

CHRISTIAN MEDICAL MISSION AND CONVERSION IN COLONIAL SOKOTO

By

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I. Introduction

Christian missionary activities began in Sokoto Province later than in any other northern province.ⁱ That was as a result of the fact that it was the last region in Nigeria to be conquered and colonized and consequently not safe for the missions until the time when the area was put under total control by the British government. The lateness in commencement of the missionary activities in the Sokoto Province as well as other Muslims emirates in northern Nigeria had nothing to do with pledge of non-interference with the religion of Islam made by Lord Lugard in 1903. All aspects of Islam and its institutions except what favors the colonial administration were interfered with.ⁱⁱ Moreover, the missionaries were already in operation especially in Zaria and other places fully protected by the colonial government. Thus, the missionaries and colonial government were partners in administration, and missionaries were allowed to handle the two critical areas of education and health, which strongly favored their evangelical derive in making converts especially among the Muslims in Sokoto province as well as other Muslim provinces. In the 1930s, with the backing of Sir Graeme Thomson, the then Governor-General of colonial Nigeria, missionary stations of literary classes and treatment centers were opened in various places in the Muslim Provinces.ⁱⁱⁱ Schools and dispensaries, rather than the Church, became the means of sending out Christian messages to the Muslim populace, though with a strong evangelical undertone.

Consequently, when the Colonial Government embarked on a comprehensive campaign against leprosy disease, malaria and other common diseases quite a number of leprosy treatment centers, were jointly maintained by the missions and the government in Sokoto Province. The centers such as Amanawa(Sokoto), Amanawa (Kalgo), Jega, Ambursa, Andarai, Moriki and Gummi as well as a number of leprosy out-patient clinics served as both medical as well as evangelical hub in the Province. The centers and other evangelizing strategies presented the missionaries with opportunity of converting souls in the area. Thus, as Vaughan^{iv} puts it, missionaries presented themselves as mere servants of God in the Province and became successful in the conversion of quite a number of people at leprosy treatment centers. The intent of this paper, therefore, is to explore the roles of missionary medical services as a stratagem in converting Muslims to Christianity in the Sokoto Province.

II. Missionary Strategies for Conversion

Christian missionaries had started evangelical activities in the Sokoto Province in the 1920s, approval for establishments of mission stations was obtained in the 1930s, however, it proved to be clear to the missions that it is a very difficult enterprise to convert Muslims to Christianity. To achieve their mission of spreading the Gospel among the Muslims of the Province, missionaries employed a number of strategies which include:

a) The Schools

As early as 1935 when missionary activities began in Sokoto Province schools were opened, though Government schools existed as early as 1905 only two years after the overthrow of the Sokoto Caliphate by the British forces. Schools were considered as viable instruments for indoctrination and orientation by the missions.^v The missions targeted the youth and lesson classes were spread throughout the day and night for people to be able to attend in batches at their convenience. In the schools and lessons classes, Bible stories were the main subject followed by skills of reading and writing and trade. Through this the missions believed that fresh minds would be won for Christ. Father Gately of the SIM said 'establishment of village schools was inclined to gloss over the missionary side of such works; the main aim of those schools was of course proselytisation.'^{vi} According to Yusuf Turaki:

- i) Classes for religious instructions started around the mission stations and out stations. The emphasis of (missionary) education at that time was a religious instruction, reading and writing. The main objective of education was proselytisation and evangelization.^{vii}
- ii) Schools contributed in several ways in giving impetus to the missionary activities. Evangelists and preachers particularly Hausa-speaking Christians from southern Kaduna were employed as teachers and also embarked on preaching tours after their school hours. People like Mr. Halidu Mamman, Mr. Yero, Mr. Bidan and Mr. Gowon father of the former Nigerian head of state (General Yakubu Gowon) were among the early staff in Tsafe and the surrounding mission schools.^{viii} The same story could be found in almost all the missionary schools since European staff was inadequate and Hausa-speaking instructors preferred as alternative and also simplest means of spreading the Gospel. The recruits (pupils) were first introduced to learning the Gospel; to read and understand its message in the schools.^{ix}
- iii) According to Barkeji, going through the school orientation after conversion to Christianity made him to establish Christian families in spite of his Muslim background.^x In Sokoto Province, missionary schools were established in places like Gusau, Tsafe, Moriki, Gatawa, Sokoto, Ambursa, Kalgo, Andarai, Kamba, Argungu and Kangiwa between 1935 and 1940.^{xi} Though most of the converts were not made from the schools; however, they served as means of consolidating the converts' faith in the reality of the Christ. By and large, the educated both from the converts and the Muslims had the opportunity of employs. That also made the education more attractive, and

some educated Christians used the opportunity to advance the course of Christianity in Sokoto.^{xii} In this regard, Lord Lugard observed that:

- iv) Christianity has proved so powerful on influence for the creation of political and social organization though in recent years combined with western education, we have seen remarkable results in many places.^{xiii}

b) Preaching Tours

Missionary individuals and organization entered into Sokoto with high enthusiasm to evangelize. This is due to the fact that, the missions were eager to establish Christianity in what was presumed to be a mono-religious area. An area which Oshotoba described as 'forbidden area 'against the Gospel of Lord Jesus Christ opened forcefully for them by the power of the Holy Spirit.^{xiv} Public preaching tours were therefore carried out with an extraordinary Zeal. No area was spared. But, the most targeted zones were the pockets of pagan settlements in Kotorkoshi and Arewa areas of Sokoto and Argungu N.A respectively. The missionary organizations which championed this course were the Church Missionary Society (CMS) and the Sudan Interior Mission (SIM).^{xv}

The preaching was mostly conducted in an open place in those pagan areas; but not among the Muslim populace. However, some strong evangelists like the SIM Field Director, Mr. Playfair used to preach mostly among the Muslims. At Dundaye for instance, he was reported to have preached to people using public address system in July 1940. This act was seriously objected by the people in the Province especially, the Sokoto Sultanate. The Sultan had to report the issue to Resident for intervention to avert civil strife.^{xvi} Conventions were in addition to public preaching aimed at consolidating the unity and prowess of the converts and strengthening their morale. Through this medium the mother of Pastor Yusuf Garga Argungu was converted to Christianity in 1959 at Kalgo. This made him to be brought up as Christian though with a Muslim father.^{xvii}

c) Establishment of Leper Settlements

The realization of the fact that leprosy disease had to be controlled; and if possible prevented, provided ground for the joint efforts of the missions in collaboration with the Colonial Government, Native Authorities as well as voluntary agencies like the British Empire Leprosy Relief Association (BELRA). Leprosaria (Provincial Leprosy Settlement and Leprosy Segregation Villages) were thus, established throughout the area of Sokoto Province. According to Oshatoba, in 1937 the Government of Nigeria invited the Sudan Interior Mission to share in the leprosy work. At that time, the Government had three Provincial Leper Homes. The Homes were Yadakunya in Kano, Babbar Rugga in Katsina and Amanawa in Sokoto.^{xviii} It is important to note that Provincial Leprosy Settlements were initially called "Home for Treatment of Lepers" but later during 1950s changed to "Leprosy Settlements". They were also officially titled "Leper Settlements" in the Leprosy Ordinance in 1939.^{xix}

The collaborative effort between Governments and the missions in running the affairs of leprosy settlements and villages was not free of disagreements and knotty issues surrounding it. Though the Government wanted the assistance of the missions in this direction it however, did not want to be

viewed and or perceived as deliberately promoting Christianity on the land of Islam. The missions on the other hand were not ready to accept the terms and conditions of both the Government and the local authorities concerned in the leprosy work. This is because the terms would jeopardize their evangelical interest which was very central in the missionary enterprises. A resolution of one of their meetings to regulate the situation stated that

....it is necessary to ensure in our hospitals and dispensaries freedom of action as Christian missions, and that co-operation shall not degenerate into undue interference. To this end we consider a Board of Medical Services (members) Should be appointed in which missions should have adequate representation.^{xx}

The Sultan of Sokoto and Muslim Emirs in Northern Nigeria were not comfortable with the development. Their complaints were directed to the office of the Secretary Northern Provinces, that the missions should not be left unchecked so as not to turn the settlements to centres of conversion. To that effect, on the 31st October 1939 a letter from the Secretary's office was sent to the missions. The content of the letter read that:

I am directed by the Chief Commissioner to inform you that the Sultan of Sokoto and the Muslim Emirs have expressed their considered opinion on the extent to which effort may be made to convert to the Christian faith inmates of Provincial Leper Settlements who profess the faith of Islam.^{xxi}

The missions were reminded by the Government that 'the objective of the creation of the leper settlements and villages as well as the co-operation between the Native Authorities and the missions was the control and prevention of leprosy disease and nothing else. Other regulations were therefore, more categorically stated as follows:

- i. No religious teaching whatever may be given to any children whose parents are Muslims, and nor may the children attend Christian services.
- ii. No house visitations for any purpose of suggesting to or persuading any Muslim to apply for the teaching in the Christian religion shall be permitted and this includes the delivery of tracts, pamphlets or any other publication designed to such purpose.
- iii. No Christian religious services shall be held in any public place within the leper settlements which lepers resort for treatment, recreation, education or social purposes: but this does not prevent the holding of such services in a suitable building approved for the purpose.....
- iv. The Native Authority will provide a building for use as a mosque and for Islamic religious teaching for Muslims in the settlements and appoint *Iman* or a person to be in-charge.

On the administrative responsibilities of the settlement, it was agreed upon that:

- i. The mission shall carry on, manage, control and maintain the leprosy settlements as agents of the Native Authorities.
- ii. The Native Authorities shall erect and supply with furniture and equipments of reasonable standard and a dispensary of permanent construction.
- iii. The Native Authorities shall during such time as the work of the mission and the maintenance of the settlements is being carried on to the satisfaction of the Chief Commissioner, Northern Provinces. The Native Authorities also among other things shall contribute to responsible for their shelter, sanitary facilities and other things as may be required for children under the age of five years not affected by leprosy.^{xxii}

The missions however, could not accept these terms governing religious activities in the settlements and villages as anything practicable. Thus, in December 1939, they described their position in a letter written to the Secretary, Northern Provinces. They stated that as far they were concerned, their reason for participating in the leprosy control and prevention work was to serve the Christ. Therefore, any attempt to slow down the conversion effort in whatever way, would never be acceptable. In addition, the SIM-Field Director wrote to the Resident of Sokoto Province that: “since everything (Church services and others) are on voluntary basis, we cannot prohibit anyone old or young from attending any services or religious instructions”.^{xxiii} He further confirmed that, it is only natural where Christian doctors and nurses are carrying on their works of charity daily that, Christian atmosphere and influence is created. The missions therefore, went ahead freely with their proselytizing activities in the settlements and beyond. For instance, Christian materials were distributed before the Sultan at the Amanawa Leper Settlement. Likewise, a banner with Hausa Biblical inscription was pasted on the entrance of the settlement. The banner read as follows: **Nine Hanyar, Nine Gaskiyar Kuma Nine Rayuwar** (I am the way, the truth and the life).^{xxiv}

It is important to note that, neither both the Sultan and Emirs, nor the colonial officers could take any decisive measure to check the missions’ excesses. The Muslim leaders perhaps, had no alternative other than to condone the evangelization of the missions otherwise; they would lose medical services of the missions for their subjects. However, the Colonial Government’s inaction could be explained in trying to please the missions due to their earlier actions which were considered as anti-missionary and pro-Islam. Likewise, it could be a possibility that, the Governments’ officials could not take any action in order to avoid confrontation with the missionaries who were helping them in the fulfillment of the Governments’ social obligations to the Muslim subjects.

III. The Leprosaria as Means of Conversion

Leprosaria in Sokoto Province are the Provincial Leprosy Settlement (Amanawa) and a number Segregation Villages. The settlement and villages were established and maintained jointly by the Government, missionaries and Native Authorities for the control and prevention of leprosy disease.

However, missionaries were the ones who manned the institutions as service providers and thus, the centres became effective means of conversion into Christianity. Leprosy patients were stigmatized and rendered outcast in the area due to the dreadful nature of the disease. Leprosaria became their last resort; in which missionaries took care of them and provided drugs, as well as food and shelter for them. Therefore, the inmates of the leprosaria and sometimes even leprosy out-patients attending missionary leprosy clinics had no alternative other hand to accept Christianity. Occasional gifts, charity, kindness and medical care coupled with constant campaigns made quite a number of patients therein the leprosaria, potential converts.^{xxv} Leprosy as Macdonald pointed out was a complex disease, which causes an instant incapacitation to an individual and is very difficult to cure. He observed that:

Leprosy is a chronic disease and insidious in its origin. For years the bacillus may lie latent in the tissues so that after the symptoms appear the disease may be of such long duration that its treatment presents many problems. The whole man, physical, mental and spiritual is involved; and sanitarium treatment is required. The patients' day has to be planned for him and he needs to be under supervision all the times.^{xxvi}

The missionaries exploited this opportunity very seriously not only in Sokoto Province but wherever and whenever such opportunities presented themselves. They provided effective drugs, mainly Dapsone tablets for the cure of leprosy patient on the early and non-communicable stage (indeterminate cases) of the disease at out-patient clinics and segregation as well as treatments for the highly communicable cases; which is the final stage of the disease (lepomatous cases) were provided in the leprosaria.^{xxvii} Missionary drugs proved to be in a very large extent efficacious than the traditional means of treating the disease. In addition, a more hygienic, warm condition and sanitary environment was provided in the settlements.^{xxviii} The most notable leprosaria in Sokoto Province included Amanawa which was the Provincial Leprosy Settlement like Babbar Rugga in Katsina, Wusasa in Zaria, Yadakunya in Kano and Tungar Magajiya in Niger. Beneath Amanawa were Kalgo, Gummi, Moriki and Argungu Segregation Villages as well as quite a number of out-patient clinics dispersing Dapsone tables.^{xxix} Amanawa was established to be the nuclear of leprosy control organization and served as referral centre for all the Segregation Villages in the Province. It was initially called "Home for Treatment of Lepers" but later during 1950s changed to "Leprosy Settlement".^{xxx} The idea of emphasis on segregation villages began in the 1950s. The first of such villages was established under in Gummi in 1951.^{xxxi} Between 1952 and 1955, Moriki, Kalgo and Argungu Segregation Villages were established.^{xxxii}

IV. The General Health Care Services

Provision of medical assistance to those in need has been considered as an integral aspect of advancing the Christian faith to non-Christians. Jesus Christ was identified to have offered cures and healing to those born blind and resuscitated the dead to life.^{xxxiii} Christian missionaries enjoyed a sense of pride as

they follow the same action of their master. In the words of Parson “an excellent objective lesson in Christianity, was medical mission”; if by skilful treatment of a sick native is relieved of pain or cured of his disease, he must wonder why it has been done, and is far more prepared to receive and respond to the Gospel message than if this is presented to him with his pain unrelieved”.^{xxxiv} It is further observed that:

Not only does a right use of missions’ medical skill convince them (patients) of our kindly regard, but the triumph of modern medical sciences often have the impression of miracle to them. And why they not legitimately serve a similar purpose to these poor heathen that the miracle of Christ and his apostles did to those whom they taught and do to us?^{xxxv}

In a traditional African sense, medication and healing of any kind is considered possible only with the help of the supernatural. It is therefore a belief that a strong and efficacious medication could only be attained through divine interventions.^{xxxvi} Ugwu also maintained the same view and stressed that “Nigerians like the rest of Africans, never looked on medicine as something purely material. They strongly believe that, the tangible medicine prepared from plants, charcoal, pepper, salt and so on has a long need of some invocations to be made over it before it can heal effectively”.^{xxxvii} The missions therefore, presented their medical services not only as a new form of medical invention but as a demonstration of the power of their religion and Jesus Christ. The patients succumbed to the ‘superior’ religion through the ‘superior’ medicine.^{xxxviii} In Sokoto like most African communities; the missions used medical centers very seriously to make headway and establish Christian strongholds. In Zimbabwe, for instance, among the Shona the medicine chest, stethoscope and scalpel accompanied the Gospel and were often invaluable in winning the confidence of the people who were reluctant to permit the missionaries to enter their area.^{xxxix} According to Zvogbo, through medical services, most of Zimbabwe areas were evangelized.^{xl} Similarly, Silla concludes that, medicine enabled missionaries to approach local people and initiate their religious discussion in a less obtrusive manner in Mali... healing body looks second place to winning of the soul.^{xli} Chief Obasi of Igboland amazingly stressed the power of the missions’ medicine:

Whiteman I salute you. God is with you, man from Oyibo country, providence brought you to this country to render us assistance. I salute you Whiteman. For disease you have given us a box of medicine which we know nothing of.^{xlii}

V. Medical Mission and Emergence of Christian Communities in Sokoto Province

In this section, an analysis of the practical effect of missions' medical services with emphasis on Amanawa Leprosy Settlement is given. The profile of some of the converts with Muslim background whose families are today speaking and protecting the interest of the Christian religion in Muslim dominated area of Sokoto is reviewed. It is a part of a field work report and wide scale interviews with the converts or their children as the case may be. Valuable information was collected from the employees of the missions who assisted them in running the settlements or Government health workers who manned the affairs of the settlements after the Government took over its control. The discourse begins with Barkeji.

a) Reverend Mamman Barkeji

Mamman Barkeji was born around 1925. He is a Fulani by tribe and a Muslim by family background. His parents Mamman Umaru and Hassanatu were nomadic Fulani and also Muslims who settled at Barkeji. Barkeji is a village located a few kilometers away from Sokoto, in Gumbi District of Wammako Local Government Area, Sokoto State. Mamman Barkeji started learning how to read and write the holy Qur'an at about the age of five. This is a common practice in Hausaland for every Muslim family.

The occupation of his parents was rearing cattle, the occupation he started enjoying and participating in at an early age. As a teenager he used to participate in the Fulani festivities like *Sharo* and others. At the age of seventeen, he had an attack of leprosy disease that became unbearable for him. After the efforts of his parents failed to improve his situation, the only remaining alternative was the mission leprosy hospital at Amanawa.

When he was admitted into the hospital, he and other admitted patients, were warmly received by the missions. The missions were so kind and hospitable to them, Barkeji said. Apart from the missions' kindness, what led them to convert to Christianity was the vigorous prayer session conducted daily before and after given them treatment. Similarly, tracts in Hausa containing religious sermons as well as translated parts of the Holy Bible in Hausa Language were distributed to them. Constantly, there was Christian preaching by doctors and nurses to their patients. Occasionally too, a larger congregation of preaching by and prayers were led by the Sudan Interior Mission-Director from Jos. the patients called him *Bature Mai Magani*. These coupled with the successful treatment of their maladies made them to believe in the reality of the Christ and eventually converted to Christianity.

According Barkeji, he accepted Christianity in 1945 and was enrolled in the mission primary school in the settlement. He was selected in 1949 to further his education at Tofa Bible School after his graduation; he was commissioned as a preacher. Barkeji continued to preach in Hausa and Fulfude particularly in the leper settlement (Amanawa), segregation villages as well as around out-patient clinics and in various other mission stations in Sokoto Province. In 1951, he was sent to Babbar Rugga Leprosy Settlement in Katsina Province for higher Bible studies. He completed the course in 1952, and took up the pastoral duty at the SIM Church in Sokoto town. He was the second indigenous pastor of the Church.

Barkeji was married to a Fulani convert called Hajo (Khadija) nicknamed Gatare in Fulfulde. They have six children all of whom are Christians. Their eldest son is a medical doctor and others are studying in various institutions in Nigeria. Barkeji is one of the respected indigenous Church elders who mediates crises, defends the interest of Christianity and Christian community in Sokoto Province and beyond.

b) Assistant Reverend Ibrahim Aliyu

Ibrahim Aliyu is a son to *Imam* Aliyu Tsamaye, a *Na'ibi* of central Jumu'at Mosque in Tsamaye town of Sabon Birni Local Government Area, Sokoto State. He was born in the year 1940. Going by the tradition of his family, Ibrahim stated learning the Holy Qur'an from his father and later from various scholars as far as Zaria. He completed studying of the Qur'an at an early age. After his return, Ibrahim joined Adult Education classes at Tsamaye under the tutorship of instructor, Malam Nabo Kurawa of Sabon Birni in 1959.

At about the age of twenty, precisely in 1960, Ibrahim had an attack of leprosy disease. Consequentially, he was taken to Amanawa leprosarium for treatment where he was eventually, converted to Christianity. His conversion was as a result of the intensive preaching and persuasions by the missions on the patients to accept Christianity. And most patients were convinced that without accepting the religion of the mission one would not be cured from leprosy.

Due to his interest in education, he joined primary school in 1963 in the settlement. As a result of his outstanding performance, he was awarded a scholarship by the mission to study in America, the offer which he purposely refused to accept. However, he went to Tofa Bible School in 1965 and completed in 1968. After his graduation, he held different posts in Evangelical Church of West African Churches (ECWA). He was a one time a Secretary to the Sudan Interior Missionary Medical Organization, Sokoto District, Pastor in-charge of Tsafe ECWA Church in 1973, Chairman Zamfara State indigenous Christian Association, Chairman *Tarayyar Masihiyawan Nijeriya (TAMANI)*, Zamfara State Branch (it is the association of Hausa, Fulani and Kanuri Christians in Nigeria). He was appointed member Northern Christian Elders in 1989; and in 1998, he was elected as Chairman Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN), Tsafe Local Government Branch. Ibrahim has been a school teacher with Primary Education Board, Zamfara State.

D) Mrs Jummai Ibrahim Aliyu

Jummai was born around 1945 in Goronyo town of Sokoto State. Both her parents were devoted Muslims, and she was brought up under the tradition of Islamic education and culture. Like the tradition of Muslim girls, she acquired the basic religious education for her rituals in her matrimonial home. At the age of fifteen, Jummai became a victim of the dreadful disease of leprosy. In 1960, Jummai sought the assistance of the missions at the Amanawa Leprosarium for cure. Within a very short time, she recovered while she was already converted to a Christian. She attended primary school therein the settlement from 1961-1965. She was extremely intelligent, and thus, recommended for further education at Tofa to be sponsored by the mission.

A former patient in the settlement, Ibrahim Aliyu Tsamiye whose profile is already given above, sought her hand in marriage, which was formalized while they were both at Tofa. The marriage is blessed with nine children.

VI. Conclusion

The foregoing discourse attempted to show how missionaries used the opportunities offered by their medical institutions and services especially, the Leper Settlement at Amanawa in converting the Muslims of Sokoto Province to Christianity. Through the use of the institution and services therein for the cure of leprosy disease, most leper patients were convinced to embrace the tenets of Christianity. Almost all the indigenous Christian families and communities in Sokoto were converted using medical institutions and services, most especially leprosy control services.

VII. Notes

ⁱ C.N. Ubah, "Christian Missionary Penetration of the Nigeria Emirates: With Special Reference to the Medical Missions Approach, in *The Muslim World*, Vol. 77, Issue 1, 1976, p. 16

ⁱⁱ See details in Bunza, M. U., *Christian Missions Among Muslims: Sokoto Province, Nigeria, 1935-1990*, Africa World Press, NJ, USA, 2007

ⁱⁱⁱ See Banes, A. E., *Making Headway: The Introduction of Western Civilization in Colonial Northern Nigeria*, Rochester, NY: University Press, 2009, pp. 160-167

^{iv} M. Vaughan, *Curing their Ills Colonial Power...* p. 56

^v P. K. Tibenderana, *Sokoto Province under British Rule, 1903-1939: A Study in Institutional Adaptation and Culturalization of a Colonial Society in Northern Nigeria*, Ahmadu Bello University Press, Zaria, 1988, p. 200

^{vi} NAKSOKPROF/C230 Father Gately to the Resident Sokoto Province/1/8/1934

^{vii} Y. Turaki "Institutionalization of the Inferior Status of Non-Muslim Groups in the Colonial Hierarchical Structure of Northern Region of Nigeria", *Ph.D. Thesis*, Boston, USA, 1982, P. 206

^{viii} Interview with Assistant Rev. Ibrahim Aliyu, 61 years at Tsafe Town in February, 2000

^{ix} See details in Bunza, M. U. and Junaidu, S.U, "Christian Missionary Activities in Sokoto State: An Evaluation of their Impact on the Development of Western Education" *The Beam Journal*, Vol. 2 no.1, 1997, PP.21-29. Also a *Group Oral Interview: Shugaba Dan Bui, Age 97 Years, Traditional Ruler and Malam. D. Usman Kangiwa, Age 72 Years, Retired Civil Servant at Shugaba Dan Bui Residence, Bui, 25/11/2014* is relevant.

^x Interview with Rev. (rtd.) Mamman Barkeji, 76 years, at Sokoto town in February, 1998

^{xi} Malam Umaru Mishin, *Oral Interview* ...

^{xii} Christian indigenes like Samuel Mamman Matankari used their positions to secure for the Sudan Interior Mission now Evangelical Church of West Africa a plot based on personal influence from the Sultan of Sokoto.

^{xiii} Lord Lugard, *The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa*, London: Frank Cass, 1922, p. 78

^{xiv} S.A. Oshatoba, *SIM/ECWA in Nigeria: A History of a Beginning*, Nigeria: Gbele Press, 1985, p. 39

^{xv} WJHCB/MED/2/II/SOKPROF/Development of N.A. Dispensary and Hospitals in Sokoto

^{xvi} NAK/SOKPROF/8A/25th July, 1940/Sultan Letter of Protest

^{xvii} Interview with Pastor Yusuf Garba Argungu, 47 years, at Birnin-Kebbi on the 17th July, 1997

^{xviii} S.A. Oshatoba, *SIM/ECWA in Nigeria: A History of a Beginning* ... p. 41

^{xix} NAK/SOKPROF/074/Mission Medical Work/SIM Leprosy Work 1939

^{xx} J.H. Boer, *Missionary Messengers of Liberation in Colonial Context: A Case Study of the Sudan United Mission*, Amsterdam, 1979, p. 283

^{xxi} Arewa House Centre for Historical Documentation/SNP/NO26516/S.4/105/31st October, 1939

^{xxii} Arewa House Centre for Historical Documentation/SNP/NO26516/S.4/105/31st October, 1939

^{xxiii} NAK/SOKPROF/5471/72A, May 30th 1951

^{xxiv} NAK/SOKPROF/5471/72

^{xxv} Malam Umaru Mishin was initially a Boi-Boi and later cook to SIM members at Amanawa. He became health assistant with elementary knowledge he gained while living with missionaries and was posted to Gummi and later Andarai SIM Station. His age is 135 years *Oral Interview* conducted at the defunct SIM station Andarai, on 25th July, 2015.

^{xxvi} A.B. Macdonald, *Can Ghosts Arise? The Answer of the Itu*, Great Britain, 1946, p

^{xxvii} NAK/SOKPROF/C.254/Leprosy Control and NAK/SOKPROF/C.254/Leprosy Control/Leprosy Matters in General

^{xxviii} British Empire Leprosy Relief Association, Nigeria Branch, *Leprosy Relief Work*, Lagos: the Government Printer, 1928, p. 6

^{xxix} NAK/SOKPROF/8296/Leprosy Control Scheme

^{xxx} NAK/SOKPROF/074/Mission Medical Work/SIM Leprosy Work 1939

^{xxxi} NAK/SOKPROF/6337/S.2/Leper Segregation Village Argungu Division

^{xxxii} NAK/SOKPROF/8296/Leprosy Control Scheme and WJHCB/SOKPROF/MED/21/1/Lepers Segregation Village Sokoto Division, 1953-1975

^{xxxiii} John 11:14-42; Mark, 11-52 and Matthew 16:28-31

^{xxxiv} C.J.M. Zvobgo, *A History of Christian Missions in Zimbabwe, 1890-1939*, Mambo Press, 1996, p. 202

^{xxxv} C.J.M. Zvobgo, *A History of Christian Missions ...* p. 203

^{xxxvi} For details on this see Murry Last, "Non-western Concept of Medicine" in Porter *et al.*, *Encyclopaedia of Medicine*, Also see A.M. Bunza, "Magani a Rubuce", *Ph. D. Thesis*, BUK, 1995

^{xxxvii} C.M. Ugwu, *Healing in the Nigerian Church: A Pastoral-Psychological Exploration*, Berlin, 1998, p. 7

^{xxxviii} C.M. Ugwu, *Healing in the Nigerian Church...*

^{xxxix} C.J.M. Zvobgo, *A History of Christian Missions ...* p. 204

^{xl} C.J.M. Zvobgo, *A History of Christian Missions ...* p. 204

^{xli} E. Silla, *People are not the Same: Leprosy and Identity in the Twentieth Century Mali*, Portsmouth: Heinemann, 1998

^{xlii} K.B.C. Nwobiko, "The Catholic Church and the Development of Western Education in Eastern Nigeria, 1885-1905" in Obi A.C. (ed.), *A Hundred Years of Catholic Church in Eastern Nigeria*, Lagos, 1985, p. 236