A TENDENCY IN TORO VASSAL STATE AND A DISTRICT AREA IN THE 20TH CENTURY: PHASE OF COLONIALISM IN BAUCHI EMIRATE

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Abstract

Colonialism characterized and promoted specific biasness that it introduced to the colonized communities. This was to preserved relative order for continuance of the colonial project on the exploitation of people and their resources. In Bauchi province which Toro District belonged; the story was not different as the British introduced the indirect rule system to administer the land under it. This paper seeks to unravel the nature of the impacts of British rule on the pattern of relations in Toro District in the 20th century. It examines changes in interpersonal and inter-communal relations through the various colonial policies of divide and rule, taxation and boundaries re-organisations. Secondly, it also shed light on the native authority rulers and the colonialist on the other. The research used the historical methodology by collecting primary and secondary sources i.e. oral and written sources in particular were evaluated and interpreted in constructing the history of the impact of colonialism on patterns of relation, in Toro District.

Keywords: Colonialism, Indirect Rule, Taxation, Toro and Native Authority.

Introduction

In Bauchi Province there was 24 Social groups' diversity the legacy of political conquests and migrations. The population in each of the aforementioned number of groups was bound together by common ties of language, nationality, or culture. And they all maintained a strong primogeniture social system of organization.ⁱ By establishing Scholarship, colonial stewardship in Toro gave the Area's multiethnic culture a centre piece. Consequently, some people there start to become emotionally attached to ethnic attitude and intra-organizational antagonism.ⁱⁱ In a of interviews, series the numerous communities in Toro District were found to shared interests and have foster camaraderie. People have found it challenging to grasp the commonality in Toro over time since there have been little

findings conducted about the culture and life of Toro District.

As an area of concern to many people, the issue about how Toro Area came to be part of British colonial territory under Bauchi emirate and the attempts towards changing its nature remain unnoticed by many. A number of communities today appear to have emphasized variations and placed them above white common threads often.ⁱⁱⁱ Therefore, it is essential to promote knowledge and understanding of the societies' antecedents. This will incentivize individuals to appreciate the epochal neighbourhood way of life. In response to that, this study was put together as an attempt to characterize the colonial government's attempt to short-changing the affairs there through state of the organization of Native Authority (N.A). The study is structured to first provide a synopsis of the historical context of Toro which including the arrival of the extant communities and colonialists; the development of the District area, and some contributions of it to colonial finance.

Conceptual Understand of Colonialism

The explanation of the process of societal transformation over a lengthy period of time has been attempted by numerous historians and social theorists. The idea of providence served as a major guiding principle for ancient philosophers in their attempt to comprehend and explain the origin or decline of society with its own social organization and culture; they provide a compelling argument for why this turn out to be men's' exerted influence.^{iv} The 19th century saw the rise of a prevalent historical theory that promoted material wealth, possessions, and creature pleasures as being superior to religious convictions. This idea is frequently referred to as the materialist one.^v According to this point of view, economic circumstances rather than ideas were thought to be the foundation of human history. This became the rationale behind the European's colonization of Africa where they invaded numerous geographical areas and communities. In this way, the idea of colonialism as a manufactured system with the famed indirect control, native authority, and a system of taxation by which diverse populations were identified and their resources exploited.

Phraseology- Toro, Early Migrations and Inter Group Relations

There are different accounts about the origin of the word 'Toro. The princely heritage of 'Ardo' in Toro has it that, the *Fulani* community who migrated from *Zazzau* is connected to the verbalism of Toro. That community was said to have landed in a location called *Tillel*, an area located in the main town of Toro close to the popular *unguwan Belbelu*. The community as said met a hunter known as

Mormoroga who just came back from hunting in his house with a hunted wild beast known as *Torowa*.^{vi} At that instance, his wife gives birth to a baby boy. This baby boy was later on named after that game (*Torowa*).^{vii} Thus, the use of *Torowa* in a distorted way "Toro" to means an area of land that latter on grow to become chiefdom, a vassal state of Bauchi emirate, District headquarter and in by 1976 a local government headquarters.

Another account pertaining to the origins of Toro has been identified with that hunter called *Torowa*, who it said migrated from part of *Zazzau*.^{viii} He is said to have migrated into the area in company of some who were completely under their control with whom, he met an unidentified community of people. In an oral interview conducted with late Hassan Umaru, that community is said to be *Kyauri* community which is now bordered with part of Eastern Jos and a local government area.^{ix}

On the Fulani migration into the area, comparable tradition about people in Toro notified about the remnants of one of the oldest known groups of Fulani in the area to have come from *Lere of* Zazzau Emirate known as *Filale*. This community is said to have settled in two main locations known as *Salarma* and *Tilden Fulani* centuries before the eruption of Islamic *Jihad* in the area by Yakubu *ibn* Dadi.

There were also other *Fulani* community in the area such as the *Fulani Mallawa*, who are said to have migrated into this of Toro from *Mali* and they live in a defined area labelled after them *(mallawa)*.^x It is widely speculated that additional Fulani communities from the Borno axis had consolidated with the aforementioned communities.^{xi} In the area of ancestral leadership in Toro District, the Fulani have retained their dominant position.^{xii}

Therefore, the *Fulani* communities in Toro have been divided into groups according to their migration experience, as deduced from the explanations above. A desire to leave specific situations and resettle to a favourable geographic eco - systems in order to boost their domesticable bovid may have spurred their migration. *Ribina* community is the second and associated tribe to the *Fulani* by virtue of one of their tradition of origination into the area identified them to have migrated from *Gobir*.

Ribina community had many qualities similar to that of Jarawa. This has promoted coexistence among them enhance the tendency of borrowing traits of one another among them.xiii They migrated from parts of Borno.xiv They are said to have occupied hills' crest during the expansion of Islam into the southern and southern-western regions of Bauchi emirate by the forces of Yakubu ibn Dadi thereby taking over Wasai, Takum, Awai, Tonglan, *Gumbar*.^{xv} They continued to be there until in the year 1902 when British colonialists arrived parts of Bauchi including Toro. Jarawa community just like its sister groups *Ribinawa* and *Duguzawa* were found on top of hills.xvi It constituted the substantial peopling of Kasar Jarawa although; they were later carved out of Toro district.xvii

Another historical record on the origin of the Jarawa community into has it that, they migrated from Gurba to Chawai in the southern part of Zaria-Zazzau. They were said to have arrived from Pengana at their hilly destination stations near Toro.^{xviii} The community is divided on the basis of a hazy migration pattern.xix They are said to have been of the same origin but who reached their final destinations at different time frame. The first are said to be the Jarawa, who live in Share hills and migrated into other areas such as Afuwozu, Fobor, and Kwall. The second mentioned groups were from the same Chawai and are now known as Jawan Kogi and Firsun. These are the groups that most likely settled near Toro for a time before moving on to those areas and mixing with other groups known as Jarawan Forom and Kapis. The third of this community included those who migrated from Chawai, who are thought to be

Damshun's kin, and who also settled around *Zandi*, which became part of the *Federe* district area.^{xx} A source has it that, they shared some things in common with Rubina.^{xxi} Most of their dealings were traditionally treated. They had their system of administration unique before the coming of the colonialists, where they conduct their activities under what may be seen as their council of five leaders (*sarakuna*). These were the *Didaran*, *Maye*, *Wari*, *Denumun*, *Desuri*, *Luri Inka and Chofi*.^{xxii}

Their dominance in Toro was in Kurfi and Magama-Gumau area. Apart from unguwan Gada identified as their main Habitation among other places. When Europeans reach Toro, their numbers were taken notice as a result of that; their style of leadership was redefined as they were made to have a robust personality as a central chief.^{xxiii} This could be seeing as attempt for colonial imposition of the system of taxation under the Native authority.

Looking at the language groups in the Toro and its environ, it may be reasonable to suggest that the diversity of the toques appears to be as a result of migration and residency in the area which took place mostly before the coming of colonialists into northern Nigeria. They indicated common characteristics which can be discern.^{xxiv} They also provided information on certain complexity on causes and effects of social coexistence, which have been visible base on the borrowed culture.

British Colonial Expeditions into State of Sokoto Caliphate: Masarautar Bauchi in the 20th Century

Emirates were administrative units under *Sokoto* caliphate who were responsible for defending and promoting general Islamic belief and ideology, which determines how every Muslim should behave.^{xxv} The said Islamic ethos brought and strengthens interpersonal and inter-communal relationships as obtained in the various emirates thereby facilitating coexistences among diverse communities.

For about a century, the *Sokoto* Caliphate ruled over a vast territory and people in the West African sub-region. This included Hausa kingdoms, which stretched east from the Niger to Borno and south to Benue and Adamawa. The *Sokoto* Caliphate was taken over by the British colonialist in 1903and introduced direct rule system therewith the Native authority governments under which the general political structure was maintained.^{xxvi}

River Niger and Benue were of proverbial interest to the European imperials in their penetration of Nigerian area. It was from a post within Benue that, the Royal Niger Company suddenly entered Bauchi Emirate in 19th century.^{xxvii} That trading post was used in fighting slavery which was the earliest action which served as a reason for the company's interference into the internal affairs of some societies.xxviii This audacity was demonstrated within the recruitment drive into the Emirate under the Royal Niger Company in 1898.^{xxix} The existence of internal fission provided yet another excuses for the interference right from 1890 when Damper, the chief of Amar sought the protection of the company against Wase. In the subsequent time in 1898, Wase came to be divested. Thus, the Ubandoma was sent to Bauchi to be appointed as Emir of Wase. This shows compliance there to the Company's request. Two years later, the protectorate of northern Nigeria was declared and the sacking of Gwaram took effect, a regrettable internal affair which became a pretext for subduing Bauchi. By January 1902, Bauchi was occupied by the British, without offering any military despite resistance persistent intimidation.xxx

Frederick Luggard was appointed High Commission of the protectorate of Northern Nigeria in 1900. From the same 1900 to 1903 he entered and controlling the Sokoto Caliphate. Borno in the neighborhood of the Caliphate was also occupied. Most parts of northern Nigeria, by1905 were virtually under British colonial rule. The high commissioner was fortunate as there was a highly developed and practicing political system in Sokoto Caliphate. It was a system based on what is called delegation of leadership authority.^{xxxi} This became a plus to him and his allies, upon which they introduced the "Indirect Rule system." xxxii Under the indirect rule system, the protectorate of northern Nigeria which Lugard was to head came to be divided into provinces and the same provinces were also divided into divisions. Resident officers were introduced and assigned to lead the numerous provinces while Districts were headed by District officers (D.O). They later supervised the emirs and the later was made responsible to the Resident officers. the hierarchy, the Resident was In answerable to the higher commissioner or Lieutenant Governors, then in charge of the whole northern protectorate. Above the commissioners was the authority of Governor who was based in Lagos who exercise control over the whole Nigerian area. This authority in northern Nigeria ruled through proclamation.xxxiii

The District administration in Nigeria can easily be identified as a policy of mainly the instance of exploiting resources. It can be justified by its explicit nature which includes among other things the facilitation of different activities such as a collection of taxes and the introduction of cash crop production activities as local wealth to the Britain authority.^{xxxiv} This also came with the introduction of the District Head System to consolidate the experiment and practice of the indirect rule system.^{xxxv}

Documentation from the 20th century on Toro District of Bauchi Province

In most parts of northern Nigeria, establishment of some important administration centres were done in mostly prominent areas where people live and work.^{xxxvi} Therefore, many parts of Toro District by 1903 was a centre of mining activities which witness influx of people into the area thereby making it more attractive to the British colonizer. This is evident to the creation of the first mining beacon there on 19th Day of September 1905 by Lt. Colonel Late Heronry William Law C.M.G.D.S.O assisted by Late R. A. Archibald and S.W. Carpenter.^{xxxvii}

The basic characters of Toro in terms of its population and geography underscore the importance of the area thereby making colonial Native Authority government to expand the scope of its activities into the area. The provincial border adjustments within Bauchi province and beyond resulted into creation of District Area in Toro which means extension of British control into the semiautonomous groups. In that regard, the period 1913 may be seen as an epoch in the history of Toro District because, it was then that it was created from Lame District.xxxviii Thus, some British colonial infrastructure begins to be introduced there. Prominent among which was Western education institution and its practices that made some people easily gave in to particular persuasion on the identity of the area to be a pagans' dominion.

However, it is open to understand that, Western education practice in Toro was further been determined by the nature of the area an area with the most distinct quality. It was multicultural, easily reached from different locations where there were pagans such as Plateau independent pagan District. This defines just a reason that made the area became central and a catchment area to some pagan communities whose interest colonial government wanted catering for in an accessible environment.^{xxxix}

The District in question come to have its numerous towns in numbers under *Ardo* of Toro before Colonial occupation in the area became intense. The general area comes to be under the Ardo in the first place and later on *Hakimi*.^{x1} Each of the two was aided by *Masu litatafai* and *Unguwani*. Situation was also made such that, Toro District area was divided into three main villages. Each of which had a sizable number of towns beneath it. These were the Tilde, Toro, Loro, Bakon Narabi, Lugere, Tuma, and Yolo town were all positioned under Tilden Fulani village area. Fobur, Madakin Ari, Adabo, Lamingo, Inyam, Sarkin Yamma, Awari, Furaka, Nabatu, and Darizu Town were directed to be included in Fobur village. Hursun town, Hursun Arna, Awom, Hursun Dutse, Tere, Nissin, Hursun Hausa, Goron Fusa, and Barikin Fusa town made up the final village area which was Hursun village area. Toro was once brought to be under Tilden Fulani for a shortly period of time following colonial decision.^{xli}

To understand the Toro District better, it had numerous villages under it with potentials contribute to the then, colonial revenue generation. These included Madakin Abir, Adabo, Laminga, Iyam, Sarkin Yamma, Awari, Furaka, Nabatun and Darizu. And the Town of Hursun Village area, Awom, Hursum Dutsi, Tere, Nissin, Hursum Hausa, Goran Fusa and Barikin Fusa. The natures of these villages and their locations are disclaimer to the notion by David C. Tembo that, Plateau state maintained their independent until the arrival of British colonialist.

Pre-Modern Socio-Cultural and Economy temperament in Toro District up to the Colonial period

Those responsible for destroying our African heritage and the fabric of our society claimed to have established states for us.xlii The term "state" refers to a developed notion, a complex of precise mechanisms of government; it is defined as "a geographically bounded sector of human civilization unified by shared obedience to a single sovereign." ^{xliii} According to Marxists, is an expression of class cohesion, "the culmination of the social organization of the economy at a specific degree of productive and distributive function." and that, one of its basic tasks is to employ power to maintain specific social order. As a consequence of the findings, most of the communities in Bauchi province had not achieved statehood by the beginning of the nineteenth century.^{xliv}

People in Toro as part of Bauchi Province, then were said to have had an impressive the neighbouring communities among which have been identified as Leren Zazzau; Wase, Kafin for the Yamusa, and Lafivan

In terms of educational pursuit, residents of Toro, particularly Muslims then had journeyed to various areas, including the Bauchi emirate center and Zaria, in quest for Islamic knowledge before the turn of the 19th century.^{xlvi} The same source has it that prominent Islamic clergymen in the area have long attended occasions on emirates upon invitation to talk about issues relating Islamic affairs in the area. Even though, this was commonly practiced in its neighboring areas.

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On the traditional religion practice in the area, shrines were various established by all the non-Muslim communities in the area which housing what are seeing as holly objects. They were put under the watch of a particular holy person. The geography of the area is identified as a factor that promoted that religious affair.xlvii

The political structure among the semiautonomous groups there was centralized in nature during the period of this study under the able leadership of Adobe. However, as strengthen by the Islamic Jihad, colonial system of Native Authority in Toro District contributed much in reducing the position of Ardo. This was the central authority emanated from among the Fulani community in the area.^{xīviii} By this period in the area, governance became a full-time activity among Fulani thereby reemphasizing family to be seen as very important and remain on issue of leadership in the precinct and beyond.^{xlix} The Ardo settles squabbles between couple and other individuals until the introduction of Native Authority courts.¹

The Native authority system was an actor in the disintegration of groups in Toro District. This is seen on how it supported

Jarawan Kogi for that by an act of transferring the District headquarters of Toro to their area (Kasan Jarawa). When it was relocated back to Toro, they requested establishment of Sarki for themselves in the area.^{li} And much later they called for been merged into the Plateau who ideologies were identical.

This was not all on that issue. The same headquarter was moved to Tiden Fulani during the reign of Ardo Gani (1916) to1919.^{lii} Thus, Toro District areas became sub-divided into three main groups for advancing some economic policy under Native Authority. The identified one was intend for revenue generation as Tilden Fulani was then a mining centre.^{liii}

As been on notice, Trading in Toro Area was a prominent practice in the economic realm. The area had the antiquity *Badikko* market, which was situated north of Jos and continued to serve as a hub for some commercial activities. People from Zaria, Hadejia, and other places were believed to had converged themselves there for the intent of able to trade slaves, sewn clothes, goods.^{liv} and other As a related development or justification to that, was an established merchant route that ran through Polchi to other parts of Toro and even beyond. The routes were said to have been used by some business traders from Adamawa, *Taraba*, and Borno.^{1v}

In terms of colonial finance, the District Area in view had meaningful contributed to the revenues collected. Greater part of the income of the people, from which they paid their tax, came from the sales of their farm produces and some industrial goods that resulted from mining activities.^{1vi} It helped in making there are a famous town as it attracting multiple populations of people from different parts in the country.^{1vii}

Contributions of Toro District in **Revenue Generation in the 20th Century** The immediate measures taken by the British government after the collapsed of Sokoto Caliphate in March 1903 was the abolishment of the inherent tribute and proclamation of land revenue.^{lviii} The British justified it by the right of conquest which according to them transferred the right from the leadership of caliphate to the right of taxation of the British authority.^{lix} Thus, it was no longer that in the year 1904, the system of direct taxation was imposed in all parts of northern Nigeria with the exception of only the capital city of the emirate.^{1x} Like it was in other parts of northern Nigeria, this was what caused a profound concern leading to an increase of indifference by the people who suffered from its consequences. Following their contribution in the revenue generation the then colonial government did not look at it with mercy eyes and funded Toro District with their required infrastructures among which was the Western educational institution and later on a single clinic been established at Unguwan Belbelu.

According to a report on collected tax by Morgan, there was a kind of fluctuation in the tax collected which despite the flourishing of some agricultural and mining activities from which taxes was paid. The situation was not far from the calibre of the collectors.^{1xi}

To buttress that claim, *Tilden Fulani* then was a very important centre for mining natural stones but identified with an incoherent contributions into the revenue generation then. In one of the colonial record, taxation in the area was analysed comparatively between the new approximate and old calculated revenue paid as tax.

The new approximated tax collected in Tilden Fulani by the government was £210. 18.0., which was lower than the old estimated contribution of £295. 15.0. The story was of no different with the contributions made in Fobur and Hursun. There, its new estimated amount of pound contributed into the Native Authority treasury as revenue from the tax collected was revenue generated from Fubur Village showed a total of £233.10.0 and its old estimate was £331.5. On the total amounts (calculated pounds) generated from Hursum village area were put at £204.2.3 for the area's new contribution and its old measured contribution was £293. 0.

The record on the revenue generation under Toro District which reveals some decreased in the amount of financial contribution to the Native Authority government, conceivably in the period perhaps, 1920 to c1930 had also shown that Toro town at that moment which was under Tilden Fulani village area, had a worthwhile contribution with no role in the shortfall of the financial contribution of the whole Tilden Fulani village which was estimated at £85.3, or 28% decrease, as compared to £97.15.0, or 29%, deceased of the contribution made by Fobur village area, as well as £88.17 which depicted a decrease of well almost 29% of the Hursun village area.

 Table 1: Performances in Tax Generation, Toro District Areas in the 1930s

S/N	DISTRICT	VILLAGE	ASSESSMENT		PERFORMANCES	PERCENTAGE APPROXIMATE
1	TORO	TILDEN	NEW	OLD	DECREASE	
		FULANI	ASSESSMENT	ASSESSMENT		
2		FALAMA	£43.15.0	£167.0.0	£ 53.9	35% approximately
3		ZAKSHI	£69.10.0	£79.10.0.	£35.15.0	45% approximately
4		KUFAI	£51.5.0	£126.5.0	£ 56.15.0	45% approximately
5		POLCHI	£70.17.0	£93.0.0	£ 41.15.0	45%
6		DAMSHI	£221.14.0	£105.10.0	£ 34.13.0	30%
7		JAMA'A	£45.18.6	£275.10.0	£ 53.16.0.	19% approximately
8		FEDERE	£104.6.3	£77.15.0	£ 31.16.6	41% approximately
9		MAIGEMU	£113.15.0	£145.10.0	£41.3.9	28%
10		SHERE	£127.16.9	£161.10.0	£47.15.0	29% approximately
11		ZUL	£113.11	£178.15.0	£50.18.3	28%

Source: NAK/Bauchi/ Prof/ 36

With the exclusion of what was realized from *Masu Albashi*, the Morgan's assessment of the role of Toro District indicated that approximately £2481 was realized as a new figure of the generated revenue with decrease of £896 in the old result of the assessed contributions which amounted to £1585.

In understanding the then performance of Toro District in financing the Native Authority government, is taking into account the independent assessment of Major Craggs on Jama'a District, which provided an old assessment result of £770 and that of the area's new performance to be £395 which was far less than what was realised in Toro District. More to that is also taking into account of the £2481 realised in the area which had an increase of £489.84 as against the proposed £1994.4.0, proposed to the District.^{1xii} The £1210 difference between the results of the new and the old assessment demonstrated the contribution of Toro District to the raising of revenue generation in the period 1920s. This has evidenced the statements that Toro was a considerable local contributor to the revenue collected through income tax during the colonial rule.^{1xiii}

However, from the above source on Toro District area, the sum of £2, 864.13.0 was realised in the period 1930s.^{kxiv}

 Table 2: Showing Contributions of Toro District Areas in Taxes Generation, in the 1930s

S/N.	DISTRICT	VILLAGE	TOWN	PROPOSED	ASSESSMENT	DECREASE	INDUSTRIAL	PERCENTAGE
1	TORO	TILDEN FULANI	TORO	-	82199	-	9.15.9	-
2		FOBOR	AWARI	-	43100	-	-	-
3		HURSUN	HURSU ARNA	-	42159	-	211 (714)	28%

NAK/Bauchi/ Prof/ 35

Conclusion

The cohabitation of the people in Toro District early, illustrates a remarkable mutually beneficial relationship rooted in interactions as a result of their histories. The various interpretations about the people and area of Toro have noted the qualities of its inhabitants at the level of the societal system that gives occupant of land power and influence much earlier. This has turned down any assertion on a notable chief to comprehensive monopolization of direct authority in the entire Toro District. It highlighted that the settlement in Toro, like many other places, has a rich history of unity of purpose and acceptance that come to be tempered with by the colonial governance.

End Note

ⁱ Bauchi State (2003); Economic, Political and Social Survey; Kaduna, Regent printing and Publishing Ltd pp.12-13

ⁱⁱ Check out from M.D Sani (07-04-2022). Toro Politics: Rising above trivial and Religious Sentiments. Blueprint www.blueprint.ng/toro-politics-rising-above-tribal-and-religious-sentiment-2/ Access 10-06-2022

ⁱⁱⁱ The long before the coming of British colonialist, the various groups of Fulani do participated in the cultural affairs of their non-Muslim neighbours to the extent of giving them adult cow to slaughter for their rituals. Likewise the pagans, who always help Fulani whenever the need arises, attend their cultural events too. The highest point of it was how the non-Muslims rule the area much early before the Jihad of 1804 without experiencing any opposition from the Fulani communal who by then were Muslims.

^{iv} Philosophers of the great awakening hold that humankind's conceptions and rationale have influenced development of societies.

^v B. Jeremy & M.M. Donald (2007 third). *Studying History*. New York. Palgrave Macmillan; P.129

^{vi} Mormoroga as a name is today in use to refer to the outskirts of Toro, down the location where the one of the early clinics in Toro was build. The a area today is characterized by rocks, grasses, and trees and is still home to some wild animals that remained one of the targeted areas for hunting.

^{vii} Oral interview with Hassan Umar (80 years) conducted on 6TH June 2019

viii W. Morgan, Toro District Assessment Report, NAK, SNP 9/11 3527/1924.

^{ix} Oral interview conducted with Hassan Umaru 83 years

^x Oral interview conducted with Hassan Umaru 83 years

^{xi}Map on the demographic nature of Bauchi as titled 'the ethnic groups map of Bauchi.' It was compiled and drawn by the State's Surveyors; which the existence of three distinct groups of Fulani people in Toro which have been observed to had come into the areas of Bauchi from different directions.

xii Hardos lists

xiii Oral interview conducted with Baba Garka (79 years), conducted at Tofa area of Old Ribina on the 16th Day of June

^{xiv} Oral interview conducted with Baba Garka (79 years), conducted at Tofa area of Old Ribina on the 16th Day of June 2019 ^{xv} Oral interview conducted with Hassan Umaru 83 years

^{xvi} These places were Federe, Fobor, Firsun, Maijuju and Gwash among other areas some of which are refers to Jarawan Kogi. ^{xvii} Oral interview with Hassan Umaru 83 years

^{xviii} Y.A. Abubakar in his study (PhD these, A.B.U Zaria) as titled: The Establishment and Development of Emirate Government in Bauchi1805 – 1903. (Unpublished) p176

^{xix} Ethnic Migration Map as Drawn and Printed by the Bauchi State Survey in June 1988. The map indicated the migration of *Jarawa* community into Bauchi Region. They were from Chad; they moved into Ngazargamu to Kukawa and entered areas of Yankari and then part to Bununu and Dass areas. Another map indicated the present of *Jarawa* community around the border areas between Toro, Kaduna and Plateau areas. This tried to justify the explanation about the community's migration into Bauchi Province from around Zazzau Emirate.

^{xx} H. Umaru (unpublished); Fulanin Toro da Makwabtansu; p.31

^{xxi} The Duguza people from Cibiri had traditional practices which is similar to that of Ribinawa. One of these is their harvest festivals which Duguzawa call it bikincinsabo.

^{xxii} Sarkin Cibiri RizoTundu was said to have presided over the meetings of this Duguzawa council.

xxiii Hassan Umaru (unpublished); Fulanin Toro da Makwabtansu; p.257

^{xxiv} As resulted from interviews conducted in Toro Areas, these groups are said to be of distinguished character which has to do with respect for elders, quite unique in distinct ways. For example they all show submission to social superior by making a 'bend down' while greeting them. They are said to have been diplomatic in their dealings with each other in the area. They observed similar occupations principally among which was farming of some crops and pastoralism which could have been favored by the nature of geographical of the area in view.

^{xxv} M. Arshad (2014). *The establishment of the Nigerian Sokoto Caliphate: an Inquest into the Background History of the* 1804 Jihad in Hausa land, 210 Years After.

www.researchgate.net/publication/28273945_the_establishent_of_the_Nigerian_SokotoCaliphate_An_ accessed 19th October, 2022

^{xxvi} *The Colonial and Pre-Colonial Eras in Nigeria – American* https://www.historians.orgteachingandlearning Access on 30th Day of November 2021

xxvii Bauchi State (2003); Economic, political and social survey; p.32

^{xxviii} In an article published in the Ground Work of Nigerian History page 447, Sa'ad Abubakar identified this as the commencement of the loss of glory and sovereignty of the various communities or political entities in northern Nigeria.

xxix Bauchi State (2003); Economic, political and social survey; p.32

xxx I. Obaro (2012,) Edit., Ground Work of Nigerian history., 449

xxxi Sa'ad Abubakar. Northern Province under colonial rule: 1900-1959. Obaro Ikime p.446

^{xxxii} Eluwa, Ukagwu, Nwachuku & Nwaubani (2005). *History of Nigeria for Schools and Colleges*. Lagos. African-first publishers Limited; p.205

xxxiii History of Nigeria for schools and colleges; p.206

xxxiv S. Haliru ((2012). From Districts to Local Government Areas: A History of Administration of Northern Districts of Zazzau Emirate 1902-1976". Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria, Vol. 21, p. 189-195 Published by: Historical Society of Nigeria.

https://www.jstor.org/stable/41857197 Accessed: 13-09-2018; p.2-4.

xxxv S. Haliru (2012), p.4

^{xxxvi} The CMS Grammar School in Bariga (*Bariga* is a District and suburb in Lagos State, Nigeria). This is where the oldest secondary school in Nigeria, founded on 6 June 1859 is located by the Church Missionary Society.

xxxvii National commission for Museum and Monuments (2011). List of Declared National Monuments; p.25

xxxviii Late F.B. Gall, Esq (1920).Nigeria: Northern Province (1920), Gazetteer of Bauchi Province; p.7

^{xxxix} Toro District has several border areas among which is the one it has with Kaduna around *Saminaka* axis and by little stretch, with Kano, around present-day Doguwa Local Government, which makes it readily accessible to Nigerians from other geopolitical zones. It is the main gateway to the North-Eastern part of the country. Find this from the work on northern Nigeria by Late F.B. Gall, Esq (1920). *Nigeria: Northern Province* (1920), p.8

^{xl} This has been pointed out by late Hassan Umaru himself, in his unpublished work 'Fulanin Toro da Makwabtansu' in p.4, that the creation of Toro District led to the consequent creation of Local Government headquarters there which come along with the introduction of a new title holder in 1976 (Hakimin Toro). That development began with a successful attempt in making the then aged Ardon Toro Umaru to hold the new position. Instead, he suggested his son Hassan Umaru to be appointed. Thus, Hassan Umaru by the agreement of the then government was installed and became the first District head of Toro. ^{xli} Oral interview with Hassan Umar (80 years)

xliixliixlii C. John (2019). The origins of African states, and their names. A blog post. www.cfr.origins-african-states-and-thenames accessed 15th October 2022

^{xliii} Fried, M. H. (1968). State: the institution... New York: Macmillan.

xliv Bauchi State (2003); Economic, political and social survey; p.20

xlv Oral interview with Hassan Umaru 83 years.

xlvi Hassan Umaru (unpublished) book; P.26

xivii S. Lukman Jibrin (2021). Transformation in contemporary economic history: a case study of market and market system in Toro Area of Bauchi State, 1967-2001. Thesis submitted to the po, A.B.U. Zaria for the award of master's degree in History.

xlviii Hassan Umaru (unpublished) book; P.28-33

xlix According to Hassan Umaru, there were periods in Toro when leadership was not a serious issue to Fulani, this facilitated the rule of the area by the non-Muslims.

¹Zubairu Yakubu 65 The village head of Zaranda In Toro Town 08th June 2019 and with Muhammad Imam at held in Tilden Fulani on the 08th Day of June 2019

^{li} In Arabic amīr, it means commander, head of community. Then, it was a polytheistic religious environment.

lii Hassan Umaru (unpublished) book; P.56

iii S. Lukman (2021). Beyond Boundaries: the Spatial Connection of Local Markets in Nigeria, 1976-2001. Lafai Journal History of Nigerian History; Volume 13, no. 3 p.115

liv Oral interview conducted with Hassan Umaru 83 years.

^{Iv} Hassan Umaru (unpublished) book; P.26-27

^{1vi} Oral interview with Muhammad Imam at Tilden Fulani

^{lvii} Oral interview with Muhammad Imam at Tilden Fulani on the second day of June, 2020 at 4:00 pm

^{1viii} NAK/SNP 15 Acc. 374, Memorandum on Land Tenure and Taxation, 1; NAKISNP/6 C.162/1907, Land Tenure and Land Revenue in Northern Nigeria, 63-69.

lix P. T. Kazenga (1974). The administration of Sokoto, Gwandu and Argungu Emirates under British rule 1900-1946. Ph.D. Thesis, University of Ibadan p.193

k J. Ibrahim (1998). Colonial Taxation in the Capital Emirate of Northern Nigeria: African Economic History, No. 26. African Studies Program, University of Wisconsin-Madison p.86. http://www.jstor.org/stable/3601691 Accessed on 2-09-2022.

lxi NAK/ Bauchi/ Prof/ 35

lxii NAK/Bauchi/ Prof/ 35

kiii Oral interview conducted with Hassan Umaru 83 years and also an oral interview with Muhammad Imam.

lxiv NAK/Bauchi/ Prof/ 35