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The Rabeh Factor in the Socio-Political History of Bade, 1897-1892

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ABSTRACT
The coming of Rabeh's forces into the Bade Chiefdom had shaken the foundations of the Bade Confederation, yet all factions showed patriotism in defending the sovereignty of the region. Moreover, the Rabeh Factor was a defining element in the socio-political evolution of Bade from 1897 to 1902. It not only influenced its socio-political system but also transformed their worldview in terms of interrelations with other communities. By examining the Rabeh factor, we gained a deeper understanding of the complex interplay between local and external forces in shaping the history and identity of Bade during the transformative era. A quantitative and qualitative method of data collection and analysis were being adopted.
Keywords: Bade Chiefdom, Rabeh's forces, history and identity

INTRODUCTION

This paper focuses on the era of the Rabeh invasion of Bade, which was a watershed and an important era in the history of the communities of Bade, as it was marked by significant socio-political transformations, which were largely influenced by the legacy of Rabih Zubayr. It discusses how Rabeh's governance influenced Bade's political structures and social organizations up to the period covered in this study. Rabeh was described as a formidable warlord and ruler[1]. His strong influence and indelible impact resonated across the Central Sudan region. Rabeh was said to be originally a commander under the Sudanese warlord, Zubayr Rahma, who ruled a vast empire in the late 19th century extending from Chad to some parts of present-day northern Nigeria. His fierce multiple conquests and administrative strategies had left an indelible mark on the sociopolitical structures of the regions he comfortably controlled, including Bade Emirate. The outcome of the dynamic and complex interplay of Rabeh's legacy of administration created a unique sociopolitical environment in Bade characterized by adaptation and transformations in the structure of government.

Problem statement/justification

The Bade region started as a settlement since 15th century. It maintained her independence throughout the Pre-colonial period except for friendly relations with her major neighbour, the Borno Emirate. However, from the latter part of the 19th century, especially during the short period of Rabeh Fad Allah rule, despite the independence which Bade maintained, it was realised that many of the political and cultural institutions of Borno were employed and used by the Bade royalty. This study is an attempt to find out the Rabeh factor in the socio-political history of Bade.

Objectives(s) of the study

[1] Imam, I (2010) A short history of Rabeh ibn Fade-allah (1838-1900)

- - Assess the impact of Rabeh invasion of Bade
- - Provides account of dynamic administrative changes in Bade during the Rabeh interlude.
- Outline the factors that contributed in the acceptance of Rabeh's political and social transformations in Bade.

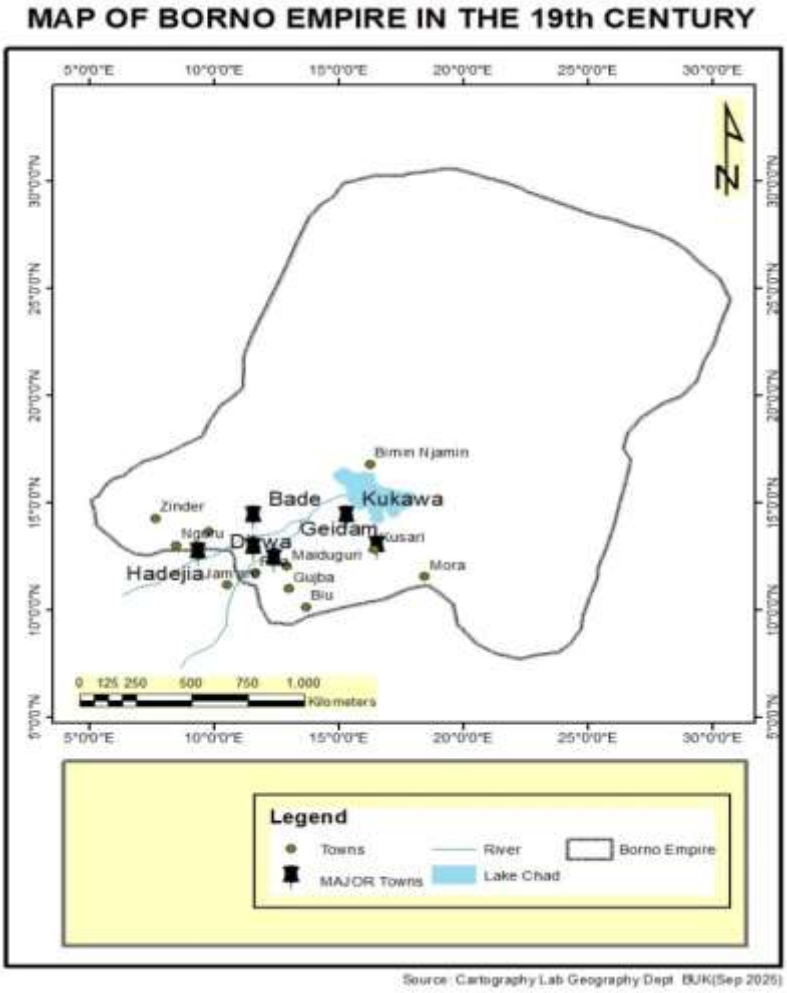
Examine the colonial and post-colonial amendments on Rabeh's transformations of Bade political and social structures.

Background to Understanding Rabeh

Rabeh was the personality who used his band of armed slave army to dominate the political and military history of not only Bade but also the entire Chad Basin in the late 19th Century.[2] A militant figure, he was said to have been born in Halfaya al-Mulk, which today forms part of a suburb in Khartoum, Sudan in 1840.[3] This date coincided with era of Sudanese famous religious leaders and reformer, Muhammad Ahmed ibn Abdallah, popularly known as al-Mahdi (1843-1885).[4] Rabeh's was a disciplined of Mahadism, he strictly followed his doctrine which promote the total rejection of the domination of Europeans occupation. The Islamic education system of Madi's and it interpretation of Islamic doctrines was said to be the essentially factor that raised for the revolutionary movement by the Sudanese youth and elderly men alike, stood against the British colonial occupation of Sudan, especially after 1882 when Egypt became a British colonial territory. During his late childhood and early adolescent period, he was as a client in the commercial activities or service of al-Zubair Rahman al-Mansur, better known as Zubayr, who was not only an important disciple of al-Mahdi, but also serving as the Governor in Bahr al-Ghazal, including Darfur. After the death of al-mahdi in 1885, Zubayr gradually built up his army and once assured of its strength, he directed an expedition against so many areas in the Sudanese region.[5] During all these campaigns, Rabeh was the captain of Zubayr's guards and was known to be an excellent marksman.[6] Being one of Zubayr's leading and famous commanders, Rabeh engaged in an uninterrupted violence and terror as well as predation of the communities he came across with and became the Chief of Dar Runga, a territory between Wadai and Darfur for twelve years.[7] By the time Rabeh left Dafur, he was commanding a very well disciplined army of not about 960 troops armed with rifles.[8] In1883, he had under him 1,500 men all armed with rifles and well trained.

After being assured of the strength of his army, Rabeh asked Khalifa Abdullahi of Sudan, a Mahdi leader, to grant him a flag to fight the kingdom of the Western Sudan in which Borno was included.With the support of the Shuwa, Rabeh defeated the Bornoan army at the battle of Legerwa.[9] The Shehu (Hashim Ashimi) and his courtiers fled to Geidam, and from there, Shehu Hashimi once again took refuge in Bade territory and passed through *Jakusko* and Garin Alkali before finally settling at Bursari, a Borno town to the west, which also served as a military garrison under the command of Kachalla Manzo.[10] Kukawa was deserted and left to Rabeh and his invading troops. Rabeh restored the ancient town of Dikwa by making it his headquarters. [11]

[2] Ashafa 2010, 32.
[3] Hallam 1977; Lavars 1994, 215; Alexander 1907, 180
[4]
[5] Imam I (2010) A brief history of Rabih
[6] Lavers 1994, 215.
[7] See Hallam 1977.
[8] Imam, I (2010) A sshort history of Rabih ibn Fad'allah
[9] …..
[10]
[11] Imam, I (2010) A short history of Rabeh…



Map of Borno Empire showing locations which were affected by Rabeh activities

He continued with his invasion on especially the communities under Borno and its neighbours, where some willingly submitted because of the fear of his devastating onslaught. It was this threat posed by Rabeh that made the Bade ruling class and its subjects to leave their headquarters, the town of Gorgaram, to a safer place in order to avoid losing both human lives and valuable belongings.

Conceptual Clarification

There are two operational terms used in this paper which need clarification, namely Factor and Sociopolitical: **Factor,** in the context of this paper, it refers to an element or influence that has contributed to the development, shaping or transformation of a community's social and political landscape. **Socio-political Factor** refers to influence on people's culture, education, kinship, religion and spirituality. In addition, it deals with aspects of governance.

Literature Review

Imam, I., *A Short History Rabeh Ibn Fadh-allah, 1838-1900*[12] provides information on the life history of Rabeh and his activities in Borno up to the time of the establishment of his rule in *Dikwa*. Imam portrays Rabih as a great soldier, warlord and ringleader who raised himself from humble beginnings to be a master of a mighty Kingdom in the Chad Basin region. Imam briefly mentions Rabeh's expedition against Bade Emirate under the command of Shaikh Dab and Fadh-allah, his son. On hearing the invasion, the

[12] Imam, I. (2010), *A Short History Rabeh Ibn Fadlallah, 1838-1900,*

King of Bade then, *Mai* Duna fled with his loyal courtiers to the neighboring emirate of Hadejia.[13] It could be understood from his work that, the attacked on Bade by Rabeh, was for economic advantage due to the strategic location of Bade which if controlled, it would provide a smooth access of trade with the western neighboring emirates of Sokoto Caliphate.[14] The study provides preliminary information on Rabeh expedition on many communities. However, influenced of Rabeh invasion on the sociopolitical history of the communities he invaded were not discussed by Imam.

Studies in the history of Pre-colonial Borno a collection of artcles; editated by Bala and Nur's (1983), examined and explored how Rabeh's appearance threw the fear of invasion in the entire Fombina emirates, which eventually opened up an avenue of hitch-free activities of the British Royal Nigeria Company in the area. The fear of Rabeh by indigenous Fombina communities and their leaders as well turned to involve even foreigners. The work demonstrates the strength of Rabeh military and how devastating they were when attacked a community. Although, the work focuses on Fombina and it did not discuss how Rabeh transform some of the communities he invaded in the region, neither talked about changes Rabeh influenced on Adamawa emirate system. However, the study provides a survey to the understanding Rabeh and his military strength, therefore the work is found useful to this research.

A. M. Ashafa's article, titled "Afro-European Imperialism and the Making of a New Borno"[15] provides an in-depth analysis of the factors that led to the collapse of the old Borno with its capital at Kukawa and later Dikwa and the emergence or making of a new Borno under colonial rule with a new capital at Yerwa (Maiduguri). The work provides information on Rabeh's imperialism in the context of the exigencies or forces that produced him and his activities. The work provides the need of reorganization and transformation of Borno military context, its politico-economic history and relations both with itself and with neighbors at both intra-African and inter-European levels. The work not only redefined Borno's internal dynamics, but it equally determined the extent of its external relations in the context of the 20th century politico-economic perspective of the two imperialist forces: Rabeh's on one hand and the Europeans' on the other all in the Central Sudanese area. However, the work does not discuss Rabeh's activities in western Borno, including Bade.

Another useful article by Yakubu Mukhtar and Kyari Mohammed, titled "Borno-Sokoto Relations during the Rabeh Interlude, 1893-1901"[16] provides vital information on the relations between the Sokoto Caliphate and Borno during the Rabeh interlude. Among other things, the paper examines the response of the Sokoto Caliphate to Rabeh's invasion of Borno, the impact on Sokoto-Borno relations concerning the Rabeh-Hayatu compact and the impact of Sokoto's trade embargo on Borno. A comparative analysis was also made of the European conquest of the two neighbouring polities. This work excludes western Borno, including Bade, in its analysis of the period of the Rabeh interlude. The work is also silent on his activities in Bade where he positively affected the socio-political system of the emirate.

Yerima's (2017) *The Transformation of Bade Emirate: The Emergence of the Office of Waziri, 1973-2003*[17] extensively discussed the political and social system of Bade emirate from pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial periods. He critically analysed the dynamic administrative structure that existed within the periods mentioned above and the subsequent introduction of the newly traditional offices established in the emirate, which eventually led to the establishment of the Office of Waziri in 1973. Prior to this development, *Zaifada* was the title which performs a similar function to that of the Waziri in the Emirate. In addition, the study highlights the extent to which Bade communities became divided on how to handle the issue of Rabeh, as information reached them that he was heading to Gorgaram the headquarters of Bade. Knowing fully how strong his troops were, they decided to flee from the headquarters, where the

[13] Imam, A.I ( ), A Short History of Rabeh….

[14]

[15] Ashafa, A. M. (2010), "Afro-European Imperialism and the Making of a New Borno" *Kaduna Jouranl of Historical Studies,* vol. 2, No. 1, 2010. 32-48.

[16] Mukhtar, Y. and Mohammed, K. (2006), "Borno-Sokoto Relations During the Rabeh Interlude, 1893-1901" *The Sokoto Caliphate: History and Legacies, 1804-2004* vol. 1, eds. Bobboyi H. and Yakubu A. M.2006, 240-252.

[17] Yerima, A (2017), "The Transformation of Bade Emirate: The emergence of the office of Waziri, 1973-2003. Masters dissertation, department of History, Bayero University, Kano. Pg44-46.

part of the *Mai* (emir) went to Hadejia, while the other part led by Saleh and Bultu all of them are *Mai* Duna's brothers moved to Sugum, a village under Bade territory.

Makinta's (1981) *Bade in the 19th and Early Twentieth Century*[18] presents information on the origin of the Bade ethnic groups. As common with other tribes, the Bade traced their origin to the east of their present location. Though the work was largely on the formation of the Bade Emirate from the beginning to the last episode, yet it also provides information on Rabeh's activities in Bade. Makinta narrated the advent of Rabeh Ibn Zubayr in 1892 to Borno and Shehu Hashim of Borno taking refuge in Bade territory. Thereafter, Rabeh's forces continued with their conquest into Bade territory. Bade's chief of that time, *Mai* Duna ibn Aji, fled his territory and later on a Prince of Bade, Saleh ibn Aji, a younger brother of Duna, who paid allegiance to Rabeh's son and commandant known as Fadh-allah, was installed as the *Mai* of Bade, c.1897. The work is useful to this study.

Rabeh in Bade, 1897-1902

The expedition of Rabeh against Bade communities around 1896-97 led by Shehu Dab was a turning point in the political and social history of Bade Emirate, as it was the period when the *Mai* of Bade, his courtiers and other prominent members of the communities left Gorgaram, which was the headquarters of Bade, in order to evade the devastating effects of Rabeh's military incursion. His invasion of Bade was said to have been attributed to the uneasy flow of the trade of his merchandise at the western border of Borno, such as natron which was in high demand in Kano, it was used for medicine of animals. For them to have the monopoly of trade in the area, Bade must be controlled by them.[19] If such an assertion is true, it proved that the interest of Rabeh on Bade was not for political conquest or access to slavery as asserted by imam, but rather economic opportunities. This could be deduced from the words of Al-Amin El-Kanemi to Abdullahi Bello, which said that 'between the borders of our nations were the infidel Bade who are permissible in Islam to be used as slave.[20] This might have been what Rabeh came across that made him focus his attention on Bade. Slave were captured and sold to facilitate his administrative activities and restock his arms and ammunition.[21] It is important to note that there was no combat between Rabeh's forces and Bade communities. On hearing of his plan to invade Bade, the then emir of Bade *Mai* Duna summoned a meeting of the nobles of Gorgaram and other Bade leaders from various places to discuss on how to deal with the matter and minimized the causalities that could be implicated on them by Rabeh. After a prolonged discussion, they came to agree that they should bury under the ground all valuable materials and leave the town to a safer place. The same idea adopted by Shehu Hashimu of Borno, when information reached him that Rabeh's troops were approaching Borno, he fled and settled in Geidam.[22]

In the case of Bade, it was a similar strategy of Borno that *Mai* Duna adopted and thus, left Gorgaram to Hadejia. According to my informants account, the decision to flee Gorgaram was to evade the causality of both human and material resources, knowing that Rabeh's arms and ammunitions were superior to their own. Although there was no information on whether the fleeing Bade groups planned returning back to their capital Gorgaram with the course of time, or establishing a new capital in a safer place, leaving Gorgaram to Rabeh. However, the Sugum groups, which among them were two prince; *Maina* Bultu and *Mai* Sale, the former began mobilizing the other Bade communities of establishing a new Bade *Sultanate* with its headquarters at Sugum, while the later that also has interest of becoming the *Mai* could not hide his ambition. When Bultu was able to get acceptance of majority of Bades especially within the town of Sugum, he begun to parade himself as *Mai* (emir), he has been accounted by some researchers in the geological charts of Mai's of Bade.[23] At the time when this development was taken place in Sugum, *Mai* Duna was in Hadejia. Saleh was making his way of meeting with the Rabeh commandants, at Gashua. The declaration of Bultu as new *Mai* of Bade was not supported by Saleh, therefore he moved to another

[18] A.A. Makinta, (1981), "Bade in the 19th and early twentieth Century"
[19] Makinta,A.A (1981), Bade in the 19th and 20th Century…
[20] Alkali, M.N (2014)…
[21] Imam,I (2010) A short history of Rabih…
[22] Imam,I (2010)A short history of Rabih…
[23] Makinta, A.A(1981), " Bade in the 19th and 20th Century…pg73

village within the territorial jurisdiction of Bade known as Algarno, close to Gashua the present headquarters of Bade. At Algarno, *Mai* Saleh heard about the presences of Rabeh commandants in Gashua, Shehu Dahb and Fadh-allah, he therefore decided to pay them homage.

It is important to note that, Gashua was a town occupied by Bade ethnic groups, although it was under Borno, it could be possible that the reason for the coming of Dahb and Fadh-allah to Gashua might be of haven one among the Bade community to be appointed the new *Mai*. It was duaring this scenario that *Mai* Saleh met the two Rabeh commandants, (Shehu Dahb and Fadh-allah) in Gashua, makes an allegiance pledge to them. Having satisfied with his personalities and perhaps considering his status of prince, they found him suitable to be appointed the new *Mai* of Bade, and subsequently been installed at Gorgaram amidst all odds, in 1898.[24]

There was no account that reports about protest from other Bade communities against the appointment of Saleh as *Mai* of Bade, even though the processes observed in the appointment was not based on the Bade tradition. The return of Saleh as *Mai* of Bade to Gorgaram, brought about the return of many fleeing residences back to the town, it also diminished and eventually ends the hope of *Mai* Bultu for establishing a new headquarters of Bade at Sugum where he made himself the *Mai*.[25] Conversely, *Mai* Duna sees Saleh as betrayer therefore he vow to restore his throne, to accomplish that he sought the support of Hadejia, which was said have tried making Bade a vassal before Rabeh invasion. If this assertion was true, supporting Duna might have been agreed based up on the condition that if Duna was restored, Bade would become a vassal to Hadejia or some part of its land become under their control. This could be the reason why *Mai* Duna was supported with military troops to fight *Mai* Saleh at Gorgaram, unfortunately they faced stiff resistance entering into Gorgaran, and suffered a serious casualties. When returning home, they accused *Mai* Duna of been collaborating with his kinsmen to annihilate them, therefore they outcast him at a village called Ngerbagal, where he spent the rest of his live and diet in 1906.[26]

The Political Factor

Although Bade was known to be an independent emirate with an established political structure and administrative system before its invasion by Rabeh in 1897/8,[27] however, that did not make it to resist his influence in its political system. It could be recalled that *Mai* Duna who was the ruler of Bade at the time of the invasion fled to Hadejia while some of the Bade's prominent people took refuge at Sugum, a village within the territory of Bade, leaving the headquarters Gorgaram to invaders. It is also important to note that the fleeing of *Mai* Duna and the other Bade groups from the headquarters of Bade did not stopped Rabeh's troops from their mission. In fact, that became a golden opportunity for them to have control over the region and provides a smooth access for trading with the western neighboring states of Sokoto Caliphate, if really they were at Bade for economic reasons. That was the first time in the history of Bade when one of its chief fled the capital to another place as a result of attacked, which consequently brought about the influx of different culture and customs into the sociopolitical life of its people. It might be possible that the assumption of the Bade *Mai* about Rabeh invasion of their land would not last long therefore living in Hadejia because of its proximity with Gorgaram would help them understand the mission and strength of the invaders. Even though, a relation between Hadejia and Bade before was not cordial as there were report of encounters between them, but yet it was the strongest emirate which could help the *Mai* of Bade if he was to confront Rabeh. However, there was no report of a plan of attack, jointly by Hadejia and Bade on the invaders with the mission of restoring and the return of *Mai* Duna to Gorgaram, until the time when *Mai* Sale was installed as the *Mai* of Bade.

It should be recalled that, the leadership of Bade fled to Hadejia while some parts lives in Sugum. The headquarters Gorgaram was left with few individual of lower social and economic status. For Rabeh to have a smooth control over the entire Bade region he had to appoint a new *Mai* who lives in the headquarters and administer the affairs of the area, this became necessary because Gorgaram was not the

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[27] Imam. I. A (2010)

only town of the Bades, others spread within its territorial jurisdiction, for Rabeh to have control over them, he had to appoint a new *Mai* among them who would be acceptable by the community and loyal to him. When Saleh had the opportunity of meeting Shehu Dahb and Fadh-allah in Gashua, was found suitable for the position, therefore they appointed him the *Mai* of Bade, in 1897.

The making of Saleh the *Mai* of Bade by Rabeh's commandants (Shehu Dab and Fadh-allah) was another turning point in the political history of Bade, as all the Bade traditional process of selecting a *Mai* were not observed. Instead, he was appointed based on the condition of accepting Islam as the official religion of the state, he takes an Oath of office by swearing with holy Qur'an, he accept the use of an emblem containing Arabic script (La'ila ha'illallah, Muhammadu Rasulillah) meaning, there is no deity of worship except Allah, and Muhammadu is his Messenger, as a symbol of Bade flag.[28] It important at this point to note that, with all these developments, there was never a claim or any historical account that said Bade was once became an Islamic state. It is perhaps an opportunity Rabeh took been a Muslim who was struggling to establish an empire to put the communities he conquered on Islamic faith and made them to adhere to its teaching, therefore their governance could be easy for him hence they would completely be guided by doing things based on the principles of Islam.

In addition, he made *Mai* Saleh creates another Islamic position in his council, *Talba,* whose responsibilities was to lead the five congregational prayers, lead Juma'a prayer, presides over case judgment in the court of *Mai* and also to preach and teach Islam among the Bade communities.[29] This title has remained strong in the political structure of Bade till the present day, (2025). It should be understood that, taking oath with the holy Qur'an by the newly appointed *Mai* of Bade introduced by Rabeh, and other transformations he made in the political system of Bade were upheld to the present day.[30]

At the time when these developments were taking place, British/French colonial troops were in Borno region where they came in combat with Rabeh, which resulted to his death in 1900.[31] On hearing this information, Shehu Dab and Fadal'allah, led the troop back to Dikwa in order to face the colonial forces in Borno, leaving some few in Gorgaram, the headquarters of Bade, in order to sustain the government they established and also trained the local guards who were loyal to Saleh against any future threat to his throne. After the death of Rabeh, British colonial army occupied Bade in 1902.[32] Unlike other Bade neighboring emirates of Hadejia and Katagum, that resisted British occupation with force, at Bade, it was a peaceful submission. This might have been the reason why most of their political structures were not tempered with; instead they were ratified. This created an opportunity for the continuation of Rabeh's legacies in the political system through the colonial and post-independent era to date, (2025).

The Social Factor

Prior to the advent of Rabeh into Bade, the language that was known to have been in use by Bade communities and the ruling class was Bade.[33] Their social and cultural activities were purely and a common origin in Bade, although there was dialectical differences in the pronunciation of words between one clan and the other. Despite the difference, they all believed that Bade was the name of the language they spoke since etymology. In addition, the praise songs to the *Mai* in the Palace or the praises of warriors at the battlefield were played through the sound of musical instruments used by the Bades, especially the *Gangasvera* drum, which was widely used in Bade to pass information to the public on issues that affected them.[34] Below are some praises played with the sound of the *Gangasvera* drum to *Mai* Aji in c. 1894.

Aji Izgek Fata, Aji incigi na , Kaka inciki. Aji kurigina, Kaka Kurigi

[28] Interview with Galadima Suleiman, 92 years Old, Works Housing Estate Damaturu, 13/2/2025.
[29] An interview with Galadima Suleiman…
[30] Interview with Mohammad Jamo
[31] Imam, A, (2010) A short history of Rabih…
[32] Yerima, A (2017) The Transformation of Bade Emirate: the emergence of the office of Wazir
[33] Interview with Yerima Paga, 56 year Old, Sabongari, Gashua
[34] An interview with Alh Hassan Alafin, 86 years old, Lawan Musa Ward Gashua

Aji Gabulma Kidgamau, ik-vigina tatki cikkta[35]

Aji, master of forest, if Aji loves you, God love you,

If Aji dislike you, God dislike you. Aji is a trap of the mini Chiefs (Dagum),

It is important to note that the use of the Bade language by all Bade ethnic groups binds their unity as an entity irrespective of dialectical differences. However, the advent of Rabeh into the Bade region, was what caused *Mai* Duna Ibn Aji, fled to Hadejia, his planned to return back to Gorgaram the headquarters of Bade and revert to his throne, this necessitated the creation and use of a new dialect known as *Gogarambu*, particularly among the loyalist of Saleh in order to prevent leaking of information, hence it was suspected that there were spy of Duna in the palace of *Mai* and within the headquarters. This development was misperceived by the other clans of Bade, especially those that lives outside the headquarters, seeing that just of a sudden their kinsmen at Gorgaram ceased speaking native Bade language to something else, therefore they looked at it as a deliberate plan to create a social stratification among the Bade ethnic groups. However, after the defeat of Duna and his eventual death in 1906, which ends any fair of threat for over throwing Saleh, it was also expected that there would be a banned of the use of *Gogarambu* and the restoration of native Bade within the palace instead, it was yet further used in the *Mai* praises song, praises of dignitaries within the headquarters. This clearly indicates the surpassing of *Gogarambu* dialect over the traditional native Bade among the ruling class. Although the dialect has never been claimed by the ruling class as superior to their native tribe, nor did they use it to undermine the native Bade tribe, but still remain the dialect used in the *Mai's* palace up to the present day of this research, (2025).

Consequently, this act brought about disharmony among Bade clans. Although it achieved the aim it was created for, yet it could have been a temporary dialect, which supposed to be banned in the entire region of Bade, considering the fact that the attempt made by *Mai* Duna was not successful. Secondly, Rabeh was killed and most of his troops had withdrawn from Bade which was region, and finally Bade was occupied by the British colonial masters in 1902[36]. This open a new page in the political history of Bade, as the existing *Mai* (Saleh) was maintained as the emir of Bade, upgraded to second class emir with salary, however, all other tradition made being practiced in the palace including the speaking of *Gogarambu* dialect were not tempered. Who confirmed *Mai* Sale as the Emir of Bade with more power than before.[37] Therefore, *Gogarambu* could be said to have been basically formed for security reasons, but incidentally it affected the social organization of Bade ethnic groups up to the present day.

Another aspect of Rabeh's influence on the social history of Bade was making Islam the official religion of the emirate. This does not mean that Bade communities were not Muslims before the coming of Rabih into their land, as the religion was practiced at the individual level. It was a choice for its citizen to embrace and practice it or leave it. This means that there was no single authority that commanded the practice of Islam as a state religion. Therefore, they were looked as infidels by most of the communities around them.

The *Mai* of Bade which Rabeh installed (Sale), took oath of office by swearing with the holy Qur'an, which was contrary to what was known being practice by the Bade community. In addition, all administrative processes were guided based on the teaching of Islam. However, there was never a claim or declaration that Bade has been an Islamic state, but it was made to embrace Islam by the ruling class during Rabeh invasion. To ensure adherent to that, a complete copy of Qur'an was given to *Mai* Saleh's which perhaps should be used by the successive *Mais*. Up to this period of research, the copy of that Qur'an which was given to *Mai* Saleh was there hang in the *Mai* Bade's palace. Since then, it has become one of the criteria duaring the installation of a new *Mai* of Bade to take the oath of office by swearing with the holy Qur'an. Another important change brought by Rabeh in the sociopolitical history of Bade was, given *Mai* Saleh an emblem which contained Arabic script on it and reads: "*There is no deity to*

[35] An interview Alh. Yerima Paga, 56 years old, Sabon-Gari Gashua, the songs reads as: Aji, master of forest, if Aji likes you, God likes your too, if Aji hate you, God hate you too. The last version of the songs refers Aji as one kind of fish that are found in Bade rive which if it punch you, it could not be removed and eventually killed.

[36] U, Geidam (1984)…

[37] Interview with Alh. Idi Kafaju, 88 years old, Lawan Musa Ward, Gashua

worship except Allah and Muhammad (SAW) is His servant and Messenger". This became the official flag of the *Mai* of Bade, it used to be hoisted on the top of the *Mai*'s Palace entrance building to indicate his presence, when it is removed it shows his absent.[38] The flag is also hoisted when the *Mai* goes out for the two Eid-el-Fitir and Eid-el-Kabir prayers. In addition, a sword was also among the other things given to *Mai* Saleh by Rabeh. These transformations brought by Rabeh, is a milestone in the sociopolitical history of Bade; firstly, it clarifies the position of Bade in regards to religion especially among the ruling class, it also established and made it a criteria taking oath of office with Qur'an by the newly appointed *Mai.* In addition it created a symbol of recognition to the *Mai* of Bade, through the emblem given to him. It is important to note that, all these changes were maintained and been extended up to the present day.

Bade would have got more transformation through Rabeh if not because of the arrival of French troops at the coast of Kussuri, a place close to his headquarters Dikwa, which necessitates the withdrawal of his troops from Bade to face a major battle with the French at Kussuri in 1897[39]. After the withdrawal of Rabeh troops from Bade in 1898, the influx of people into the headquarters Gorgaram increases, however there were no threat of overthrowing *Mai* Saleh's from his throne, neither changes of the transformations brought by Rabeh. Consequently, in 1902 Bade was occupied by the British colonial masters, *Mai* Saleh was retained as chief of Bade, and upgraded to the second class emir. Since then, the use of *Mai* as chief of Bade was changed to emir, Bade became an emirate. These could be said to have been the only changes that were made by the British colonial masters from what was left behind by Rabeh, and extended up to the present day.

CONCLUSION

The coming of Rabeh's forces into the Bade Sultanate had shaken the foundations of the Bade Confederation, yet all factions showed patriotism. *Mai* Duna fled in order to save his people. No doubt about that, for it would be an unwise venture to resist a more superior force armed with muskets like that Rabeh's forces that conquered Borno. Later, a Prince of Bade Saleh ibn Aji, the younger brother to Duna, sent a letter of allegiance to the Rabeh commandants, Fadal-allah and Shehu Dahb. Saleh was later summoned to Gorgaram, the headquarters of Bade, and installed as the *Mai* of Bade in c.1898[40]. In conclusion, the Rabeh Factor was a defining element in the sociopolitical evolution of Bade from 1898 to 1960. It not only shaped the region's response to colonial rule but also demonstrated the enduring impact of pre-colonial legacies on modern African societies. By examining the Rabeh Factor, we gained a deeper understanding of the complex interplay between local and external forces in shaping the history and identity of Bade during a transformative era.

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