerted efforts to subjugate the Tiv continued and a garrison station was set up at Katsina-Ala in 1908 from where the British pushed into Tivland.<sup>28</sup> By the end of 1910, armed officers had traversed the breadth of Tivland and east of the Katsina-Ala River was open to missionary enterprise. The British felt they had subjugated the Tiv and had a real hold on the country.<sup>29</sup>

The colonialists conceived of the Church as collaborating with the imperialist army. "Lugard thought of the Mission enterprise as being aided by the government."<sup>30</sup> He wrote in his annual reports to the colonial office in 1911 that, "without the support of the government, these missionaries would not be tolerated (by the Muslim Emirs). In effect therefore, the Mission obtains its footing on the support of British bayonets."<sup>31</sup>

### **The Colonial Beginnings of The Church in Tivland**

Christianity did not advance into Tivland until after the colonial pacification of the area. Its closest presence was the SUM-CRC America in Ibi, Wukari, and Takum.<sup>32</sup> By 1908, the SUM South Africa staffed by missionaries from several Churches in South Africa, but especially the Dutch Reformed Church Mission (DRCM), which came with Tivland as their targeted field ended up at the Mbula hills near Yola because the colonial office felt it was not safe to attempt going into Tiv country before 1910<sup>33</sup>. According to B.I. Shii by January 1911 permission to reach Tivland with the gospel came from the colonial office. By April 1911, the DRCM arm of the SUM South Africa branch established its first station in Tivland at Saai village on the east of the Katsina-Ala River.<sup>34</sup> Between 1911 and 1960 Anglican, Roman Catholic Mission (RCM), Presbyterian, Methodists, Baptists, Rev J G Steyn's All Christ's Command Mission, and Assemblies of God Church opened Missions Stations in Tivland.<sup>35</sup> Other

missions did not open stations in Tivland until after independence.<sup>36</sup>

### **Evangelical and Colonial Impact on Tiv Society**

The Missions and Colonial relationship had one common denominator, civilizing Africa. This was the “White man’s Burden” that informed Lord Lugard’s “dual mandate.”<sup>37</sup> Thomas Fowell Buxton in *The African Slave Trade and its Remedy* resolved that,

We must elevate the minds of her people and call forth the resources of her soil...Let missionaries and schoolmasters, the plough and the spade, go together and agriculture will flourish; the avenues to legitimate commerce will be opened...while civilization will advance as the natural effect...Christianity [will] operate as the proximate cause, of this happy change.”<sup>38</sup>

The civilization of the native Africans was the focus of the missionary and the humanitarian, though not necessarily of the trader except it had a direct impact on his profit. But the former two saw the part of the latter in the process and sought to work with him.

The concept of civilization was Europeanization. The Roman Catholics saw civilization as becoming part of the Church in itself. The Evangelicals though agreed that membership in the Church could be a path to civilization as the power of believing the gospel changed the individual; but not the membership in itself. They insisted Christianization preceded civilization. “Clearly, then, Thomas Buxton and the missionaries who shared his view meant by civilization more than were implicit in membership of the Church.”<sup>39</sup> Civilization was the European way of life. “Civilization meant to them all they considered best in their own way of life. In the first place, they expected conformity to their own social manners and customs. They insisted on even minor observances as

necessary outward and visible signs of an inward 'civilized' state."<sup>40</sup>

It was not just the African dress type but also almost all his material culture, such as food type and architecture, and the non-material, such as religion and dance. "Many of the customs and habits were regarded not just as unimportant matters of social convenience; to the missionary, each had a religious significance."<sup>41</sup> To civilize, Africans had to abandon their culture. As Ajayi saw it, when the missionary spoke of civilization, he did not just limit himself to the reform of manners but had in mind the secular impact that would be seen in political change, social change, and economic as well as technical.

In Tivland, as elsewhere in Africa, "the missionaries were convinced that the pagan culture was of a seamless whole, bound up at every point with religious values and ultimately in the service of Satan."<sup>42</sup> Thus, everything had to be pulled down right to the foundation in order to build civilization. The missionaries made clear that "regarding the religion of the Tiv, the mission can find nothing that can be purified from its heathen elements and made useful in the Tiv Church."<sup>43</sup> This view formed the basis for seeking to bring about a separation from the former ways of society and introducing the people to something new in active collaboration with the colonial office. This partnership of the colonial government and the Church brought about the abolishment of the *Yamshe* (exchange marriage) system in Tiv society in 1927. The DRCM had urged the government to abolish *Yamshe* (Exchange Marriage) and to replace it with *kem kwase* (bride-price) system. Their reason was that the *yamshe* system made women chattels and barter items for the elders.<sup>44</sup> "The missionaries in their zeal to convert the people from their traditional religion and customs acquired a disdain for everything African, such as African art, music, dancing, and marriage customs. They even rejected African names for baptism."<sup>45</sup>

Apart from the desire of the missionaries to do away with all practices that seemed to be embedded with satanic sublimity, some do see the colonial administration as seeking a way to break the stronghold that the Tiv social organization had on the society. For the administration, it was not so much the so-called unchristian concept in *yamshe* as the strength it built into Tiv traditional society with its kinship linkages and its religious totality that put it on target to be eliminated. For as far as the status of the woman is concerned Europeans understood that, "It would be wrong to suppose that under the exchange system the wife was a mere chattel. Her status was far higher than for instance in Mohammedan tribes, which use the bride price. She had complete control of the food supply and her authority in domestic affairs was hardly questioned."<sup>46</sup>

In Tiv traditional society, the woman was not a piece of property to be sold and bought. This was even the reason Tiv preferred *yamshe* to bride price or bride wealth. For the Tiv, nothing else could compare with or be a sufficient price for a human, especially a close relation. It is also thought that the younger generation was in support of the abolition of *yamshe* because it did not favour them.<sup>47</sup> This was in the sense that the younger had to wait in turn until all the older males each had an *ingyor* (female agnate) to exchange for a wife. But with bride price, the younger who had acquired financial freedom through his sale of menial labour in the colonial economy, through commerce or tireless farm work, producing a bountiful harvest; the last being most unlikely, could get a wife when he wanted. In addition, the girls could choose whom they wanted. This however could only be an illusion, since no one could think that he or she would make choice of a spouse without the involvement of the elders. First, the father of the girl would not negotiate with any suitor without his elders. Secondly, the elders of a suitor will not accept to approach the elders of a bride to be if their consent was not sought for in the first place. Thus, as Wegh puts it:

The interests of the administration coincided with those of the Mission. In other words, the administration, independent of the thinking of the Mission, was itching to establish itself firmly, and to carry out its programs. If a marriage system was hindering this, it was better put out of the way. The abolition of exchange marriage must therefore be seen as part of the whole package of social reforms...<sup>48</sup>

Thus, in the colonial period both the administration and the Mission set their seal to bringing change into Tiv society.

The DRCM who pushed for the colonial administration to abolish *Yamshe* to break the fabric of Tiv society and gain a hold on it felt was a failure and turned round to blame the Tiv. One missionary wrote, "This 'bride price' marriage, which was looked forward to with such great anticipation, degenerated from its inception into commerce in human lives because of the materialistic disposition of the Tiv."<sup>49</sup> The Mission accepted the failure of what they advocated for, but blamed the *materialism* of the Tiv. Neither have the Tiv accepted that blame. "It was the colonial administration that introduced money and taxation, and thereby brought a new value system."<sup>50</sup> as far as the Tiv are concerned. Makar blamed the Church for these problems, stating, "The missionaries have been directly responsible for the erosion of some vital moral beliefs in the society... These have produced disastrous consequences...apparently, the breakdown of marriages and juvenile delinquency."<sup>51</sup> A.A.Torkula also blamed colonialism in addition to Christianity stating that "the attack on Tiv culture was two-pronged: colonialism on one battle front and its twin brother, evangelism on the other."<sup>52</sup> Furthermore, "the changes by colonialism triggered off increased monetization and materialism of

the marriage process among the Tiv people.”<sup>53</sup> He concluded that the Whiteman has spoiled the land (*or Buter Vihi tar*)”<sup>54</sup>

The cry of “*Buter vihi tar*” is made in reference to the negative influence on the totality of Tiv society brought about by colonialism and Christianity. For when the *yamshe* (exchange) system of marriage was overthrown, it was not just an archaic marriage system that was displaced but the traditional religious belief system of the Tiv as well. The value system of the society was changed from that of depending on the goodwill of the society generally and elders in particular, gotten through living in harmony with the norms of society to that of money. One did not need the community to survive as long as one had money. A wife or wives could be gotten through money used in the payment of bride price. It was no longer necessary to wait for the older brother or relation to get married first. Rubingh asserts that:

The most inimical effect of the use of money was that it became the means of driving a wedge between the older and younger generation. It was the younger generation that most profited from the introduction of money, which they could secure through work on the railway being constructed through Tivland or on the bridge being built across the Benue at Makurdi...

It was especially in conjunction with the abolition of exchange marriage that the possession of money by the young became a potent means of tribal disintegration... exchange marriage also illustrates how the younger males were depending on the elders, in this case for the very basic need of securing a mate.<sup>55</sup>

The abolition of exchange marriage affected the morality, legality and religion of Tiv society; the

triad which inter-webbed and held the fabric of society together. The abolition was conceived by the missionaries and proposed to the colonial administration who executed it.

The society was now under turbulence resulting from the western influences on it. Before now, Tiv religion had an all-encompassing hold on the life of the Tiv. The people's prosperity depended on strict observance of societal values and norms, the violation of which brought calamity not only on the individual but on his community as well. The elders who were the supposed possessors of *tsav* (witchcraft potential, supernatural abilities) were the ones who could set the cosmos at equilibrium by propitiating the right *akombo* on behalf of the people. At the *ya* (compound) level the *orya* (compound head) or father would either do the propitiation himself or seek out a master to do it. And the disturbance of the equilibrium of the cosmos though affecting the whole community if not set right also had direct retribution on the trespassing individual or family. This could be in the form of infertility, ill health, *wuhe yologh* (bad luck) which could make one vulnerable to evil spells (*tambe*) because of the *chia* (justification) the trespass gives the person offended or the *mbatsav* (witches) who could cause death.

Now the Church, especially the DRCM, in order to get converts attacked exchange marriage because of the religious significance it had, and as well attacked the whole belief system. They out rightly claimed that there is no *tsav* in the attempt to disabuse the minds of the Tiv from belief in it. For the fear of *tsav* was seen as a hindrance to conversion. This fact can be seen in the translation of the Bible into Tiv. A careful study of the Tiv Bible (Bibilo) and a comparison between it and the English, Latin, Greek and Aramaic versions will show that the translators of the Tiv Bible consciously and deliberately avoided the use of the word '*tsav*' as a translation for witchcraft. Instead, witchcraft is translated as *ahir* (magic). However, according to Torkula "a magician, witchcraft

practitioner or a sorcerer are regarded in Tiv culture as similar because they are believed to perform identical functions in the supernatural... [the] special application of the forces of sacred powers...to achieve an objective"<sup>56</sup> It is however, not enough reason to shave the term witchcraft of its meaning and render it with a synonym that is less comprehensive and narrow in scope. The only reason could be to purge the minds of the converts from its fear by making them think or believe that witchcraft does not exist (*tsav mbu ga*).

The elders knew better, and the younger people were not also convinced, as well as the colonial administrators that '*tsav mbu ga*'. The rise and fall of numerous anti *mbatsav* movements between 1912 and 1939, and later in the last couple of closing decades of the twentieth century does blatantly belie the thought that *tsav* does not exist.<sup>57</sup> Since the white man's power had overthrown the authority of the elders, those who received retribution from the visitation of *akombo* due to their breaking of norms, taboos and prohibitions reported the elders to the white man's court. "The accusation charged the old men with abduction and murder through witchcraft. In many cases, the elders simply assented to these charges in order to inspire dread and respect in the young... The machinery for investigation eventually grounded to a standstill,"<sup>58</sup> since the accusations could not be validated in court. Since "the political system, of the Tiv people, law and order and the very survival of the community were dependent on this belief,"<sup>59</sup> which was dislocated; and European system of law had failed to legally establish the guilt of the *mbatsav* in order to punish them, "violent anti-*tsav* movements broke out as a result."<sup>60</sup> Thus "social movements such as *Haakaa*, *Hoyo*, *Bundeli*, *Jov* cult...sprang up in Tivland, tacitly nodded to by colonialism, for the cleansing of the Tiv cultural landscape."<sup>61</sup> That is, the colonialists tacitly supported widespread violence against the elders who were believed to be the *Mbatsav* (witches) to force them to surrender

witchcraft instruments (*Na akaa*) and turned a blind eye to it. This resulted in the loss of prestige and honour due to elders from the society as they were publicly maltreated and humiliated by the colonial police who were initially of Hausa origin but later of Tiv themselves.

Western Education, which came after the quest for money and the breakup of the fabric of kinship in the society, following the abolition of exchange marriage increased the breakdown of the power of the gerontocracy. The schools were catalysts that worked with the other elements of an encroaching western worldview. As summed up by Kraemer, it can be seen that; "Western Education loosens the bonds which tied the pupils to the compound and the traditional culture...arouses a critical attitude towards the environment, and...awakens a desire to reflect on other religious possibilities."<sup>62</sup> Ajayi also notes this, concerning the influence of the mission house on their host communities. In most places, the missionaries advised the converts for the safety of their souls to keep aloof from anything traditional. They urged the converts to make a clean break with the past. They tended to regard practically everything in the old society as somehow tainted with heathenism.<sup>63</sup> Therefore, in fulfillment of the desire to create a group that was different from the rest of the community; literacy was introduced along with technical education. By this means, missionary agents as well as artisans were created. The boarding school was created out of this need for separation and such children in boarding were personal wards of missionaries. A certain Catholic priest named Father Broghere said that through the boarding house heathen children would be, "Rescued from the midst of paganism, and kept safe within our fort [to] lead a perfectly safe life, as well regulated as any within the walls of a convent in a Christian country, to keep the Church in good order, serve at the altar, and sing the sacred canticles; assist in the religious instruction of other children and serve as interpreters."<sup>64</sup>

After some years though, the Tiv began to accept the work of the missionaries and opened up to their teachings. The Church, expanded from Sai to Zaki-Biam in 1913, Sevav 1919, Mkar 1923, Turan 1926 and Kunav (Mbaakon) and Adikpo (Nanev) 1927.<sup>65</sup>

With the influence of western education, the creation of a new class of wage earners, as well as the introduction of taxation, the fiscal or market economy was taking a hold on the land. Christian missionaries, commercial concerns as well as the colonial administration influenced the concept of market in Tivland. Markets were created, or invigorated, because cash transactions replaced trade by barter or the older forms of money. The places where the Christian missionaries had greater influence, the frequency of Tiv markets was changed from a five-day week market to a seven day one and avoiding Sundays.<sup>66</sup> These are unlike the markets on the western bank of Katsina-Ala River that are five-day rotational markets, which could fall on Sundays as well as any other day. The missionaries needed the people to attend worship services at least on Sundays. Thus, under the colonial administration the influence of the Europeans, which included missionaries, merchants and administrators was aimed at changing Tiv society.

## **Conclusion**

The Church in Tivland was established through the collaboration of the missionaries and colonial administration at various points. At the earlier period, the missionary sought for the protection of the Crown, though they also had their contradictions. They worked together to accomplish certain changes such as the abolition of *yamshe* (exchange marriage). It was clear that though the mission and the colonial office sought to transform Tiv society, their objectives were often different. The mission aimed at a policy of planned economic development through creating a new middle class in the society who would work to bring about most of the changes the

missionaries desired but could not attempt to bring it about themselves. The colonial office on its part sought to promote trade for its sake and simply exploit the resources using Africans without creating a middle class. Whatever was the outcome, the missionaries being evangelical, recognized the colonial administration as a civil authority under which they had to operate, whatever their contradictions. They worked to bring about religious, social, political and economic transmutation of Tiv society in the first half of the twentieth century.

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