

## 2.0 CHAPTER TWO: HEALING BELIEFS AND PRACTICES IN JUKUN SOCIETY

### Introduction

This chapter draws specific attention to the Jukun worldview and how it shaped the people's understanding of causality and remedy for disease and sickness. This differs from the scientific worldview that informed the healing practices of the mission-founded churches. The study reveals that, with regard to the practices of the *Gidan Addu'a*, Charismatics share in the traditional healing worldview as they synthesise the biblical and primal interpretations of sickness and wellbeing, which involved politico-religious and socio-economic experiences. First, the Charismatic leaders sought to address culturally deep-seated concerns, which seemed to have been consciously or unconsciously ignored by mission-founded church bodies. Second, the research shows that the more or less rigid cessation views held by both John Calvin and Abraham Kuyper underlie the stance of the CRCN. The research further asserts that the early missionaries who established the *EKAS* Benue Church (now CRCN), unconsciously brought to the Nigerian Middle-Belt the Western Christian views on the cause and remedy for disease and sickness. Consequent to this, the early generations of CRCN ministers found it difficult to respond to the existential needs of their members in the face of deep social and moral crises.

### 2.1 Jukun History and Culture

The Jukun-speaking peoples<sup>1</sup> live in the Middle-Belt of Nigeria. Oral tradition suggests that they migrated from Yemen in the Arabian Peninsula to Egypt between 350 AD and 360 AD and settled in Ngazargamu.<sup>2</sup> They later entered Nigeria between the Mandara hills and Lake Chad<sup>3</sup> and settled in Ngizim, upper Gongola valley. Owing to internal dissension, part of the Jukun-speaking peoples, the Kanuri, moved to the upper east and formed the Kanem-Bornu

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<sup>1</sup> The name 'Jukun' means 'people' or 'human beings', a plethora of clans or 'ethnic groups' in various communities. See Appendix 1 for a list of Jukun ethnic groups and three maps which indicate its widespread settlements in the Middle-Belt.

<sup>2</sup> Philip Adati, Song titled: 'Kwararrafa Family, Let Us Unite,' a Video and Audio CD presented at the Jukun Youth Day, 6-7 April 2012, Aku-Uka's Palace, Wukari.

<sup>3</sup> C.K. Meek, *A Sudanese Kingdom: An Ethnographical Study of the Jukun-Speaking Peoples of Nigeria* (London: Kegan Paul, 1931), pp.xv, xxxi-xxxii, 23; see also Bello Zakariya Abubakar, *History and the Challenges to the Institution of Aku-Uka in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century* (Jos: Plateau Publishing Company, 2007), pp.13, 34.

Empire, while the Jukun moved to the Middle-Belt.<sup>4</sup> The Jukun occupied the Middle-Belt around 900-1000AD.<sup>5</sup> By the mid 13<sup>th</sup>, the Jukun were well established.<sup>6</sup> It was from this location that the Jukun built the Kwararrafa Kingdom.<sup>7</sup> The Jukun influenced a number of ‘loosely-knit confederacies’.<sup>8</sup> Documentation on Jukun territorial coverage and influence has been extensive<sup>9</sup> within and beyond Middle-Belt societies. This influence drew many heterogeneous and homogenous ethnic groups into close affinity with them.<sup>10</sup> By the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries, Jukun religion, culture and military prowess had become the most influential in the Middle-Belt.<sup>11</sup> They had a distinctive culture and complex religious beliefs and practices, generally tied to ‘theocratic’ self-understanding.

The Jukun were known by various names: *Kwararrafa* or ‘*Pí*’, ‘*API*’ or ‘*Biépi*’. These names have their historico-religious connotations. First, the name *Pí* derived from the famous ancient Jukun war ‘medicine,’ which caused *Pí* (worms) to destroy the shafts of the spears

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<sup>4</sup> Abubakar, *History and the Challenges of the Institution of Aku-Uka in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*, pp.13, 37-38; T.N. Tamuno, ‘Peoples of the Niger-Benue Confluence’, in J.F. Ade Ajayi and Ian Espie (eds.), *A Thousand Years of West African History*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (Ibadan: University Press, 1965), p.207.

<sup>5</sup> Henry R. Palmer however contested this saying that the M’bun and other smaller ethnic groups were the first to occupy this area. But the ethnic groups were later driven to central Cameroun and the South-East provinces of Nigeria before the arrival of the Jukun. See Henry R. Palmer, ‘Introduction’ in Meek, *A Sudanese Kingdom*, p. xvi. In any case, C.K. Meek and others debunked this notion saying that the M’bun peoples were originally located in Bornu, north of the Benue, in the 1400s AD. Before this time, the Jukunoid or Jukun stock had already occupied the areas known today as Plateau, Nasarawa, Gombe, Bornu, Bauchi and Yobe States, and as far south as Ondo, Abia and Enugu States. Meek, *A Sudanese Kingdom*, pp.xix-xx, xxxi; Ogoh Alubo, *Nigeria Ethnic Conflicts and Citizenship Crises in the Central Region* (Ibadan: Programme on Ethnic and Federal Studies, 2006), p.93; C. Abongaby, ‘Kwararrafa: To be or not’, *The Heritage Magazine*, (n.d.), p.20.

<sup>6</sup> Shekarau Angyu Massa-Ibi, Interview, 16 March 2009, Wukari; Henry R. Palmer, *Sudanese Memoirs: Being mainly Translations of numbers of Arabic Manuscripts relating to the Central and Western Sudan*, Vol.1 (London: Frank Cass, 1931), pp.xiv-xv.

<sup>7</sup> See Appendix 5. The source shows the Jukun trans-Saharan trade routes to the Arab world. It is important here because it indicates the contours of the Jukun journey to the Gongola basin and the formation of the Kwararrafa Empire which was influential for four centuries (1400–1800 AD).

<sup>8</sup> Meek, *A Sudanese Kingdom*, pp.xiii, xv, 22.

<sup>9</sup> See Henry R. Palmer, ‘Introduction’, in Meek, *A Sudanese Kingdom*, p.xiii; Shedrack G. Best, Amamveabee E. Idyorough & Zainab B. Shehu, ‘Communal Conflicts and the Possibilities of Conflicts Resolution in Nigeria: A Case Study of the Tiv-Jukun Conflicts in Wukari Local Government Area, Taraba State’, in Onigu Otite & Isaac Olawale Albert (eds.), *Community Conflicts in Nigeria: Management, Resolution and Transformation* (Abuja: Spectrum Books Limited, 2004), pp.82-116 (90-91); A. Gary Rubin, ‘The Arts of Jukun-speaking Peoples of Northern Nigeria’ (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Indiana University USA, 1969), pp.1, 4; Sa’ad Abubakar, ‘Pre-Colonial Government and Administration among the Jukun’: Inaugural Lecture Series, No. 38, University of Maiduguri, 1986, pp.1-32 (1); Abubakar, *History and the Challenges of the Institution of Aku-Uka in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*, p.20.

<sup>10</sup> Recently, there is an extensive and updated list of the Jukun or Kwararrafa families which covers several states [including, Abuja FCT] in Nigeria. This list cuts across part of northern Nigeria, the entire Middle-Belt and part of the south-eastern and south-western states of Nigeria. The list embraces a plethora of ethnic groups [over 100] that lived side by side. The ethnic groups are said to either have an affinity with the Jukun-speaking peoples or identify with them due to their military prowess, statecraft and administration [See Appendix 1: The Kwararrafa Families].

<sup>11</sup> Paul Chunun Logams, *The Middle-Belt Movement in Nigerian Political Development: A Study in Political Identity 1949-1967* (Abuja: Centre for Middle-Belt Studies, 2004), p.45.

and arrows of their enemies. The enemies were rendered helpless and the Jukun defeated them ruthlessly. Second, *APi* means ‘leaves’ or ‘grass’. This name depicts the use of herbs by the Jukun in their religious endeavours. Third, the name *Biépi* means a ‘place’ of leaves or grass, in this case, a location for the manipulation of religious powers. Thus, the name is used in reference to the capital city of the Jukun Kingdom. Kwararrafa flourished in the Middle-Belt for over four hundred (400) years (from the 15<sup>th</sup> to the 18<sup>th</sup> centuries), before its decline.<sup>12</sup> The Jukun are now concentrated in Wukari and other smaller towns.<sup>13</sup>

It is traditionally believed that Aku Angyu Katakpa founded the Jukun community of Wukari around 1660 AD.<sup>14</sup> Tradition has revealed that the original inhabitants of Wukari were the Jukun-speaking peoples, descendants of *Wâpan*. They migrated from the Middle East, and more specifically, from Yemen in the Arabian Peninsula, settled in the Gongola basin, then migrated to other places before finally settling in Wukari.<sup>15</sup> The word ‘Wukari’ is from the *Wâpan* word, *Uka*, meaning, ‘you are greater,’ or ‘you are better,’ or ‘you excel’.<sup>16</sup> This is because when Katakpa and his men left the Gongola basin (Kwararrafa city), they settled in other places. But he saw Wukari as the most appealing abode, so he called it *Ūkari*,<sup>17</sup> meaning, ‘you are the greatest’ or ‘you are the best’. He used this term in comparison to their previous dwellings. The Jukun culture has been important and still plays a dominant role in Wukari society. The Jukun all through their history have maintained their ethnic identity, military skill and prowess, even after the collapse of the kingdom.

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<sup>12</sup> Michael W. Young, ‘The Divine Kingship of the Jukun: A Re-Evaluation of some Theories’, *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute*, Vol. 36, No. 2 (April 1966), pp.135-153 (139).

<sup>13</sup> Some of the ethnic groups either identify themselves with the Jukun or consider themselves as Jukun. However, there are others who, though they came from the same stock, deny being part of the Jukun because of the contemporary ethnic identity struggle across the country and beyond. See Meek, *A Sudanese Kingdom*, pp.16-24.

<sup>14</sup> O. Akinwuni & A. Joseph, *Shaped by Destiny: A Biography of Dr. Shekarau Angyu Masa-Ibi Kuvyo II* (Ilorin: University of Ilorin Press, 1996), pp.17-18; C.K. Meek, *A Sudanese Kingdom: An Ethnographical Study of the Jukun-Speaking Peoples of Nigeria* (London: Kegan Paul, 1931), pp.xxii; 16-21; J.M. Fremantle (ed.), *Gazetteer of Muri Province* (London: Frank Cass, 1920), pp.32-39.

<sup>15</sup> Bello Zakariya Abubakar, *History and the Challenges to the Institution of Aku-Uka in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century* (Jos: Plateau Publishing Company, 2007), p.52.

<sup>16</sup> Anyeze Danjuma Adamu, *The Jukun and their King* (Jos: Plateau Publishing Company, 1983), p.1; Abubakar, *History and the Challenges to the Institution of Aku-Uka in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*, p.52.

<sup>17</sup> The name was originally *Ūkari* not ‘Wukari’ as is the case now. The ‘w’ was a later colonial and anthropologists’ interpolation. They found difficulty pronouncing ‘Ū’; they rather pronounced ‘Wū’. Although the ‘Wū’ is meaningless, it was incorporated and accepted since most colonial documents picked it up.

## 2.2 The Jukun: Wellbeing and Sickness

Wellbeing is all about success, protection, prosperity and security, while sickness is a retrogression of such life experiences. In this section, we seek to examine the perspective on wellbeing and the setback within the Jukun life experiences as they pertain to politico-religious and socio-economic issues. The *Gidan Addu'a* draws its messages from both the fortunes and misfortunes experienced by the Jukun in attempts to address culturally deep-seated questions seemed to have been ignored by the evangelical church bodies.

### 2.2.1 Politico-Religious and Socio-Economic Wellbeing

Politically, the Jukun-speaking peoples perceived their government as a 'theocracy',<sup>18</sup> governed directly by God or through his messengers. At the apex is *Chidon* or *Ama* (God or Creator), followed by *ajô* (tutelary spirits or cultic deities), *yaku* (ancestors), and then *Aku* (king) with his governing council (the civil, palace, military and spiritual officials) under him.<sup>19</sup> The civil, palace, military and spiritual officials in the government worked in council with the *Aku* for the politico-religious survival of the kingdom.<sup>20</sup> It is believed that obedience to law and order was the key to obtaining favours from the ancestors and deities, resulting in territorial expansion. On the contrary, disobedience and negligence in carrying out required religious rituals always results in misfortunes: defeats in war and battles.

The Jukun owned and worshipped various cultic deities within their extended families and throughout the kingdom to ensure successful military exploits. One of the family cults is *kenjo*, the patron of war and the procurer of victory for the nation during battles and wars. Another one is *akwa*, the protector, provider and supplier. However, the universal cult, *yaku keji*, is the national goddess of protection and benefactor, and dwelt in the capital. The power

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<sup>18</sup> Meek, *A Sudanese Kingdom*, p.332; Abubakar, 'Pre-Colonial Government and Administration among the Jukun', p.2; Abubakar, *History and the Challenges of the Institution of Aku-Uka in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*, p.111.

<sup>19</sup> Abubakar, 'Pre-Colonial Government and Administration among the Jukun', p.5; James Orume, Interview, 17 February 2011, Wukari. But Michael W. Young reduced the government to two broad offices, secular and sacred, respectively. On the one hand, the civil or state officials administered the state, prosecuted war and counselled the *Aku*. On the other hand, the spiritual, military and royal officials administered ritual and ceremonial rites to ensure political might. See Young, 'The divine kingship of the Jukun', p.140.

<sup>20</sup> The civil officials were concerned with the daily political and royal rites of the community. The palace officials oversee the royal enclosures and accompany sacred objects during the performance of important rites. Military officials were concerned with the armed forces and royal divination. The spiritual officials were greatly responsible for the daily spiritual affairs of the Jukun people. The Jukun have two types of cults: the universal (public) cult and the private (family) cults. The former is for all Jukun and Jukunland, while the latter is restricted to each extended family.

of *yaku keji* supersedes the family cults,<sup>21</sup> since it controls security and wellbeing. The districts and villages sent their particular products to it as tribute.<sup>22</sup> Tribute was paid to express loyalty to the headquarters of the Kingdom – Wukari – so as to escape possible spiritual punitive measures. These materials were actually for ‘semi religious offerings’, in recognition and appreciation of the spiritual duties carried out by *yaku keji*.<sup>23</sup> This was done in the belief that peace and security in the land is the handiwork of God through His messengers, the cultic deities, spirits, and ancestors.

Socially, the Jukun-speaking peoples originally lived in enclaves of extended family households<sup>24</sup> consisting of closely related families. The compound comprised the head, his wives and young children, as well as cousins of the compound head and their wives and children.<sup>25</sup> The master of each extended family played a dual role as chief and priest, and was responsible for the maintenance of the household cultic deities. Religion was crucial in the social interaction within the extended family, as Meek states:

Every Jukun household is a self-contained religious unit, that is to say it has its own sacred enclosure containing the shrines of the household gods and the quarters where the grown-up males eat their meals in privacy. The head of the household may be the minister of all the household cults, or his juniors. In a large household some of the collateral members may have cults of their own, but in such cases there is a common enclosure for all the shrines, and one group of the household would attend the rites of another.<sup>26</sup>

This shows that each household had a *biéko*, an enclosure for meals, exclusively reserved for the head of the household and grownup males, for their worship of cultic deities.

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<sup>21</sup> See Meek, *A Sudanese Kingdom*, pp.265-293 for details.

<sup>22</sup> For instance, Dampar sent dried fish and palm oil; Akwana sent salt; Arufu sent salt and antimony; Chinkai sent cloth. Those from within the capital sent bundles of corn based on the size of the household. Other tribute was in the form of game killed in the course of hunting expeditions, repairs of the palace by the people and communal work on the royal farm by people in the capital. See Abubakar, ‘Pre-Colonial Government and Administration among the Jukun’, p.18; Meek, *A Sudanese Kingdom*, pp.332, 343.

<sup>23</sup> Meek, *A Sudanese Kingdom*, p.345.

<sup>24</sup> Rubin, ‘The Arts of Jukun-speaking Peoples of Northern Nigeria’, p.11. However, Meek proposes the term, ‘kindred’ for genealogically related extended families. See Meek, *A Sudanese Kingdom*, pp.64, 66.

<sup>25</sup> Meek, *A Sudanese Kingdom*, p.70.

<sup>26</sup> Meek, *A Sudanese Kingdom*, p.318.

The *biéko* was secluded from women and little children to guard against the wrath of the deities and ancestors due to contamination.<sup>27</sup> *Biéko* was divided into two sections: an inner enclosure meant for ceremonies, and the outer vestibule meant for meals.<sup>28</sup>

Although the Jukun-speaking peoples loved social networking within the extended family and cherished sharing the same cultic deities for the general wellbeing of the society, they were not ignorant of the fact that malignant mystical powers could be detrimental to wellbeing. Therefore, they took extra care to meet the needs of the cultic deities and ancestors for protection, providence and sustenance. Cultic deities and ancestors may have been good, but they could also be mischievous whenever the society deviates and breaks taboos. Therefore, the Jukun conceptualise healing as part of holiness and continued good relationship with the deities and ancestors.

Economically, the main source of income for the Jukun-speaking peoples is agriculture, especially farming (produce and animals).<sup>29</sup> Other sources of economic activities are fishing, hunting, canoe making, pottery, dyeing and weaving (cloths and mats), as well as blacksmithing.<sup>30</sup> Every household had a cultic deity of providence, benefactor of bumper harvest such as *yaku keji*, *akwa*, *aku-ahwa* and *jonfi*.<sup>31</sup> The offerings were made to *Chidon* through *Ama*, the cultic deities and the ancestors.<sup>32</sup> These were to guard against interference by malevolent powers in their businesses. The success of any business was tied exclusively to fulfilling required religious rites. However, failure in business was linked to the withdrawal of God's providence through His messengers because of failure to carry out required rituals.

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<sup>27</sup> Meek, *A Sudanese Kingdom*, pp.86, 162, 297-299, 309, 329. The exclusion of women was essentially because of menstruation, which was and is an abomination to the deities, spirits and ancestors. This could bring suffering, sickness and misfortune to the extended family and the society. The children were excluded for security purposes as they might reveal some religious secrets which are taboos and sacrilegious.

<sup>28</sup> The seclusion is based on the fear of evil powers, especially witchcraft. Witches are said to be the major cause of ill health and misfortunes. The witches usually attack the *dindi* (soul) of a person through various ways: direct capture, acting on the parts of the body or through the use of articles associated with the person's body. Witches also exploit footprints, nail parings, excreta and hair clipping for nefarious purpose, for the *dindi* is immanent in those items. See Meek, *A Sudanese Kingdom*, pp.298-299, 176, 202-203, 254ff, 294ff, 300-301, 309, 319, 322.

<sup>29</sup> The principal crops are Guinea corn, beans, bulrush-millet, maize, millet, cassava, rice, beninseed, cocoyam, groundnuts, potatoes, soya beans, yams and cassava. They also kept domestic animals, especially sheep, goats, dogs, chickens and ducks.

<sup>30</sup> Anyeze Danjuma Adamu, *The Jukun and Their King* (Jos: Plateau Publishing Company, 1983), pp.32-34.

<sup>31</sup> *Yaku* is the goddess who protects against hunger, poor harvest, drought and plague; *Akwa* is a lesser god who protects against family misfortunes. It also plays the role of enhancing agricultural fertility; *Aku-Ahwa* is a greater god who protects against major disaster to the entire family; *Jonfi* is consulted to give bumper harvest.

<sup>32</sup> Meek, *A Sudanese Kingdom*, pp.404-409.

The foregoing discussion shows that the wellbeing within the politico-religious and socio-economic beliefs and practices were tied to what Harold W. Turner described as ‘cosmic unity’ (or ‘African Ontology’ by J.S. Mbiti).<sup>33</sup> This says that God, spirits, man, animals and plants exist with inanimate creation in ‘unity’. Emmanuel Bolaji Idowu calls it ‘diffused monotheism’.<sup>34</sup> In the ‘unity’ within the Transcendent, the benevolent mystical powers have been working with the Supreme God to protect, preserve, secure and guard against any inroad that could be generated by malevolent forces.

### 2.2.2 Multiplicity in the Transcendent

Kwame Bediako asserts that conflicts between benevolent and malevolent powers in the Transcendent result in an ambivalence in the cosmic order. He maintains that exploring the place of the plurality in the transcendent will give a comprehensive understanding of the transcendent powers. He states this aptly thus:

It would then be acknowledged that the spiritual universe of African primal religion is not without *hiatus*. It is not a neat hierarchy of divine beings and spirit-forces held in unitary harmony. The African primal world can be conceived of as a universe of distributed power, perhaps even of fragmented power; it is as much a universe of conflicts as the rest of the fallen world in that it is a world not of one centre, God, but many centres; the unity and multiplicity of the Transcendent in the African world also reveals a deep ambivalence. It is this ambivalence to which a creative Christian engagement must answer....<sup>35</sup>

In relevance to this study, Bediako seems to be saying that the ‘distribution of power,’ the ‘fragmentation of powers,’ among others within the transcendent is a problem within the primal worldview. This perceived conflict seems to have been ignored or neglected by African Christian theologians, Mbiti and Idowu, Bediako argued.<sup>36</sup> He asserted that Mbiti and Idowu thought the divinities would fade away through the Christian impact.<sup>37</sup> Similarly, the

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<sup>33</sup> Harold W. Turner, ‘The Primal Religions of the World and their Study’, in Victor Hayes (ed.), *Australian Essays in World Religions* (Bedford Park: Australian Association for World Religions, 1977), pp.27-37; cited in Kwame Bediako, *Christianity in Africa: The Renewal of a Non-Western Religion* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1995), pp.93-96, 101-102.

<sup>34</sup> E. Bolaji Idowu, *Olodumare: God in Yoruba Belief* (London: Longman, 1962), pp.57-106.

<sup>35</sup> Bediako, *Christianity in Africa*, pp.99-100.

<sup>36</sup> Bediako, *Christianity in Africa*, pp.99, 102.

<sup>37</sup> Bediako, *Christianity in Africa*, pp.97-98.

radical AICs<sup>38</sup> believe that angels have taken over the place of divinities or spirits. But Bediako cautions that the ‘fading away of the multiplicity of divinities’ will not completely halt the on-going conflicts. Even today, African Christianity recognises the ubiquitous spirit forces working daily in the universe.<sup>39</sup> Although the ministry of Christ and the Christian impact had weakened Satan’s power and prevented him from creating havoc, it should not be taken for granted. This is because the conflict still rages between the powers of darkness and the powers of light within the Kingdom of God. The Charismatics call this ‘spiritual warfare’.

In a similar way, the *Gidan Addu’a* seems to be calling attention to the conflicts. That is why, just like the traditional healers, AICs and Charismatics, they do not see sickness as exclusively biological, but with spiritual implications. The movement is challenging the evangelical church bodies that thought Jesus’ victory over Satan had ended all conflicts. The movement is saying that weakening a power is different from destroying it. Although his power has been weakened, Satan is still operating. These conflicts in the transcendent are manifesting as illness, misfortune and suffering in humanity.

### **2.2.3 Politico-Religious Disruption**

Disruption in the cosmic order continued to surface in the perennial political issues in Jukun society. In Jukun thought, all the spiritual measures put in place are to safeguard the kingdom from military attack and failures, yet to no avail. There are two perennial political issues: traditional and modern. The former dealt with the political participation in, and control of, Wukari traditional leadership,<sup>40</sup> as well as political appointments and other resources. The latter dealt with modern political leadership, including membership in the Wukari Traditional Council. The neighbours of the Jukun, the Tiv, agitated to be part of the Council, given their population strength. Historically, though, membership of this Council was hereditary and guided by centuries of Jukun history and culture.

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<sup>38</sup> The acronym AIC refers to African Independent/Initiated/Initiative/Instituted/Indigenous Churches/Christianity.

<sup>39</sup> Bediako, *Christianity in Africa*, p.211.

<sup>40</sup> This was originally called ‘Wukari Genuine Purpose Council’ [WGPC] of Federal Native Authority [FNA].

The Tiv<sup>41</sup> migrated from Cameroon to the Middle-Belt in three phases: 1475 AD, 1535 AD and 1775 AD,<sup>42</sup> in search of arable farmlands for crops.<sup>43</sup> In the 1830s, the Jukun gave them sanctuary and they settled in large numbers in the Middle-Belt.<sup>44</sup>

The British colonial officials, foreseeing their influx and its resultant effect on the Jukun, created the Tiv Division in 1930, and gave them representation in the Jukun traditional council in 1947, but they were not contented.<sup>45</sup> In 1954, Manu Uva Vaase, a Tiv leader, made an attempt to usurp the *Aku-Uka* traditional rulership. Vaase did this by leading a 'peaceful' procession into Wukari town, carried shoulder high amidst dances by the Tiv, a symbolic pointer to usurping the Jukun stool.<sup>46</sup> Agbumanu Atoshi, the Jukun *Aku-Uka*, and his council perceived that if the Tiv seized the rulership, they were equally seizing the land and all its resources. So, they reacted decisively against Vaase.<sup>47</sup> Grace Atoshi observes that '...Manu later regretted his action and paid dearly for the non-bloody political crises'.<sup>48</sup>

On the modern political scene, the ruptures have been extensive. It started with the introduction of party politics, and later developed into religious conflicts. According to the Taraba Legal Team Document, in 1959, the Tiv in Wukari Division allied with their

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<sup>41</sup> The Jukun called the Tiv by various names indicating that they were immigrants and not aborigines: *Michi*, from *Ni bi ci* or *Bi ni ci*, meaning, 'come and stay' and *Mba-shi-tiev*, meaning 'those down on the farm', rather than *Mba-shi-ya*, that is 'those up at home'. See Danjuma Anyeze Adamu, *The Issues in the Tiv-Jukun Conflict* (Jos: Target Publicity, 2002), pp.8, 29; J. Iyo, 'The Origins, Early Migrations and Settlement Patterns of the Tiv in Lower Benue Valley of Nigeria circa 1475-1900' in A. Adrees and Y. Ochefu (eds.), *Studies in the History of Central Nigeria Area*, Vol.1, (Abuja: CSS Limited, 2003), pp.119-132 (131).

<sup>42</sup> Ogoh Alubo, *Nigeria Ethnic Conflicts and Citizenship Crises in the Central Region* (Ibadan: Programme on Ethnic and Federal Studies, 2006), pp.89-90.

<sup>43</sup> T. Makar, *The History of Political Change among the Tiv* (Enugu: Fourth Dimension Press, 1994), p.5; D. Denga, 'Tiv People: Origin, Migration and Social Set-Up', in *Benue State: The Land of Great Potentials* (Calabar: Rapid Educational Publishers, 1995), pp.8-15.

<sup>44</sup> J. Moti & S. Wegh, *An Encounter Between Tiv Religion and Christianity* (Enugu: Snaap, 2001), p.14.

<sup>45</sup> David Gani Angye, Interview, 6 & 10 October 2009 & 15 February 2010, Wukari; Adi Agyo, Interview, 17 November 2009, Wukari.

<sup>46</sup> The Jukun saw this as meddling with their tradition and culture. In Jukun tradition, the *Aku* has been a divine being and owns the land politically and religiously. An offence against the *Aku* is equally an offence against the ancestors and cultic deities and is considered sacrilegious. Best et al, 'Communal Conflicts and the Possibilities of Conflicts in Wukari Local Government Area, Taraba State', p.99.

<sup>47</sup> A traditional ruler revealed that this event happened in the evening when the *Aku-Uka*, Agbumanu Atoshi, was in the council attending to people's problems. When his rejoicing Tiv entourage brought in Manu Vaase, the *Aku* ordered that he should be caned decisively in public. That was done in full view of most community members present. Samaila S. Hinkon, Interview, 3 March 2009, Sohwa-Wukari.

<sup>48</sup> Grace Atoshi, *The Story of the Jukun-Tiv Crisis: Why and How They Happened* (Wukari: Amune Printing Press, 1992), p.11; Best, et al, 'Communal Conflicts and the Possibilities of Conflicts in Wukari local Government Area, Taraba State', p.103.

colleagues in Tiv Division and ‘rigged one of their own to the Federal Legislature’.<sup>49</sup> This was because many Tiv from Tiv Division fielded in Wukari and voted for a Tiv candidate under the umbrella of the United Middle-Belt Congress (UMBC).<sup>50</sup> The Tiv perceived politics as a game of numbers, surmising that whoever controlled the political power also controlled the land and administration.

Further, Tiv UMBC political riots occurred in 1959-1960 and 1964, respectively, against the supporters of the Northern Peoples’ Congress (NPC).<sup>51</sup> The Tiv killed many Jukun whom they suspected to be supporters of the NPC,<sup>52</sup> and burnt down their property. The Tiv tagged the riots *nande-ior*, meaning, ‘arson, burn-up or burning down houses’. The 1964 violence was more brutal against the Jukun supporters of the NPC.<sup>53</sup> The Tiv tagged it *atem tyo* and *kura chacha*, meaning, ‘head breaking or smashing’ and ‘clear them all’, respectively.<sup>54</sup> The Tiv raided homes and engaged in guerrilla warfare.

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<sup>49</sup> Taraba State Government 2002: The Joint Address of the Taraba Legal Team Representing all Memoranda from Taraba Submitted to Judicial Commission of Inquiry into Inter-Communal Conflicts in Benue, Nasarawa, Plateau and Taraba States, p.14.

<sup>50</sup> Atoshi, *The Story of the Jukun-Tiv Crisis*, p.11. This time, Ibrahim Usman Sangari, a Jukun, was contesting under the platform of NPC majority party, while Charles Tangul Gaza, a Tiv, was contesting under the platform of the UMBC minority party. The NPC was the Muslim-North party while the UMBC was the Middle-Belt Christian party. See Best et al, ‘Communal Conflicts and the Possibilities of Conflicts in Wukari Local Government Area, Taraba State’, pp.93-94; T. Avav, *Refugees in our Country* (Abuja: Black Communications, 2002), pp.43, 49; T.T. Shut, ‘The Settler/Indigene Phenomenon and Conflict Generation in the Middle-Belt Region of Nigeria’, in O.O. Okpoh, A. Okau and A.U. Fwatshak (eds.), *The Middle-Belt in the Shadow of Nigeria* (Makurdi: Oracle Business Limited, 2007), p.102.

<sup>51</sup> See Martin J. Dent, ‘A Minority Party: The United Middle-Belt Congress’, in J.P. Mackintosh (ed.), *Nigerian Government and Politics* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1966).

<sup>52</sup> Remi Anifowose, ‘The Changing Nature of Ethnic Conflicts: Reflections on the Tiv-Jukun Situation’, in T. Babawale (ed.), *Urban Violence, Ethnic Militia and the Challenge to Democratic Consolidation in Nigeria* (Lagos: Malthouse Press Limited, 2003), pp.48-56.

<sup>53</sup> Interviewed with some Jukun and Tiv key officers revealed that *Nande-ior* was primarily a movement among the Tiv against Tiv NPC supporters, which started at Agasha, in Tiv land. It involved beating, burning the houses and property of Tiv supporters of the NPC. Many victims fled Tiv land, and took refuge in Wukari for fear of further reprisal. This spilled over to Wukari because the victims were given refuge in Wukari. So, *Nande-ior* was an UMBC co-ordinated phenomenon to crack down NPC dominance. Aku Adi Byewi made tireless efforts and calmed it. David Targa Mtuem, Interview, 4 October 2009, Zeagete-Tsokundi; Joseph Tawha, Interview, 14 February 2010, Wukari; Angye, Interview, 15 February 2010, Wukari; Bitrus T. Angyunwe, Interview, 10 February 2011, Wukari.

<sup>54</sup> The Tiv UMBC supporters undermined the reconciliation made by Aku Adi Byewi. The discontentment resulted in *Atem-tyo* which also started in the Tiv land then spilled over to Wukari due to socio-political reason, especially, the punitive and aggressive measures on UMBC on the *Nande-ior* episode. They used inhuman ways to wipe away all Tiv NPC supporters. They subjected Tiv people to brutal treatment: they were made to sit on a hot flat object and eat very hot pepper, a cut was made around their wrist, and some were beaten to death. This aggression later extended to non-Tiv NPC supporters, irrespective of their ethnic and religious affiliations. See Alubo, *Nigeria Ethnic Conflicts and Citizenship Crises in the Central Region*, pp.101-102.

In 1979-1982, when some Tiv were given political appointments at local and state levels,<sup>55</sup> they carried out an agenda of seizing the land. So, in 1982, the Jukun youth 'assaulted the chairman of Wukari, Iyortyer Tor Musa'.<sup>56</sup> By 1983, party politics developed to politico-religious problems when Alhaji Bamanga Tukur of the Peoples' Redemption Party (PRP) won the Gongola gubernatorial election. The Tiv and Hausa-Fulani continued with the agenda of seizing the land when they gained local and state positions.<sup>57</sup> In 1987, the Tiv and the Hausa-Fulani entered into a political alliance with the National Republic Convention (NRC) against the Social Democratic Party (SDP) and won the election.<sup>58</sup> The Jukun continued to develop resentment for the Tiv and Hausa-Fulani. On 4 April 1989, Jukun youth assaulted Danladi Shehu, the chairman elect. This was because Shehu had been fomenting conflict by advocating that the land belonged to all: Jukun, Tiv and Hausa-Fulani alike.<sup>59</sup> The Tiv claimed to have an indisputable right of ownership to the land.

In the 1990 political election, the Jukun mobilised their electorate, the SDP, against the Tiv and Hausa-Fulani bloc, the NRC, and urged them not to sell their birth-right to strangers and become slaves in their land.<sup>60</sup> The Jukun mobilised and united themselves across religious tides – Muslims, Christians and traditionalists – against the Tiv and the Hausa-Fulani. The Jukun collectively voted for Samuel Tsovini Adda against Danladi Shehu.<sup>61</sup> This opened the door for a Jukun and Tiv encounter. The 1991-1993 encounter recorded widespread

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<sup>55</sup> Abubakar Barde of the Great Nigerian Peoples' Party (GNPP), the Governor elect (1979-1983), appointed a Tiv, Iyortyer Tor Musa, as Wukari Local Government Caretaker Chairman (1981-1983). In addition, two seats were allocated to the Tiv in the Gongola State House of Assembly: Simon Awua represented Rafin Kada Constituency and David Targa Mtuem represented Matan Fada Constituency. See Avav, *Refugees in Our Country*, pp.49-50; I. Hagher, *Beyond Hate: Understanding the Tiv Struggle for Citizenship Rights and Social Justice in Nigeria* (Ibadan: Caltop, 2002), p.199.

<sup>56</sup> Avav, *Refugees in Our Country*, p.50.

<sup>57</sup> David Targa Mtuem and Simon Awua were re-elected. Dr. Samuel Tor Agbidye was appointed the Commissioner for Health. Bamanga Tukur appointed Emmanuel Yawe his Chief Press Secretary in 1983. Group Captain Jonah David Jang re-appointed Yawe in 1987. See Okocha, 'Tiv/Jukun Crisis: Century Old Fire, Still Burning', 2001. Accessed 30 May 2011, <http://www.thisdayonline.com/archival/2001/12/20011208spe01.html>.

<sup>58</sup> The Tiv and Hausa-Fulani associated with the NRC (Muslim party), and the Jukun with the SDP (Christian party). The Jukun divided their votes because five Jukun candidates were contesting for Local Government elective positions. They were: Andrew Tsokwa, Samuel Tsovini Adda, Alhaji Yahaya Fari, James B. Orume and Atoshi Zaku. On the contrary, the Tiv and Hausa-Fulani collectively supported one Hausa-Fulani man, Alhaji Danladi Shehu with his Tiv running mate, Shinja Abako. See Atoshi, *The Story of the Jukun-Tiv Crisis*, pp.11, 14-15.

<sup>59</sup> Atoshi, *The Story of the Jukun-Tiv Crisis*, p.15.

<sup>60</sup> Atoshi, *The Story of the Jukun-Tiv Crisis*, p.20.

<sup>61</sup> Luka D. Agbu, *Report on Conflict Between Jukun and Tiv in Wukari Local Government Area* (Wukari: MAMSER Office, 1992), pp.11-12. Samuel Adda's victory was considered an 'epoch making event' and a Jukun golden opportunity to reclaim their land from the Tiv and Hausa-Fulani. Atoshi noted that it was the first time a true-blooded Jukun would ascend as Wukari Council Chairman. Adda used his seat to check the incursion of the non-aborigines in order to reclaim the land. This was because they were becoming a threat in socio-economic and political spheres. See Atoshi, *The Story of the Jukun-Tiv Crisis*, pp.20-21.

devastation: villages were burnt down, corpses in various stages of decomposition were littered everywhere.<sup>62</sup> The 2001-2003 dispute further deepened the crises which had started between Tiv farmers and Fulani pastoralists,<sup>63</sup> and spilled over to the Jukun because of Tiv skirmishes and guerrilla attacks on the Jukun. It witnessed the most terrible and prolonged land clashes between the Tiv and Jukun. Lives and property were destroyed.<sup>64</sup> The Jukun determined to 're-claim their lands' in a movement commonly tagged *operation patswen*.<sup>65</sup> The Jukun believe that numerical growth and strength are not synonymous with legitimate right of ownership to land.

Many Tiv sources<sup>66</sup> claim that the conflict from the party politics through politico-religious struggles were based on the apprehension of the Jukun that they would lose their land to the growing Tiv population and the potency of Tiv authority over the Jukun.<sup>67</sup> The sources assert that the land issue was a vent for political and other forms of conflicts. In contrast, the *Aku-Uka*, Shekarau Angyu Masa-Ibi, debunked this notion, saying that the whole issue revolves around land ownership. He notes that 'they [the Tiv] came here to farm; we allowed them, gave them chieftaincy titles.... Now that their population has increased, they believe they are

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<sup>62</sup> Alubo, *Nigeria Ethnic Conflicts and Citizenship Crises in the Central Region*, p.105.

<sup>63</sup> Alubo, *Nigeria Ethnic Conflicts and Citizenship Crises in the Central Region*, p.111; Moses T. Aluaigba, 'The Tiv-Jukun Ethnic Conflict and the Citizenship Question in Nigeria' 2008, pp.1-19 (5).

<sup>64</sup> Alubo, *Nigeria Ethnic Conflicts and Citizenship Crises in the Central Region*, pp.103-104; G.A. Genyi, 'The Nigerian State and Political Violence against the Tiv, 1959-2003', in Okpeh et al (eds.), *The Middle-Belt in the Shadow of Nigeria*, (Makurdi: Oracle Business Limited, 2007), pp.78-90 (87); Asuni, 'The Tiv-Jukun Conflict in Wukari Taraba State' 1999, p.3. Accessed on 3 May 2011, <http://www.conflictprevention.net/page.php?id=40&formid=73&action=show&surveyid=55>.

<sup>65</sup> Okoye Festus (ed.), *Ethnic and Religious Rights in Nigeria* (Kaduna: Human Rights Management, 1998), p.89.

<sup>66</sup> Alubo, *Nigeria Ethnic Conflicts and Citizenship Crises in the Central Region*, p.111; Aluaigba, 'The Tiv-Jukun Ethnic Conflict and the Citizenship Question in Nigeria' 2008, p.5; Avav, *Refugees in Our Country*, p.50; Iyo, 'The Origins, early Migrations and Settlement Patterns of the Tiv in Lower Benue Valley of Nigeria circa 1475-1900' in Adrees, A. & Y. Ochefu (eds.), *Studies in the History of Central Nigeria Area*, Vol.1 (Abuja: CSS Limited), pp.119-132; Makar, *The History of Political Change among the Tiv*, p.5; D. Denga, 'Tiv People: Origin, Migration and Social Set-Up' in D. Denga (ed.), *Benue State: The Land of Great Potentials* (Calabar: Rapid Educational Publishers, 1995), pp.8-15; Anifowose, 'The Changing Nature of Ethnic Conflicts', pp.48-56; Hagher, *Beyond Hate: Understanding the Tiv Struggle for Citizenship Rights and Social Justice in Nigeria*, p.199; Shut, 'The Settler/Indigene Phenomenon and Conflict generation in the Middle-Belt Region of Nigeria', p.102; Okocha, 'Tiv/Jukun Crisis: Century Old Fire, Still Burning', 2001 cf., <http://www.thisdayonline.com/archival/2001/12/20011208spe01.html>. Retrieved on 30 May 2011.

<sup>67</sup> Nnoli, *Ethnicity and Development in Nigeria*, pp.224-225; Best et al, 'Communal Conflicts and the Possibilities of Conflicts in Wukari local Government Area, Taraba State', pp.99-102; Alubo, *Nigeria Ethnic Conflicts and Citizenship Crises in the Central Region*, p.102; Genyi, 'The Nigerian State and Political Violence against the Tiv, 1959-2003', p.87; Shut, 'The Settler/Indigene Phenomenon and Conflict generation in the Middle-Belt Region of Nigeria', p.102; Asuni, 'The Tiv-Jukun Conflict in Wukari Taraba State', p.2. See <http://www.conflictprevention.net/page.php?id=40&formid=73&action=show&surveyid=55>. Accessed 30 May 2011.

many enough to colonise us.’<sup>68</sup> In addition, the Tiv influx and numerical growth made them think of having absolute rights in all leadership because they are equally aborigines.<sup>69</sup> T.G. Mitchell summarises the root as ‘migratory overcrowding’,<sup>70</sup> which the Tiv intended to use to manipulate land ownership.

The political issues, whether traditional or modern, as well as the participation and representation of Wukari at the local and state levels, all focused on possessing the Jukun land. Many attempts were made to resolve disharmony, but all to no avail.

The above historical review shows that the Jukun experienced traditional, political [modern politics] disruptions and religious crises. The interpretation of the traditional leadership and youth was that the ancestors, cultic deities and other spirits of the land had withdrawn their protection, security and guard over the land. The traditional Jukun youth have accused the Jukun traditional rulers of complacency, negligence and compromise, and of not taking seriously Vaase’s attempt to usurp the stool. Although Vaase was dealt with decisively, the subsequent *Aku* neither considered the offence seriously nor did he take any precautions. Besides, the youth were sceptical about the leaders observing the state and family cultic festivals of *yaku keji*, *nana-kutome*, *jon-fi*, *kenjo*, *akwa*, among others, for the wellbeing of the society. The youth still believe that the longstanding ethno-religious crises in the land are due to the failure of the religious leaders to appease the cultic deities and ancestors as required. The traditional youth focused on who caused it and why, and not on what caused it. In a similar vein, the Jukun Christian youth traced the cause of the longstanding crises to the curse of the forebears transmitted to posterity. The youth perceived that the Jukun had sinned and disobeyed God, shed blood and lived licentious lives, among others. The Christian religious leaders neglected to advocate for designated time for prayer and fasting to cancel the curse on the land. To them, there was a need for a communal cry to God to withdraw His wrath and stop the catastrophe.

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<sup>68</sup> Trevor Johnson and Barbara Slaughter, ‘Nigerian Soldiers Carry Out Massacres’. Accessed 16 June 2011, <http://www.wsws.org/articles/2001/oct2001/nige-o27.shtml>.

<sup>69</sup> International Society for Human Rights, West African Committee, 2001, p.6; Avav, *Refugees in Our Country*, p.27; Alubo, *Nigeria Ethnic Conflicts and Citizenship Crises in the Central Region*, p.92; Shut, ‘The Settler/Indigene Phenomenon and Conflict generation in the Middle-Belt Region of Nigeria’ p.102; Anifowose, ‘The Changing Nature of Ethnic Conflicts: Reflections on the Tiv-Jukun Situation’, p.54.

<sup>70</sup> T.G. Mitchell, *Native Versus Settler: Ethnic Conflict in Israel/Palestine, Northern Ireland, and South Africa*, (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2000), pp.1-2.

Besides, the party politics and politico-religious dissensions that brought the conflicts were the result of a religious incident, the ‘mysterious disappearance of male penises.’ This brought apprehension, trauma, despair and depression in Wukari land and beyond.<sup>71</sup> In February-March 2009, the fear of disappearing male penises swept through Jalingo and the southern parts of Taraba State, especially Wukari and neighbouring Local Government Areas. Although there are no verifiable accounts of such incidents, some of the alleged perpetrators were lynched by the youth or beaten and left half dead.<sup>72</sup> Some of the reported means by which the disappearance of the organs occurred were through a handshake, a simple touch of someone in the course of sitting next to them, being conveyed on motor cycles, through the exchange of money or words, or by a response to enquirers.<sup>73</sup> In such episodes, security men took pains to rescue some of the perpetrators from the hands of mobs. There were a few cases where the perpetrators reportedly snatched the male organs and disappeared mysteriously.<sup>74</sup> At that time, the means of protection for *achaba* (the commercial motor cyclists), motor drivers and pedestrians was to carry razor blades and pepper on them, particularly in their pockets. In addition, cyclists, motorists and pedestrians would hardly respond to a stranger’s enquiry. People limited their travel while using various means of mobility.

This mysterious phenomenon was subjected to diverse interpretations. An interview with some Christian youth revealed that the menace was as a result of rampant socio-economic depression in the society. So, the perpetrators used mystical power for their nefarious gain.<sup>75</sup> Other younger and older Christians asserted that it was either the work of politicians for politico-economic purposes in preparation for the next transitional government, or the work

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<sup>71</sup> The common name given to this incident in the community was ‘SIM Card removal’. This was not the first incident in Nigeria and other West African countries. It is reported that similar incidents took place in Ghana and Senegal (1997), Zimbabwe (1999), Cotonou (2001), and also in Oyo and Osun States in Nigeria in March and April 2001, respectively. All the episodes pointed to the work of witchcraft and sorcery. From BBC News, 12 April 2001; CNN report, January 18 1997; Sabella Ogbobode Abidde, ‘The Missing or Shrinking Organ? No, it is Genital Retraction Syndrome.’ Accessed 22 June 2011, <file://C:\Downloads\Page1.html>.

<sup>72</sup> John Caleb, Interview, 22 October 2009, Wukari; Joel Hammajulde Gashaka, Interview, 10 March 2010, Wukari; Yahuza Samaila, Interview, 8 November 2010, Wukari; Bulus A. Azama, Interview, 16 November 2010, Takum; Yakubu Musa, Interview, 16 November 2010, Takum; Desalin Nghatho, Interview, 3 February 2011, CLTC Wukari.

<sup>73</sup> Samaila, Interview, 8 November 2010; Azama, Interview, 16 November 2010; Musa, Interview, 16 November 2010; Nuhu Peace Nyajon, Interview, 16 November 2010; Nghatho, Interview, 3 February 2011.

<sup>74</sup> Samaila, Interview, 8 November 2010; Azama, Interview, 16 November 2010; Nyajon, Interview, 16 November 2010; Nghatho, Interview, 3 February 2011.

<sup>75</sup> Pa’abu Saidu, Interview, 17 February 2010, Sowha-Wukari; Joseph Agbu Garba, Interview, 14 October 2009, Veenstra Theological Seminary (VTS) Donga.

of Hausa-Fulani immigrants to render the Jukun impotent.<sup>76</sup> In contrast, security agencies maintained that it was the handiwork of thieves.<sup>77</sup> Medical experts and other traditional beliefs explained it as genital retraction syndrome due to deep-seated fear and acute anxiety.<sup>78</sup> Nevertheless, village heads, District heads and others blamed the traditional leadership – civil, royal, political and religious officials – for failing to maintain societal norms. They claimed that the benevolent powers were angered by the infringement of taboos as well as the impurity and desecration of the society.<sup>79</sup> Consequently, the benevolent powers allowed the evil powers such as witchcraft, occult powers and other malignant powers to cause chaos.

The respondents were not unanimous as to the root cause of this mysterious disappearance of male genital organs. Society was in despair, depression and felt hopeless with regard to the solution. Diviners and medical science could not give a solution. It was here that the emerging *Gidan Addu'a* became an avenue for the security and protection of the afflicted. Victims resorted to the *Gidan Addu'a* for divine healing. Its enthusiasts contextualised their healing messages that all man-made means of protection had failed but the ultimate protector and solution is Jesus Christ through the power of the Holy Spirit. The herbal medicines and medical science could not deal with this spiritual problem. All evil forces were subject to Jesus' power. Moreover, the Charismatic lay leaders like the Christian youth traced the underlying cause of the situation to disobedience and the sins of past and present leaders. The posterity is suffering the wrath of God transferred from the forebears. However, Jesus was gracious and loving, and so would forgive, restore peace and guide the land if the community genuinely sought God's favour.

#### **2.2.4 Socio-Economic Disruption**

The socio-economic problems started emerging when from 1910s onward, the colonial administration encouraged the Tiv to migrate to Wukari due to their population pressure and inadequate farmlands in their area. To the colonial administration, the Jukun were not

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<sup>76</sup> Joseph Samaila, Interview, 17 February 2010, Sohwa-Wukari; Ezekiel Dantani Hinkon, Interview, 19 March 2009, Wukari; Dawuda Danfiliya Kure, Interview, 2 March 2009, CLTC Wukari. This view is seriously upheld because the mysterious happenings generally affected the Jukun exclusively.

<sup>77</sup> Interview with an anonymous security agent on 3 October 2010, Wukari.

<sup>78</sup> Clement Angyunwe, Interview, 5 October 2010, Wukari; Samaila Sabo Hinkon, Interview, 17 February 2010, Sohwa-Wukari.

<sup>79</sup> Anonymous village head, Interview, 4 October 2010, Wukari.

expanding economically and demographically as fast as the Tiv people, and were not meeting the colonial authority's socio-economic demands. The colonial authorities therefore meddled in the land problem. Abdul Raufu Mustapha aptly captures it:

The decision to encourage Tiv migration into Jukun territory reflected a reversal of colonial perception of both groups. The 'superior' Jukun with their history of a centralised state, were not expanding economically and demographically, as the 'inferior' Tiv. Since this has a direct bearing on the capacity of the colonial state to raise tax revenue, the official perception of both groups changed.<sup>80</sup>

Moreover, the colonial administration created Wukari Division in 1926, placing the Tiv under Jukun administration. The Tiv had opportunity to migrate to Jukunland. With the uncontrolled influx of the Tiv, the colonial officials created the Wukari Federation Local Council for the Jukun, and cut off the Tiv people. This could not solve the problem. Over time, the Tiv started giving derogatory names to the places they were given to settle.<sup>81</sup> The Tiv occupied the lands but neglected the traditional laws of land occupation, especially those requiring them to obtain the permission of village heads, ward heads, district heads and paramount rulers.<sup>82</sup>

The colonial authority's concessions contributed to the perennial socio-economic issues in the Jukun-Tiv ethnic conflict in the land. Jukun younger and older generations alike blame the traditional leadership, especially for its complacency and tolerance of the Tiv influx, and for its failure to properly observe the state cultic festivals. Thus, *yaku keji* and *jonfi* failed to produce the anticipated bumper harvest and prosperity.

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<sup>80</sup> Abdul Raufu Mustapha, 'Transformation of Minority Identities in Post-Colonial Nigeria', in Attahiru Jega, *Identity Transformation under Structural Adjustment in Nigeria* (London: Oxford University Press, 2000), p.100.

<sup>81</sup> Best et al, 'Communal Conflicts and the Possibilities of Conflicts in Wukari Local Government Area, Taraba State', p.107. The Joint Taraba Legal Team describes the naming thus: 'unilateral/unauthorised and provocative renaming of indigenous Jukun towns, for instance, from Wukari to Waka, Tsokundi to Ayu, Kwararrafa to Dan-Anacha, Chanchanji to Peve, Rafin Kada to Genyi, Bako to Abako, Kente to Santyo, among others. Taraba Legal Team Document, 2002, p.19; cf. Shut, 'The Settler/Indigene Phenomenon and Conflict Generation in the Middle-Belt Region of Nigeria', p.102; S. Egwu, 'Agrarian Questions and Rural Ethnic Conflicts in Nigeria' in O. Nnoli, *Ethnic Politics in Nigeria* (Enugu: Fourth Dimension, 1978), pp.53-77 (56); see also, 'Nigeria: Focus on Central Region Tiv, Jukun Clashes' in *Integrated Regional Informational Network* (2001), p.2. Accessed on 30 May 2011, <http://www.irinnews.org/report.aspx?reported=27858>.

<sup>82</sup> Samuel Tsovini Adda, *For Posterity: The Roles of Governor Nyame, Others and Myself in the Tiv-Jukun Conflicts* (Jos: Target publicity, 1993), p.25; Best et al, 'Communal Conflicts and the Possibilities of Conflicts in Wukari Local Government Area, Taraba State', p.103; Agbu, *Report on Conflict between Jukun and Tiv in Wukari Local Government Area*, p.17.

The foregoing discussion reveals that political, social and economic wellbeing brought harmony, peace and success due to the good relationship with the mystical powers, people and nature. On the other hand, problems were generated as a result of the fragmented relationships. Even though the traditionalists often appealed to mystical powers for solution, they frequently failed due to various reasons.

The *Gidan Addu'a*, on the other hand, tend to make a link between the role of the mystical powers (ancestors and cultic deities) and that of Jesus Christ. The provisions of *yaku keji* and *jonfi* as well as other cultic deities have been temporal and subject to failure; they are merely pointers to the Almighty power. It asserts that the superior power, Jesus Christ through the Holy Spirit, has the ultimate solution. Jesus' power is permanent while the older powers are temporal. The *Gidan Addu'a* Charismatic lay leaders may tend to emphasise this position but their expressions have not adequately converted the old sources for an indigenisation of the faith. The evangelical bodies see them as distorting the truth of the Bible. Most of the older evangelical ministers are of the view that the ministry of Jesus had completely subjected those powers.<sup>83</sup> Hence, re-inventing the power of the old sources is equally giving glory to them, and is uncalled for. The ministers are not blatantly denying the threats of evil spirits on humankind but consider that the overemphasis they place after the atoning work of Christ has been completed is rather making Jesus' ministry meaningless.

### **2.3 Jukun Spiritual Worldview**

The fundamental issue in the conflict in the Transcendent realm is the power encounter. The Jukun-speaking peoples believe they live and have their being in the midst of spiritual powers. In Jukun cosmology, it is believed that spirits are ubiquitous and are involved in every daily event. They are real and pragmatic in character. They are also believed to manifest through spiritual personalities, animals and objects. A few of the characteristics of spirit roles as believed by the Jukun<sup>84</sup> are discernible: first, spirits exist and co-inhabit the human world. They can be seen, talk (and be talked to) and can possess spiritual personalities such as diviners, medicine men, herbalists, priests and priestesses, and spirit mediums for

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<sup>83</sup> Adamu M. Eyab, Interview, 17 November 2010, Takum; Philip D. Aboki, Interview, 12 November 2010, Wukari; Nuhu F. Pamciri, Interview, 16 November 2010, Takum.

<sup>84</sup> This does not intend to imply that only the Jukun hold these views. It is possible that these beliefs are shared by many African societies as well. These views seem to be common as one reads documents written by Africans and expatriates about the function of the spirits in the cosmos.

effective practices.<sup>85</sup> Moreover, spirits have no restrictions: they can turn into human beings, go to different places, seek and participate in human activities; they can go through walls or fly through the air; they can inhabit waters, trees, forests, groves, mountains, hills and rocks; they can possess people and disguise themselves as creatures and objects.<sup>86</sup> Second, spirits are divided into two categories: good and bad. The good spirits exist to bless people, but the bad spirits exist to haunt people.<sup>87</sup> Third, spirit beings can mediate both in the physical order and in the spiritual realm because there is no frontier between the physical and spiritual, the celestial and terrestrial, or the unseen and seen world.<sup>88</sup> Fourth, the spirit beings are said to be messengers, mediators, emissaries, ambassadors and representatives of the Supreme God.<sup>89</sup> All the above colourings and characteristics of the spirits unanimously stress the immanence of spirit beings with humankind.

The unrestricted and unseen abode of the spirit realm generates in the Jukun constant fear of the unknown. The social, economic, political, ethnic and religious disruptions are always attributed to the work of evil spirits in response to a failure to keep societal norms. This breaks the harmonious relationship between humans and transcendent forces. One of the

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<sup>85</sup> Emmanuel Agbutonku Angyu, Interview, 18 February 2010, Wukari. This is typical of Hausa understanding of *Bori* Cult. See M.F. Smith, *Baba of Koro: A Woman of the Muslim Hausa* (London: Faber and Faber Ltd, 1954), pp.222-223, cf.115-116, 164-165; Ronald Frankenberg, 'Women's Medicine: The Zar-Bori Cult in Africa and Beyond', *African Affairs*, Vol. 92, No. 366 (1993), pp.154-155; Umar Habila Dadem Danfulani, 'Factors Contributing to the Survival of the *Bori* Cult in Northern Nigeria', *Numen*, Vol. 46, No. 4 (1999), pp.412-447.

<sup>86</sup> Agbu, Interview, 9 March 2010; Dantani, Interview, 8 March 2010; Sabo, Interview, 12 October 2009 & 15 February 2011, Wukari; Angyu, Interview, 18 February 2010; Bitrus T. Angyunwe, Interview, 7 February 2011; Nuhu Useini Adi, Interview, 22 February 2010, CRCN Station Wukari; Caleb, Interview, 22 October 2009 & 3 March 2010; Gashaka, Interview 12 October 2009 & 10 March 2010, Wukari; Martha J.C. Sabo, Interview, 12 October 2009 & 15 February 2011, Wukari; Patience H.N. Agbu, Interview, 9 March 2010, Jalingo. Many Jukun and other Africans share this perception of no borderline on the role of spirits. See Yusufu Turaki, *Christianity and African Gods: A Method in Theology* (np: Potchetstroomse Universiteit, 1999), pp.170-180; J.S.S. Kangdim, 'The Relationship Between the High God and the Divinities of the Angas People in Plateau State (Nigeria)', *TCNN Research Bulletin*, Vol. 9 (1981), pp.17-25; J.S. Kowanba, 'The Mumuye Concept of God and Spiritual Beings', *TCNN Research Bulletin*, Vol. 17 (1986), pp.31-36; Yilji D.G.J., 'The Ngas Concept of God and Spiritual Beings', *TCNN Research Bulletin*, Vol.16 (1986), pp.30-39; Keith Ferdinando, *The Triumph of Christ in African Perspective: A Study of Demonology and Redemption in the African Context* (Carlisle: Paternoster, 1999); Marthinus L. Daneel, 'African Independent Church Pneumatology and the Salvation of All Creation', *Theologia Evangelica*, Vol. 25, No.1 (1992), pp.35-55; George C. Oosthuizen, 'Interpretation of Demonic Powers in Southern African Independent Churches', *Missiology*, Vol.16, No.1 (January 1988), pp.3-22.

<sup>87</sup> Emmanuel Agbutonku Angyu, Interview, 18 February 2010; Wukari; Nuhu Useini Adi, Interview, 22 February 2010, CRCN Station Wukari; Joel Tanko Aji, Interview, 9 February 2011, Wukari; Bitrus T. Angyunwe, interview, 10 February 2011, Wukari; James B. Orume, Interview, 17 February 2011, Wukari; Fari Gambo, Interview, 31 May 2012, Wukari.

<sup>88</sup> Adi, Interview, 22 February 2010; Agbu, Interview, 9 March 2010; Sabo, Interview, 12 October 2009 & 15 February 2011; Angyu, Interview, 18 February 2010, Wukari; Aji, Interview, 9 February 2011, Wukari.

<sup>89</sup> See E. Bọlaji Idowu, *Olódùmarè: God in Yoruba Belief*, p.57, 62; Aylward Shorter, *African Culture and the Christian: An Introduction to Social and Pastoral Anthropological* (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1978), p.57.

main measures to avert the havoc is to consult traditional medical professionals to determine the underlying cause and to proffer remedies. The encounter is always conducted by the traditional health practitioners believed to have been endowed with spirit powers to mediate between human and benevolent powers.

## **2.4 Media of Healing Practices**

The Jukun traditional healing practitioners fall into three main groups, namely, diviners, medicine men and herbalists. The diviners are generally psychotherapists who are searching for the spiritual meaning underlying what upsets the patient's web of relationships.<sup>90</sup> A diviner prescribes the required ways of averting the negative situation by either a medicine man or a herbalist.

### **2.4.1 Divination**

Divinatory practice is not confined to Jukun society. Julius Muthengi traces it to the Ancient Near East (ANE).<sup>91</sup> Divination is a process of making a spiritual enquiry into life experiences. It is defined variously by scholars. Relevant to this study are those of Elizabeth Isichei and John S. Mbiti. Isichei defines divination as a 'quest for patterns of meaning underlying human existence.'<sup>92</sup> To her, divination gives insight and unveils the hidden knowledge of the supernatural through the consultation of a human who is possessed by spirits. Similarly, Mbiti observes that divination is a means of 'finding out the unknown'.<sup>93</sup> Divinatory practice among the Jukun is both hereditary and acquired. From the hereditary side, the Jukun believe that diviners inherit the practice from ancestors or cultic deities through the paternal bloodline. On the other hand, a person who wants to acquire the art of divination must be an apprentice under the tutelage of an expert diviner, learning the practice for some time, although there is no defined time frame. Jukun divinatory practice, as in other

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<sup>90</sup> Angyu, Interview, 18 February 2010; Angyunwe, Interview, 10 February 2011; Adi, Interview, 22 February 2010, CRCN Station; Aji, Interview, 9 February 2011.

<sup>91</sup> Julius K. Muthengi, 'Art of Divination', *African Journal of Evangelical Theology*, Vol. 12, No. 2 (1993), pp.90-104 (90-91) cf. J.J. Greenfield & M. Sokoloff, 'Astrological and related Omen Texts in Jewish Palestinian Aramaic', *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, Vol. 48 (January 1989), pp.201-214.

<sup>92</sup> Elizabeth Isichei, *The Religious Traditions of Africa: A History* (Westport, London: Praeger, 2004), p.265.

<sup>93</sup> John S. Mbiti, *Introduction to African Religion* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1975), p.156.

African societies, is a means of finding out the underlying cause of a problem and its supernatural meaning.

Information from the elderly Jukun and those knowledgeable about the reasons for divinatory practice revealed that people consult diviners in times of misfortune such as bad dreams, bad luck, theft, recurrent sicknesses in the family, successive deaths, epidemics, plague, failures in business, leadership uncertainties, diverse complications, conflicts and sour relationships within the neighbourhood, marriage problems, omens and other negative life experiences.<sup>94</sup> This is because the Jukun do not usually gloss over any misfortune. They seek out the spiritual meaning of the misfortunes and fears.<sup>95</sup> Some diviners use spirit possession or trance as their diagnostic tool. Others use intuition as they manipulate certain objects to diagnose the underlying cause of a circumstance. Diviners who use spirit possession always divine between 12:00 noon and 1:00 pm. It is believed to be the precise time range within which [good] spirits work.<sup>96</sup> But those who use their intuition do not have any particular time for their divinatory practices. In whichever model the diviners employ, they are keen to observe and give spiritual interpretation.<sup>97</sup> Some diviners use spirit both possession and intuition concurrently and sequentially, depending on the nature of problems brought by their clients. In fact, Jukun diviners are exceptionally intelligent and have a thorough knowledge of social interaction and human character. They use it to probe their clients with leading questions to diagnose the causes of their problems. They usually lead their clients to indicate affirmatively concerning what they are enquiring from them. The insight got from their clients will then help them integrate their diagnosis with clues observed from their clients' demeanour and disposition, as well as verbal clues to proffer a remedy.

One of the common divinatory models among the Jukun is *noko*. *Noko* is a mechanical device consisting of two strings from which hang four to eight pieces of calabash or tortoise shell. The diviner holds the strings at both ends and casts them on the ground several times. If the calabash pieces or tortoise shells land face up, the diagnosis is positive, indicating favour, blessing and fortune, among others. In contrast, if the objects land face down, the diagnosis is negative, indicating trouble, curse and misfortune, among others. The positive and negative

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<sup>94</sup> Angyu, Interview, 18 February 2010; Angyunwe, Interview, 10 February 2011; Hinkon, Interview, February 2010; Adi, Interview, 22 February 2010; Aji, Interview, 9 February 2011; James B. Orume, Interview, 17 February 2011; Angye, Interview, 9 November 2009.

<sup>95</sup> See Isichei, *The Religious Traditions of Africa: A History*, pp.271-272.

<sup>96</sup> Agbu, Interview, 9 March 2010, 22 February 2011 & 16 February 2012; Gambo, Interview, 31 May 2012.

<sup>97</sup> Aji, Interview, 9 February 2011; Adi, Interview, 22 February 2010; Angyu, Interview, 18 February 2010.

interpretations depend on the average number of the tortoise shells lying face up and face down, respectively. The diviner is very skilful in counting the tortoise shells within seconds to determine results. As the diviner casts the objects on the ground, he continues to alternate with leading questions, probing his client for details of the situation on the ground. Once the diagnosis is done successfully, the diviner recommends a renowned medicine man or herbalist through whom a solution could be received. Suffice it to say that diviners are generally well informed about the health experts within or outside the community who can avert the negative situation. It is also probable that those specialists they recommend are their associates and business partners. A Jukun under normal circumstances consults at least three diviners whom he believes will give the proper diagnosis of his case. The enquirer almost always works with the consensus results of his enquiry.

Another method of divination among the Jukun is *ambo*. This is done by rubbing a certain leaf and concoction between the hands. If the hands are suddenly glued, the person is guilty.<sup>98</sup> The *ambo* is always done in times of serious accusation where the accused has denied vehemently. In such a scenario, the traditional leadership facilitates the search by inviting the *ambo* specialist to detect the perpetrator. Once the diagnosis proves positive, the accused is banned from the community in order to guard against further evil. Both the *noko* and *ambo* are used for tracking evildoers in the society such as thieves, witches, wizards, and sorcerers.

Besides the detection and banning of the evil perpetrator, the Jukun always insist on the perpetrator confessing his wrong. If the fault is not confessed by the perpetrator and is forgiven by the victim, no medication is perceived to be capable of changing the perpetrator's situation. The primal worldview is that confession and forgiveness or reconciliation are prerequisites for obtaining healing.

In confession, the patient, or a relative or a friend<sup>99</sup> tells the diviner any evil deeds committed. The confession and forgiveness take various forms but there are four common ones: first, if the wrong is between two people, the patient (or his relation or friend) will seek the consent of a mediator, usually an elderly person in the society, to go and seek pardon and reconciliation on behalf of the person that committed the misdeed. Second, if the wrong involves two families, the community head will summon the two families and facilitate the

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<sup>98</sup> Aji, Interview, 9 February 2011.

<sup>99</sup> The patient is required to ask for pardon himself if he is conscious. However, if the condition of the patient does not enable him or her to speak, the closest relative or even a friend will stand in and confess the misdeed.

confessions and forgiveness to ensure the healing of the patient. Third, if the offence affects the entire community, the community head will summon all in the society for hearing, confession and general pardon to effect the healing of the patient. Fourth, beyond these steps, if the person wronged is dead, the patient or his relative will seek pardon from a member of the deceased's family, on behalf of the deceased who had been wronged, through the community head. Once an understanding is reached, the patient will be asked to provide items for sacrifice to appease the deceased for forgiveness.

Confession is always the first order because the person who might have been wronged could be the source of the patient's problem. Confession is important in healing because restoration after infringement enhances healing. The patient will never get better until all tensions and aggressions in the group's interrelations have been brought into the limelight and resolved. It may be possible that the person wronged might have, out of anger, sworn that ancestors or cultic deities must withdraw their protection and security and create an in-road for malignant forces to attack the victim. It follows that the personal utterance of the person wronged might have handed over the matter to benevolent or malevolent forces. So, appeasement through sacrifice must be done to placate the ancestors or cultic deities and invite them to intervene so that healing will be ensured.<sup>100</sup> Therefore, confession and appeasement have a cathartic effect on the patient and speed up the healing process. *Gidan Addu'a* enthusiasts, in the light of their practice, seemed not to engage in divination as understood in the traditional setting. However, they share with diviners in their spiritual experience and psychological probing into their clients' life experiences. This is because on occasions, the Charismatic lay leaders encouraged reconciliation within the family in cases of prolonged sickness without apparent cause.

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<sup>100</sup> Angyunwe, Interview, 10 February 2011; Adi, Interview, 22 February 2010; Angyu, Interview, 18 February 2010.

## 2.4.2 Medicine men and Herbalists

Jukun medicine men are skilful in identifying, analysing, collecting and using the properties of a variety of plants, animals and inanimate objects. The medicine men believe that the power of the mixtures is extensive. It can help the patient to exercise influence on their enemies, and it can protect them against dangers of all kinds.<sup>101</sup>

The medicine men and herbalists commonly carry out treatment after the diagnosis of the *underlying cause* by diviners.<sup>102</sup> Bitrus Angyunwe, a minister knowledgeable in traditional health practices, notes three sources of skills acquisition by medicine men and herbalists. First, training which involves personal daily experience as well as cumulative wisdom under the tutelage of an expert traditional health practitioner. Second, the skill is acquired under a long-term observation of foods and faeces of wild animals, alongside spiritual interpretations by an experienced traditional health practitioner. Third, it is an inheritance from ancestors and cultic deities received through trances, dreams and visions.<sup>103</sup>

In the Jukun society, treatment administration by both traditional and medical practitioners goes beyond pharmacopoeia potions. The spirit power guides the right combination of ingredients and sensitises them with efficacy and potency. The collection of the medical substances and the preparation both involve incantation and invocations, calling on spirit powers, that is, ancestral spirits, cultic deities and other spirits to endow the substances with power to do the expected work.<sup>104</sup> The power of the human word is crucial in making natural resources efficacious and potent. This is psychologically and spiritually significant to the initiate. It is believed that no medicine can be efficacious without purification and sensitisation by mystical powers. The belief is that the endowment of mystical power transforms the substance, making it powerful and able to deal with cases of ill health. Beyond using the power of ‘human words’, sacrifices such as pouring or smearing blood on the cultic object, observing some cultural taboos and abstaining from specific diets are adhered to. This is to make explicit the medicinal power and ultimate function.

In the Jukun society, *pa-zo* (medicine men – ‘the ones who have spiritual eyes to see’) and *pa-tsohin* (herbalists) have the ability to identify, weaken, curtail and neutralise the nefarious

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<sup>101</sup> David Gani Angye, Interview, 21 February 2010, Wukari; Aji, Interview, 9 February 2011.

<sup>102</sup> Angyunwe, Interview, 10 February 2011; Adi, Interview, 22 February 2010.

<sup>103</sup> Angyunwe, Interview, 10 February 2011.

<sup>104</sup> Angyunwe, Interview, 10 February 2011; Adi, Interview, 22 February 2010.

acts of *pa-shiko* (witches) and *pa-tsahin* (sorcerers) prevent them from harming innocent people.<sup>105</sup> It is said that both *pa-zo* and *pa-tsohin* have the ability to recover a *dindi* (soul) which might have been captured and tied in an unsuspected place by *pa-shiko* or *pa-tsahin*. Both *pa-zo* and *pa-tsohin* believe that every sickness has a direct connection with mystical forces. However, they cannot destroy *pa-shiko* or *pa-tsahin*. Rather, they can only give some protective medicine to the sick to guard them against the manipulation of *pa-zo* and *pa-tsahin*.<sup>106</sup>

Moreover, medicine men and herbalists also take into consideration, the ‘social context’. In the Jukun society, medicine men and herbalists produce diverse preventive and protective potions to help avert the negative situation that their clients are passing through, be it biological or spiritual. The potions could be in the form of powder, liquid, smoke, talisman, charm or amulet, all aimed at averting familiar misfortunes. From my personal observation, learning and casual discussion over time, I have come to realise that the Jukun health practitioners provide medicine to address various physical and spiritual misfortunes. The following are just a few:

First, they mix anti-toxins and protective medicines that detect and counteract witchcraft. Second, they provide medical potions, such as powder to apply in food or drink, to be chewed while talking, to rub or inoculate, which address marital problems. This is because it is believed that disharmony in marriage is a spiritual problem which could break families. Third, they provide medicines that address the challenges of barrenness and impotence. It is believed that infertility is an abomination and one of the major issues that raise suspicions and break up families. Beyond that, belief in procreation is very crucial in Jukun cosmology. For children constitute an economic asset, provide psychological and emotional satisfaction and ensure the continuity of life in a lineage. Barrenness and impotence, however, are perceived as a curse on posterity. Fourth, Jukun health practitioners provide preventive, protective and fortune medicines for those pursuing leadership positions. This is because evil is ubiquitous. It is believed that all who search for leadership positions always face a conflict with the enemies of progress. Beyond those factors, those seeking leadership positions fear malevolent forces and the uncertainties in their ventures. Medicines will help ward off mysterious attacks and thereby lead to success. Therefore, people seek positions well armed

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<sup>105</sup> Angye, Interview, 21 February 2010, Wukari.

<sup>106</sup> Aji, Interview, 9 February 2011; Fari Gambo, Interview, 3 February 2012, Wukari; Nuhu Gambo Hinkon, Interview, 19 February 2011, Wukari; Adi, Interview, 22 February 2010.

spiritually through the guidance of traditional medical functionaries. Fifth, they provide medicines for traders, merchants, farmers and all those seeking economic success. Business people and farmers fear witches because of the threats they pose to their money and the fertility of the land.

The functions of traditional health practitioners appeal to many people in the society. Even those who claim to dismiss the reality of malevolent mystical powers clandestinely visit the traditional health practitioners for various medical potions to address their problems. But does this worldview of the traditional health practitioners resonate with Western missionary biomedics? The next section compares Western mission and African healing beliefs and practices.

## **2.5 Western and African Healing Practices: A Comparison**

The Western and African healing practices differ considerably due to a variance in worldview about the aetiology of disease. The mission medical system perceives disease merely as bodily dysfunction in which the dis-eased organ needs to be repaired, removed or replaced to ensure proper equilibrium and functionality. In contrast, Africans perceive bodily dysfunction as an outflow of multiple causes within cosmic ruptures. The restoration needs to be guarded by spiritual forces through the agencies of traditional health practitioners, who are obliged to cement the disruption in some social networks. In this case, the African traditional medical system employs rituals for this purpose.<sup>107</sup> The health practitioners use material substances and resources from the cosmic realm, often employing psychology, religious forces or mystical powers to arrest what haunts the patient in the society.<sup>108</sup> The subsequent part of this section seeks to compare the two traditions.

Anthropologists, social scientists, ethnographers and theologians have discussed Western and African perceptions and practices related to curing disease and healing illness in terms of Western and African perception and healing practices. Much literature has postulated a distinction between the ‘curing of disease’ and the ‘healing of illness’. Whereas ‘curing’ primarily refers to the biological process which emphasises the removal of pathology or the

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<sup>107</sup> Emily M. Ahern, ‘The Problem of Efficacy: Strong and Weak Illocutionary Acts’, *Man*, Vol.14 (1979), pp.1-17.

<sup>108</sup> Ann Beck, ‘The Traditional Healer in Tanzania’, *Issue: A Journal of Opinion*, Vol. 9, No. 3 (Autumn, 1979), pp.2-5 (2).

repairing of physiological malfunction, that is, disease, ‘healing’ broadly refers to psychological process of repairing the effective, social, and spiritual dimensions of ill health.<sup>109</sup> Whereas ‘curing’ is linked with Western practice, ‘healing’ deals with African practice. Kofi Appiah-Kubi shares this view, and argues that ‘curing’ and ‘healing’ are separable. Whereas the former is a process of repairing a physically afflicted part of the body by physicians or surgeons, the latter is a long-term interaction of human beings within the cosmic realm, and the intervention of God.<sup>110</sup> In contrast, Merrill Singer and Hans Baer maintain that curing disease and healing illness are inseparable processes, like ‘signs’ and ‘symptoms’ in a biomedical system.<sup>111</sup> They condemn dichotomising between ‘curing disease’ and ‘healing illness’. Similarly, Loma Amarasingham Rhodes argues that both illness and disease are culturally constructed. Every medical system is a cultural system and engages in both healing and curing.<sup>112</sup> Moreover, the *Merriam-Webster’s Collegiate Dictionary* defines healing as ‘to make sound or whole; to restore to health; to cause (an undesirable condition) to be overcome; to restore to original purity or integrity; to return to a sound state’.<sup>113</sup> This definition presupposes healing to be an act of removing elements that cause disease. Conversely, M. Maddocks defines healing as a ‘satisfactory response to a crisis’.<sup>114</sup> By ‘satisfactory response’ he means restoration to purposeful living within the society. Allan Young is not sure of the separation between the two systems but strongly doubts whether biomedics can use both curing and healing in a single intervention.<sup>115</sup> John S. Wilkinson attempts to synthesise the complexity of perceptions. To him, ‘curing’ is within the medical science and more or less therapeutic, while ‘healing’ is a non-Western medical science with a focus on diagnostics, especially in African medical practice.<sup>116</sup> He understands

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<sup>109</sup> Leon Eisenberg, ‘Disease and Illness: Distinctions between Professional and Popular Ideas of Sickness’, *Culture, Medicine and Psychiatry*, Vol.1 (1977), pp.9-23; Alan Young, ‘The Dimensions of Medical Rationality: A Problematic for the Psychosocial Study of Medicine’ in Paul I Ahmed & George V. Coelho (eds.), *Toward a New Definition of Health: Psychosocial Dimensions* (New York: Plenum, 1979), pp.67-85; Alan Young, ‘The Relevance of Traditional Medical Cultures to Modern Primary Health Care’, *Social Science and Medicine*, Vol.17 (1983), pp.1205-1211.

<sup>110</sup> Kofi Appiah-Kubi, *Man Cures, God Heals: Religion and Medical Practice among the Akan of Ghana* (New York: Friendship Press, 1981), pp.81-82.

<sup>111</sup> Merrill Singer & Hans Baer, *Critical Medical Anthropology* (Amityville, NY: Baywood, 1995), pp.22-23.

<sup>112</sup> Loma Amarasingham Rhodes, ‘Studying Biomedicines as a Cultural System’ in Carolyn Sarget & Thomas Johnson (eds.), *Medical Anthropology: Contemporary Theory and Method* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1996), pp.165-180.

<sup>113</sup> *Merriam-Webster’s Collegiate Dictionary: Eleventh Edition*, (Springfield, Massachusetts: Merriam-Websters, Incorporated, 2005), p.574.

<sup>114</sup> Maddocks, M. *The Healing of the Church*, (London: SPCK, 1981), p.19.

<sup>115</sup> Young, ‘The Relevance of Traditional Medical Cultures to Modern Primary Health Care’, p.1208.

<sup>116</sup> John Wilkinson, *The Bible and Healing: A Medical and Theological Commentary*, (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), p.1, 3.

supernatural, spiritual, religious, faith or divine healing as organic. They all deal with interventions by different specialists: diviners, herbalists, and Christian healers.<sup>117</sup>

Drawing from the views of the above scholars, Appiah-Kubi and Wilkinson are right in separating the two traditional perceptions and approaches. The common understanding is that the Western approach is mostly disease specific while Africans see the biological disequilibrium as an outflow of infractions in the cosmic realm. The physical cause, be it a personality or a thing, is just an agent. Although both African and Western approaches are diagnostic, Africans tend to be more organic in their healing practices, while the Western approach is dichotomous and focuses specifically in curing disease.

Having considered the contentions between curing and healing, let us now look at different areas where the two traditions are distinct in their beliefs and practices.

First, who is a 'patient' to be cured or healed? The Western medical system tends to perceive a patient to be a singular human being independent of the social matrix. Disease is purely an individual biological phenomenon. The medical professional focuses on treating the symptoms and removing, repairing or replacing affected organs. This is the physician-patient centred approach.<sup>118</sup> This approach reflects the Western worldview of a frontier between nature-supernatural and individual-social matrix. In this system, the patient's social relations gear toward a humane response to the patient's need on the basis of comforts. In contrast, the African traditional medical system perceives the patient as part of a composite whole, the wider social matrix (social bodies: relationships in family and community).<sup>119</sup> The patient is not only a 'rational person looking for medical attention; rather, he is a social and political animal looking for meaning to validate socio-political or economic proposition'.<sup>120</sup> The traditional healer, therefore, draws the attention of the patient to contextual issues, namely,

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<sup>117</sup> Wilkinson, *The Bible and Healing*, p.4.

<sup>118</sup> Byron J. Good, *Medicine, Rationality, and Experience: An Anthropological Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p.8.

<sup>119</sup> Jane Monnig Atkinson, 'The Effectiveness of Shaman in an Indonesian Ritual' *American Anthropologist* Vol. 89 (1987), pp.342-355 (353); Bradley P. Stone, 'Understanding Medical Systems: Traditional, Modern, and Syncretistic Healthcare Alternatives in Medically Pluralistic Society', *Medical Anthropology Quarterly*, Vol. 7, No. 2 (February 1986), pp.44-48 (47); Rajendra Kale, 'Traditional Healers in South Africa: A Parallel Health Care System', *British Medical Journal*, Vol. 310, No. 6988 (May 6, 1995), pp.1182-1185 (1183); T.A. Lambo, 'Psychotherapy in Africa', *Annual Editions: Anthropology* (Guilford C.T.: McGraw-Hill, 1988/1999), p.156.

<sup>120</sup> Libbet Crandon-Malamud, *From the Fat of Our Souls: Social Change, Political Process, and Medical Pluralism in Bolivia* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), p.33.

social, economic, historical and cultural, as factors of the sickness,<sup>121</sup> and the need to build cordial relationships to ensure healing. Healing in this case deals more with a restoration of the breach relationships.

The second world of difference is the diagnostic perception. Diagnosis is simply a way of finding out: Who is the cause? What is the cause? And why is it caused?<sup>122</sup> The Western diagnosis to a large extent uses technological tools to test the symptoms of disease and they prescribe pills or injections or surgery to replace or repair the diseased organ.<sup>123</sup> The Western diagnosis dwells on the empirical. In contrast, in Africa, diviners employ spirit experiences: possession, trance, vocal utterances, visions and such experiences as their diagnostic procedures. Sometimes, the traditional health practitioner uses mechanical objects and intuition in his diagnostic system. Diagnosis and treatment work in tandem. The African diviner dwells much on 'spiritual experience' in diagnostic pursuits.

The third and more complex difference is the disease aetiology. In the Western medical system, disease stems from *natural forces or conditions* such as cold, heat, winds, dampness, and an upset in the balance of the basic body elements. For example, failure to keep natural rules may result in an infestation of disease.<sup>124</sup> The ill health aetiology is in most cases disease specific.<sup>125</sup> Hence, disease is a lesion in a body that needs to be fixed using scientific tools. In contrast, Africans perceive illness as including misfortune. This is almost always due to infractions in the relationship with human and non-human benevolent powers. Jack Goody notes multiple levels of this causality: first, the being, the sorcerer, spirit, witch, or other beings; second, the being uses instruments such as intrusion of a disease object,

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<sup>121</sup> Kaja Finkler, 'Sacred Healing and Biomedicine Compared', *Medical Anthropology Quarterly*, Vol. 8 (1994), pp.178-197.

<sup>122</sup> See D.R. Price-Williams, 'A Case Study of Ideas Concerning Disease among the Tiv', *Africa*, Vol. 32 (1962), pp.123-131 (123,125); G. Jansen, *The Doctor-Patient Relationship in an African Tribal Society* (Assen, The Netherlands: Van Gorcum, 1973), p.39; Pascal James Imperato, 'Traditional Medical Practitioners among the Bambara of Mali and other Roles in the Modern Health-Care Delivery System', in *Traditional Healers: Use and Non-Use in Health Care Delivery*, I.E. Harrison and D.W. Dunlop (eds.), *Rural Africans*, Vol. 26 (1974-75), pp.41-53 (44); Rajendra Kale, 'Traditional Healers in South Africa: A Parallel Health Care System', *British Medical Journal*, Vol. 310, No. 6988 (May 6 1995), pp.1182-1185 (1182).

<sup>123</sup> Charles J. Erasmus, 'Changing Folk Beliefs and the Relativity of Empirical Knowledge', *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, Vol. 8 (1952), pp.411-428 (p. 414).

<sup>124</sup> Melford E. Spiro, *Burmese Supernaturalism: A Study in the Explanation and reduction of Suffering* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1967), p.4.

<sup>125</sup> James Dow, 'Universal Aspects of Symbolic Healing: A Theoretical Synthesis', *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 88 (1986), pp.56-69; Daniel E. Moermann, 'Anthropology of Symbolic Healing', *Current Anthropology*, Vol. 20 (1979), pp.59-66; Moermann, 'Physiology and Symbols: The Anthropological Implications of the Placebo Effect', in Lola Romaucchi-Ross, Daniel E. Moermann and Laurence Tancredit (eds.), *The Anthropology of Medicine: From Culture to Method* (South Hadley, MA: Bergen and Garvey, 1983), pp.156-171.

secretion of the soul, possession or witchcraft; and the third is the ultimate cause, an ancestor or cultic deity who withdraws their protection. A breach in the cordial relationship with the benevolent forces creates room for malignant forces to strike.<sup>126</sup> Hence, the illness may be either natural or supernatural, or both. From the natural perspective, illness comes as a result of failure to adequately maintain cosmic harmony. Supernatural illness is caused by malignant mystical forces. Sickness is perceived as ‘symbolic’,<sup>127</sup> with its personal and non-personal causes. The sickness’ symbols are misfortunes such as social problems, calamities, family conflicts, disputes from political ambitions and rivalries. These are themselves material and immaterial forces and agencies.<sup>128</sup> In Africa, therefore, sickness is perceived to have come from *active agents*, who may be human (a witch or sorcerer), non-human (a ghost, an ancestor, an evil spirit), or supernatural (a cultic deity or other very powerful being).<sup>129</sup> The disease is just a channel of explaining all misfortune,<sup>130</sup> brought by spirits, witches, and sorcerers, for example, economic downturn, sour relationships, and other manners of life experiences.

The fourth difficulty is how sickness could be prevented. The Western model of sickness prevention deals with ‘dos’ and ‘don’ts’ consisting of avoiding those situations or behaviours known to produce diseases, such as extremes of heat and cold, bad diet, and many more. If one happens to fall ill, medicine is taken to avert an aggravation of the situation. But the medicine does not target or address non-biological complications.<sup>131</sup> In contrast, the traditional African prevention system is a series of ‘dos’ which constantly seek to uphold good relationships with the cosmos. The patient would try as much as possible to avoid those acts that would arouse resentment, carry out propitiatory rites as warranted by the ancestors, cultic deities and other benevolent beings. The treatment takes into account the patient’s social relationships. The elimination of the disease is not always the prime focus, but rather the restoration of harmony.

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<sup>126</sup> Jack Goody, *Death, Property and the Ancestors: A Study of the Mortuary Customs of the Lodagas of West Africa* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1962), pp.209-210; Lambo, ‘Psychotherapy in Africa’, p.156.

<sup>127</sup> Dow, ‘Universal Aspects of Symbolic Healing’, pp.56-69; Moermann, ‘Anthropology of Symbolic Healing’, pp. 59-66; Moermann, ‘Physiology and Symbols’, pp.156-171.

<sup>128</sup> Peter Worsley, ‘Non-Western Medical Systems’, *Annual Review of Anthropology*, Vol. 11 (1982), pp.313-348 (327).

<sup>129</sup> George M. Foster, ‘Disease Etiologies in Non-Western Medical Systems’, *American Anthropologist, New Series*, Vol. 78, No. 4 (December 1976), pp.773-782 (775).

<sup>130</sup> Foster, ‘Disease Etiologies in Non-Western Medical Systems’, p.776.

<sup>131</sup> Gustav Jahoda, ‘Traditional Healers and Other Institutions Concerned with Mental Illness in Ghana’, *International Journal of Social Psychiatry* Vol. VII (1969), pp.242-268.

The fifth world of difference is how to determine healing by a single action or process. Both Western and African health traditions agree that healing is a process.<sup>132</sup> In Western medical practice, healing is determined by gradual changes that surface in unique signs and symptoms. To a large extent, the Western technological machinery provides reliable guidance to determine the presence and absence of sickness, and an ability to boldly pronounce a cure after the determination. This pronouncement closes the physician-patient relationship until there is a redefinition in the future, if the condition resurfaces.<sup>133</sup> The system works with the linear condition of sickness-cure. In contrast, African healing practitioners perceive healing to be a lifelong process without a logical end point. In most cases, the linear conditions of sin-sickness and confession-healing are believed to be linked with relationships in the cosmic unit. The African health practitioners always encourage their clients to continue living a good lifestyle. The system works with the cyclical condition of illness-healing.

The foregoing discussion shows a sharp distinction between the two medical systems due to their beliefs and practices. The Western system emphasises the empirical, while the African system emphasises the experience because of the belief that life is surrounded by mystical powers, in constant conflict with humanity. The West perceives that linking disease or sickness with sin is not in keeping with scientific knowledge. In contrast, Africans tend to see disease or illness as caused by mystical powers due to sin/guilt.

The next segment seeks to address how the above Western and African frontier translate into the Western mission model of converting Africans using conventional medical science almost to the total exclusion of the African consciousness.

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<sup>132</sup> Nina L. Etkin, 'Cultural Constructions of Efficacy' in Sjaak van der Geest & Susan Reynolds White (eds), *The Context of Medicine in Developing Countries* (Dordrecht, the Netherlands: Kluwer, 1988), p.301.

<sup>133</sup> Arthur Kleinman, *Patients and Healers in the Context of Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980); Arthur Kleinman & Liliias H. Sung, 'Why Do Indigenous Practitioners Successfully Heal?', *Social Science and Medicine* Vol.13 B (1979), pp.7-26.

## 2.6 SUM-CRC & EKAS Benue Church<sup>134</sup> Healing Beliefs and Practices

The Sudan United Mission (SUM) British branch arrived and started mission work in the EKAS Benue Church (now CRCN) area in 1905. The missionaries proclaimed the gospel and dispensed conventional medical services, especially first aid. It had been part of the missionary doctors' practice to pray before dispensing medical services. But they were not quick in declaring their God given *charismata* ('gifts of grace'). By the 1930s (i.e., 1932-1937), volunteer nurses, especially ladies<sup>135</sup> from the Christian Reformed Church (CRC), Michigan, North America, worked under the auspices of the SUM, and established an infirmary in Lupwe-Takum in the southeast of Wukari. Health problems of the time were leprosy, smallpox, yaws, sleeping sickness and more. The CRC Home Board provided doctors and a Christian hospital to ameliorate the health situation. The EKAS Benue Church employed a Chaplain and made all the required livelihood provisions.<sup>136</sup> It was not the intention of the CRC Home Board to raise the place of medical ministry beyond mini medical helps (first aid and clinics) to the neglect of educational and evangelistic ministries.<sup>137</sup> However, when the hospital was established, the work was compartmentalised: the Mission was responsible for medical care, while the EKAS Benue Church was responsible for spiritual formation, visiting the sick, praying for them and counselling them.<sup>138</sup> Bitrus Angyunwe, an older minister of CRCN, asserts that it took thirty to fifty (30 – 50) years before the mission focused on fully-fledged medical services.<sup>139</sup> They still use this medical care as a tool for

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<sup>134</sup> EKAS Benue Church was born out of the SUM-CRC on 25 July 1951 in Ibi. The name EKAS is a Hausa acronym: *Ekkliyyar Kristi A Sudan*, that is, 'the Church of Christ in the Sudan'. On 7 July 1954, the EKAS Benue Church endorsed its constitution. See Min. 250 & 252/7.7.54. On 6 November 1954, the EKAS Benue Church wrote and pleaded with the CRC North America to have mutual relationship with one another, that is, to align and be under the auspices of CRC North America. See Min. 322/7.7.54. The name, EKAS Benue Church, was later changed to EKAN (Hausa: *Ekkliyyar Kiristi A Nijeriya*) Church in 1976. From EKAN Church it was changed to Christian Reformed Church of Nigeria (CRCN), and was adopted permanently at the general meeting of 17 to 18 May 1977. This is the name in use to date.

<sup>135</sup> These missionary ladies were Johanna Veenstra, Bertha Zagers, Jennie Stielstra, and Nelle Breen (married Edgar H. Smith in 1934). Other ladies who later joined were Anita Vissia (1941) and Betty Vanderberge (1946). See Edgar H. Smith, *Nigerian Harvest* (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1972), pp.34-35, 56-60, 109.

<sup>136</sup> Dr Herman Gray, one of the medical doctors in the mid-1950s, planned the building of the hospital while Ray Browneye, a missionary and builder as well as Jolly Tanko Yusufu, an overseer and contractor, supervised the building of the hospital. The intension of developing the infirmaries into bigger medical structures like hospital and dispensaries started in January 1954. Herman Gray, email message to author, 17 January 2011; Church minutes: January 1954 - 193/54; Takum Christian Hospital was built and officially opened on 12 November 1958 - 644.58; Edgar H. Smith, *Nigerian Harvest* (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1972), p.189; Dispensaries were built in Jibu, Chinkai and Suntai in 1961 - 25/61; Asha Dispensary was built in 1966 - 1321/66; Bakundi Dispensary was built in 1968 - 1500/68.

<sup>137</sup> Smith, *Nigerian Harvest*, p.114.

<sup>138</sup> Nigerian General Council (also known in Hausa as *Taron Majalisa Babba* or *Taron Lardi*) 18 November 1957 = 564/18.11.57; 30 December 1957 = 594/30.12.57; 7 May 1958 = 605-606/7.5.58.

<sup>139</sup> Angyunwe, Interview, 7 February 2011.

conversion. Their focus was not primarily the renewal of believers but the conversion of unbelievers, so that healing was an integral part of the conversion experience.

In spite of the conventional health care employed for conversion, Western Christian thought on health had some background in pre-Christian Greek (esp. Aristotle and Plato) and medieval (Thomas Aquinas) dualistic thought.<sup>140</sup> Gray supports this view by saying ‘we *beturi* (Hausa: ‘white men’) have some background in pre-Christian Greek thinking (Aristotle and others) ... actually, the idea of body [secular] and soul [spiritual] separating ... is a Greek pagan notion, not Christian.’<sup>141</sup> The Greek thought separated between spiritual and secular.<sup>142</sup> The early evangelical bodies did not erase this influence, for it continued to permeate the thought and writings of Christian theologians. Thomas Aquinas in the medieval period attempted to synthesise Greek thought;<sup>143</sup> the spiritual is godly while the secular is worldly. Jan Harm Boer illustrated this dominant Western dualism which indicates parallel, independent and impenetrable stance as follows:

Sacred	higher	grace	divine-revelation	spiritual	soul	theology	church	clergy
Secular	lower	nature	autonomous reason	material	body	philosophy	world	laity <sup>144</sup>

The above illustration shows that the sacred and the secular do not complement each other. God is associated with, and inhabits, the sacred. In the Enlightenment period,<sup>145</sup> Western thought switched the secular to be higher than the sacred,<sup>146</sup> but still upheld the independency of the sacred and the secular. The Western missionary (SUM-CRC) unconsciously adopted Enlightenment thought in education, proclamation and health services. The SUM-CRC biomedics view sickness as bodily organ dysfunction, almost to the total exclusion of

<sup>140</sup> Jan Harm Boer, ‘Science Without Faith is Dead’. Part Two of Abraham Kuyper and Jan Boer, *You Can Do Greater Things than Christ: Demons, Miracles, Healing and Science* (Jos, Nigeria: Institute of Church and Society, 1993), pp.77-102.

<sup>141</sup> Herman Gray, email to author, 17 January 2011.

<sup>142</sup> Boer, ‘Science Without Faith is Dead’ pp.80-82.

<sup>143</sup> Boer, ‘Science Without Faith is Dead’ p.82.

<sup>144</sup> Boer, *Missionary Messengers of Liberation in a Colonial Context*, p.453; Jan Harm Boer, *Christians: Secularism-Yes and No: Studies in Christian-Muslim Relations*, Vol. 5 (Belleville, ON, Canada: Essence Publishing Company, 2006), p.153.

<sup>145</sup> Enlightenment period is dated from 1648 (end of the 30 Years’ War) to the French Revolution or intellectual history from Francis Bacon to Emmanuel Kant. See James C. Livingstone, *Modern Christian Thought from the Enlightenment to Vatican II* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1971), pp.1-2.

<sup>146</sup> Boer, ‘MISSIONSFEST VANCOUVER 2008’. He describes this change as moving to the ‘bizarre’ because reality is divided into spheres of material and spiritual.

supernatural causes. They ignored the social networks that contributed immensely to psychosomatic sickness. A sick person was not considered as a single 'psychosomatic entity'.<sup>147</sup> The spiritual causes were considered outside their empirical realm. This was because of several factors: first, the Western missionaries were unaware of the African worldview. Second, the philosophies of the Enlightenment made them dismiss the spirit world as being nothing more than figments of fantasy, superstition and the imagination.<sup>148</sup> Thus, the blue print of Enlightenment dualism was retained.<sup>149</sup> This raised the position of science and technology higher than other areas of endeavour. Dualism became a traditional view among various mission agencies in Africa, and, as a result, clashing with die-hard African culture, worldview and customs. Africans nevertheless perceived healing as holistic, covering all relationships between God, human beings and nature.

The SUM British branch missionaries had two targets for healing the lands of the blacks: to halt the Islamic incursion and to spread the gospel.<sup>150</sup> To achieve this strategy, they used medical services as a fishhook in the mouth to effect conversion to the Christian faith. However, the African (Jukun) worldview of society in terms of spiritual experience was not adequately addressed in the SUM-CRC health services. As a result, after receiving treatment in the medical centres, some of the parishioners resorted to consulting traditional healing functionaries. Jan Harm Boer, a Kuyperian, while pastoring the *EKAS* Benue Church in the early 1960s, lamented the inadequacy of the SUM-CRC health practices:

One of the things that perplexed me was the fact that when any parishioner fell sick, she would frequently go to the Christian hospital nearby. After she had been treated and dismissed by the local Christian hospital, one of the first things to be done would be to pay a visit to a functionary of the local Traditional Religion.<sup>151</sup>

Boer perceived that the treatment received from medical health centres was one-sided. The health aspects were stressed almost to the total exclusion of comprehensive wellbeing. The SUM-CRC biomedics ignored or failed to address the African consciousness, concerns and

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<sup>147</sup> Wendy E. Helleman, 'Where can Wisdom be found? Traditional Healing in the Contemporary African Context', in *Companion CD-ROM* [www.SocialTheology.com](http://www.SocialTheology.com).

<sup>148</sup> Charles Salala, 'The World of the Spirits: Basukuma Traditional Religion and Biblical Christianity', in Samuel Ngewa, Mark Shaw & Tite Tiénou (eds.), *Issues in African Christian Theology* (Nairobi, Kenya: East African Educational Publishers, 1998), pp.133-139 (137).

<sup>149</sup> Boer, 'Science Without Faith is Dead', p.90.

<sup>150</sup> Smith, *Nigerian Harvest* (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1972), p.12; Timothy Palmer, *The Reformed and Presbyterian Faith: A View from Nigeria* (Bukuru: TCNN Publications, 1996), pp.52-53.

<sup>151</sup> Jan Harm Boer, *Wholistic Healthcare of, For and by the People*, (Jos: Christian Health Association of Nigeria, 1989), p.3.

fears. The conventional health services compartmentalised the roles of the chaplains and the biomedics in the health centres. The marred social relationships were either left out or not adequately addressed in the health services. So, the patients resorted to visiting traditional herbalists and diviners who could answer their questions and allay their fears.<sup>152</sup> The traditional functionaries could diagnose their conditions, and give them potion that would prevent and protect them from witchcraft.<sup>153</sup> This was because the Christian patients saw the missionaries as unable to present Christ as having power to deal with malignant mystical forces that were detrimental to their wellbeing. Charles Kraft sympathises with the African experience, asserting that the missionaries generally failed to appreciate and explore the African power consciousness drawn from their primal societies. In his words: ‘Missionaries brought a powerless message to a power-conscious people’, and that the ‘God of power portrayed in the Scriptures seemed to have died’.<sup>154</sup> Similarly, Christian G. Baëta notes that ‘the church did not take into account the traditional beliefs of the people. Little effort was made to understand them and to know their basic hopes and fears...’<sup>155</sup> G.C. Oosthuizen observes that ‘the African past had been ignored and no attempt had been made to penetrate it with the regenerative power of the gospel message...’<sup>156</sup> Hence, it was obvious, as observed by Boer and others, that the Evangelical mission bodies generally did not address African deep-seated fears. This led the parishioners to look for ‘better’ solutions from the traditional health practitioners.

The SUM-CRC holds strongly to the Dutch Reformed view of the Divine Sovereignty of ‘the Lordship and Kingship of Christ’<sup>157</sup> which embraces both the sacred and the secular. Nonetheless, the early SUM-CRC approach to healing was theoretical and mechanistic, bypassing social networks in African life experiences.<sup>158</sup> The Charismatic churches in the 1960s through the 1990s succeeded tremendously because they understood the African worldview and the existence and inter-relationships between the supernatural and the natural

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<sup>152</sup> See O. Onwu, ‘Wholistic Health Care in Biblical Context’, in Jan Harm Boer & Dennis A. Ityavyar (eds.), *Wholistic Health Care: Medical and religious Dimensions*, Vol.1 (Jos, Nigeria: CHAN Wholistic Health Care Project, 1994), pp.64-78 (66).

<sup>153</sup> Boer, *Wholistic Healthcare of, For and by the People*, pp.3-4.

<sup>154</sup> Charles Kraft, *Christianity and Power* (Grand Rapids: Vine Books, 1989), pp.4, 8-9.

<sup>155</sup> Christian G. Baëta, *Christianity in Tropical Africa* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968), p.426.

<sup>156</sup> G.C. Oosthuizen, *Christianity in Africa* (London: C. Hurst and Company, 1968), p.4.

<sup>157</sup> Palmer, *The Reformed and Presbyterian Faith*, pp.13, 34-35.

<sup>158</sup> Jan Harm Boer, ‘Worldview: Enlarging the Reformed Tent’, *REC MISSION BULLETIN*, Vol. xiii, No. 3 (September 1993) in *Companion CD-ROM* [www.SocialTheology.com](http://www.SocialTheology.com).

which could bridge or breach imbalances due to life experiences. The SUM-CRC seemed to have dismissed traditional health practices as susceptible to satanic forces.

From the above discussions, we can deduce that the SUM-CRC missionaries ignored the reality of social rupture as a contributing factor to the causation of sickness. Moreover, they used a ‘one-dimensional’ approach in the healing engagement because of the influence of Greek and Thomistic dualism and Enlightenment thought. This thought was further adopted by the *EKAS* Benue Church that emerged from the SUM-CRC mission. Both CRC North America and *EKAS* Benue Church failed to address the need to heal the whole person within the social matrix. Wendy Helleman rightly advocates for the re-examination of this dualism, and states that ‘wellbeing needs to reflect the total balance of a person, prospering, at peace and in harmonious relationship with God, humankind and nature as a psychosomatic unit, without barrier between the spiritual and physical wellbeing (social, emotional, psychological, economic, political and all other issues of life)’.<sup>159</sup>

The second aspect of this discussion will focus on two Reformed theologians: John Calvin and Abraham Kuyper, whom CRCN has drawn upon in upholding their views of cessation of *charismata* with the apostles.<sup>160</sup> The older ministers of the CRCN, like their forebears, deny the continuity of extraordinary miraculous healings. They believe that *charismata* ceased with the apostles. In contrast, the *Gidan Addu’a* Charismatic lay leaders insist that the *charismata* still exist today.

The perception of cessation initially arose during the Maccabean era of four hundred (400) silent years without prophecy and extraordinary happenings.<sup>161</sup> The Jews thought that God had withdrawn His extraordinary workings. F.E. Greenspaln notes three basic reasons: first, the Jews foresaw dangers of accepting false miracles or prophecies that might surface. Second, the Jews thought that the highest level of the Spirit’s activity had ended, and unusually pious rabbis might claim to have been endowed with extraordinary gifts to heal. Thirdly, enthusiasts wished to use prophecy and miracles to establish their personal doctrinal

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<sup>159</sup> Wendy E. Helleman, ‘Where can Wisdom be found?’, Boer, ‘Worldview: Enlarging the Reformed Tent’, p.

<sup>160</sup> *Charismata* refers to those additional gracious gifts of God through the Holy Spirit that would be of service to the Church. These gifts are to accredit or attest the gospel for the building up of the church. A few of these gifts are speaking in tongues, interpretation of tongues, prophecy, miraculous healing and discernment of the spirits. This term will be used in this study in reference to the last two, as they are directly an issue under this research.

<sup>161</sup> Jon Mark Ruthven, ‘On the Cessation of the Charismata: The Protestant Polemic and Post-Biblical Miracles’ 2008, pp.1-303 (12); Geza Vermes ‘Jesus the Charismatic Judaism’, in *Jesus the Jew: A Historian’s Reading of the Gospels* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1973), pp.77-79, 80-82.

credibility.<sup>162</sup> The Jews therefore decided to replace prophecy and miracles with the study of the Torah and its interpretation.<sup>163</sup> David E. Holwerda, an evangelical minister and one of the 1973 committee members that studied the 1973 Second Wave Movements in the CRC North America, summarises the teachings of cessationism as follows: ‘Cessationism teaches that the scriptural record of extraordinary miraculous healings are sufficient as the foundation and guide for the church’s life and mission until Christ’s return. It emphasises that the purpose of the *charismata* were to authenticate the apostles’ ministry and ceased with the conclusion of their ministry’.<sup>164</sup>

Many classic Protestant and older Calvinistic works abound on the cessation of miracles with the apostles.<sup>165</sup>

Some dispensationalists<sup>166</sup> also adopt a cessationist position. The dispensationalists assumed that God bestowed miracles at one time and place and withheld them from others. The cessationists consider as extremist the emphasis on the continuity of *charismata*, especially healing. They believe that emphasis on *charismata* makes people strive to acquire spiritual gifts resulting in abuses, counterfeits and perversions. It is good to note here, though, that mistakes and abuse of gifts do not make the gifts invalid. One of the frequently quoted

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<sup>162</sup> F.E. Greenspahn, ‘Why Prophecy Ceased’, *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. 108, No.1 (Spring, 1989), pp.37-49; Geza Vermes ‘Jesus and Charismatic Judaism’, *Jesus the Jew: A Historian’s Reading of the Gospels* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1973), pp.80-82; Ruthven, ‘On the Cessation of the Charismata’, p.13.

<sup>163</sup> See R. Meyer, *Theological Dictionary of New Testament*, Vol. 6, p.818; Ruthven, ‘On the Cessation of the Charismata’, p.13.

<sup>164</sup> David E. Howerda, ‘The Neo-Pentecostal Movement Encounters the Third Wave’, in *Calvin Theological Forum: The Work of the Holy Spirit* (Fall 2007), pp.1-16 (11).

<sup>165</sup> The following are just a few: Abraham Kuyper, Sr., *The Work of the Holy Spirit* (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1900; repr., Grand Rapids: Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1979), pp.184-188; D. MacLeod, ‘Has the Charismatic Age Ceased?’, *Banner of Truth*, Vol. 85 (1970), pp.13-20; R.W. Graves, ‘Tongues Shall Cease: A Critical Survey of the Supposed Cessation of the Charismata’, *Paraclete*, Vol. 17 (Fall 1983), pp.26-27; James L. Ash, Jr., ‘The Decline of Ecstatic Prophecy in the Early Church,’ *TS*, Vol. 37 (June 1976), pp.227-252; D. P. Walker, ‘The Cessation of Miracles’, Ingrid Merkel and Alan Debus (eds.), *Hermeticism and the Renaissance: Intellectual History and the Occult in Early Modern Europe* (Washington, D.C.: Folger Shakespeare Library, 1988), p.110-124; A.I. Baumgarten, ‘Miracles and Halakah in Rabbinic Judaism,’ *The Jewish Quarterly Review*, Vol. 73 (January 1983), pp.283-253; Baruch M. Bokser, ‘Wonder-Working and the Rabbinic Tradition: The Case of Hanina ben Dosa’ *Journal for the Study of Judaism*, Vol.16 (1986), pp.42-92.

<sup>166</sup> Not all who embraced Dispensationalism are cessationists. The interpretation of Dispensationalism varies, but its basic assumption is that God deals with the human race in successive eras. Cyril Ingersoll Scofield adopts a cessationist view as he asserts that ‘the gifts of the Spirit, especially what has been called ‘the sensational gifts’ or ‘signs gifts’ (healing, faith, working miracles, and tongues) were confined to the apostolic age’. Scofield maintains that the gifts of the Spirit, working of miracles for example, is not for the post-apostolic age, and that they should be forbidden because God no longer bestows such gifts. See F.L. Arrington, ‘Dispensationalism’, in Stanley M. Burgess and Eduard M. Van der Maas, *The New Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*, revised and expanded (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2002), p.585; J. Lanier Burns, ‘A Reemphasis on the Purpose of the Sign Gifts’, *Bibliotheca Sacra*, Vol. 132 (July 1975), p.249; Charles C. Ryrie, *The Holy Spirit* (Chicago: Moody Press, 1965), p.87; Richard Mayhue, *Divine Healing Today* (Chicago: Moody, 1983), pp.77-79.

passages in support of cessation is 1 Corinthians 13:8-13 which indicates that ‘when the perfect comes’, these temporary gifts will pass away. The cessationists define ‘perfect’ here in terms of the complete Canon of the Scripture. But majority of biblical interpreters conclude that ‘perfection’ here refers to the second coming of Christ and not the completion of the Canon of the Scripture. At the return of Christ, these gifts will no longer be needed and will cease. For example, Paul said when the perfect comes, ‘we will see Him’ (1 Cor.13:12). Revelation 22:4 says that in heaven ‘they will see His face’, meaning, see God personally. The canon of Scripture does not provide for a face-to-face meeting with Him.

### 2.6.1 John Calvin (1509 – 1564 AD)

John Calvin<sup>167</sup> spent most of his ministry life in Geneva (1536-1538; 1541-1564). Calvin’s main theology was ‘The Lordship and Kingship of God over all lives’ (i.e., Divine Sovereignty).<sup>168</sup> It holds that all of life is subjected to the Kingship of Christ, both physical and spiritual, and that God has a unique plan for the world, even though it has been distorted.

Calvin adapted the view of the cessation of *charismata*. However, he was less rigid about it than many of his followers because he held that these gifts could recur in un-evangelised areas to confirm the gospel. He stressed in the *Institutes* that *charismata* either do not exist today or are less commonly seen.<sup>169</sup> Calvin conceded that God endowed believers with *charismata* such as miraculous signs, wonders and powers in spite of sin that distorted the

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<sup>167</sup> John Calvin was born on 10 July 1509 in Noyon, France. He was raised in the Roman Catholic Church, but broke with it later in life. The Preface to Calvin’s *Commentary on the Psalms* sketches Calvin’s autobiography. It highlights God’s providence for Calvin to serve Him in the church, and for this Calvin had a ‘sudden conversion’ after he broke with the Roman Catholic Church. See John Calvin, ‘The Author’s Preface to the Book of Psalms’ *John Calvin Commentary*, Christian Classics Ethereal Library 2000 (CCEL), March 1999. The ‘Preface’ presents Calvin to be a lawyer, academic, theologian, apologist and minister of the Word.

<sup>168</sup> Palmer, *The Reformed and Presbyterian Faith*, pp.11, 13.

<sup>169</sup> John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, Vol. 2 (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1960), IV:3:4, p.1057.

image of God in humankind.<sup>170</sup> However, he placed ‘miraculous power’ at the bottom of the ‘specific gifts of God’ which an impious man can brag about and abuse.<sup>171</sup> He asserted that the signs and wonders were meant to attest and confirm the redemptive work of Christ, but disappeared after the canonisation of Scripture until the second coming of Christ.<sup>172</sup> Calvin insisted that all *charismata* were transmuted into the perpetual offices of the church immediately after the canonisation of the Bible, the establishment of the church and the setting up of Christ’s Kingdom. In summary, Calvin raised four propositions for upholding the cessation of *charismata*: first, God’s purpose for *charismata* was to accredit the Word of God, its doctrines and its first proclamation.<sup>173</sup> Second, the Catholics and radical enthusiasts were wielding extraordinary healing gifts to accredit their self-evident doctrines.<sup>174</sup>

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<sup>170</sup> John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, Vol.1 (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1960), II:2:13-16, p.272; Calvin, *Institutes of Christian Religion*, Vol.1 (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1960) II:3:3, p.292. John Calvin used three different terms in reference to extraordinary gifts, especially miracles. They are ‘signs’, ‘wonders’ and ‘powers’: they are ‘signs’ because they urge the minds of people to look for something higher than mere appearance. They are evidences of a divine interposition. They are ‘wonders,’ because they include what is new and unusual (supernatural), and having the effect of filling men with terror (Acts 2:43). They are ‘powers,’ because in them the Lord shows a special and extraordinary mark of His power. So, ‘signs’ betoken their intention; ‘wonders’ their character; and ‘powers’ their origin or the power which produces them. See John Calvin, *Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Hebrews* [2:4] (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1979 reprint), pp.54-55.

<sup>171</sup> Calvin, *Institutes of Christian Religion*, Vol.1 (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1960) III:2:9, p.553. See also, Gen. 4:20-24; Num. 22:20f; 1 Sam. 9:2f; 10:5-14; 16:14-23; Mt. 7:22; 10:4f; 24:24; Acts 8:9-20; 1 Cor.14:23; 2 Cor.13:5f; 2 Thess. 2:9f; Rev.13:3-13; 16:13f; 19, 20f.

<sup>172</sup> John H. Stek (Reporter), ‘Neo-Pentecostalism’, in *ACTS of Synod 1973* (Grand Rapids: Board of Publications of the Christian Reformed Church, 1973), pp.398-493 (444); John Calvin insisted that ‘the days of miracles... are not now in use’. John Calvin ‘Confession of Faith in Name of the Reformed Churches of France’ (1562: Article 25), in John Calvin’s *Tracts and Letters*, Vol. 2, Part 2 (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1983 reprint), p.153; Calvin commented on James 5:14 that ‘the gift of healing was temporary.... It ought not to be deemed perpetual....’ Calvin, *Commentaries on the Epistle of James* [5:14] (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1979 reprint) pp.355-356; In 1 Cor.13:8-11, he commented that extraordinary gifts will never remain in existence after they had ceased to exist. Calvin, *Commentary on First Corinthians* [13:8-11] (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1979 reprint), pp.427-429.

<sup>173</sup> Calvin commented in Mk.16:20 that the signs were wrought at the preaching of the apostles to confirm the message; In Acts 14:3 he asserted that the Lord testified to the Word by granting signs and wonders by the hands of the Apostles. In Heb. 2:4, he commented that extraordinary gifts were *seals* on God’s message preached by apostles. And the Lord bore witness through signs and wonders. Calvin observed in Mk.16:17 that ‘miracles were promised only for a time, in order to give lustre to the gospel while it was new and in a state of obscurity’ Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, Vol.1 (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1960) I: 8:5-8 (pp. 85-88); *Tracts and Letters* Article XI: *Of the Miracles of the Saints* (p. 92-93); *Commentary on the Acts of Apostles* [14:3] (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1966), pp.3-5; John Calvin, ‘Prefatory Address to King Francis I of France’ in *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, Vol.1 (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1960), p.16; see also John Calvin, *Commentary on Mark: Harmony of the Gospels*, [16:17] Vol. 3 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1965), pp.388-390.

<sup>174</sup> Calvin responded that they had misconstrued the basic purpose and reason of the gifts: ‘...they act dishonestly.... They are so foolish and ridiculous, so vain and false’. John Calvin, ‘Prefatory Address to King Francis I of France’, in *Institutes of the Christian Religion* (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1960), section 3 (p.16).

Third, while the *charismata* ceased with the apostles, there is a possibility that they may recur<sup>175</sup> in God's counsel. Fourth, Calvin warned about the misuse of the *charismata*.<sup>176</sup> Calvin was responding to the inconsistent roles of *charismata* claimed by the Roman Catholic Church and radical enthusiasts. It is probable that some gifts had recessed in Calvin's day just as in the Maccabean era (400 silent years without prophecy and miracle) that it was difficult for people in Calvin's days to think about it recurring. The standard church creeds, especially the *Westminster Confession of faith*,<sup>177</sup> would attest to the cessation of *charismata*.

Calvin's response to the Roman Catholic Church was based on the claim to have 'confirmed their faith by constant miracles [on-going signs, wonders and powers] down to the present day'. Calvin argued that this perception was not only 'frivolous and ridiculous', but also 'vain and false.'<sup>178</sup> Calvin therefore called their attention to biblical warnings about 'false prophets,' 'lying signs,' and 'lying wonders' capable of drawing believers away into error. He concluded that Catholic miracles were a 'sheer delusion of Satan'.<sup>179</sup>

Calvin also reacted against the radical enthusiasts, especially the Anabaptists and other Faith Healers because they were attempting to form their religious authority on subjective 'religious experience.' The enthusiasts claimed that 'Scripture does not contain the perfection of doctrine, and so there is need for something higher—secret revelation and enthusiasms

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<sup>175</sup> Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, Vol. 2 (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1960) IV:3:4 (p.1037). On Christian healing, Calvin was of the view that God is in every age as with the apostles in the manifestation of power. He continues to heal the weaknesses of humankind as of old. See John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, Vol. 2 (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1960) IV:19:19 (p.1467)

<sup>176</sup> Calvin, 'Prefatory Address to King Francis I of France' in *Institutes of the Christian Religion* Vol.1 section 3 (pp.17-18); Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, Vol.1 (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1960) I:14:17 (pp.175-176); I:18:2 (pp. 231-232); II:4:5 (p. 313); Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, Vol. 2 (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1960) IV:8:6 (p.1153); IV:9:4 (1168); IV:19:19 (p.1467); IV:19:29 (p.1477).

<sup>177</sup> *Westminster Confession of Faith* 1:1; 4:1; 5:3; 8:2-7; 32:2; Alvin J. Vander Griend & Edith Bejama, *The Praying Church Sourcebook*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (Grand Rapids: Faith Alive Christian Resources, 1997), p.177.

<sup>178</sup> Calvin held that true miracles occurred only after the fall of humankind; always and only for the purpose of confirming the veracity of the spoken Word of God and the canonisation of Scripture. Nevertheless, lying-wonders never ceased because Satan transformed himself into an angel of light or serpent in the Garden of Eden and beguiled Eve (Gen. 3:1-6; cf., 2 Cor.11:3-14; 1 Tim. 2:14). Calvin, 'Prefatory Address to King Francis I of France', section 3, p.17; Calvin further buttressed in his sermon on Deut. 27:1-10 that the Romanists claim of being endowed with gifts to heal the sick was meant for the beginning of the Gospel Age after miracles ceased. John Calvin, 'Sermon on Deuteronomy 27:1-10' in *Calvin Speaks*, Vol. III:1 (Tyler Texas: Geneva Divinity School, June 1982); Calvin, *Institutes of Christian Religion*, Vol. 2 (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1960) IV:19:18-19, (p.1467).

<sup>179</sup> Calvin, 'Prefatory Address to King Francis I of France', *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, Vol. 1, pp.17-18, 136; Vol. 2, pp.1467; Calvin, *Tracts and Treatises on the Reformation of the Church*, 3 Vols. (Edinburgh: Banner of Truth, 1844), Vol.1, p.92; Calvin, *Commentary on the Gospel According to John*, in *Calvin's Commentaries*, 22 Vols. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003) Vol.17, p. 89f, 180f; Vol. 18, p.281.

(visions and oracles).<sup>180</sup> He interpreted their ecstatic experiences as ‘madness and follies of babblers having giddy spirits.’<sup>181</sup> He insisted that Christ had not spoken of ‘secret revelations;’ but of the ‘power of the Spirit which appears in the outward teaching of the gospel’.<sup>182</sup> Calvin condemned them because they made a great display of the superiority of what they call ‘the Spirit’. They alleged that some Spirit motivated their ‘giddy madness’.<sup>183</sup> Furthermore, under the guise of evil spirits, they misinterpreted some indescribable sort of frenzied excesses for the revelation of the Spirit. But the Spirit of the Lord does not cause chaos.<sup>184</sup> Beyond this, the enthusiasts expressed super-spiritualistic ecstasies and condemned the use of medicine as demoniac. Their underlying claims were that their practices were generated through ‘new revelation’.<sup>185</sup>

The Church standards were vehemently condemned by the radical enthusiasts’ beliefs and practice. For example, the *Westminster Confession of Faith* warns against alleging spiritual manifestations as ‘new revelations’ of the Spirit.<sup>186</sup> Their confession is vulnerable to satanic deceit.<sup>187</sup> Three church creeds – the *Westminster Confession of Faith*, the *Westminster Shorter Catechism* and the *Westminster Larger Catechisms* – all maintain that the prayer that God requires and which will be accepted is to be made according to God’s will.<sup>188</sup> The acclaimed ‘new revelations of the Spirit’ and signs and wonders led them to think of taking medicine as demonic. They also taught that failure to receive healing was due to a lack of ‘faith’ in the person suffering from sickness. In 1 Corinthians 12:28-31, Calvin responded by describing the enthusiasts as heretics and fanatics driven by evil spirits because they were boasting of being moved to action by the ‘Spirit’ and to have received the ‘secret’ call of God.<sup>189</sup> The issue of ‘secret revelations of the Spirit’ and prohibition of medication which

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<sup>180</sup> John Calvin, *Commentary on John’s Gospel* [14:26; 15:27].

<sup>181</sup> John Calvin, ‘The True Method of Giving Peace, and of Reforming the Church [1547] in *Tracts and Letters*, Vol. III (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1958), pp.240-343 (289-291); see also John Calvin, ‘Psychopannychia: Preface by John Calvin to a Friend’, in *Tracts and Treaties*, Vol. III (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1983 reprint), pp.414-416. Calvin wrote his famous tract ‘Psychopannychia’ against the proto-pentecostalizing Anabaptists.

<sup>182</sup> Calvin, *Commentary on John’s Gospel* [16:8,12,14].

<sup>183</sup> Calvin, *Institutes of Christian Religion*, I:9:1 (p. 93-94).

<sup>184</sup> Calvin, *Institutes of Christian Religion*, III:3:14 (p.606-607).

<sup>185</sup> Calvin, *Treaties Against the Anabaptist and Against the Libertines* (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1982), pp.299-336.

<sup>186</sup> *Westminster Confession of Faith* 1:6.

<sup>187</sup> *Westminster Confession of Faith* 21:1.

<sup>188</sup> *Westminster Confession of Faith* 21:3 cf. 1 Jn. 5:14; *Westminster Shorter Catechism*, Question and Answer 159 cf. 1Jn.5:14; *Westminster Larger Catechism*, Question and Answer 185; cf. Matt. 26:29.

<sup>189</sup> John Calvin, *Commentary on First Corinthians* [12:27-28] (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1979), pp.413-417; John Calvin, ‘The True Method of Giving Peace, and of Reforming the Church [1547] in *Tracts and Treaties*, Vol. III (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1958), pp.240-343 (331).

Calvin was responding to are similar to what the Charismatic lay leaders of the *Gidan Addu'a* are claiming and which the CRCN leadership is resenting.

Obviously, Calvin doubted the continuity of miracles, presumably because of the long-term recession, misconception and practice in his time. He thought the so-called gifts were human credulity, ecclesiastical imposture and demonic delusion. It is also probable that in the Reformation era, emphasis on religion had shifted from the person and work of Christ (miraculous healings) to His message (the teaching, proclamation of the gospel and conversion). This made the evangelical bodies, including classic Protestant thought, view with circumspection the continuity of the Christ-apostolic miraculous healings. They thought of the apostolic era of signs and wonders as unique to that era and unable to address particular issues different from their own era.

In a similar vein, several evangelical bodies preferred to maintain the objective, historical context instead of stressing spiritual experience. The conception of the *charismata* shifted from the realm of the experiential to the historical. Yet Calvin's notion of cessation did not deny remarkable religious phenomena, especially supernatural happenings that might occur occasionally. To Calvin, God demonstrates extraordinary workings at different periods to solve a particular problem at a time. What God chooses to do in one period cannot necessarily be assumed to be what He must do in another. So, there could be features unique to the apostolic era. For example, Peter, Paul, and other apostles had an authority and position not held by anyone since their day. In other words, the contemporary Church *must* not necessarily perform every miracle that Jesus and His apostles performed in their time. If people press too far with miracles to the neglect of other aspects of godly ministry, the value of miracle will diminish. Moreover, pressing too far might make one accredit oneself as capable of wielding so-called 'miraculous powers' outside God. Benjamin B. Warfield puts this point clearly: 'If miracles came to be common, every-day occurrences, normal and extraordinary, they cease to attract attention, and lose their very reason for existence.'<sup>190</sup> Yet this view does not dismiss the supernatural from playing a role in the life of the Church, including healing. This means that it is simplistic to argue that because Jesus and the apostles healed people, the Church in all ages can do likewise.

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<sup>190</sup> Benjamin B. Warfield, *Counterfeit Miracles* (London: Banner of Truth Trust, 1918), p.193.

Calvin seemed to be cautioning advocates of the continuity of *charismata* that there is both continuity and discontinuity in some aspects due to circumstances as God reveals himself progressively in salvation history. Hence, *charismata* now or not will not change God's plan for humankind.

However, there are things to observe in Calvin's position on the cessation of *charismata*. It is true that the apostles were uniquely gifted with miraculous powers. But Calvin seemed to be using the way other denominations prioritised the *charismata* as the basis for his view on the cessation of *charismata*. If so, Calvin seemed to use this negative perception to build his case. First, it is not logical to conclude that other Christians could not experience the miraculous gifts because they were meant for the apostolic era. Second, Calvin seemed to perceive that the priority of miraculous powers devalued the primacy of the Word of God. The display of miraculous gifts needs not necessarily devalue the primacy of the Word of God because miraculous works, as he stressed time without number, confirmed and attest the gospel works. Third, Calvin saw the infrequencies or recession of the *charismata* in his day and thought that the *charismata* were discontinued since the post-apostolic era. The extraordinary gifts had evidential value beyond the apostolic era. This makes Calvin's view on the cessation of extraordinary gifts<sup>191</sup> not generally tenable. For in James 5, the church elders after the apostolic era were mandated to pray for the sick and anoint them. And the healing power through prayers manifested.<sup>192</sup> God recessing in His display of miraculous wonders does not necessarily mean the complete cessation.

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<sup>191</sup> Calvin, *Institutes of Christian Religion*, Vol. 2 (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1960) IV:19:18-19, (p.1467).

<sup>192</sup> Douglas J. Moo, *The Letter of James* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1985), pp.177-181.

## 2.6.2 Abraham Kuyper (1837-1920)

Like Calvin, the theology of Kuyper<sup>193</sup> was ‘Christ is King in all departments of human life’. Gordon Spykman put it in the following words: ‘there is not a single square inch of the entire universe of which Christ the sovereign Lord of all does not say, “This is Mine”’.<sup>194</sup> In other words, God is the Owner of creation.

Kuyper like Calvin was responding to the Roman Catholic Church and radical enthusiasts. However, Kuyper’s context was slightly different in that he was insisting that miracles have been in nature right from the creation. So, a miracle is neither a new thing nor against the creative order of God. But the Roman Catholic view as pioneered by Thomas Aquinas, and perhaps, shared by many radical enthusiasts, was that a miracle is supernatural and an act of God that violated the laws of nature. Aquinas defined a miracle as ‘something out of the order of nature’.<sup>195</sup> Kuyper’s view was that a miracle is not an intervention, or disturbance to nature but part of it; not supernatural (anti-natural), but complementary to nature; not above or against nature, but organic in nature. Kuyper buttressed this as he said that ‘God does not stand deistically over against the world, but by immanent power He bears and holds it in existence’.<sup>196</sup> He added that a ‘miracle is ... a mighty movement of life, which... goes out from God into this cosmos, groaning under sin and the curse; ...in order organically to re-create that cosmos and to lead it upward to its final consummation’.<sup>197</sup> In Kuyper’s perception, a miracle is meant to break the bounds of sin and disorder, turning everything

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<sup>193</sup> Abraham Kuyper was born on 29 October 1837. He pioneered the Anti-Revolutionary Party (Protestant contingent for the Dutch nation) against the French Revolution Party in response to the religious decadence of his society. In 1872, he became the editor of two newspapers: *De Standard* and *De Heraut*, respectively. In 1874-1877, he was a member of the Parliament, and in 1880, he founded the Free University of Amsterdam. In 1901-1905, he became Prime Minister. Studies on Kuyper reveal him to be a theologian, politician, statesman, philosopher, scientist, socialist, and philanthropist. Kuyper traced his theological root through John Calvin back to Jesus Christ and Adam. Benjamin B. Warfield, ‘Introductory Note’, in Abraham Kuyper, *Principles of Sacred Theology* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1954), pp. xi-xix; Palmer, *The Reformed and Presbyterian Faith*, pp.34-35.

<sup>194</sup> Gordon Spykman, *Reformational Theology* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1992), p.474.

<sup>195</sup> He taught that miracles are opposed to nature and not essentially part of God’s redemptive work. They are interventions or disturbances by God into the normal laws of nature, deeds of God ‘above and against the order of nature’, and instantaneous. Aquinas’ perception implies that God in the miraculous wonders temporarily suspends the order of nature. Moreover, Aquinas drew from the Aristotelian dualistic conception of a frontier between nature and God. First, he conceptualised a miracle as breaking, transgressing, opposing, contradicting, contravening, interfering, suspending, and infringing upon the law of nature. Second, Aquinas thought of a miracle as independent of the law of nature, because it is outside of it, and antithetic to the laws of nature. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, p.1, Question cx, Articles iv, cv & vii; Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae* I, 110, 4 trans from *Summa Theological Complete English Edition in Five Volumes* (Westminster, MD: Christian Classics, 1981), Vol. 4, pp.58, 542; Thomas Aquinas, *Commentary on 1 Cor.12:2* (p. 728); Gal. 3:2 (p.128); Heb. 2:1 (p.99).

<sup>196</sup> Kuyper, *Principles of Sacred Theology*, p.425.

<sup>197</sup> Kuyper, *Principles of Sacred Theology*, p.425.

back to Jesus Christ.<sup>198</sup> This is why he defined a miraculous act as always a *palingenesis* (re-creation or rebirth) and *metamorphosis* (total change or transformation) of the cosmos.<sup>199</sup> Kuyper aptly supplemented this by saying, ‘The scripture nowhere separates the soul from the body, nor the body from the cosmos... The body belongs to the real existence of man...’<sup>200</sup> Against the Greek and Thomastic dualistic thoughts, and deistic perception of ‘intervention’, Kuyper affirmed that God had predetermined re-creation or the transformation of nature even before the creation of the world and emergence of sin. He captured it thus:

In the counsel of God before the creation of the world, there was a provision for the carrying out of His plan concerning the cosmos, in spite of the outbreak of sin ... the creation took place in such a way, that in itself it carried the possibility of re-creation; ... man is not first created as a unity that cannot be broken, then by sin and death disjointed into parts of soul and corpse, and now, by an act of power mechanically applied from without, restored to unity; but in the creation of man itself lay both the possibility of this break and the possibility of the reunion of our nature.<sup>201</sup>

For Kuyper, a miracle has been an integral part of the creative order right from the beginning. God in His counsel at a particular moment let certain things happen otherwise than had formerly been willed by Him. When such an event happens, it is not a new operation in nature. Nor do the changes that arise in any way change God. Rather, God wanted this to be done differently from the other. Kuyper perceived a miracle as a re-creation or renewal where a new shoot sprang out of the old stem, transforming it anew:

Wherever the Scripture speaks of a *renewal*, it is never meant that a new *power* should originate, or new *state of being* should arise, but simply that a new shoot springs from the root of creation itself, that of this new shoot a graft is entered upon the old tree, and that in this way the entire plant is renewed and completed.<sup>202</sup>

Kuyper perceived that signs and wonders were latent or lay hidden in nature. So, God in ‘signs’ manifests through ordinary things already present in the world which He subsequently fills with a new meaning. On the other hand, in ‘wonders’ God manifests through things

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<sup>198</sup> Andrew F. Walls, ‘Old Athens and a New Jerusalem: Some Signposts for Scholarship in the Early History of Mission Studies’, *International Bulletin of Missionary Research*, Vol. 21, No. 4 (October 1997), pp.146-153 (148).

<sup>199</sup> Kuyper, *Principles of Sacred Theology*, p.414; Augustine, *City of God*, 22:8-10; 21:3, 9; Aquinas, *Summa Contra Gentiles III*, 101, Vol. 4, trans. *English Dominican Fathers* (London: Burns, Oates & Washbourne, 1934), p.60.

<sup>200</sup> Kuyper, *Principles of Sacred Theology*, p.421.

<sup>201</sup> Kuyper, *Principles of Sacred Theology*, pp.417, 426.

<sup>202</sup> Kuyper, *Principles of Sacred Theology*, p.428.

which were not there [physically], but He wonderfully introduced.<sup>203</sup> In essence, wonders are those things hidden in nature which God sometimes uses in a different way. Therefore, ‘wonders’ should not be thought of as outside the interventions of God in nature. This is because, God pre-determined that there would be a certain order of things with a fixed scheme. Wonders, then, only occur in different ways and according to the rules, will and power of God. Kuyper defines a miracle as:

...an overcoming, penetrating working of the Divine energy, by which God breaks all opposition, and in the face of disorder, brings His Cosmos to realize that end which was determined upon in His counsel...’ Every interpretation of the miracle as magical incident without connection with the *palingenesis* of the whole cosmos ... and therefore without relation to the entire *metamorphosis* which awaits the cosmos after the last judgment, does not enhance the glory of God, but debases the Recreator of Heaven and earth to a juggler [emphasis mine].<sup>204</sup>

The key issue is that a miracle is a ‘recreation’ and ‘transformation’ of the old as it breaks the bounds of sin and disorder which is continuing till the *parousia*. So a miracle has been and is still continuing from what God had done in creation.

Kuyper also drew from Augustine as he described miracles as ‘seeds’ that God has given to believers diversely. Again, the ‘seeds’ are not new matters, but are the development of germs latent in human nature by the counsel of God.<sup>205</sup> He categorised the seeds into two: ‘immanent hidden seeds’ and ‘transcendent hidden seeds’. God used the former at His creative era (Gen.1 & 2), while displaying wonders in nature. On the other hand, God intended to use the latter after the fall (Gen. 3 ff) to transform the creation distorted by sin. God implanted this latter ‘seed’ occasionally on His creatures to break the bounds of sin, thereby bringing gratitude and strengthening faith.<sup>206</sup>

In Kuyper’s understanding of *charismata* the sacred and profane complement each other under the Kingship of Christ. He looked at the whole universe as God’s display of *charismata*. The *charismata* are an offshoot of God’s hidden seeds in nature which He uses occasionally for particular purposes. So, the *charismata* should not be conceptualised as an

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<sup>203</sup> Kuyper, *Dogmatic Dictations*, Vol. 2 (Kampen, Netherlands: J.H. Kok, 1910), p.15f.

<sup>204</sup> Kuyper, *Principles of Sacred Theology*, p.414.

<sup>205</sup> Kuyper, *Dogmatic Dictations*, Vol. 2, pp.206f, 208f, 218f, 221f.

<sup>206</sup> See A.G. Konig, ‘Miracle’, *Christian Encyclopedia*, Vol. 5 (Kampen, Netherlands: J.H. Kok, 1929), pp.750-758.

aftermath in God's counsel. God had given all believers diverse 'seeds' (gifts); some have many, while others have a few.

Like Calvin, Kuyper believed that those miraculous *charismata* (eg, tongue-speaking and interpretations, healing, knowledge, discernment), were meant for the ministry of the Word, but became obsolete after the completion of the Bible canon.<sup>207</sup> Their recurrence will be at the *parousia* where it will inaugurate the consummation.<sup>208</sup> Kuyper observed that radical enthusiasts concentrated so much on signs and wonders to the detriment of the gospel proclamation. This was resulting in false claims and actions comparable to the antichrists predicted in the Bible. Kuyper cautioned against the trends, citing some passages. In his 1910 *Dogmatic Dictation*, he commented, particularly on 1 John 2:20-27, that John was warning the Church against the heresy of Gnostics and Montanists, who wanted to introduce something new into the Church.<sup>209</sup> Moreover, in 2 Thessalonians 2:8-10, he noted that antichrists had appeared disguised as Christians through the workings of power, signs and lying-wonders.<sup>210</sup> Additionally, Kuyper commented in his last major work, *On the Consummation* (published posthumously in 1931), particularly on Matthew 24:24, that the anti-Christian evils had surfaced: 'Many false christs and false prophets shall arise, and they shall do great signs and wonders'.<sup>211</sup> This is pointing to excessive satanic power, manifesting in outward miraculous powers. Kuyper perceived that true miracles had ceased with Christ and His apostles; however, the false miracle was still continuing and would increase, especially under the antichrists.

Kuyper's warning about the increasing influence of miraculous workings by radical enthusiasts in his German society was later experienced in America and other continents. In the mid-1960s and early 2000, the Christian Reformed Church (CRC) North America Synod inaugurated two independent Study Committees on 'Neo-Pentecostalism' and 'Third Wave Pentecostalism', respectively. The first Committee reported in 1973,<sup>212</sup> the second in 2009. Both Committees rejected the traditional Reformed view of cessation of the *charismata*. The

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<sup>207</sup> Abraham Kuyper, *The Work of the Holy Spirit* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1956), pp.146, 149, 158, 160f, 169,188-189; Kuyper, *Encyclopedia of Sacred Theology* (New York: Charles Scribner's Son, 1898), pp.368, cf. p.355.

<sup>208</sup> Abraham Kuyper, *Dogmatic Dictations*, Vol. 2, pp.113-121; Kuyper, *Concerning the Consummation*, Vol. 2 (Kampen, Netherlands: J.H. Kok, 1929), p.311f.

<sup>209</sup> Kuyper, *Dogmatic Dictation*, Vol. 2, p.112.

<sup>210</sup> Kuyper, *Dogmatic Dictation*, Vol. 5 (Kampen, Netherlands: J.H. Kok, 1910), p.210, 216, 220f, 232f.

<sup>211</sup> Kuyper, *On the Consummation*, Vol.1 (Kampen, Netherlands: J.H. Kok, 1931), pp.42, 359f.

<sup>212</sup> John H. Stek (Reporter), 'Neo-Pentecostalism', in *ACTS of Synod 1973* (Grand Rapids: Board of Publications of the Christian Reformed Church, 1973), pp.398-493 (453-457).

second Committee raised strong observations [abridged] thus: first, no one would deny that God is sovereign and that He can and does work miraculous healings even today. Second, God's mighty works of redemption are supernatural and natural, that is, creational. God works through spiritual, physical and emotional healing. Third, there is no need to be suspicious of the contemporary manifestations of the gifts if they conform to the biblical directives. Fourth, the holistic and integral creational perspective guards against the one-sided and distorted view which emphasises one to the almost total exclusion of the other.<sup>213</sup> Fifth, the Reformed worldview of restoration does not exclude the reality of the spiritual world. Every area of life and ministry is in submission to God's teaching in the Scriptures. 'It is the genius of the Kuyperian or neo-Calvinist heritage in which we [CRCNA] stand and that is itself only one historical manifestation of the ecumenical tradition that goes back via Calvin and Augustine to Scripture itself that sees this spiritual warfare as pervading all of human life.'<sup>214</sup> Sixth, healing (exorcism and deliverance) did not only happen and stop in the apostolic times. The report concludes:

Accept with gratitude that God continues to give physical and emotional healing in response to prayer, both through his gifts of medical science, and through medically inexplicable ways. At the same time, accept that when God, in His sovereignty, does not heal, he manifests his love in and through suffering and death. Such present healing points us to the complete healing Christ accomplished and will bring to fullness at his return.<sup>215</sup>

The report showed that the *charismata* are still continuing today but the completion will be at the *eschaton*. This position rejects the rigid cessationist positions, which Dispensationalists also share.

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<sup>213</sup> Ray Vander Kooij (Reporter), 'Third Wave Pentecostalism', in *ACTS of Synod 2009*, (Grand Rapids: Board of Publications of the Christian Reformed Church, 2009), pp.1-71 (20).

<sup>214</sup> Kooij (Reporter), 'Third Wave Pentecostalism', p.21.

<sup>215</sup> ACTS of Synod 2009, pp.590-592 (591); see also, Synod Agendas 2009, pp.335-432.

## 2.7 Emergence of Pentecostal-Charismatic Movement in the *EKAS* Benue Church

The concept of Pentecostal-Charismatic gathered from my informants, erstwhile adherents of the movement from its inception in Wukari,<sup>216</sup> revealed that there is little or no difference between the two terms. It is said that both terms have no clear-cut demarcation. On the one hand, Pentecostals emphasise the work of the Holy Spirit or the baptism of the Holy Spirit above other spiritual gifts. Charismatics, on the other hand, emphasise specific gracious gifts of God, for example healing, prophecy, discernment and more. In this study I will use the two terms simultaneously and/or interchangeably.

In line with Calvin and Kuyper, the *EKAS* Benue Church (now CRCN) today believes the cessationist view of *charismata*. The older generation ministers of the church hold on to the cessationist position, while the newer generation ministers hold the non-cessationist position. The Youth Centre<sup>217</sup> was originally established as an evangelical centre for the conversion of the youth and maintenance of the conservative evangelical [cessationist] trend. Lee Baas, an SUM-CRC missionary,<sup>218</sup> manned the project around 1966 as a partnering project between the SUM-CRC and the *EKAS* Benue Church. This project was carried out because most of the youth were unbelievers and living licentious lives. The few believers among them had little or no role to play in the church. The elderly exclusively performed almost all the roles.

The wind of Pentecostal-Charismatic movements from southern to northern Nigeria was gradually creating in-roads into the mission-founded churches. The Centre was to help halt the incursion of the Pentecostal-Charismatic wind, and thus embarked on evangelical spiritual formation.<sup>219</sup> Baas taught and trained the youth. He engaged co-missionaries, especially Bill Evenhouse and Jan Harm Boer,<sup>220</sup> occasionally to assist. The programmes featured Bible

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<sup>216</sup> Caleb S.O. Ahima, Interview, 19 October 2009, TEKAN Headquarters, Jos; Joseph U. Ajaver, Interview, 25 October 2009, CRCN Lagos; Bulus Adama Gani, Interview, 17 November 2010, Takum; Jonah Tsonatu, Interview, 7 December 2010, Wukari; Joseph Mai-Riga Vyonku, Interview, 8 February 2011, Wukari; Joseph Sanfo Zhema, Interview, 19 February 2011, Wukari.

<sup>217</sup> The Youth Centre is sited in the present-day CRCN LCC, Puje.

<sup>218</sup> Lee Baas revealed to me that the Youth Centre came into being because the SUM-CRC established one with a sister SUM-CRC branch, NKST, in Mkar-Gboko, Benue State. This time Baas initiated evangelism work with a focus on showing films in Gboko. Many youth received Christ. So, the *EKAS* Benue saw that it would be better that such a programme be established for her youth as well. Thus, when Baas went for his furlough in USA, the SUM-CRC asked him on his return to start it with the *EKAS* Benue Church. He chose Wukari because it was a potential place for youth. Lee Baas, Interview, 26 February 2010, Jos; Joseph Sanfo Zhema, 19 February 2011, Wukari.

<sup>219</sup> Baas, Interview, 26 February 2010; Zhema, Interview, 19 February 2011; Bulus Adama Gani, Interview, 17 November 2010, Takum; Joseph Mai-Riga Vyonku, Interview, 8 February 2011, Wukari.

<sup>220</sup> Baas, Interview, 26 February 2010; Zhema, Interview, 19 February 2011; Joseph Unum Ajaver, Interview, 25 October 2010, Lagos.

Studies, film shows, counselling for alcoholics and drug addicts, revival programmes (workshops and seminars), drama, recreational or sporting activities (table tennis, volley ball), teachings on the prayer life, learning guitar, library readings (devotional books for spiritual formation), playing ludo and spiritual games in the Bible, among others.<sup>221</sup> All these activities were geared towards healing within the conversion and evangelistic framework. This movement yielded many fruits through conversion of the youth. When Baas' tenure elapsed in 1974, he handed the Centre over to the *EKAS* Benue Church.

About the same time, evangelical revival groups, for example, the Fellowship of Christian Students (FCS), were becoming common in the secondary schools. Most of those who graduated from secondary schools later established the Associate Fellowship of Christian Students (AFCS).<sup>222</sup>

Fortunately, the creation of Gongola State out of the defunct Benue-Plateau State in 1976<sup>223</sup> brought back many indigenes to Gongola, and to Wukari, in particular. At that time, the *EKAS* Benue Church (now changed to the *EKAN* Church)<sup>224</sup> was the main Protestant church in Wukari and its environs. Thus, all Protestant church members who returned home identified with the *EKAN* Church. Interestingly, one evangelical, Chris Abaga, who worked with the judiciary in Jos, and also a member of the Evangelical Church of West Africa (now Evangelical Church Winning All – ECWA) and the Great Commission Movement (GCM), an evangelical movement body, became instrumental. He and others jointly founded the 'Witnessing Group' in 1976 under the auspices of GCM in Jos.<sup>225</sup> Unfortunately, the Evangelical vision was gradually changed, when the Centre became a place that fostered conversion on an interdenominational level. The Centre brought believers of different status across denominations. The membership comprised civil servants, the middle class, applicants and students coming together for spiritual nurture and evangelism. Most of the believers

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<sup>221</sup> Baas, Interview, 26 February 2010; Vyonku, 8 February 2011; Jonah Tsonatu, Interview, 7 December 2010, Wukari.

<sup>222</sup> Ajaver, Interview, 25 October 2009.

<sup>223</sup> Benue-Plateau State was created on 27 May 1967 during the regime of General Yakubu Gowon. Gongola State was created out of the defunct Benue-Plateau State on 3 February 1976 during the regime of General Murtala Ramat Mohammed. Taraba State was created on 27 August 1991 out of the defunct Gongola State during the regime of General Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida. See Nuhu Adamu Masinja, *Questions and Answers on Social Studies with Current Affairs for Junior Secondary Schools: Comprehensive Universal Basic Education Series* (Minna: Olasco Publication, 2010), p.89.

<sup>224</sup> In 1976, the name of the *EKAS* Benue Church was changed to *EKAN* (Hausa: *Ekklisiyar Kiristi A Nijeriya*) Church. It was the *EKAN* Church which finally became the Christian Reformed Church of Nigeria (CRCN), and the name was adopted permanently at the general meeting of 17 to 18 May 1977. This is the name in use to date.

<sup>225</sup> Zhema, Interview, 19 February 2011, Wukari; Gani, Interview, 17 November 2010, Takum; Vyonku, Interview, 8 February 2011, Wukari.

involved in this spiritual nurture had direct or indirect experience of the Charismatic Movement from their former places of work. The emphasis was the infilling by the Spirit and holiness to effect the conversion of others. Their tool for conversion was the ‘Four Spiritual Laws’. Their weekly activities featured Bible Studies, prayer meetings, Bible Exposition, and witnessing on Sundays at 4.00 pm.<sup>226</sup> Both the leadership and membership still maintained the evangelical vision with the goal of conversion.

The focus of the ‘Witnessing Group’ changed from conversion to healing with the influx of members of the Charismatic Movement and the staging of crusades in Wukari and its environs. For instance, in 1977, Dangana Kashibu staged crusades in Wukari and Takum, respectively. His posters, handbills and flyers featured slogans such as ‘The blind shall see’, ‘The deaf shall hear’, ‘The dumb shall speak’ and ‘The dead shall rise,’ among others. Most of those who were impacted at the crusades aligned with the ‘Witnessing Group’ in the Youth Centre. Over time, Charismatic movements started surfacing in the Youth Centre, an evangelical arena under the auspices of the then *EKAN* Church (now changed to CRCN).<sup>227</sup> Alongside this, the posting of National Youth Service Corps (NYSC)<sup>228</sup> members to secondary schools changed the mode of worship and prayer in the Christian Reformed Church of Nigeria (CRCN). There emerged a strong emphasis on the extraordinary miraculous gifts of the Holy Spirit, especially prayer and instant healing.<sup>229</sup> Moreover, Oral Roberts’ and Kenneth Hagin’s print media (*Word of Faith Magazines*) and videos as well as audiocassettes reached the FCS, AFCS and Witnessing Group. At about the same time, the ministry of Benson Idahosa was becoming influential.

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<sup>226</sup> Vyonku, Interview, 8 February 2011, Wukari; Zhema, Interview, 19 February 2011, Wukari; Ajaver, Interview, 25 October 2010, Lagos.

<sup>227</sup> Vyonku, Interview, 8 February 2011, Wukari; Tsonatu, Interview, 7 December 2010, Wukari; Gani, Interview, 17 November 2010, Takum.

<sup>228</sup> The National Youth Service Corps (NYSC) was established in 1973 by Decree 24 and promulgated by the Federal Military Government. It was a compulsory scheme for all Nigerian graduates of Universities, Colleges of Education, Polytechnics and other higher institutions to avail themselves for the opportunity of national service. Participating graduates must be aged thirty years and below. It was introduced by the Yakubu Gowon administration in 1973 to expose Nigerian youth to the lives and cultures of other Nigerians and thereby engender national understanding after the Biafran War (1967-1970). This laudable objective of the NYSC faced challenges by parents, guardians and other opinion leaders who believed that by allowing their children to serve in states they do not approve of, they are contributing to the development of ‘enemy’ tribes. Fortunately, the scheme has come to stay. Abdullahi Adamu, ‘Ethnic Conflicts in Nigeria’, pp.1-16 (12). Accessed 30 May 2011, <file:///C:/Downloads/2ethnic.htm>; Matthews A. Ojo, ‘The Growth of Charismatic Movements in Northern Nigeria’, *Ogbomosho Journal Of Theology (OJOT)*, Vol. xiii, No. 2 (2008), pp.83-117 (95).

<sup>229</sup> Ajaver, Interview, 25 October 2010.

After Abaga left in 1980 for full-time work with the GCM in Jos, Jonah Tsonatu<sup>230</sup> took over the leadership of the Youth Centre in early 1981. He believed strongly in the extraordinary gifts of the Holy Spirit, especially prayer-healing for the sick.<sup>231</sup> He taught about the ‘Baptism of the Holy Spirit’. This caused a further deepening of the shift from the conservative evangelical trend to that of the Charismatic Movement.<sup>232</sup> The Youth Centre now emphasised the baptism of the Holy Spirit, speaking in tongues, divine healing, prophetic revelations, visionary experiences (dreams and visions), exorcism of witchcraft and other malignant forces.<sup>233</sup> They also gave hope against the encroachment of curses, misfortunes, sufferings, unemployment, poverty, political and social upheavals as well as economic downturns. They taught that all these are caused by Satan and his acolytes, but that Jesus is the deliverer. These beliefs and practices caused a lot of relational difficulties between the youth and the CRCN Church leadership. The leadership accused the youth of wrong biblical interpretations and of appealing to pre-Christian symbols. The CRCN Church finally ejected them from the Youth Centre in 1982. The youth moved to different venues for their fellowship meetings.<sup>234</sup> Most of them started forming splinter groups for prayer cells. Some started claiming to have received vocal utterances, visions and dreams to start a ministry. Still others became freelance Charismatic lay leaders. Many left and joined Charismatics churches that were emerging at the time. The membership of the CRCN Church as a result dwindled drastically.

The above reveals that the Charismatic Movement that started in the south came to the Middle-Belt through the indigenes who schooled and worked in the south. In addition, the NYSC, print media and audiocassettes of Oral Roberts, Kenneth Hagin, and Benson Idahosa, altogether fostered the spread of Charismatic Movements. From the 1990s to date, these Movements have become more dynamic. They appeal to pre-Christian traditional models

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<sup>230</sup> Tsonatu was a retired Nigerian army officer and a member of ‘Faith Mission’ Warri. Later he was a disciple of Benson Idahosa, and a graduate of the Idahosa Seminary, ‘All Nations for Christ Bible Institute’ in Benin City. Tsonatu, Interview, 7 December 2010.

<sup>231</sup> Vyonku, Interview, 8 February 2011; Tsonatu, Interview, 7 December 2010; Gani, Interview, 17 November 2010; Zhema, Interview, 19 February 2011.

<sup>232</sup> Tsonatu, Interview, 7 December 2010; Vyonku, Interview, 8 February 2011; Gani, Interview, 17 November 2010; Zhema, Interview, 19 February 2011.

<sup>233</sup> Caleb S. O. Ahima, Interview, 31 January 2011, Wukari. Matthews Ojo described a similar development when he was discussing the Charismatics’ traits in Nigeria. See Matthews A. Ojo, *The End-Time Army: Charismatic Movement in Modern Nigeria* (Trenton, NJ/Asmara, ERITREA: Africa World Press, 2006), p.31.

<sup>234</sup> The youth went to St. Mary’s Primary School, Wukari; Ukason Commercial School, Wukari; Government Day Secondary School, Wukari; African Church, Wukari, and, finally, CRCN Wukari. The Youth Fellowship later secured land and raised its own structure. Even today, it is still functioning as an interdenominational Charismatic centre, and is still used for weekday activities. All the members go back to the mother church and worship on Sundays. Vyonku, Interview, 8 February 2011; Tsonatu, Interview, 7 December 2010.

(signs and symbols) and interpret them anew to meet the people's deep-seated needs. They emphasise that mystical powers are at war with humanity and so deliverance through 'spiritual warfare' is needed. CRCN saw all these as threats, heresy, fanaticism and blasphemy against the true gospel.

The CRCN as a church body, like its ancestors, Calvin and Kuyper, for example, believe that biblical *charismata* ceased with the apostolic era. *Charismata* were temporal gifts and offices meant for the founding of the church, accrediting the gospel and the bearers of the gospel, and had ceased not long afterwards. Therefore, any further acclaimed impartation of divine signs, wonders and powers for healing are completely false and outmoded. Yet for the Charismatic lay leaders, they were contextualising and responding to the deep-seated questions of life experiences.

## **2.8 Conclusion**

This chapter gives the Jukun history and culture. It stresses some factors that brought fortunes and successes to Jukun on the one hand, and factors that resulted in setbacks, on the other hand. The chapter progresses, noting some differences between the Western and African perceptions of healing and how they were translated into a world of difference between the evangelical missionary physicians and African healing practitioners. The chapter also draws from and analyses the views of the two key Reformed theologians, John Calvin and Abraham Kuyper, which have shaped the view of the CRCN. It argues that although both upheld the classic Protestant view of the cessation of *charismata*, Calvin was flexible, upholding that *charismata* may recur based on God's counsel. Kuyper, on the other hand, maintained that the whole universe is miraculous because nature and divine are inseparable. The CRCN shares the classic Protestant or older Calvinist view of the cessation of *charismata*.

Whereas the next chapter considers the emergence of the *Gidan Addu'a* movement, Chapters Four to Eight show how each of the ministries under the auspices of the *Gidan Addu'a* movement wrestles with a particular issue within its context.