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The *Emirs* and the Visits of Christian Missions in Ilorin Muslim Emirate of Northern Nigeria, 1823 – 1900

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Abstract. This article traces the genesis of the Emirs of Ilorin Emirate encounter with the Christian Missions. The Emirs were 'head bent' in protecting their domain against the Christian missionary's incursion. They did this not because they hated Christianity but because they followed the instructions and general directives tenaciously in line with the Sokoto caliphate to run away from religious rivalry, competition particularly, Christianity and for fear of conversion. Thus, we have noted that each of the Emirs' played the role of defensor fedei in his emirate and as such he could not willy – nilly allow missionaries to proselytize. One remarkable thing about Emirs with the Christian missions' encounter was the level of friendliness and display of knowledge in their various doctrinal expositions. It is against this background that we examine the Emirs and the visits of the Christian Missions in Ilorin Emirate, C. 1823 – 1900. The author made use of both the primary and secondary sources. In particular, the study relied on eye witness account of the Christian Missions. In addition, travellers' records were also utilized with secondary materials and used for chronologic and thematic analysis.

Keywords: Emirs of Ilorin, Christian Missions, Doctrinal Encounter, Christianity, Islam and Caliph Directives.

1. Introduction

Islam antedated Christianity in Nigeria with the period which spanned over three hundred years. Thus, Islam was for many centuries old in West Africa before the arrival of Christianity into Nigeria in the nineteenth century (Fafunwa 70). But it should be remarked that one of the major bugbears of Christian Missions in Nigeria around the second half of the nineteenth century could be said to be Islam. The religion which has deep believe in monotheistic creed in line with the adherent of Islam. It was believed to have been approved by Allah through the Mohammad, the Seal of Prophets in Arabia in the seventh century. Islam was further assisted in 1804 to 1831 in Northern part of Nigeria, championed by the Jihadists who got inspiration from Shaykh Usman Dan Fodio, renown Islamic scholar, reformer and pacesetter of the Fulani Jihad (Ayandele 117).

Around the middle of the nineteenth century, the Christian Missions revitalized their religious enthusiasm in the Atlantic seaboard but Islam had already been contacted in the northern section of Yorubaland to the embracement of Sokoto caliphate upon which the Christian Mission concentrated their attention as fertile ground to Christianize the Muslims.

The first Christian missions came to Nigeria in the 1840s. But in the early fifteenth century, the Portuguese made spasmodic attempts to evangelize and convert people in Nigeria. However, the major failure of the Portuguese was their attention which shifted to commerce in the Delta areas of East and Western Nigeria rather than the gospel. The Wesleyan Methodists came to Nigeria and stayed in Badagry in 1842. They were followed in quick succession by the Church Missionary Society (CMS) in December 1842, the American Baptist Mission came in 1853 and Roman Catholic Mission (RCM) in 1860s (Eliasu 149). They started to build churches and schools in Nigeria where adequate converts into Christianity were made. Thus, in the earliest efforts by the Christian Missions in Nigeria, both the school and church became adjunct. This was akin to a similar development found in Britain during the Dark Ages. William Boyd made this assertion clearer when he stated that:

The church undertook the business of education not because it regarded education as good in itself, but because it found that it could not do its own proper work without giving its adherents and especially its clergy, as much of the formal learning as was required

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for the performance of their religious duties (Boyd 100).

Geographical Location and Background of Ilorin Emirate

The history of a place is usually determined by its natural endowments; therefore, the establishment of Ilorin was in a great consonance with the location of the town. The environment of Ilorin was perceived by geographers as a transitional zone around the open savannal to the northern side and to the forest zone bordering south. Ilorin had a great influence to attract many settlers from both the north and south of modern Nigeria. The position of Ilorin centered on its advantage of trans-Saharan caravan routes that extended to Oyo before its final demise in 1836 (Danmole 5). In the nineteenth century, it was observed by a Christian missionary that Ilorin was not only a veritable place within itself but to the entire Central Africa. Thus, ever before the influence of Islam, the town had been an important attraction to various migrants who were destined to play fundamental role in her chequered history. The vegetation of Ilorin was supported by adequate rainfall during the raining period. There was to vast of land to support agriculture and also for the grazing of cattle in the town. In addition, the problem which started in Old Oyo kingdom towards the eighteenth century gave – impetus to the southward's movement towards Ilorin and thus consequently led to large increase in population of the town. The general location of Sobil hill perhaps would have provided safety abode for people in Ilorin even before the town enjoyed the status of an Emirate (Danmole 5).

Ilorin emirate was an emirate amongst Hausaland and Yorubaland. It possessed some characteristics of these cultures. The pattern of government in the nineteenth century had in its Islamic endorsement but was the amalgamation of different cultures. This was the situation even before the colonial overrule. When the central power of Oyo was coming down, a man called Afonja decided to balkanize and so as to create an empire in his name. He decided to instigate a rebellion amongst the Muslim slaves of Ilorin around 1817 this fell within the allignment of a Muslim scholar called *al – Salih* who was reported to have been invited by Afonja (Danmole 85). Thus, around 1817 and 1823, Ilorin received her legitimacy from the title of Are Ona Kakanfo while Afonja got his own, from the Old Oyo kingdom and his spiritual benefactor *al – Sahih*. But immediately after 1823 Ilorins legitimacy was enmeshed in her position as the "Emirate of the Yarba" (Yoruba) and this was further attested to by Gwandu in 1829 (Danmole 10 – 11).

2. The Spread and Position of Islam in the Early 19th Century in Ilorin Emirate of Northern Nigeria

Islam reached Savannah section of West Africa in the eight century AD, the time through the documented history of West Africa became manifest. Famous scholars such as *Ibn Murabbah* and *Al – Masudi*, for example, wrote as early as 738 and 947 respectively. By the time Islam got to the Savannah area, commercial activities started immediately in North Africa. Trade and commercial contact provided opportunity for material culture which influenced intellectual development for which some areas of Sudan became known. During the time of Dunama II (1221 – 59), linkages were made through official correspondences with Tunisia in line with what *Ibn Khaldun* mentioned. Having said this, a college was built in Cairo called *Madrasah al – Rashiq*. However, Kanem Bornu metamorphosed into an academic and Islamic area because different scholars moved from Mali to Kanem Bornu to teach Islamic law. In the fourteenth century, a capital within the Kanuri empire had been built in the Bornu capital called N'gazaragamu by a ruler called Ali Ghazi (Ali Ghaji), 1476 – 1503. He had interest in studying the principles of Islam and visited Imam Umar Masaramba to study Islamic Law. However, specific Islamic activities were believed to have taken its firm footing during the time of Idris Alooma (1570 – 1602) and this assertion was corroborated by Ahmad Ibn Fartuwa (Fafunwa 53).

The *Madrasah* (Islamic schools) were established and mode of operation of the schools was in line with Muslim cities. The importation or spread of Islam in Hausa was as a result of the activities or scholars and traders respectively. Accordingly, around forty Wangarawa traders were believed to have introduced Islam into Kano during the reign of Ali Yaji, 1349 – 1385. A mosque was immediately built and Imam, Muezzin and Qadi were also given the mandate to discharge their various Islamic duties during this time. Fulani Islamic scholars migrated to Kano area during the time of Yaqub 1452 – 63, and carried along with them, volumes of books on Islamic law and theology.

Fundamentally, a famous scholar and theologian known as Al – Maghili from Timbuktu among many scholars arrived Kano to spread the tenets of Islam. In particular, during the administration of Muhammad Rumfa, Al-Maghili otherwise known as Abdulkareem authored the book which specialized on Islamic government called the *Obligation of the Princes*. Before Al – Maghili got to Katsina, the place had already become an Islamic centre. Different pilgrims

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and scholars from University of Sankore visited the place to teach Islamic divinity. By the 17th century, Katsina had reputable Islamic scholars such as Muhammadu Dan Masina and Muhammadu Dan Marina.

Ilorin is largely a Muslim community in Nigeria. The precise time when Islam arrived Ilorin may not be easy to comprehend and scholars have not been able to arrive at a consensus on this matter. Significantly, the role of Ilorin in the Islamization of Yorubaland and the development of Islam has been documented in the province in the early nineteenth century (Fafunwa 10). Thus, Shaykh Alimi bn Salih came to Ilorin to meet a considerable number of Muslim scholars from different parts of the globe. These scholars included different descents such as the Fulanis, Hausas, Gobiris, Nupes, Malians and Kanuris in Ilorin. Consequently, the town metamorphosed into a melting pot of Muslims and their different culture.

3. Historical Antecedence of Emirs of Ilorin Emirate

Following the death of *al - Salih* otherwise known as Alimi, the mantle of leadership fell into the hands of Abdulsalami who became the first Emir of Ilorin (1823 – 1836). He established many offices in the state for his proper administration. He created administrative wards and appointed Baloguns (warlords) to administer them accordingly. These Baloguns were *Alanamu, Ajikobi, Fulani and Gambari.* Thus, the Yoruba were found principally around *Ide-Ape* Area, Balogun Alanamu area, Balogun Ajikobi, Okelele, Oloje and Adeta areas of the city. The Hausa were found primarily in Balogun Gambari ward and the Fulani in Balogun Fulani ward (Eliasu 32).

At the top of the emirate government was the Emir. The Balogun and all chiefs were to report to him from time to time. But role played by the Baloguns later put the Emir into checks and balances. Thus, one of the major advantages enjoyed by the Balogun was their position as war mongers, this they did on behalf of the Emirs. The Baloguns were so powerful that they dictated the pace of what share of booties that must be given to the Emirs. They could exercise powers within the emirate and outside the emirate. By the second half of the nineteenth century, the Balogun wielded strong power. They built their own courts and decided court matters independent of the Emirs. Consequently, their offices became hereditary between the first office occupiers (Danmole 86). The second Emir was Shitta, (1842 – 1860) and also doubled as the second son of Alimi. He had Islamic learning and took part in various wars of expansion before he was made the Emir. The reign of Shitta was very peaceful because he did not inherit any political problem from his predecessor. After consolidating and utilizing the peaceful nature of his domain he embarked on various wars of expansion. He did this as far in the south in a place called Ore in Ondo state of Nigeria.

In addition, the Emir received many visitors during his reign. It was during his period that he welcomed the Christian Missionaries who visited Ilorin to seize the advantage and explore the opportunity of establishing Christianity in Ilorin Emirate (Jimoh 138) Emir Shitta died in 1860 and was replaced by Zubair.

Emir Zubair (1860 – 1868) was the third Emir. He participated in both religious and social matters. He was nicknamed *Aiyelabowo* (wealth is transient) because as far as he was concerned wealth was temporal. Emir Zubair became the Emir of Ilorin as a result of the death of the second Emir and he spent eight years. He encouraged and promoted the building of *Idi – Ape* Jumat Mosque. Emir Zubair embarked on various military expeditions. In the year 1864, he commanded an army headed by Baloguns Fulani, Alanamu, Gambari and of course Ajikobi to repulse Ibadan from Awotun (Jimoh 139 – 140).

Emir Aliyu became the fourth Emir (1868 – 1891). He ruled for twenty-three years. He encouraged expansionist activities in the Emirate and promoted communication amongst Ilorin and Nupe Emirs. He asserted his sovereignty over the Ekiti and checked the incursion of Ibadan that intended to extend its political ambition to Ekitiland. Another town called Ikole was captured including its neighbour to the South. Emir Momo was the fifth Emir (1891 – 1896). He was the eldest son of Emir Zubair. His mother was of a Yoruba stock notably near Iseyin. He participated in the various war fought by Ilorin. He was reported to be so resolute and calm with the emerging colonial administration in Lagos and believed in the peaceful coexistence of the Yoruba. He went into dialogue with the British overlords in Lagos to stop war and predicted the defeat of Ilorin in the event of open confrontation because of the superior weapons of the colonialists (Jimoh 141 – 143).

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Table 1: Emirs of Ilorin Emirate, 1831 – 1900

No	Name	Number of years	Period
1	Emir AbdulSalam	11 years	1831 – 1842
2	Emir Shitta	18 years	1842 – 1860
3	Emir Zubair	8 years	1860 – 1868
4	Emir Aliyu	23 years	1868 – 1891
5	Emir Momo	5 years	1891 – 1896
6	Emir Sulaiman	19 years	1896 – 1900

Source: Eliasu Yahaya, 2024

Reasons for the Interest of Christian Missions in Ilorin Emirate of Northern Nigeria

The term "north" symbolizes the territory upon which a proclamation was made by the British government as the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria. In this respect, Charles Orr mentioned the physical features and territorial limit of the area thus:

Northern Nigeria comprises, roughly speaking, the countries lying on both banks of the middle Niger and the Benue rivers, ant the regions extending from these to Lake Tchad, which forms its extreme north-eastern corner. It is bounded on the east by the German Protectorate of the Cameroons, the line separating the two having been fixed by the various International Agreements. On the north and west it is bounded by the French possession in the Central Soudan and the hinterland of Dahomey; on the south by the British colony of Lagos and Protectorate of Southern Nigeria. The southern portion is partly low-lying, partly broken up by ranges of hills – chiefly of laterite and granite – rising in some places to considerable heights, especially in the centre of the Protectorate, which a great rocky plateau, averaging 4,000 feet in altitude, forms the watershed in which rise rivers which fall respectively into the Niger, the Benue, and Lake Tchad. Along the northern border runs a wide strip of open upland country, stretching from the Niger across to Lake Tchad, varying in elevation from 1000 to 2400 feet above sea level. Here the climate is drier, the heat more temperate and the air purer and fresher than it is in the river valleys farther south (Orr 51 – 52).

Northern Nigerian was essentially a bigger part of belt of open grassland and of course semi-desert around latitudes 9 and 12 degree north moving from the Atlantic in the west to the Red Sea in the east. This caught the attention of Christian Missions in a unique – manner since the demise of the missionary – disposed General Gordon in Khartoum and consequent development of Mahdism. There were some anti – Islamic ambitions which came up amongst the Christian Missions in Britain and United States with the triumph of Mahdi and Khalifah. Other reasons involved the protracted incarceration of the French Catholic Priest through the Khalifah. The Christian Missions had interest in Northern Nigeria for being strategic because of the various records of travellers, and explorers with special reference to Barth. He gave the picture of the people as being civilized, industrious and successful. These assertions a drew the attentions of the various Christian Missions who became curious to Christianize the people who were essentially Muslims (Ayandele 118 – 120).

Furthermore, Ilorin seemed to be very significant to the various missionary societies that had the intention to Christianize the Muslims. They took their activities northward particularly from Badagry and Lagos to the coast and fundamentally to the Sokoto caliphate where the Muslims were in preponderance. We can discern these important reasons why the Christian missions intended to establish a station in Ilorin. The first one was that the Christian Missions considered that their missions were significant part of their major effort to preach the gospel to the Muslims in the North. In this sense, it was affirmed that Ilorin was strategically located and this gave it the dual role to act as a springboard through which evangelical activities could get to Sokoto caliphate. The second reason put forward was that the interest of the Christian Missions emanated from the 19th century trade connections which the town enjoyed with many towns including Kano. In this claim, the 1920s Jihad of Ilorin nor the wars of Yorubaland within the same time could reject (Ajayi and Okedara 21 – 22).

4. Christian Missionaries Visits in Ilorin Emirate

In the year 1855 Bowen, an American Baptist Missionary visited Ilorin and Reverend A.C. Mann of the Church Missionary Society paid a similar visit to Ilorin within the interval of the first and second visits of Bowen. It should be remarks that Bowen visits and adventure to Ilorin was a fundamental one because this visit was a giant stride in the process of Christian evangelization in Ilorin. Not only that, its validity lies in the fact that it opened the objectivity of spreading the tentacles of religious gospel in entire Nigeria. Thus, Bowen himself made the following remarks:

In my first journey to Ilorin, I travelled with caravan of traders, which could not have numbered much less than three thousand persons, large caravans are constantly arriving Ilorin from directions and the

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same is going at all of the great centers of central Africa trade (Bowen Bills, 207).
He sought for an interview with Emir and requested to live there even though he was nursing the ambition to visit Ilorin before this period. In his letter to the Executive Secretary of the Foreign Mission Board in 1850, he had that desire ... I wish to go to Ilorin as soon as I learn Yoruba and before, if the way is opened." (Ajayi and Okedara 23). His interaction with the traders leaving in Abeokuta and Ijaye Orile vis-à-vis reports dissuaded him from his earlier visit. In the year 1852, he proposed to be there but the Ilorin traders stated that no Christian would be allowed to visit the town because it was a predominant Muslim setting. This same story was made by the people who arrived Ijaye in the years 1853 and 1854 respectively. Reverend T.J. Bowen visited Ilorin during the time of Emir Shitta without any official permission to visit the city of Ilorin. He moved proudly and asked for water to drink. Later, one of the gatemen asked Bowen, why did you not send a messenger to the Emir that you were coming? Bowen said because "I am a messenger myself" (Bowen 191).

Reverend T.J. Bowen's appearance generated some issues from the Muslims. Some said that the Emir would ask the visitor to go back before getting to Ilorin. There were other versions of the story concerning the fact that the visitor would not be allowed to drink nor served food to eat.

The Emir asked Reverend, T.J. Bowen some questions, apart from asking him the purpose of his visit to the Muslim town of Ilorin. Bowen was questioned concerning himself, and the name of his king. Where upon, Bowen answered "God is our King". The Emir was moved by this answer given by Bowen and he said "God is enough" (Bowen 193). Bowen was asked whether he knew of Muhammad. He responded in affirmative but also replied that he did not serve Moses but Moses wrote the truth but Moses was his fellow servant (Bowen) not his master. The Emir further requested Bowen to carry along with him *Injil* or New Testament. The Emir went through the Bible and asked Bowen to read to his hearing. Bowen read and translated Luke's account concerning conception. The Emir and Bowen had interview closely with one and another. More importantly, Bowen gave a distinction concerning the synopsis of the Christian religion. But the Emir said we were Mohammedans. Despite the cordiality of this discussion, the Emir did not undermine the caliphal directives and his duties to protect the sanctity of Islam. He however declined to give the permission of Bowen to establish a station in Ilorin emirate (Danmole 15).

In July 1855, Reverend William Clarke visited Ilorin apparently during the reign of Emir Shitta. But the Emir rebuffed his endeavour to bring Christianity in Ilorin (Clarke 107). In a similar manner in November 1857, he stated thus:
"Today at noon I left home intending to visit the eastern parts of the Yoruba kingdom, and then to pass through Ilorin with the view of touching the Niger at some suitable point and thus testing the practicability of extending our Missionary operations in that direction. For some years it had been our earnest desire to have that Mohammedan city of Ilorin open to the gospel (Clarke 107). But according to Reverence William Clarke in his own religious philosophy, he became aware that there was something to ponder between the falsehood and true prophet. Between Muhammad and Christ that "the intelligent Muslims cannot fail to perceive" (Clarke 164).

Clarke was asked to wait for the Emir which lasted for six hours. According to Clarke, he sat on mat for and became worried but as he mounted his horse, he became wearied again. But as he was becoming fed up, he saw the messenger of the king. Clarke mentioned that this was part of Ilorin: which he had never seen but must be noted to form proper account of the size of Ilorin. He made the importance of his visit to Ilorin known because he said he was in Ilorin to preach the word of God. At this point, he distributed Arabian Bible but it was reported that nobody took it but his permission to visit the Niger was not rejected (Clarke 165).

By 1872, Bishop Ajayi Crowther visited Emir Aliyu. But before this time, Crowther voyaged through Ilorin while moving to Lagos with Reverend Townsend. But their boat broke (wrecked) on the Niger. The Emir secured an interview with them and wished them prosperity. After a little while, he asked for the name of his visitor and his team which were mentioned to the Emir. In respect of office of the Bishop Crowther, the visitor that he was Christian *Lemanu* (Imam) Yorubanized and perhaps because of the Yoruba background of Bishop Crowther. The Emir asked Bishop Crowther to read the Bible. But one unique thing in the area of evangelization of Bishop Crowther was his ability to translate the Bible into Yoruba which made a unique Bishop of his time. The first subject matter which Bishop Ajayi Crowther read from the Bible was the sonship of Christ as mentioned by Angel Gabriel. He then read thus:
And the angel came in unto her and said. Hail thou that art highly favoured, the Lord is with thee: blessed art thou among women and when she saw him, she was troubled at his saying and cast in her mind what

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manner of salutation this should be and the angel said unto her, fear not. Mary: for thou hast found favour with God. And behold thou shalt conceive in thy womb and bring forth a son and shalt call his name JESUS. He shall be great and shall be called the son of the Highest and the Lord God shall give unto him the throne of his father David (Luke 1:28 – 32).

The second issue which Bishop Ajayi read to the audience was the teaching of the Christ in John:

"Jesus said unto him, I am the way, the truth and the life: no man cometh unto the father, but by me". (John 14:6).

In his response, Emir Aliyu cleverly asked his visitor a question whether Anabi (Prophet) Isa (Jesus) was not to be the adjudicator of the world. Bishop Crowther opened his Bible and read:

"When the son of man shall come in his glory and shall the holy angels with him, then shall he sit upon the throne of his glory. And before him shall be gathered all nations: and he shall separate them one from another as a shepherd divideth his sheep from the goats: and he shall set the sheep on his right hand, but the goats on the left. Then shall the King say unto them on his right hand. Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world. (Mathew 25: 31 – 34).

Another question came in immediately to Bishop Crowther from the Emir, how soon would Jesus come? This was found in Acts 1. 7, and Bishop Crowther said: *And he said unto them. It is not for you to know the times or the seasons which the father hath put in His own power".* (Acts 1:7). Crowther also went into Luke: *And this know, if the good man of the house had known what hour the thief would come, he would have watched, not have suffered his house to be broken through.* (Luke 12: 39 – 40).

Immediately after this, another voice came up with this question. What did your Bible (*Litafi*, rendered in Hausa language as Bible) said about Muhammad. Bishop Ajayi responded that in 622 years after the death of Christ, Mohammad was, given his prophethood, even though the Bible did not say anything concerning Muhammad. Bishop Ajayi Crowther further commented on the comprehensibility of the Bible as containing the following *Taurata*, the Pentateuch; the *Sabura*, the Psalms of David, in addition to the prophets and *Injil* the Gospel. All these divisions were adequately read by Bishop Ajayi Crowther to the audience. Despite the warmest hospitality shown to Bishop Ajayi Crowther by Emir Aliyu and members of this council, the chief host did not grant his permission to open a station in Ilorin. This unsuccessful missionary venture did not discourage the Church Missionary Society to continue to mount pressure on Ilorin. (Danmole 16).

In the year 1893, Reverend, S. S. Farrow was commandeered by the Church Missionary Society to pay a visit to Ilorin emirate. This was as a result of the fact that the British Colonial Governor of Lagos called Gilbert Carter received a proclamation from Emir Moma of Ilorin. The resident permit of Reverend Farrow was not endorsed despite the level of affection accorded him. This ordeal of cordiality through rejection continued till Ilorin sovereignty under the Emirs was checked and repulsively dealt with by the British colonial administration particularly the Royal Niger Company. It must be noted that by 1897, Bishop Herbert Tugwell of the Church Missionary Society attempted to start Christian Missionary activities in Ilorin. Having realized that Ilorin was under then British Royal Niger Company, Tugwell thought it would be easier for him to plant Christianity in Ilorin. But this effort did not succeed because Emir Sulaiman diplomatically declined like Emirs that were before him (Danmole 17).

Table 2: Chronological Table of the Christian Missions Visits to Ilorin Emirate, 1855 - 1897

No	Name	Denomination	Date of the visits
1	Reverend T. J. Bowen	Baptist	1855
2	W. H. Clarke	Baptist	1855
3	Reverend A. C. Mann	Church Missionary Society	1855
4	Bishop Ajayi Crowther	Church Missionary Scoeity	1872
5	Reverend S.S. Farrow	Church Missionary Society	1893
6	Bishop Herbert Tugwell	Church Missionary Society	1897

***Source:** Eliasu Yahaya, 2024*

5. Conclusion

We have seen in this discussion that before the creation of Ilorin Emirate in 1823, the city of Ilorin was favoured adequately because of its strategic location and thus consequently attracted many settlers because of natural endowments to the town. In 19th century, a Christian cleric remarked that Ilorin was not only significant within itself but also in the entire central Africa. In addition to these, Ilorin during this time created for itself religious and political government headed by the various Islamic Emirs who

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were in themselves versed in various Quranic and Islamic doctrine. Thus, when the Christian Missions appeared before them in 1855, they did only display their strong knowledge of Islam but also asked and created intellectual debate amongst their visitors who had the motive to plant Christianity in Ilorin. Be that as it may, Ilorin before 1825 and particularly in the early nineteenth century witnessed a well-established Muslims community. But despite this, the Emirs treaded the part of peace as they demonstrated to their visitors. Perhaps, this can explain better the place of Emirs and the Christian Missions in Ilorin Muslim Emirate of Northern Nigeria, 1823 – 1900.

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