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In Memoriam

Professor Syed Anwarul Haq Haqqi, former head of the Department of Political Science, AMU, 1964-1982, and founder-editor of the *Indian Journal of Politics*, 1967-1982, passed away on February 10, 2010.

Born in 1922 in Hardoi City of Uttar Pradesh, he did his B.A. (Hons) from the University of Lucknow, his M.A. / Ph.D. in history from the AMU, and Ph.D. in Politics from the London School of Economics. He joined the Department of Political Science as a lecturer in 1948 and retired in 1982.

He will be remembered as an erudite scholar, a dedicated teacher and a committed community leader. May his soul rest in peace.

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Sheikh Abdullah of Aligarh and the Education of Indian Muslim Women/ 81

Sheikh Abdullah was a great educationist among the leaders of the Aligarh Movement. His great contribution to the movement was that without challenging the traditional values of the Muslim middle class he made it his life-mission to impart modern education to the Indian Muslim women and prepare them for modern professions and occupations. In his educational writings we find an eclectic who assimilated elements from different cultural traditions to implement his educational programme. The Women's College of the AMU is a living monument of his reformist zeal.

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A Study of the Muslim Organizations in Ilorin 1900-2000/ 119

Muslim associations and organizations of different ethnic, sectarian and ideological backgrounds sprang up not only in the Ilorin State but other states of north Nigeria as a response to the challenge of British colonialism. It is found that though they are united in a common faith but in social life each sect and group keeps within its own fold with scant regard for joint action or the cause of Muslim unity and solidarity.

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Formative Influences on the Ideas of B.R. Ambedkar/ 131

This paper explores the experiences and influences of early life of B.R. Ambedkar that contributed to the formation of his ideas and his emergence as the messiah of his community of former untouchables.

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A Tocquevillian Reading of Indian Democracy/ 141

This paper applies the Tocquevillian discourse on the effects of rising equality upon spread of democracy to Indian democracy. The writings of two Indian writers are analysed to show that in spite of the entrenchment of anti-equality forces in India the Tocquevillian discourse is, by and large, relevant to Indian democracy.

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A Study of Muslim Organizations in Ilorin, 1900-2000

Ibrahim A. Jawondo

University of Ilorin, Nigeria

An Historical Overview

In this section, an attempt is made to trace the historical development of the Islamic organizations in Nigeria with particular reference to those that were visible in Ilorin as a branch of national or international organizations and those that emanated from Ilorin with their branches elsewhere. Their religious, social and educational activities are studied *vis-à-vis* their interrelations.

In pre-colonial Nigeria, Gbadamosi noted some Islamic organizations among the Yoruba. Though ill-organized and localized, they prepared the ground for the modern Islamic organisations that are discussed here. The associations, though with same focus, assumed different names such as Egbe Binukonu, Egbe Ilupeju, Egbe Iyaniwura etc for men and Egbe Alaslatu for women.¹

The modern Islamic organizations in Nigeria date back to 1900 when colonialism became well entrenched. It should be remembered that during the colonial conquest of northern Nigeria, the Muslims were united under the banner of Islam and were able to delay the colonial conquest of Northern Nigeria and even after the conquest used the vehicle to protest against colonial administration². This perhaps must have served as an eye opener to the southerners who were not bound by any strong union under colonial rule in southern Nigeria. Thus, the idea of establishing Islamic organizations struck the minds of the western educated Muslims in order to effectively

cope with the challenges posed by colonialism and Christianity.³

More specifically, the Muslims of western Nigeria were faced with the problem of acquiring western education as the authorities of the Christian missionary schools used the schools as baits to convert people to Christianity. Even for those who were ready to risk their faiths, the quota allocated to children of other faiths was rather too small.⁴ There was also the need among Muslims to be relevant in the scheme of things in their societies. All these and other objectives could only be achieved first by uniting all the Muslims so as to chart a new course for the Muslims in order to propagate Islam, Islamic education and western education among the Muslims so that Muslims could be represented in all walks of life be it administration, politics, medicine, judiciary, or academics.⁵

The first generation of the modern Islamic organizations in Nigeria was formed between 1916 and 1960. These organizations included Ahmadiyya Society of Nigeria, formed in 1916 at Lagos, the Islamic Missionary Society formed in 1920 at Ibadan, Ansaru-d-Deen Society of Nigeria, formed in 1923 at Lagos, Jamatul Islamiyyat of Nigeria, formed in 1924 at Lagos, Nawair-ud-deen Society of Nigeria, formed in 1939 at Abeokuta Ansarul Islam Society of Nigeria, formed in 1943 at Ilorin, Tajudeen Society of Nigeria, formed in 1947 at Ede, Nuruddeen Society of Nigeria, formed in 1953 at Zaria, and Isabatuddeen Society of Nigeria, formed in 1958 at Ibadan.⁶

The idea of establishing Islamic organizations to better the lot of Muslims under colonial rule started in western Nigeria but did not end there, so also the formation of Islamic organizations was not limited to Western Nigeria. The idea spread far and wide within and even beyond Nigeria and so there were other Islamic organizations that sprang up apart from the branches of the aforementioned major groups of the first generation of Islamic organizations.⁸

These Islamic organizations were out to protect and promote Islam and Muslims and their rights and privileges under colonial rule in Nigeria and possibly reform the society along the principles of Islam. They proposed to unite the Muslims, promote Islam, and encourage Islamic and western education among the Muslims⁹. It is important to stress here that the idea of unity among Muslims in Nigeria since colonial period is still a problem due to leadership tussles, ideological differences, different interpretation of the Quran and hadith, etc. However, these societies constituted a

dynamic force actively prosecuting both the reform of Yoruba Islam and the cause of Muslims in Nigeria.

In order to achieve these three major objectives of uniting the Muslims, propagating Islam and encouraging the Muslims to acquire Islamic and western education so as to be relevant in the society politically, socially and economically, some activities were designed and embarked upon. Firstly, mosques were established to allow for regular prayers and meetings among the Muslims and particularly members of each organization. Schools were also established mostly primary and secondary to cater to the educational needs of the Muslims. Some Muslim students were also assisted with scholarships for overseas studies. Enlightenment campaigns about Islam and the society in general were embarked upon to liberate and strengthen the Muslims psychologically, socially, politically, morally and religiously. Some of these organisations built hospitals operated according to Islamic principles and for the Muslims. The Islamic organizations did so well particularly in the area of education that the colonial authority had to recognise their schools and grant aid to them ¹⁰. Again, though observe improvement in the areas of education and the spread of Islam, what about the unity of the Muslims? The organisations rather than forging unity among themselves with their programmes, they kept divided as they saw themselves competing rather than complementing one another's efforts. Members worshipped only in their organisational mosques and fraternised mostly with fellow members

With independence in 1960, more Islamic organizations were established. This time to increase Muslims participation in the governance of Nigeria, to accelerate the acquisition of Western education by the Muslims, to standardise the various Quranic schools, to propagate Islam and more importantly to foster unity among the Muslims to be able to further the cause of Islam in government.¹¹ These second generation Islamic organizations in Nigeria included: Shamusuddeen Society of Nigeria, and Muhyiddeen Society of Nigeria formed in 1960 at Ilorin, Jamatul Nasiril Islam of Nigeria (Kaduna) formed in 1961, The Young Muslim Association of Nigeria (Ilorin), and Fitianul Islamic Organisation (Kano) formed in 1963, Islamic Education Trust (Sokoto) formed in 1969, Islamic Missionary Association of Nigeria (Ilorin) and Muslim Women Association of Nigeria (Ilorin) formed in 1974, Qamarul Islam Society of Nigeria (Kano) and Ahbabuddeen Society of Nigeria (Zaria) were formed in 1975, Anwarul Islam society of Nigeria (Lagos) formed in 1976, Federation of Muslim Women Association of Nigeria (Minna) formed in 1985 and host of others.¹² These

second generation of Islamic organizations were only better of in skills and techniques, they did not extend beyond the frontiers of the first generation. They were however worse of in financial management which constituted a major factor in the internal crisis of some of these organisations.

The religious, social, educational and political activities of the first and second generations of Islamic organisations gave birth to the third generation of Islamic organisations in Nigeria. This third generation organisations were much more concerned with the challenges posed to Islam not only by local circumstances but national and international circumstances borne out of modernity. They included Nasirulahi Fati Society of Nigeria (NASFAT), Quareeb Islamic Society of Nigeria, Nadwat Islamic Association of Nigeria, Ramatul lai Addabiyyah Islamic Society of Nigeria. etc.¹³ It is important to mention here that most of these Islamic organisations found their ways into Ilorin. Some even started from Ilorin and spread to other areas¹⁴. The organisations have done remarkably well individually in the area of socio-political, religio-economic upliftment of Islam and Muslims in Ilorin in particular and kwara state in general. However, lack of sense of oneness among the organizations made unity of purpose a mirage.

Relations among Islamic organizations in Ilorin

The first known religious organizations in Ilorin were the religious brotherhoods of the Tijaniyyah and later of Qadiriyyah. The Tijaniyyah brotherhood had been firmly rooted among the Muslim scholars of Okesunna, which was established around the wake of the 17th century while Quadiriyyah brotherhood was introduced in Ilorin by the sojourn of Shaikh Alimi in the wake of the 19th century. Through these brotherhoods, the Muslims were given necessary coaching on Islamic education and mystics, as well as briefing on social, economic and political happenings in their surroundings.¹⁵

It is important to state here that it were these two brotherhoods (The Tijaniyyah under Shaikh Solagberu and the Quadriyyah under Shaikh Alimi) that fought tirelessly for the establishment of the theocratic state of Ilorin eventually turned enemies of one another in an attempt to capture the administrative organ of the emergent Ilorin Emirate. Shaikh Tahir Solagberu, the leader of Okesunna, probably a Tijaniyyah, contested the position of Amir with Abdulsalam, the son of Shaikh Alimi whom the

Quadriyyah believed should succeed his father. Shaikh Tahir and his men mostly Tijaniyyah, were pre-emptively attacked and many along with the leader were killed and their Okesunna Settlement destroyed.¹⁶ Given the origin and the role played by the Quadriyyah in installing the first Emir, the Quadriyyah brotherhood had been close to the Emirate authority at the expense of the Tijaniyyah brotherhood. The progressive movements in Ilorin in the 1950s particularly the Talaka Parapo who were anti-Emirate administration for its perceived repressiveness, found the Tijaniyyah brotherhood a useful allied.¹⁷ By the 1960s the Tijaniyyah had grown in strength and became more populous especially after the visit of Shaikh Ibrahim Niyas, the spiritual leader of the Tijaniyyah brotherhood world wide, to Ilorin.¹⁸ Since the First Republic to date the Tijaniyyah had been the beautiful bride of the politicians for their control at the grassroots.

However, the untiring individual efforts of the Muslim scholars of Ilorin at teaching and preaching in the 19th century led to the production of many indigenous Muslim scholars in Ilorin Emirate by the wake of the 20th century. Such scholars also established Quranic schools and by the close of the 20th century many more scholars had been produced. The results of this were both positive and negative. Although it led to the advancement of Islam and Islamic scholarship, it also brought about conflict among the emerging Ulama, as they strove to establish their authority within the Emirate. More so, the large following that usually greeted such emerging scholars and Islamic organisations threatened the existence of older ones, hence the struggle for survival, which was intense.

By the last half of the 20th century, two prominent indigenous scholars had emerged in Ilorin. They were Shaikh Kamaluddeen al-Adabi who established the Ansarul-Islam Society of Nigeria in 1943 and Shaikh Adam Abdullahi El-Alori who founded Markaz Taalim Al-Arabi in 1952¹⁹. They represented the two distinctive Islamic schools of thought in Ilorin since their emergence²⁰. The scholars have a number of works to their credit²¹. In spite of the clear cut differences in their styles of operation, preaching, propagation of Islam and Islamic education within and outside the Emirate, frequent open clash occurred between the two groups, most especially in the 1980s. The cause of the crisis was said to be personality clash between the two leaders. The followers of the leaders preached and wrote poems against each other at any given opportunity. With the establishment of the Fourth Republic, the rivalry could be regarded a "healthy" one as they rival one another in the advancement

of Arabic and Islamic education and in seeking government political appointments for their members. Be that as it may, the groups remain distinct from one another. The leaders and the rank and file saw themselves as either Markazi or Adabi instead of one indivisible members of the Emirate, which before sectarianism was united, strong and spoke with one voice.

Apart from these two Islamic organizations that were established in Ilorin by the Ilorin natives of there were other national and international Islamic organizations that found their ways into Ilorin at different times between 1960 and 2000. These Islamic organisations included Ansarul-ud-Deen Society of Nigeria and Anwarul-Islam that broke away from the Ahmadiyya Society of Nigeria²². Others included the Jamaatul Nasirul Islam, Nawar-ud-deen and a host of others. Details about these have already been provided in the first section of this work. In addition to the above, there were other strong locally based Islamic groups in and around Ilorin Emirate. Some of them operated Mosques, Arabic Schools and Alasalatu groups. They included Jamaat Ibadu Rahman of Ita Elefun, Jamaat Soliheena, Darul-Salam, Jamaat Taj-Adab and a host of others too numerous to mention here. However rather than complementing their efforts they duplicated efforts.

Furthermore, emergence of militant Islamic groups in Ilorin from 1980s in consonance to happenings around Nigeria is noteworthy. They included the *Tabligh*, the *Jamaa*, the *Sherif*, the *Hizbullah* and others. Some of these groups came into existence as a result of Central government's discriminatory policy, some as a result of certain state government's anti-Muslim policy, some evolved due to professional yearnings and intellectualism while some evolved from the Muslim students society of Nigeria either as a result of ideological crisis or to fill the vacuum created after graduation from school ²³

The institution of the National Youth Service Corps (NYSC) by the Nigerian Government in 1973 paved the way for the establishment of the Muslim Corps Association of Nigeria (MCAN). On the other hand, some of the groups that emerged as rivals of the Muslim Students Society of Nigeria included the Association of Muslim Students Society Alumni (AMSSA), the Companion (1984) and the Criterion (1986). Groups that exerted pressure on the government included the Islamic Welfare Foundation (1984), established to tackle problems confronting Islam and Muslims, the National Council of Muslim Youth Organizations (NACOMYO) formed at Ibadan

in 1980 purposely to challenge the alleged injustice Committed by the Government against Islam and Muslims which also found its way into Ilorin²⁴.

The above mentioned groups, which were established essentially to protect the rights of Islam and Muslims, were peopled by youth. Thus, because of the membership composition and goals of the associations, they were militant in their approach to issues that affected Islam and Muslims, be it with government, Christian bodies or any other bodies. However, with time, the organizations became so complex and tore apart as a result of selfish and ideological differences. The crisis was a carry over of the ideological problems that rocked the Muslim Students Society of Nigeria (MSSN), a body that provided the initial training to all the members of the aforementioned Islamic organizations.

The Muslim Students Society of Nigeria (MSSN) crisis, which became well known around 1982/83, started from an ideological crisis. The Association which since 1954 had been a strong indivisible body became polarized as a result of different interpretations of some concepts such as *Aqidah* (Ideology), *Haram* (Forbidden) and *Kufr* (unbelief) among others. Other areas of differences were the modes of greeting and dressing, method of preaching (*Dawah*) and the place of beard, music and songs in Islam²⁵. The differences in opinion among the members of the MSSN on some Islamic concepts are traceable to Islamic revolution that took place in Iran in 1979. Consequently, the members were influenced by the ideas, writings and activities of reformers like Hassan al Banna, Sayyid Qutb, Kalim Sadiqi, Sayyid Mujtaba Musawi Lari, Ismail Faruqi and their likes. Furthermore, the need to establish a group and more importantly the availability of foreign aid in cash and kind increased the rate of schism among the Islamic organisations²⁶.

Consequently, people of like minds moved out of MSSN to form their own parallel associations, such as the Muslim Congress, the Hizbullah movement, the Muslim Ummah, the Jamaa, the Tabligh, the Izalah and a host of others. It is important to note that the Tariqah groups (Qadriyyah and Tijaniyyah) that had for long been in existence were also challenged by the Izalah group²⁷. The attack, no doubt, made the Tariqah groups to resolve their petty rivalry and jealousies to enable them withstand the challenges posed by the opposition. Furthermore, in 1985 crisis erupted within the rank and file of the Ummah group. The crisis was traced to ideology, leadership and personality factors. When the crisis became unresolved, a group broke away to become the Shiia. Another important but independent Islamic militant group that

originated from Ilorin was the Sherifuddeen group of Nigeria, under Shaikh Abu Sherif which was established also to protect the rights of Islam and Muslims²⁸.

Apart from the incessant clashes among the groups, for one reason or another, the oppositions polarized the Emirate Muslims into two major groups: the young and the old, radical and the liberal, the progressives and the conservatives. The militant groups during incidences of major religious provocations on the Muslims by the Christians as it happened in 1988 and year 2000, went on rampage and returned with many casualties. The militant groups have always proved uncontrollable to the conservatives and so they distant one another. This situation did not in any way promote the unity of the Ilorin Emirate Muslim rather it disunites it further.

By 2000, there existed a large number of Islamic organizations in Ilorin, some branches of national and international organizations, some were indigenous growth. However, they could be grouped along the line of the functions they performed. Some of the organisations were concerned with the educational development of the Muslims and promotion of Islam and its knowledge. Such organisations established schools in their names in Ilorin and Kwara State in general. For instance the Ansaruddeen, Ansarul Islam, Shamsuddeen, Muslim Women Association of Nigeria now Federation of Muslim Women Association of Nigeria (FOMWAN), Islamic Missionary Association of Nigeria (IMAN), Muhyyiddeen, Jamatul Nasir Islam, established Arabic and Islamic primary and/or secondary schools.²⁹ Some were known for their enlightenment campaigns through lectures, symposia, seminars, talks, Radio and Television programmes, distribution of hand bills and pamphlets, and Ramadan lectures. The Shiia, the Ummah, the Jamaa, the Sherifuddeen, the IMAN, MSSN, were prominent in this respect. Most of these organisations established Mosques in the nooks and crannies of Ilorin Emirate where their members gathered daily and weekly to observe daily and weekly prayers as well as educational and social programmes designed for them³⁰. The entire forerunner Islamic organisations in Ilorin have always participated in the mobilization of the Muslims for political activities either for or against politicians and/or state government. However, the issue of unity among them was a problem each organization designed its programmes and executed them without consultation or cooperation with others.

Conclusion

Islam and Muslim unity have been threatened at different times by different factors. During his lifetime the Prophet used his divine status to settle a number of disputes among the Muslims. With his death, various social and political considerations divided the Muslim *ummah* left behind by the Prophet. Hence, emergence of the different Islamic sects. In Nigeria, different Islamic organizations were formed particularly under colonial rule for the purpose of advancing the cause of Islam and the Muslims and bringing about unity among the Muslims.

However, the different Islamic organizations in Nigeria and Ilorin have done remarkably well in the areas of individually advancing the cause of Islam and those of their members and not that of the generality of the Muslims nor were they able to bring about a lasting unity among the different organizations in particular and the Muslims in general. The reason for this is lack of good community relations. Thus, the Islamic organizations in Ilorin during the 20th century rather than operating collectively, operated individually and divergently too even though their objectives and goals were virtually the same.

Notes

- 1 G.T.O. Gbadamosi, *Islam among the Yoruba, 1841-1902* (Britain: Western Printing Services Ltd, 1978): 53-4.
- 2 For detail, see any work on the colonial conquest of Nigeria or Northern Nigeria in particular i.e., A. M. Saulawa, "Some current views about Islam and its contribution in Northern Nigeria 1800-1960: A Critique" *Journal of Arabic and Religious Studies* (JARS) University of Ilorin, 9, (1992): 61 - 69.
- 3 A. B. Fafunwa, *History of Education in Nigeria* (London: Allen and Uwin, 1974) 42.
- 4 Fafunwa, *History of Education*: 42.

- 5 Fafunwa, *History of Education*: 42 See also, A. Adekilekun, *Selected Islamic Organizations in Nigeria (1916 - 1986)* (Ilorin, 1989): 44.
- 6 Fafunwa, *History of Education*: 42 See also, Adekilekun, *Selected Islamic Organizations*: 44.
- 7 Such localised Islamic Organizations exist in almost all the Muslim societies. In Ilorin there are organizations like Suban Solihna, Nurul-Ikhma, Ibadu-Rahman, Jamat Suhadai and others.
- 8 The constitutions of all the organizations reflect these aims and objectives, though their strategies for achieving them differ significantly.
- 9 Gbadamosi, *Islam among the Yoruba*, 216.
- 10 The Ahmadiyya in particular established a hospital at Lagos. For details about the effectiveness of the organizations' school system, see Fafunwa, *History of Education in Nigeria*,.
- 11 This was particularly the aim of late Ahmadu Bello, the Sardauna of Sokoto for establishing the Jamatul Nasirul Islam of Nigeria.
- 12 Adekilekun, '*Selected Islamic Organizations*' (see the table of contents).
- 13 These organizations are currently dominant in Ilorin. Their members cut across all the hitherto existing organizations and they are seriously mobilising the Muslim youth and women for Sunday Asalatu session, seminars and lectures.
- 14 Ansaruddeen started in Ilorin in 1954, Ansarul Islam (1943) and Jihadudden (1978) emanated from Ilorin. Ilorin branch of Ahmadiya started in 1974, Darul Salam (1970) Jamatul Solihenna (1983), and Taj-Adab (1986) all emanated from Ilorin. Ilorin branch of Nawar-ud-deen started in 1987.
- 15 L. A. K. Jimoh, *Ilorin The Journey So Far* (Ilorin: Atoto Press, 1994), 443-5.
- 16 Jimoh, *Ilorin The Journey So Far*, 443-5.

- 17 Alhaji Mukadam Bashir, Oral interview conducted at Oja Ago 15 August 2004.
- 18 Shaikh Abubakar Agbade, Oral interview, Agbade Compound, Ilorin. 12 Sept. 2002. Age, 50 years.
- 19 Jimoh, *Ilorin The Journey So Far*: 453 and 459.
- 20 Alhaji Abdullahi AbdulHameed, the Imam Imale of Ilorin. Oral Interview, 20 Aug. 2003.
- 21 Their works have served a good use to scholars from far and near. It should be noted that Shaikh Kamaluddeen did not publish much books like Shaikh Adam but a great number of his students have published works
- 22 Jibrin Ibrahim, 'Religion and Political Turbulence in Nigeria, *The Journal of Modern African Studies*. 29, (1991), 124.
- 23 M. G. Taofiq, "New Trends among Muslim Youths in Nigeria: The Muslims Students Society of Nigeria as a Case Study (1980 – 1996)" M.A. Thesis, University of Ilorin, 1997: 9
- 24 Taofiq "New Trends among Muslim Youths in Nigeria" 11-13
- 25 Taofiq "New Trends among Muslim Youths in Nigeria" 14-15
- 26 Taofiq "New Trends among Muslim Youths in Nigeria: 27. Auwalu Anwar, "Struggle for Influence and Identity: The Ulama in Kano 1937 – 1987" M.A. Thesis, Usmanu Danfodiyo University, Sokoto, 1989.
- 27 Jibrin, *Religion and Politics*: 2, quoting Ousmane Kane, *Islamic Reform Movement in Kano*. See also, A.I. Yandaki, "A History of the Izalah Movement in Northern Nigeria up to 1989" M.A. Thesis, Usmanu Danfodiyo University, Sokoto, 1990: 174-179.
- 28 Jibrin, *Religion and Politics*: 2, quoting Ousmane Kane, *Islamic Reform Movement in Kano*. Yandaki, *A History of the Izalah Movement*: 124–5 and Taofiq, *The New Trend*: 17–20.

- 29 Dr. Ashiru AbdulSalam, Oral interview conducted at his Office, Department of Religions, University of Ilorin, 12 Feb. 2003, age, 48.
- 30 The Ansar ud-deen society established its Mosque at Off Taiwo Road, since, 1963, Ansarul Islam Mosque at Ogidi, since, 1960, Darul Salam Mosque at Baboko, since, 1970, Ahmadiyyah Mosque at Niger and now Tanke, since, 1974, Jamatu Soliheena Mosque at Odota, since, 1983, Taj-Adab Mosque at Banni, since, 1986, Nawar ud deen Mosque at Saw Mill, Ilorin, since, 1987.

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