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## Revisionism and the Historical Interpretation of the Sokoto Caliphate: The Writings of Murray Last

The Sokoto Caliphate which was founded as a result of the 1804 Jihad spear-headed by Sheikh Uthman bin Fudi has attracted the attention of so many writers most of whom were Europeans. To properly legalise colonialism, most colonial writers view the Caliphate as an attempt made by the Fulbe to establish their hegemony over Hausa-land, while to others, it was no more than a Fulbe onslaught on the inferior ethnic groups of the then Central Sudan. In the post-colonial period, Murray Last came up with a more balanced argument on the history of the Caliphate and after him, came other researchers among which are Europeans and Africans. However, in this twenty first century, writers like Last took a revisionist stand towards the history of Sokoto Caliphate. Therefore, this paper though centres heavily on written sources, looks into the major reasons aiding his abrupt revisionist interpretation of the history of the Sokoto Caliphate by juxtaposing his earlier works with the present ones. The paper equally finds out that this recent revisionist interpretation of the history of the Sokoto Caliphate is projected mainly to create confusion by negating the established historical facts imbued in the realm of the Caliphate's history especially for socio-political reasons.

**Keywords:** Revisionism, Caliphate, History, Post- Colonialism.

### Introduction

In the post-colonial period, Murray Last is considered as the leading figure in the history of the Sokoto Caliphate especially by giving a detailed analysis of its political and administrative history. Later, R. A Adeleye wrote his *magnum opus* to support most of the positive views of Last which is often seen by most historians as 'objective' and 'historical'. However, in this twenty first century, Last exhibited a purely revisionist view towards the history of the Sokoto Caliphate the end of which is the negation of his earlier works. Thus, this paper explores some of the possible reasons influencing the revisionist persuasion of this writer on the history of the Caliphate.

### Revisionism and Historical Interpretation

The British historian, E. H. Carr, defines history as 'a continuous process of interaction between the historian and his facts, an unending dialogue between the present and the past'.<sup>1</sup> Historiography as the history of historical writing has a unique role to play especially in the interpretation of historical antecedents though the true concern of the

historian is history, not historiography.<sup>2</sup> It is important to note that the main goal of historical writing is to reconstruct the past as 'it is' and the historian as E. H. Carr argues, 'is neither the humble slave, nor the tyrannical master of his facts' and the kind of relationship that exists between the historian and his facts is that of 'give-and-take'.<sup>3</sup> Southgate while commenting on the role of the historian in recording the past believes:

All historians have to do, therefore, is to find out what happened in the past, and then accurately record it –simply, in the words of Lucian in the second century A. D , 'laying out the matter as it is', or was.<sup>4</sup>

However, revisionism, or historical revisionism simply denotes the concept often referred to as 'negationism'. It is a phrase which revolves around the process that attempts to rewrite history by minimising, denying or discarding established historical facts.<sup>5</sup> Revisionist approach to history is not new more especially if a given people is willing to manipulate established historical

facts mainly for social, economic or political reasons as in the case of the 15<sup>th</sup> to 16<sup>th</sup> centuries Counter Reformation of the orthodox Roman Catholic Church.<sup>6</sup> For instance, when the European colonisers came to the African soil with the intention of legalising their unjust cause, they started negating, denouncing or rather, misinterpreting the true history of Africa which was depicted in the writings of Robert Knox, Margery Perham, Joseph Conrad, among others, as 'barbaric and uncivilised people'.<sup>7</sup> For instance, in spite of the fact that they were aware of the existence of great empires and kingdoms, they decided to hide the truth and rewrote the history of Africa and the Africans the way they wanted. Among such great empires that flourished within the present day Nigeria for instance, were the Kenem- Borno and Oyo. There also existed the great Benin Kingdom and in the nineteenth century, the Sokoto Caliphate-a theocratic state that was founded to remedy the debilitating socio-economic and political problems that had engulfed the then Central Sudan.<sup>8</sup>

To bring this argument closer to our time, the twentieth century for instance, had experienced the reception of revisionist interpretations of so many historical events. Typical example of this is the 'Holocaust', a historical event that was exaggerated, falsified and often given a purely revisionist interpretation by the Jews and like-minds so as to justify their selfish interest. According to Elsis while commenting on Holocaust:

...there hasn't been, and as a matter of fact, the Jews have used every psychological and political method in order to make sure everyone is indoctrinated in believing it. So much so that this extraordinary story has not only prevailed, but has grown exponentially over the years into what is today, a coercive brainwashing religion so everyone falls prey into believing in the Jews' victimhood.<sup>9</sup>

Southgate while presenting his views on the occurrence and nature of the Holocaust argues that:

There is nothing new about denying history-denying that traditionally accepted accounts of the past are valid or true: nothing new either in maintaining that such accepted accounts have been deliberately designed and perpetrated in order to mislead...but it is not possible, without denying the standard of evidence by which we live as both historians and human beings, to denying that something (that we can refer to as the Holocaust) *did* happen. It is, again, possible to question such matters as the number of individuals who died, and when and how...<sup>10</sup>

Though it is generally believed by historians that the Holocaust did happen, yet, it is equally believed that 'true historical facts' have suffered serious historical mutilations throughout the Jewish revisionist writings about the event just to win the world's sympathy and to justify the occupation of Palestine in the 1940s. This trend

of the revisionist interpretation of history as in the case of the Sokoto Caliphate, the focal point of this paper, is therefore inherited mostly by colonial writers like Clapperton, Barth, Lugard, Perham, among others. Surprisingly, despite the effort made by writers like Last and Paden in the post-colonial period towards writing an 'objective' history of the Caliphate, they in the twenty first century decided to rewrite its history following the revisionist trend in an attempt to protect their personal interests and that of the people they serve.

### **The Sokoto Caliphate in the Context of Colonial and Post-colonial Historiography**

In 1804, the Sokoto Caliphate came into being purposely to put an end to the socio-political and economic unbecoming that had engulfed the then Central Sudan.<sup>11</sup> Sokoto Caliphate, a theocratic state based on the pillars of Islam was founded by Sheikh Uthman bn Fudi (1754-1817) and his people who stood against all odds to repel the despotic rule of the then nominal Hausa rulers.<sup>12</sup> This Caliphate gave hope to its people as well as tremendous development in education, economy and politics.

It should be noted that the earliest secondary works on the history of this Caliphate were mostly written by colonial historians and anthropologists like Hogben, Johnston, Kirk-Greene, among others.<sup>13</sup> To justify colonialism, most of them view the 1804 Jihad which led to the establishment of Sokoto Caliphate as nothing, but a Fulani onslaught on the weaker ethnic groups of the then Central Sudan. According to Barth:

The *Fulbe* are continually advancing, as they have not to do with one strong enemy, but with a number of small tribes without any bond or union. It remains to be seen whether it be their destiny to colonize this fine country for themselves, or in the course of time to be disturbed by the intrusion of Europeans.<sup>14</sup>

While writing on the revisionist work of Barth, Kano further argues that:

He describes the Fulani as a fanatical conquering race, fired by their zeal for Islam. He writes that their leader, Uthman bn Fudi, preached merciless warfare against both pagans 'Muhammadans', and that he 'ended his life in a sort of fanatical ecstasy or madness'.<sup>15</sup>

Miller like Barth, describes the *Fulbe* rulers as 'robbers and oppressors' who had unjustifiably imposed on people through Jihad a 'most iniquitous government...hopelessly perjured and putridly rotten'.<sup>16</sup> It is much the same reasons that Lugard realised the British hegemony over the present day Nigeria and thus, all the privileges the *Fulbe* were enjoying were taken over by the British. According to him:

The Fulani...conquered this country. They took the right to rule over it, to levy taxes, depose kings and to create kings...by this defeat (The Fulani)

lost their rule and so all their rights are taken over by the British.<sup>17</sup>

Unlike the colonial writings, post-colonial writers from 1960 upwards, attempted writing the history of the Sokoto Caliphate as 'it was'. This was so, with the emergence of historians like Murray Last, A. R. Adeleye, who no doubt, successfully broke away from the colonial historiography which confined the history of the Caliphate to a tribal conflict.<sup>18</sup>

Chafe in an attempt to draw a dichotomy between the colonial and post-colonial views on the history of the Sokoto Caliphate believes that:

It is mainly in response to the basic limitations of the early major works on the Caliphate can rightly be regarded as a major breakthrough. Four years before the publication of Adeleye's work, Last also published his authoritative history of the Caliphate which was a noticeable departure from the core orientation of colonial historiography. It is essentially a political and administrative history of the Caliphate's headquarters with particular emphasis on the emergence and development of the vizierate.<sup>19</sup>

With this development, new and interesting works on the Sokoto Caliphate began to emerge. For instance, in 1975, a seminar on the Sokoto Caliphate was held after which the papers presented were put into a single collection, published four years later<sup>20</sup>. The focal point of the seminar was 'to look at the Sokoto Jihad and the Sokoto Caliphate from an authentic point of view, quite distinct from the point of view established by colonial historiography'. In 1989 precisely, a second seminar was organized to mark the coronation of the 18<sup>th</sup> Sultan of Sokoto and the papers presented were put into a book form in 1990 respectively.<sup>21</sup>

Still with the aim of challenging the colonial historiography, research works mostly PhDs were conducted so as to depict the true nature of the Caliphate. Some of these works were written by people like M. Z. Njeuma, Sa'ad Abubakar, M. Tukur, Y. B. Usman, M. S. Zaraddin, to mention, but just a few, which focused mainly on the historical evolution and transformation of the Sokoto Caliphate.<sup>22</sup>

### **Murray Last and the Revisionist Interpretation of the Sokoto Caliphate**

In the 1950s, the Ibadan School of History was established to rewrite the African history which had suffered historical negationism in the hands of the colonial historiographers.<sup>23</sup> The school also gave precedence to oral testimony as one important catalyst aiding the reconstruction of the Nigerian history. Among the major proponents of this school were its linchpin, Kenneth Nwuka Dike<sup>24</sup>, Saburi Biobaku, J. F. A. Ajayi, Adeleye Efigbo, E. A. Ayandele, Obaro Ikime, & Tekena N. Tomunu. Among the foreign scholars who were of Ibadan School were Michael Crowder, Abdullahi Smith, J. B. Webster, R. J. Gavin, Robert Smith and John D. Omer-

Cooper.<sup>25</sup> These scholars have contributed immeasurably towards African historiography with particular reference to the necessity of the oral tradition in the writing of African history. This school is known for its overt Nigerian nationalism through writing its glories in the pre-colonial history. The school is deeply immersed into the ocean of political history.<sup>26</sup>

With the establishment of Ahmadu Bello University in 1962, the A. B. U. School of History blossomed, spearheaded by Abdullahi Smith, who initially belonged to the Ibadan School of History. Unlike the latter, the former is more critical in its historical researches. According to Abba:

This school lays emphasis on the writing of history devoid of jargon and based on factual evidence and a rigorous evaluation and assessment of all types of sources for historical reconstruction. In doing so, the school exposes the serious shortcomings of over dependence on written, against oral and other sources for historical reconstruction. This...was very refreshing to African students of history because colonial historiography had attempted to relegate the significance of other sources, especially the oral, as part of the effort to ridicule, distort and downgrade African history before the British conquest.<sup>27</sup>

Murray Last, an emeritus Professor in the Department of Anthropology at University College, London, received his Ph.D in 1964 from the University College, Ibadan. His previous degrees were from Cambridge (1959) & Yale (1961) where he read anthropology and sociology. He was a professor of history at Bayero University, Kano (1978-80).

It should be noted that though Murray Last undertook his Ph.D thesis in Ibadan titled, 'The Sokoto Caliphate', he was heavily influenced by A.B.U. School of History to which he was invited in 1960s as a research fellow.<sup>28</sup> During that time, he tried as much as he can to write and 'objective' history of the Caliphate. For instance, to justify Sheikh Uthman bn Fudi's fight against illegality in the nineteenth century through the letters he wrote to his disciples M. Last argues that:

The letter of appointment however, emphasizes the Muslim basis of leadership required by the Sheikh. A letter addressed to Yaqub appointing him as Emir of his community includes seven instructions;

- (i) to be consistent and stand by what he says and commands;
- (ii) to be zealous in maintaining mosque;...
- (iii) to maintain the markets and prevent illegalities there.<sup>29</sup>

From the above submission, it should be noted that M. Last believes that the founders of Sokoto were fond of maintaining law and order by preventing 'illegalities there'



and in the maintenance of Mosque rather than destroying it and so also the market.

He equally believes that the Sokoto Caliphate gave protection to its non-Muslim subjects often called *Dhimmis*. According to him:

In the Sokoto Caliphate, *Kharaj* was paid, for example, in the Emirates of Kano and Zaria; but here little immigration seems to have occurred, since the local farmers either adopted Islam or accepted Muslim protection and paid *Jizya*...<sup>30</sup>

Similarly, he also believes that Sheikh Uthman bin Fudi was a reformer and revitaliser and that the Jihad was fought under self-defense. He says:

The aim of the Shaikh has been to restore purity to the Islam practiced in the neighboring Hausa kingdoms. Although he had started by preaching, it became clear that the rulers of Gobir were not prepared to reform, and that Muslims had to be ready to defend himself and conquer.<sup>31</sup>

On the contrary, M. Last in this twenty first century all of a sudden took a revisionist stand to rewrite the history of the Sokoto Caliphate especially by negating basic historical facts. For example, even though he believes the leaders of the Sokoto brought transformation across social, political and economic spheres, he negates it in an attempt to justify the common notion that colonialism came to 'civilize' just like the colonial historiographers. According to him, 'The arrival of *Nasara* (Christians) in 1903, therefore, proved to be the occasion for the start of a transformation...' <sup>32</sup>

Though M. Last believes that the Sultan of Sokoto fought the 1903 battle of Burmi willingly to resist the British in his book, he today argues that:

But the very fact that he'd use a hunter's charm (referring to Attahiru going back to syncretism) - the *bante* is associated with non-Muslims - at these crucial junctures perhaps suggests his lack of confidence, his fear, he could compromise his Islamic faith, the *Sarkin Musulmi* though he was. His heart, I think, was neither in fighting the battle itself nor in dying a martyr's death then and there; at Sokoto was he in effect a spectator.<sup>33</sup>

Last did not only deny a historical fact, but takes a bold step to castigate the character of the Sultan as well as his religiosity and by reducing him to no more than a coward. Above all, with the emergence of a terrorist group popularly known as Boko-Haram in 2009 and their merciless killings of both Muslims and Christians in Northern Nigeria, Last shrewdly negates the historical fact that the Sheikh was a reformer as mentioned above by claiming that Boko-Haram and their atrocities is an upshoot of the Sokoto Caliphate. According to him:

Radical groups such as Boko Haram are not new to Northern Nigeria. The Muslim *jama'a* has seen dissent against Muslim administrations turn to

violence many times over the last 200 years...In 1804-1808, one such radical but rural movement, under a very charismatic Shaikh, drew enough support that it won its jihad, and set up a reformist Islamic caliphate that was the largest pre-colonial polity in all of Africa...Hence, in one sense, Boko Haram and other similarly Salafi, ahl al-sunna groups are heirs of that same populist, militant radicalism.<sup>34</sup>

From the above discussion it should be noted that Murray Last has completely deviated from what he wrote in the 1960s. Surprisingly, he got his popularity from the reminiscence of the Sokoto Caliphate. He equally received his professorship in history from Bayero University, Kano within the Caliphate's territory based on competence as its scholars believe in scholarship and intellectual honesty. Despite the fact that M. Last was a foreigner and a Christian, the people of Sokoto did not discriminate him and on the contrary, provided for him, relevant documents on the history of their fore-fathers with which he emerged on the intellectual scene. Various reasons may contribute to his dubious and negative interpretation of the Sokoto Caliphate in the twenty first century. This would be summed up in the following sub-headings:

### *Espionage*

Just like the European explorers who came before the British conquest of the present day Nigeria claiming that they came for exploration and as tourists, Murray Last also came to work for his masters starting with the eulogy of the Sokoto Caliphate before coming back to crush it down. However, the time for that has passed already especially with the presence of Africans versed in the western type of education. Similarly, only the lackeys can be fooled by the shallow writings of Last in this twenty first century. Many have written about the virtues of the Caliphate before the British even came to know it. Heretofore, M. Last is not even a well-trained historian as he majors in anthropology and probably that is why he thinks history can be manipulated and falsified so easily.

### *Revenge*

In 2012 M. Last got his work on the Sokoto Caliphate translated into Hausa by Professor Bunza titled 'Daular Usmaniyyah' which he intended launching so as to get money and further popularity. The authorities of the Sokoto Caliphate knowing fully well his hidden machinations towards them through some papers he has written refused to patronize his idea. Unfortunately, M. Last has made it public in the west that his translated book would be launched, but he was made to go back to London carrying nothing as he came. For this simple reason, he became very hostile not only to his translator Bunza whom he called *banza* (a Hausa word for stupid), but to the history of the Caliphate.

## Religion

It should be noted that the British came to the present day Nigeria to exploit its economy and to spread Christianity. However, looking into the strong faith of the Northern Muslims which was initially instituted by the founders for the Sokoto Caliphate, they had no option, but to leave Islam as it is. According to Fafunwa:

With the proclamation of the Northern protectorate the southern missionaries intensified their activities to penetrate the North. The Roman Catholic Mission of the Holy Ghost made several unsuccessful attempts to open stations at Ibi and Bassa in 1902 ...<sup>35</sup>

Therefore, since they could not Christianise the Caliphate, they thought of painting it black starting with the colonial historiographers and in the modern time, with people like Murray Last who thinks he can accomplish the mission by associating the Caliphate to terrorism. Calling Muslims terrorist is the agenda of the west to instill terror into the hearts of Christians whom she misses in millions day by day. Similarly, he has the intention of creating ill feeling between the North and the Southern Nigeria as much as Islam and Christianity are concerned.<sup>36</sup>

## Conclusion

This paper looked into the concept of revisionism in the writings of Last especially in the twenty first century. This he did by denying, negating or rather falsifying the established historical records of the Sokoto Caliphate. Various reasons like espionage, revenge and religious bigotry are found as the stimulants influencing the writings of Last so as to serve his selfish interest and that of his masters from the west. This became apparent as the paper juxtaposed his earlier works on the Sokoto Caliphate with the ones he published in the twenty first century.

## (Endnotes)

- <sup>1</sup> E. H. Carr (1961), *What is History?*, London, Macmillan, 30.
- <sup>2</sup> R. Samuel (1981), *People's History and Social Theory*, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 20. xi. See also, G. R. Elton (1969), *The Practice of History*, London, Fontana.
- <sup>3</sup> E. H. Carr (1961), *What is History?* 29.
- <sup>4</sup> B. Southgate (1996), *History What and Why?*, Canada, Routledge, 13. See also, K. Korhonen (ed.) (2006), *Tropes for the Past: Hyden White and the History/Literature Debate*, New York, Rodopi, 11.
- <sup>5</sup> G.I. Williamson (n.d), 'Historical Revisionism', unpublished, 1.
- <sup>6</sup> G.I. Williamson (n.d), 'Historical Revisionism', unpublished, 1-3.
- <sup>7</sup> J. E. Harris (1972), *Africans and their History*, U.S.A, Penguin Group, 13-25.
- <sup>8</sup> J. F. A Ajayi (1962), *Milestones in Nigerian History*, London, Longman, 1-30.
- <sup>9</sup> M.R. Elsis (n.d), 'Holocaust Revisionism', unpublished paper, 2.
- <sup>10</sup> B. Southgate (1996), *History What and Why?*, 153-154.
- <sup>11</sup> H. I. Sa'id (2012), *Revolution and Reaction: The Fulani Jihad in Kano and Its Aftermath 1807-1919*, Kaduna, Ahmadu Bello University Press Ltd, 40-47.
- <sup>12</sup> R. A. Adeleye (1977), *Power and Diplomacy in Northern Nigeria: The Sokoto Caliphate and Its Enemies 1804-1906*, London, Longman, 3-40.
- <sup>13</sup> K. S. Chafe (2006), 'Remarks on the Historiography of the Sokoto Caliphate', in H. Bobboyi & A.M. Yakubu (ed.), *The Sokoto Caliphate*, Kaduna, Baraka Press and Publishers Ltd, 318. It should be noted that J. S. Hogben was famous for his, *Muhammadan Emirates of Northern Nigeria* published in 1930, Johnston wrote in 1967, *The Fulani Empire of Sokoto*, to mention, but a few.
- <sup>14</sup> H. Barth (1965), *Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa, Being a Journal of an Expedition undertaken under the Auspices of H.B. M's Government in the Year 1849-1855*, II, London, Franc Cass, 196.
- <sup>15</sup> I. B. Kano (2003), 'Representations of Kano in the Writings of Clapperton, Barth and Lugard 1824-1903', in M. O. Hambolu's, *Perspectives in Kano-British Relations*, Kano, Pyramid Text Prints, 25.
- <sup>16</sup> See the oeuvre of W. Muller for more details.
- <sup>17</sup> R. A. Adeleye (1977), *Power and Diplomacy in Northern Nigeria: The Sokoto Caliphate and Its Enemies 1804-1906*, 289.
- <sup>18</sup> In 1967 M. Last wrote his authoritative work titled, *The Sokoto Caliphate*, while R. A. Adeleye made a major breakthrough with the production of his *magnum opus* titled, *Power and Diplomacy in Northern Nigeria*. After them, came other writers negating most of the views widely held by colonial historiographers.
- <sup>19</sup> K. S. Chafe (2006), 'Remarks on the Historiography of the Sokoto Caliphate', 318.
- <sup>20</sup> The book is Y.B. Usman (ed.) (1979), *Studies in the History of the Sokoto Caliphate*, Lagos.
- <sup>21</sup> A. M. Kani & K.A. Gandi (ed.) (1990), *The State and Society in the Sokoto Caliphate*, Kaduna, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria.
- <sup>22</sup> M. Z. Njeuma wrote, 'The Rise and Fall of the Fulani Hegemony in Adamawa 1809-1901' in 1968, Sa'ad Abubakar wrote, 'The Lamibe of Fombina 1809-1903' in 1970, Mahmud Tukur in 1977, wrote, 'Values and Public Affairs: The Relevance of the Sokoto Caliphate Experience to the Transformation of the Nigerian Polity', Yusuf Bala Usman wrote his *magnum opus* titled 'The Transformation of Katsina 1796-1903: The Overthrow of the Sarauta System and the Evolution and Establishment of the Emirate', while M. S. Zahraddin in 1976 wrote his work titled, 'Abdullah ibn Fudi's Contribution to the Fulani Jihad in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century Hausaland'.
- <sup>23</sup> A. Abba (2005), 'Tribute to Dr Yusuf Bala Usman', Leadership, 3-4.

- <sup>24</sup> The first African to have undergone a rigorous historical training with a PhD in 1940.
- <sup>25</sup> Wekepedia, The Free Encyclopedia.
- <sup>26</sup> For more details see, P. E. Lovejoy (1986), 'Nigeria: The Ibadan School and Its Critics'; in Bogumil Jewsiewicki and D. S. Newbury, (eds.), *African Historiographies*. See also, T. Falola (2005), *Nigerian History, Politics and Affairs: Collected Essays of Adeleye Agigbo*, Africa Wond Press.
- <sup>27</sup> A. Abba (2005), 'Tribute to Dr Yusuf Bala Usman', 4.
- <sup>28</sup> This PhD Thesis was later published as, *The Sokoto Caliphate* in 1967 and was considered a great and authoritative work on the history of the Caliphate.
- <sup>29</sup> M. Last (1967), *The Sokoto Caliphate*, London, Green and Co. Ltd, 56.
- <sup>30</sup> M. Last (1967), *The Sokoto Caliphate*, 104.
- <sup>31</sup> M. Last (1967), *The Sokoto Caliphate*, 228.
- <sup>32</sup> M. Last (2005), '1903 Revisited' in A.M. Yakubu *et al.*, *Northern Nigeria: A Century of Transformation 1903-2003*, Kaduna, Baraka Press and Publishers Ltd, 85.
- <sup>33</sup> M. Last (2005), '1903 Revisited', 73.
- <sup>34</sup> M. Last (2012), 'Boko-Haram', 2-3. See also, N. A. Nasidi (2015), 'The Need for Roots: Sheikh Uthman bn Fudi's *Masa'ilul Muhimmah* and Boko-Haram Insurgency in Northern Nigeria' in *POLAC Journal of History*, Nigerian Police Academy, Wudil, 1, 2, Department of History and International Studies, Police Academy, Wudil.
- <sup>35</sup> A. B. Fafunwa (1974), *History of Education in Nigeria*, Ibadan, NPS Educational Publishers Limited, 104.
- <sup>36</sup> For more details on the case of promoting chaos between the Muslims and Christians see his work on Boko-Haram which is earlier on cited in this paper.