The Spread of Islam in Muri, 1817-1953: The Role/Contributions of the Emirs

Nadir A. Nasidi, Department of History, Faculty of Arts, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria.

Abstract:

With the establishment of the Sokoto Caliphate in 1804, which emerged as a result of the efforts made by Islamic scholars to reform the then existing Muslim polities in Hausaland, the spread of Islam became the primary concern of the emirates that formed the Caliphate. Though Islamic scholars were shouldered with the responsibility of propagation, emirs too, played important roles in the spread of Islam and the dissemination of knowledge to the nooks and crannies of the then central Sudan. This paper therefore, attempts to assess the role of Emirs in the spread of Islam in Muri Emirate, which is located in the present day Taraba State, but incorporating about seven Local Government Areas namely; Jalingo, Gassol, Ardo-Kola, Karim Lamido, Lau, Yorro and Kunini. Largely built on oral sources, the paper found out that Emirs contributed tremendously to the spread of Islam through revivalist movements, aidingof Islamic scholars, provision of books, building of mosques and schools, as well as the promotion of peace and religious tolerance.

Introduction

With the growing power of the West in terms of science and technology and the diffusion of European values to all parts of the world, concerned Muslims realized that Muslim communities were on the receiving end². For that reason therefore, Muslim scholars and

thinkers of the time made an effort to reform the Muslim world. This development triggered a lot of revolutionary movements³. Among such movements were; the Wahabiyyah of Arabia (in the 18th century), Sanusiyyah of Cyrenica, Mahdiyyah of the eastern Sudan and of course, the three Jihads of the Central Sudan spearheaded by Sheikh UthmanbnFudi, and that of the Western Sudan by Hamad Bari and al-Hajj Umar Tal. However, the Western threat may not be a reason to such responses and pointer to this, was the Sokoto Jihad of 1804.

In the 19th century, Hausaland experienced a lot of socio-political and economic problems. For instance, corruption in government was the order of the day, social vices were rampant and syncretism was pervasive⁴. Women were treated as chattels that could be used at one time and thrown away at the other⁵. For these and other reasons, Muslims in the Central Sudan began to yearn for a reformer in which SkeikhUthmanbnFudi became the answer.

It should be observed that the 1804 Jihad ended with the establishment of a theocratic state based on the pillars of Islam⁶. In 1812, Sheikh Uthman divided the Caliphate into two between Abdullahi and Bello, his brother and son, respectively. The western part of the Caliphate was administered by AbdullahibnFudi (1742-1829), while the eastern part was administered by Muhammad Bello (1789-1837)⁷.

It should also be noted that the major reason for the spread of the Jihad southwards to areas like Muri was the distribution of flags by Sheikh Uthman, mostly to his disciples as a symbol of authority to carry out the Jihad in their homelands⁸. Hence, a flag was given to Yakubu of Bauchi, Buba Yero of Gombe, Moddibo Adama of Adamawa and Hamma Ruwa of Muri, to mention but just a few. This, no doubt, led to the establishment of new emirates and thereby increasing the territorial boundaries of the Sokoto Caliphate. Meanwhile, most of the flag bearers were scholars, a reason, which seriously aided the spread of the Jihad.

Though BubaYero, the founder of Gombe Emirate was given a flag by Sheikh UthmanbnFudi, he also commanded his brother to stage a Jihad in Muri. In view of this therefore, HammaRuwa started his Jihad campaign from Gowe, to Wulnongo, Kindang-Kuru in Lau Hâbe, Benue to Wuzu, Bomanda and Toungo in the north⁹. After spending a short period of time in Toungo, HammaRuwa and his forces, arrived Je-Muryan in 1817¹⁰. Muri was originally inhabited by the Jukun tribe of Je-Muri who were then under the suzerainty of Kona Kingdom¹¹.

According to tradition, the Jukun tribe of Je-Muri was said to have migrated southward to the Kundi area (Aba Kunde) in order to avert the Jihadist's advancement¹². HammaRuwa succeeded in capturing virtually all the areas he invaded with little or no resistance. It was the Kingdom of Kona that posed a serious resistance, even though, they were forced to move out of their capital town of Akuro, situated near the present day Lau to Sha'iri, where they founded a new capital¹³. The successful execution of the Jihad in the Muri area, no doubt, led to the establishment of the sub-emirate of Muri in 1817 as a vassal state under the emirate of Gombe before it finally became a full pledged emirate in 1833¹⁴. The name 'Muri', originated from one of the Jukun towns called 'Je-Muryan', which was later shortened or corrupted to 'Je-Muri' and subsequently became Muri¹⁵.

Muri Emirate has many ethnic groups such as the Fulbe-Kiri, the Kona, Jenjo, Mumuye, Wurkun, Wurbo, Bandawa, Shomo, Kunini, to mention, but just a few. Its successful establishment had introduced to the area the idea of a centralized system of administration with the exception of the kingdoms of Kona and Kororofa¹⁶. Muri's first *Lamdo* (Emir) was HammaRuwa bi Usman who reigned from 1817 to1833.

The Contributions of Some Emirs to the Spread of Islamin Mur

Since the establishment of the Muri Emirate in 1817, its Emirs had contributed immensely to the spread of Islam. The following are the biographical notes of Emirs of Muri and their individual contributions to the spread of Islam:

HammaRuwa bi Usman (1817-1833)

HammaRuwa, also written as 'Hammarwa', or 'Hammarua' was the first *Lamdo* (Emir) of Muri apart from being its founder. According to tradition, he was said to be a brother to BubaYero, the emir of Gombe, even though others claim that they were cousins¹⁷. Whatever the case may be, HammaRuwa and BubaYero belong to the Kiri clan of Fulbe.

Upon the migration of Fulbe –Kiri from Shelleng in an attempt to avert the dangers of the Kanakuru kings, HammaRuwa led his people southwards where they settled in a place called Je-Muryan¹⁸. He contributed immensely to the spread of Islam apart from its introduction

to the area. One of the most important contributions of HammaRuwa was his ability to create a peaceful relationship between his people who were Muslims and the indigenous ethnic groups of Jenjo through $Am\hat{a}n^{19}$. Through this process, most traditionalists developed interest in Islam and they later willingly embraced it due to the good character displayed by HammaRuwa and his people. This marked the beginning of Islamic propagation in the area.

With the outbreak of the 1804 Jihad, HammaRuwa received order from BubaYero to start a Jihad in Muri²⁰. It was said that HammaRuwa attacked not those who were into truce with his leadership, but the ethnic groups that appeared rebellious in their cause to put a stoppage to the establishment of an Islamic State²¹. By 1817, HammaRuwa had overrun the greater part of the area named the Muri emirate, except Wase and Bakundi, and was in turn, appointed governor of his conquest²².

The first thing he did to facilitate the growth of Islâm in the area was the building of a mosque now located in the Old Muri (before the transfer of the capital from there to Jalingo by Emir Muhammadu Nya in 1892). The mosque was used for various purposes; the observance of the five daily prayers, the dissemination of knowledge through teaching, the transformation of the place to a court-yard and as a place for social mobilization and integration.

Similarly, being a *Modibbo* (scholar), he personally taught many aspects of the Islâmic religious knowledge namely; *Tafsir* (Qur'anic exegesis), *Fiqh* (Islamic Jurisprudence), *Nahw* (Arabic Grammar), Qur'an, *Tajwîd*(Qur'anic recitation) and *Adab* (Arabic Literature²³. To further spread the light of learning and scholarship amongst his people, he ordered for the construction of Islâmicschools and different scholars were invited to teach people Islâm. Through this means, many people among the ethnic groups of Jenjo, Wurkun, Wurbo, Chomo, Kunini, Bandawa, among others, embraced Islâm.

It was during his reign that most ethnic groups were introduced into a modest type of dressing as opposed to nudity and the use of leaves covering just the private parts. This was a serious development as moral decadence was reduced²⁴. His simplicity and generosity won him the support of his people, Muslims and non-Muslims alike. However, it was in this process of consolidating Muri, especially as he experienced some forms of resistance from other conquered ethnic groups that he

used the Islâmic *Shurah* (consultation) with the available Islâmic scholars within the emirate²⁵.

Despite the fact that Hammaruwa was very powerful militarily, he did not use force to convert the non-Muslim population, but gave them the freedom of religion as Allah says 'there is no compulsion in religion'²⁶. The only condition was that they were to pay *Jizyah* (protection money) and would therefore, be allowed to practice their religions as they wished. Besides, the Islâmic government would assist them fight their external enemies when such need arose²⁷. The system of paying tributes remained throughout the history of the area. Baikie, who visited Muri during Hamman's reign, argues that:

Hammaruwa is a powerful Pulo province, tributary to the Sultan at Sokoto, and considered but little inferior to Adamawa. It comprises a considerable extent of country, on both sides of the river, extending from Kororofa and Baushi to Adamawa...several countries pay annual tributes to Hammaruwa (referring to Muri), among which are Wukari, as having been conquered...as a pulo dependency. The tributes consist chiefly of slaves, and the amount varies according to the success met within their annual predatory excursions. In what they look on as productive years, Wukari send from the barbarous natives living beyond Kororofa²⁸.

From the above discussion, one can easily see the highest form of religious tolerance exhibited by the Muslim government, despite the fact that they had the chance to use force to their advantage, but did not. This was only possible with the good leadership and qualities of HammaRuwa as the founder and brick-layer of the Fulbe Muslim rule in Muri.

In 1833, BubaYero conspired against HammaRuwa, a condition that culminated into the brutal and unjustifiable execution of the latter by the former. However, from 1817-1833, Muri had experienced a tremendous development in its socio-economic and political spheres.

Hammadu bi Bose (1861-1869)

Hammadu was the son of Bose who was executed alongside his father HammaRuwa as earlier stated. After the deposition of Hamman (1848-1861), the people of Muri chose Hammadu who was a nephew to the former. It was said that there was a rivalry between Hammadu

and Hamman's son, Burba²⁹. The appointment of Hammadu was facilitated by the presence of the representative of the Sultan of Sokoto who was opportunely in Muri at that time³⁰. Hammadu lived part of his time in Muri, where his son UmaruSanda, took charge whenever he was on an errand and he spent part of the time in Gassol, Sandirde, and Wurio³¹.

Hammadu's major contribution was in the extension of Muri to as far as Gassol, Sandirde and Wurio. He was said to have founded Gassol. With his conquest, he brought Islamic scholars, who took the responsibility of spreading the message of Allah to all the nooks and crannies of the area³². Mosques for the observance of prayers and other purposes were constructed, attached to which were, schools for the spread of Islâm. Hammadu was said to be highly educated and therefore, had deep respect for knowledge and scholarship.

Moreover, to avoid the destruction of Muri and the Muslim *Ummah* (community), he was very tactful in dealing with his cousin and rival, Burba (1869-73). The fact that Burba's father, Hamman, was deposed from the throne and Hammadu installed, the former kept on terrorizing the socio-economic and political wellbeing of the emirate of Muri mainly through proxy wars. Burba later retired southwards and founded Bakundi, a semi-autonomous area independent of the central government³³. Instead of fighting him, a condition that may interrupt his conquests, expansions and Islamisation, Hammadu turned a deaf ear to Burba by allowing him to rule over Bakundi. Unfortunately, Hammadu did not stay long to complete his developmental programmes, especially the one geared towards the spread of Islâm. He died in 1869 as the 4th Emir of Muri.

Muhammadu Nya (1874-1896)

The contributions of Muhammadu Nya to the spread of Islam cannot be over-emphasized. Due to his great effort and commitment to Da'awah (propagation), he was praised by his subjects as 'Nya-NyâreHeferbe, Tekkere Dina, vilasâfardu, dîdaJulirde', meaning, 'Nya, the itches of the infidels, the carrier of Islam, the destroyer of shrine and the builder or designer of mosque'34. Nya judiciously used his time and resources for the spread of Islam. He was said to have conquered the Tivs around Katsina-Ala and the neighbouring communities located along the Benue and the mountainous ranges of

the Muri area³⁵. It was as the result of that conquest that he was nicknamed 'Nya' by the Tivs³⁶. The name 'Nya' was derived from a Tiv word 'Onya', which means 'red or red-man'. This was due to his light Fulbe skin and exceptional handsomeness. In one of his expeditions to the Tiv areas, he was challenged by some of his soldiers on the ground that most of their children died in the cause of war and they thought it wiser to halt. He answered them by saying that it was a duty imposed on him by Islam and for that, they should either continue with the struggle or be brought back to order by force³⁷.

Heretofore, the first thing Nya did upon his accession to power, was the liberation of the Muri emirate from the chicaneries and the unlimited power of the *SarakunanKaraga*(The king-makers). The serious political tension coming from them was said to have started in 1833 when they favoured the first son of HammaRuwa (1817-1833), Ibrahim, who was just 13 years of age for the throne so as to manipulate him to their advantage. They also wanted to enjoy an unlimited influence on the king(s) as well as the emirate³⁸. At this juncture, Sa'ad added that:

The successor of ModibboHammaruwa, his twelve year old son Ibrahim was preferred by the kingmakers as opposed to his senior and more qualified brothers and a nephew. His choice gave them the chance to run the affairs of the emirate the way they liked³⁹.

Nya also succeeded in bringing back the rebellious principalities of Gassol, Wuriyo and Sendirde under the authority of Muri emirate, as well as incorporated the territories of the Mumuye speaking people and the ChambaDaka on the southern bank of the Benue⁴⁰. Nya also succeeded in conquering the Kona Kingdom in 1892. The name 'Kona' was given to them by the Fulbe⁴¹. It originated from the *Fulfulde* word 'Konu', which means 'fighting or riot'. This was due to the series of clashes and conflicts that took place between Kona and the Fulbe in the Jihad years⁴². The Kona kingdom was finally destroyed by the Fulani Jihadists under the leadership of Muhammadu Nya. That defeat led to the establishment of the capital city of Jalingo in 1892. For that victory, the Fulbe singers eulogized him by saying 'JalingoJâli Kona dum Dina Allah ngoJâlori', meaning, 'Jalingo became victorious

(referring to the Fulbe) over Kona, but that was only possible because of their trust in God'.

Upon the defeat of the Kona kingdom by Nya in the present day Jalingo, he was said to have built a mosque at the very spot the Kona shrine stood. Thus, the eulogy 'vilasâfardu, dîdaJulirde' as mentioned earlier. He had to pacify most of the scholars who preferred living in Old Muri to come to the new capital created in 1892⁴³. In the newly built mosque in Jalingo, Nya was said to have devoted his time for *Tafsir* session (Qur'anic exegesis) just to further spread the teachings of Islam.

Nya avoided discrimination among the ethnic groups within the emirate and therefore, encouraged the idea of intermarriages, mostly, with the ethnic groups of Jenjo, Jukun, Mumuye, etc. This no doubt, had promoted peace and cultural diversification within the emirate. Similarly, he introduced the idea of giving traditional titles to the converts from the tribes of Jenjo and Kona, most of whom were slaves. Some of the titles are; Ajiya, Baraya, Turaki, etc⁴⁴. Some of the major functions of Nya as enshrined by the Sokoto Caliphate were; the spread of Islam in all conquered territories, the collection of tax and wagaf (obligatory poor rate) for the wellbeing of the poor among the Muslim community, the protection of women from insult and Islam from corruption and syncretism, the discharge of Allah's laws and the rights of the common folk protected, assistance during pilgrimage to the Holy land (natives and foreigners inclusive) and finally, to lead Muslims in prayers or assign a representative⁴⁵. In relation to booty, he was said to have always sacrificed his portion to the public treasury, which was used for Islamic propagation and other humanitarian interventions⁴⁶.

For Nya's sacrifice and contributions to Islam and scholarship, some singers somehow viewed him as a source of authority. They used to praise him as '*JatauLittafinKirikowayayirantsuwa da kaiyatsira*', (Jatau, his nick-name in Hausa, which was the equivalent of 'Nya') the book of Kiri (his Fulbe clan) whosoever swore with it is safe)⁴⁷. He was very simple, just and down to earth⁴⁸.

Nya invited many Islamic scholars from the Hausaland⁴⁹ to the emirate who later established Islamic schools and taught a variety of subjects like; *Tauheed* (Theology), *Nahw* (Arabic Grammar), Logic and rhetoric, *Fiqh* (Islamic Jurisprudence), *Ilm al-Hadith* (The science of Traditions of the Prophet S.A.W), *Tajweed* (Qur'anic recitation), to

mention, but just a few. Some of the prominent scholars he hosted and supported during his reign, were MalamKurma and Gorkobâ⁵⁰.

Nya was blessed with about forty children, among whom, were great and well trained Islamic scholars like; Mafindi, CiromaAmadu, Mo-Allah Yidi (The person loved by God), and host of others. This was possible because of his great effort geared towards the spread of Islam and scholarship among his people. He died in 1896 on his wooden bed. Though an influential king, he never left material possessions. He was also extolled as 'Modibbefeshininandaljodake Allah YobroLamdo (Nya) be Khairijijumlatan', 'Moddibe' (referring to the Lambe "Emirs" of Muri) spread and consolidated learning until it stood firm. 'O Allah, shower on Lamdo (Nya) your blessings.

Hassan bi Muhammadu Nya (1897-1903)

With the death of emir Nya in 1897, his son Hassan came back to Jalingo from MutumBiyu, where he settled in 1895 when his father wanted to make him Yerima (prince) of Gassol⁵¹. He contributed immensely to the expansion of Muri⁵². Not only that, his several attempts to bring back Gassol, an area that was taken over by rebels into the enclave of Muri proved abortive and was also forced back to MutumBiyu (now located in the present day GassolL.G.A). Hassan succeeded his father as the 8th emir of Muri. His accession into power was seriously challenged by his brother, Mafindi who was of the view that Hassan was a weak character⁵³.

Hassan was an easy going person and for that the Islâmic scholars enjoyed unlimited privileges under his government. They were paid and well looked after⁵⁴. It was said that he sponsored some of them to as far as Hausaland and Borno to increase their knowledge accumulation and then came back to impart the knowledge they had acquired onto the people of Muri⁵⁵. Like his father, whenever an erudite scholar was passing by the emirate or settled for a while, he used to encourage them to settle permanently in order to propagate Islâm. Among the scholars Hassan had great respect for were; ModibboDôbli, GorkoBâ, and a host of others⁵⁶.

As his brother Mafindi wanted to fight him and divide the emirate into two, Hassan successfully scattered the armies of the former at Wuzu, the port of Muri and this move really helped in maintaining peace, law and order within the emirate, which was no doubt, a great contribution

to Islâm⁵⁷. *Da'wah*(propagation) can only be possible with peace and tranquility. He also suppressed the concept of racism or tribalism and that was why during his time, the *SarakunanKaraga* were mainly non-Fulbe. He equally promoted social integration through intermarriages among the available ethnic groups of Jenjo, Wurbo, Wurkun, Bandawa, Chomo, Kunini and Mumuye⁵⁸. Despite his short reign, he succeeded in facilitating the rapid growth of Islâm. It was during his time that Muri surrendered to the British peacefully in 1903 so as to avoid shedding the blood of innocent Muslims. Though he had modern European weapons, which he inherited from his father, he refused to fight based on the advice given to him by the scholars of his time. He died shortly before the British High Commissioner approved his deposition, which they claimed was based on his involvement in slave trade.

MuhammaduMafindi (1903-1953)

Mafindi was the 9th emir of Muri. He was named 'Mafindi' because of his huge and powerful statue⁵⁹. The word '*Mafindi*' in Fulfulde means a 'giant or tall man'. Mafindi's defeat at Wuzu in 1897, forced him to seek political asylum in Adamawa during the reign of emir Zubairu (1890-1901). There, he established his fame due to his position as a warrior⁶⁰. After the fall of Fombinain 1901, MuhammaduMafindi was the first person to succumb to the British, later, he was said to have escorted Dr. Cargill and Captain Ruxton through the Mumuye area to Jalingo, where a truce was put in place between him and his brother, Hassan⁶¹. The deposition of his brother by the British paved way for his installation as an emir of Muri in 1903. With this development, the British introduced many laws, among which was tax, land and farming⁶².

Mafindi just like his father, successfully brought the remaining scholars who stuck to the Old Capital of Muri into Jalingo so as to help spread the word of God. This, he achieved, through persuasion and good administrative policies geared towards propagation among the people of Muri and to diversify the advancement of Islâm to non-Muslim areas within the emirate⁶³.

Tradition has it that, whenever a scholar temporarily settled in Muri, or passed by it, Mafindi used to entice them to stay for the benefit of the Muslim community. He built houses for them and provided for them things that would better their lives so as to make them accept his offer⁶⁴.

One of those scholars was ModibboGorkoBâ, a great Âlim (Islâmic scholar) who was said to have come to Muri from the Hausaland⁶⁵. There was also Mallam*Ptal*who was originally from Kano.

Before the reign of Mafindi, slave girls were not allowed to acquire Islamic education on the ground that it would provoke rebellious tendencies in their hearts⁶⁶. This according to them, would further degenerate and make the slaves turn against their lords. Mafindi disagreed and therefore gave the slaves right to acquire Islamic education to the highest level. Through this process, many slaves became great Islamic scholars. Among them of servile origin who rose to the position were the renowned ModibboHammanAdama, MalamBoyi and a host of others⁶⁷. This development had really facilitated the rapid growth of Islam within the emirate⁶⁸. This privilege was also extended to other females across Muri. Among the free born female intellectuals were; GoggoHajja, GoggoJabbo, MalamaDija, among others⁶⁹.

During Mafindi's reign, most of the Ward Heads in the emirate were non-believers, but the salary given by his government, which, coupled with his kindness, drew them directly to Islam⁷⁰. Mafindi himself was a scholar and for his deep respect for education, he dispersed his children to Kano, Katsina, Yola and Gombe to study under renowned Islamic scholars of their time. Upon leaving for these locations, he gave them *Na'i* (Cattle) which would be their source of income throughout their academic stay. The cattle were reared by their *Gainâko* (a person who rears animals to be paid) in their places of study. Among his children sent to these areas were Alkali Haruna, JauroBarkindo and Jauro Maliki⁷¹.

On the economic sphere, Mafindi was the emir of Muri who brought to his people for the first time the technology of *pade* (shoe-making) in his attempt to introduce to them the concept of self-reliance. This, no doubt had helped in no small measure to the economic development of Muri. It equally helped in reducing some forms of social malaise, such as stealing, armed-robbery, burglary, begging and extortion amongst the people as it served as a means of eradicating unemployment.

It was during his time that Muri under the great 1926 British administrative reorganization lost its provincial status: the Ibi and Tiv units were transferred to the new Benue province, Shendam became part of the Plateau province, and Muri joined Yola province⁷². MuhammaduMafindi made his pilgrimage to Makka by road across the

desert in 1934⁷³. Hogben while commenting on the personality of Mafindi argues that:

His personality dominated the semi-backwater, for he was a remarkable man, and it was with widespread rejoicing that in October 1952 the emir, at the age of 84, celebrated his golden jubilee on the throne. He died a few months later, the last of the emirs to have been installed by Lugard⁷⁴.

Talking about the major developments that occurred during Mafindi's time, Sa'adAbubakarasserts that:

In the 1930s the emir performed the Hajj over land through Sudan and for his loyalty he got the CEB in 1946. Developments in his reign were the beginning of the western education in the emirate, with elementary schools in Jalingo, MutumBiyu and Bakundi, the construction of latrine road to Yola and the coming of Christian missions to Bambur, Jauro Yinu, Lankaviri and Monkin. In Bambur for example, Rev. Guiter and the McBride arrived on 20th December, 1923, which eventually blossomed into a missionary centre attracting a number of Europeans. Western education began in 1924 and by the 1940s and 1950s Bambur became 'a centre of modernity in an ocean of darkness'. A hospital was established in 1951 and became the best in Muri attracting patients from far and wide with an aircraft bringing patients from neighbouring groups⁷⁵.

Mafindi died in 1953 and was succeeded by MuhammaduTukur, his younger brother. His reign marked the peak of the development of Muri emirate from where it began to decline. For his bravery, he was eulogized by the Hausa singers as 'MammannaHabuGarbaalkalinka Allah, JataubijiminKiri.

Mammansukukumakakagarwashinwutakinfikumurya' 'Mamman (referring to MuhammaduMafindi) the son of Habu (referring to Muhammadu Nya, Mafindi's father) Garba (Hausa form of Abubakar), your only judge, is your Lord, Jatau (Nya's nick-name) the bull of the tribe of Kiri, Mamman (Mafindi) a piece of fire...'⁷⁶⁷⁶ Interview with ShugabaZakari Usman, aged 115, Lau, 06/06/15.

Conclusion

This paper attempted to assess the major contributions of the Emirs of Muri to the spread of Islam from 1817-1953. The paper argued that

though Islamic scholars were known for their immeasurable contribution to the spread of Islam in the area of study, the Emirs too, had contributed in that regard. Among such contributions were the socio-religious revivalism, which aided the establishment of the Muri Emirate, the aiding of Islamic scholars, establishment of schools and mosques, the promotion of peace amongst the people, as well as, the provision of employments, especially for the youths, in such industries Pade and Salt as mentioned earlier, which helped in reducing the problems of theft, burglary and redundancy.

The socio-economic developments in the Muri Emirate were part of the larger policies of the Sokoto Caliphate as developed in the intellectual works of the founders of the Caliphate. Such development brought about substantial transformations of the society and the economy, which was observed by many European visitors to the area such as Barth andClapperton can be found in the records of early European explorers' visits.

Endnotes

- 1 Khalil, Y.B. (1927). *AmirulMu'uminînBubaYero*. Translated by Captain Abraham in K. 5031, NAK, p. 15. *See also*, Hamman M. (2007), The *Middle Benue Region and the Sokoto Jihad 1812-1869: The Impact of the Establishment of the Emirate of Muri*, Kaduna, Arewa House, Ahmadu Bello University Press, p. 86 and Abubakar, S. (2013). 'Historical Perspective of Muri: Problems and Prospects'. A paper delivered to Muri Progressive Forum, Kaduna, p. 5.
- Webstar, J. B. and Boahen, A.A. (1967). *The Growth of African Civilisation: The Revolutionary Years; West Africa Since 1800*. Hong Kong: Commonwealth Printing Press, p. 3.
- Webstar, J. B. and Boahen, A.A. (1967). *The Growth of African Civilisation*, p. 3.
- 4 Webstar, J. B. and Boahen, A.A. (1967). *The Growth of African Civilisation*, pp. 3-4. *See also*, Fudi, U. (n.d), *Kitâb al-farqBaynWilayâtAhl al-IslâmwaBaynWilayâtAhl al-Kuffar*. Kano: Tsandari Islamic Bookshop, pp. 4-14.
- 5 Abu-Manga, A. (1980). 'Two Fulfulde Jihad Poems: A Case of Updating'. *History Department Seminar Series*, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, Vol. 5, p. 141.

- Ferguson, D.E. (1973). '19th Century Hausaland, Being a Description by Imam Imoru of the Land, Economy and Society of His People'. Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of California, Los Angeles, p. 155. 7Sulaiman, I. (1986). A Revolution in History: The Jihad of Usman Dan Fodio. London: Mansell Publishing Limited, p. 149. See also, Last, M. (1967). The Sokoto Caliphate London: Oxford University Press, pp. 44-45, Meek, C.K. (1925). The Tribes of Northern Nigeria: An Ethnographical Account of the Northern Provinces of Nigeria Together with a Report on the 1921 Decennial Census. London: Oxford University Press, p. 101 and Abubakar, S. (1974). 'The Emirate-Type of Government in the Sokoto Caliphat'. Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria. Vol. 7, No. 2, Ibadan: Ibadan University Press, p. 215.
- 8 Adamu, A. (2006). 'The Establishment of the Sokoto Caliphate and its Impact on Society and Economy: The Case of Zazzau in the Nineteenth Century', in H. Bobboyi and A.M. Yakubu's, *The Sokoto Caliphate*, Vol. 1, p.99.
- 9 Interview with Moddibo YakubuMuri, aged 90, Jalingo, 25/06/15.
- 10 Hamman, M. (2007). The Middle Benue Region and the Sokoto Jihad 1812-1869, p. 81.
- 11 Interview with Usman KaigammaMuri, aged 80, Jalingo, 25/06/15.
- 12 Interview with BappaSule Karim, aged 80, Jalingo, 20/06/15.
- 13 Hamman, M. (2007). The Middle Benue Region, p. 81.
- 14 Interview with Malam Usman Miji Jen, aged, 64, Jalingo, 11/06/15. *See als*, Low, V.N. (1972). *Three Nigerian Emirates: A Study in Oral History*, U.S.A.: Northwestern University Press, p. 100.
- 15 Interview with BappaSule Karim, 20/06/15.
- 16 Hamman, M. (2007), The Middle Benue Region, p. 2.
- 17 Hogben, S.J. and Kirk-Greene, A.H.M (1966). The *Emirates of Northern Nigeria: A Preliminary Survey of their Historical Traditions*. London: Oxford University Press, p. 447.
- 18 Interview with AuduMarafa, aged 67, 25/06/15.
- 19 Musa Dinga, 28/06/15
- 20 ModibboYakubuMuri, 25/06/15
- 21 Interview with ModibboYakubuMuri, 25/06/15.
- 22 Interview with UmaruGassol, aged 70, Jalingo, 19/06/15
- 23 Interview with ModibboYakubuMuri, 25/06/15.
- 24 Interview with ModibboYakubuMuri, 25/06/15.
- 25 Interview with MalamIsahJalo, aged 80, Jalingo, 06/06/15.
- 26 Q2:256
- 27 Interview with MalamIsahJalo, 06/06/15.

- 28 Hogben, S.J. and Kirk-Greene, A.H.M (1966). The *Emirates of Northern Nigeria*, p. 449.
- 29 Interview with Jauro Dinga, 28/06/15.
- 30 Hogben, S.J. and Kirk-Greene, A.H.M (1966). The *Emirates of Northern Nigeria*, p. 449.
- 31 Interview with UmaruGassol, 19/06/15.
- 32 Interview with UmaruGassol, 19/06/15.
- 33 Hogben, S.J. and Kirk-Greene, A.H.M (1966). The *Emirates of Northern Nigeria*, p. 449.
- 34 Interview with Malam Musa Dinga, Jalingo, 28/06/15.
- 35 SNP 834/1913 Muriprof. Munshi Division, KatsinaAlah District Begenni Clan, Assessment Report. By A.L. Anchinleck.
- 36 Interview with Jauro Dinga, 01/06/15.
- 37 Interview with Musa Dinga, 28/06/15.
- 38 Hamman, M. (2006). 'Dynastic Conflicts and Political Instability in Muri Emirate, c. 1833-1898'. In Hamid Bobboyi's, *The Sokoto Caliphate*, Vol. 1, Kaduna: Baraka Printing Press, p. 152.
- 39 Abubakar, S. (2013). 'Historical Perspective of Muri: Problems and Prospects'. A paper delivered to Muri Progressive Form, p. 6.
- 40 Hamman, M. (2006). 'Dynastic Conflicts and Political Instability in Muri Emirate, c. 1833-1898', p. 153.
- 41 Interview with AuduMarafa, 01/06/15
- 42 Hamman, M. (2007). The Middle Benue Region, p. 43.
- 43 Interview with AuduMarafa, Jalingo, 15/05/15.
- 44 Hamman, M. (2007). The Middle Benue Region, p. 102.
- 45 Abubakar, S. (1974). 'The Emirate Type of Government in Sokoto Caliphate'. *Journal of Historical Society of Nigeria*, Vol. 7, No 2, p. 218.
- 46 Interview with Jauro Dinga, aged 76, Jalingo, 28/06/15.
- 47 Interview with Musa Dinga, 28/06/15.
- 48 Interview with MalamYakubuMuri, 21/06/15.
- 49 Hamman, M. (2006). 'Dynastic Conflicts and Political Instability in Muri Emirate, c. 1833-1898', p. 155.
- 50 Interview with Jauro Dinga, 28/06/15.
- 51 Hogben, S.J. and Kirk-Greene, A.H.M (1966). The *Emirates of Northern Nigeria*, p. 451. 52SNP 7 1267/1907 Muriprof. Administrative Divisions in Provinces, MAPS of. From Resident Muri Province to the Secretary, Zungeru, 30th April, 1909.
- 53 Tukur Abba Tukur, 25/06/15.
- 54 Interview with KaigammaUsmanu, 25/06/15.
- 55 Interview with Musa Dinga, 28/06/15.
- 56 Interview with Jauro Dinga, 01/06/15.
- 57 Interview with Modibbo YakubuMuri, 25/06/15.

- 58 Interview with Jauro Dinga, 01/06/15.
- 59 Interview with Musa Dinga, 28/06/15.
- 60 Interview with Tukur Abba Tukur, 25/06/15.
- 61 SNP 10 450/1919 Muriprof. Annual Report for the Year 1906. By Captain F.H. Ruxton.
- 62 SNP 5035/1907 Muriprof. Jangali Tax, 1907-08. See also , SNP 5501/1909 Muriprof. Report for September, 1909, SNP/10, 1343/1909 Muriprof. Annual Report, Muri, 1908, No 61.
- 63 Interview with Jauro Dinga, 28/06/15.
- 64 Interview with BappaSule Karim, 20/06/15.
- 65 Interview with Jauro Dinga, 28/06/15.
- 66 Interview with Musa Dinga, 28/06/15.
- 67 Interview with JauroDinga, 28/06/15.
- 68 Interview with AtikuJauroRufa'i, aged 62, Jalingo, 06/07/15.
- 69 Interview with AishShekaraJauroSule, aged 80, Jalingo, 15/06/15.
- 70 Interview with BappaSule Karim, 20/06/15.
- 71 Interview with Jauro Dinga, 01/06/15.
- 72 SNP 4205/1912 Muriprof. Kam Country, Assessment Report, Historical and Anthropological Notes. By T.H. Haughton.
- 73 Interview with BappaSule Karim, 20/06/15.
- 74 Hogben, S.J. and Kirk-Greene, A.H.M (1966). The *Emirates of Northern Nigeria*, p. 453.
- 75 Abubakar, S. (2013). 'Historical Perspective of Muri: Problems and Prospects', p. 11. SuleAishShekaraJauro, aged 80, Jalingo, 15/06/15. TukurTukurAbba, aged 50, Jalingo, 25/06/15. UmaruGassol, aged 70, Jalingo, 19/06/15. UsmanShugabaZakari, aged 115, Lau, 06/06/15. UsmanuKaigamma, aged 80, Jalingo, 25/06/15.