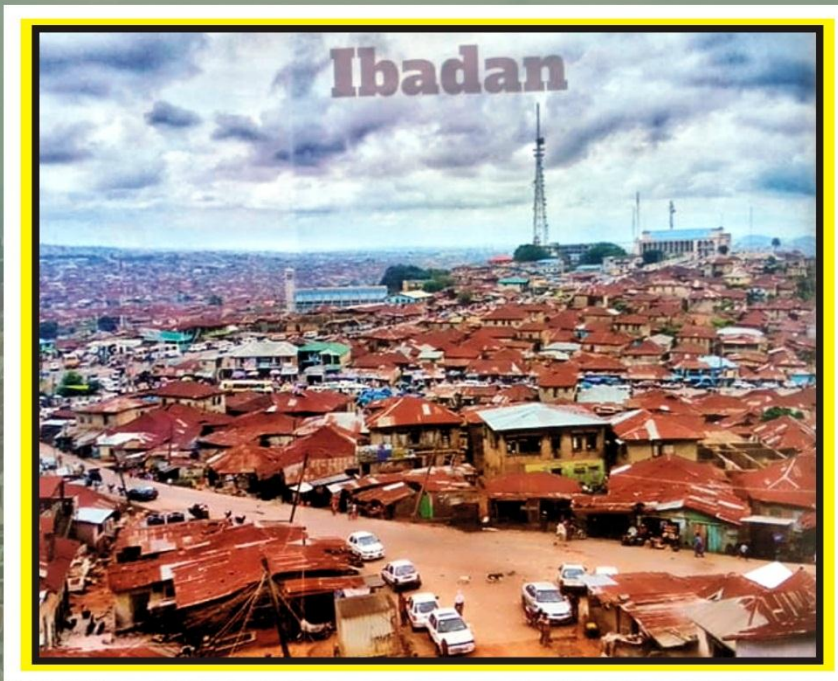


Lola Tomori

**A NEW PERSPECTIVE OF IBADAN HISTORY
FROM ORIGIN AND TRANSFORMATION
FROM WAR CAMP TO A MEGAPOLIS
1580 - 2000**



By:
**AMBASSADOR
ESV. TOMORI MOSHOOD A.**

Lola Tomori

**A NEW PERSPECTIVE OF IBADAN HISTORY
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WAR CAMP TO MEGAPOLIS
1580 – 2000**

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Tomori M.A asserts his rights to be identified as the author of this work.

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ORIKI IBADAN (PRAISE POEM (BALLAD) OF IBADAN)

Ibadan, omo aj'orosun *Ibadan, the one whose supper is oro fruit*
Omo aje'gbin yo *the descendants of the one who fed on*
Omo ag'ikarahun fo 'ri mu *snails the descendants of the one who*
used snail shell as bowl to serve his maize
porridge.

Ibadan ma ja, ma ja bi ojo kini *Ibadan, don't fight, as you did before*
Ti o ja alaugbo gbogbo logun *as you fought all neighbours at war.*

Ibadan Kure *Kure's Ibadan*
Ibadan, beere ki o to wo *Ibadan, ask before you enter*
Ibadan Mesiogo ni'le Oluyole *Ibadan, Mesiogo (appellation), the home of*
Oluyole

Nibi ole gbe njare olohun *Where robbers win robbery cases*
Ibadan kiigbe onile bi ajeji *Ibadan, which favours immigrants better*
than indigenes

a ki w'aye k'ama l'arun kan *There' no one without a blemish*
l'ara
ijagboro l'arun Ibadan *That of Ibadan is affray.*

The above two versions were developed progressively and can be taken together as one.

The following is perhaps the one that truly depicts the military might of Ibadan warriors during the years of internecine wars:

Ogun o ko wa ri/2ce *we were never taken captive in war/2ce*
Omo Ibadan kiiseru eni kookan *Ibadan are never anyone's slaves*
Ogun o ko wa ri *we were never taken captives.*

During festive occasions even today, when native drummers spot prominent Ibadan indigenes, they burnt into this ballad, while the sekere/singers sing it hilariously. The Ibadan then response by spraying money on the musical group in appreciation of the due recognition being accorded the military prowess of their (our) ancestors.

**BIOGRAPHY OF HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY,
OBA (DR.) MOSHOOD OLALEKAN ISHOLA BALOGUN
(ALLI OKUNMADE II) THE 42ND OLUBADAN OF IBADANLAND**

The 42nd Olubadan of Ibadanland, His Imperial Majesty, Oba (Dr.) Mohood Olalekan Ishola Balogun Alli Iwo (Alli Okunmade II). was born into the Alli-Iwo family 78 years ago. His late father, Alhaji Ibrahim Balogun was a foremost cocoa produce merchant and a great grandson of Balogun Alli Okunmade (Alli-Iwo), an Ogbomosho prince, who settled in the present Alliwo compound, Agodi Ibadan in 1863 after years of valiant war campaigns for Ibadan/Yoruba armies, PARTICULARLY **Ijaye war and Iperu war** that ended in **1862**. His late mother was Alhaja Awawu Adunni Balogun, the Iyalode Elepo pupa, the women leader of Palm Oil Dealers Association of Lagelu Local Government Area.

Dr. Lekan Balogun is an alumnus of Brunel University UK and University of Manchester United Kingdom and he was a Research Fellow of the Ahmadu Bello University ABU Zaria upon his return from sojourn in the United Kingdom. From there he was head-hunted into the industrial relations department of Shell BP, the British petroleum exploration giant. He later became Head of Recruitment and Scholarship of the company.

He is a prolific writer and author of many published books including: A Review of Nigeria's 4 Year Development Plan 1970-1974; Nigeria: Social Justice or Doom; Power for Sale; Arrogance of Power; Nigeria, The People Must Decide; To Lead is to Serve; and The Portrait of an Activist.

In 1983, he contested the gubernatorial election of the old Oyo State on the platform of Nigeria Peoples Party (NPP) against the incumbent Late Governor Bola Ige of UPN and Dr. Victor Omololu Olunloyo of NPN.

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On December 1st 1989, he became the Mogaji of Alli-Iwo family.

In 1999, he contested and became Senator of the Federal Republic of Nigeria representing Oyo Central Senatorial district on the platform of Alliance for Democracy (AD).

He was the chairman, Senate Committee on National Planning and a member of several committees of the Senate including the Senate Committee on Army.

Senator Dr. Lekan Balogun rose through the ranks in Ibadan traditional system to become the Otun Olubadan of Ibadanland on 1st January 2017 until 2nd January 2022 when he was elevated from Otun Olubadan to ascend the throne of Olubadan of Ibadanland in line with the unique Ibadan traditional system.

He is a consummate lover of peace, fighter for the rights of the underprivileged and has a mindset focused on development of the society.

Kabiyesi Oba Lekan Balogun is the second Olubadan of Ibadanland from Alli-Iwo Royal Dynasty. The first Olubadan from the family was Oba Memudu Alli-Iwo, in 1952 (70 years ago).



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Coronation of Ceremony at Mapo Arcade on 11th March, 2022 of the 42nd Olubadan of Ibadanland – Oba (DR) Mohood Olalkena Ishola Balogun (Alli-Okunmade II)

FORWARD

I feel highly honoured by the author, Ambassador Lola Tomori who requested that I should write the foreword to this current book of his titled – “*A New Perspective of Ibadan History from Origin and Transformation from War camp to Megapolis 1580 – 2000*” Ambassador Lola Tomori is my very good brother, friend and professional colleague, both of us being Estate Surveyors and Valuers. My relationship with ESV Lola Tomori dates back to our undergraduate days in the 1970s in the Department of Estate Management at the then University of Ife (now Obafemi Awolowo University, OAU, Ile-Ife). While at Ife, he exhibited maturity, commitment and dedication to his studies with great zeal for acquisition of knowledge. After graduation, he pursued his professional career meritoriously in the public service both in the State Civil Service and later in the Local Government Service Commission. The high point of his public service career was his appointment as Oyo State Rating and Valuation Coordinator, a position he held between 1996 and 2009 when he voluntarily retired on attaining the mandatory age of 60 years.

While in the public service, Lola served as member of several professional and administrative committees with mandates ranging from chieftaincy panels of inquiry to land matters and advisory role on public project management and evaluation. At the society and community levels, Lola has continuously displayed great passion for service to humanity. As a matter of fact, he has displayed uncommon commitment to service through such platforms like: Ibadan One Society and most especially Central Council of Ibadan Indigenes (CCII), where he has served in key positions on several of its strategic committees. The highpoint of his commitment to service through membership of these cultural associations was the very well deserved Award conferred on him as Grand Ambassador of Ibadan Culture by Central Council

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of Ibadan Indigenes. Besides this highly coveted award, Lola is a recipient of several other awards and honours in recognition of his selfless services in various spheres.

Beside the above narratives on ESV Lola Tomori, I wish to affirm that he is indeed an embodiment of several talents. In this regard, I wish to say that over the years, he has equally carved a niche for himself as a prolific and highly cerebral author, writer and scholar. He has many celebrated published textbooks to his credit besides this current one. A unique and striking feature of his prowess as an erudite and prolific author, scholar and writer is the versatility of his published works which cut across several disciplines such as: real estate, historiography (especially on Ibadan and the Yoruba race at large), urbanization and growth of cities.

This recent book like others before it by the author is a well-researched and facts based publication. The book starts with a prologue which gives an overview of evolution of Ibadan metropolitan city and dynamics of rapid urbanization. The overview provides a deep understanding of the dynamics of urbanization, not only in Ibadan and Yorubaland but also in Nigeria as a whole. In addition, it was shown that this is the third Ibadan which in the nineteenth century was dominated by wars. The present work is an addition to the growing literature on Ibadan history emphasizing its founding based on accounts of respected writers and authors like: Oba I.B. Akinyele, Professors: Falola, Mabogunje and Omer Cooper, and Fatokun among others. Aspects treated under the overview also include – the governance structure of the cosmopolitan city, ethnic leadership rivalry to control Ibadan camp, building of Ibadan Empire, expanding economy of Ibadanland and post-colonial economic growth of the city. The challenges of urbanization of West African Cities in terms of population and urbanization as well as the implication for the growth of Ibadan up to the 21st Century are also treated.

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Besides the prologue, the entire book contains **twenty** distinct chapters with each chapter presenting in-depth discussion of topics treated. The bulk of the chapters are devoted to discussions on various dimensions of Ibadanland. These include *inter alia*: history, economy, education, transportation, population growth and physical development; urban renewal and housing, urban management structure and infrastructural services, and local government structure and administration. The origin of Yoruba people and rise of Oduduwa dynasties as well as history of Egba and Ibadan relationship in the 19th Century are treated in the book. Other topics treated include - Owu and other wars in Yorubaland, the causes and effects of the fall of Old Oyo Empire on the emergence of new Yoruba States, role of urban managers in Public-Private-Partnership (PPP) in infrastructural provision and the emerging Greater Ibadan-Lagos-Accra (GILA) urban corridor. All the topics are robustly treated in-depth.

On the whole, the book offers a very lucid and solid account of contemporary topics discussed therein. It is a testimony of the author's scholarship industry, resourcefulness, diligence, resilience, dedication and commitment. It is a compendium of well researched intellectual materials on topics treated with very current, authentic and reliable references. The book is a good material for those that are particularly interested in having an in-depth knowledge of Ibadan history, and her political-economy, socio-cultural growth and development, urbanization trends and urban management. In addition, it is a good reference material on Yoruba history and cities, and urbanization trends in Nigeria as a whole. The book will equally be of immense benefit to students and scholars of history, geography, urban and regional planning, real estate, political science, public and local government administration.

I wish to specially commend the author for devoting his time in retirement from public service to writing and publishing as evidenced from this latest book. I

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am also aware of his unrelenting efforts in writing well researched articles on various other topics. I congratulate him on the production of this book and wish him continued grace in his service to humanity.

On this note, I hereby warmly and strongly recommend the book to the reading public at large in addition to the above specified categories of people that the book will be of special appeal.

Prof. Olatoye Ojo, PhD, FNIVS, RSV.
*Retired Professor of Estate Management,
Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife & Pioneer Head,
Department of Estate Management,
University of Ibadan,
Ibadan. (2017 – 2021)*

PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The editor of the book “**the History of the Yorubas**” written by Rev. Samuel Johnson in **1897**, had made it known to the whole world in **1921** that, “**the original manuscripts got lost in the hands of the publisher and they could not be found**”. Some chapters had to be rewritten, some curtailed, others amplified, and new ones added where necessary.

Therefore, whatever historical information we are reading from the book by Rev. Samuel Johnson; (1921); does not represent the original historical information of the Yoruba people. We need to compare some areas and chapters of the book with other books of Yoruba history written by other scholars, otherwise, the book cannot stand as a book of Yoruba history.

Professor Rowes definition of history as an art which enables man to employ precarious experiences to further the course of a society in the complex world of conflicting interests; raises the study of history to the level of precision of research as in physical sciences. **We must, therefore, see why a historian must shun vanity, bias and stark untruth.** These factors militate against history.

History therefore is not to be limited to a simple record of what is known or believed to have occurred, history is more properly concerned with examining, analyzing, and explaining past events, particularly in human affairs.

In the words of R.G. Collingwood: “The written records of more advanced people may similarly be but the materials of history. ***“History needs to be, as indeed it is, rewritten from time to time and past events revalued in the light of fresh developments and new ideas”.***”

The historical origin of Ibadan has never been in doubt. But when was Ibadan founded was a fundamental issue, according to our respected late Chief M.I. Okunola,

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when he wrote the FORWARD to the book - “**The City State of Ibadan: Texts and Contexts**” edited by Professor Dele Layiwola of the University of Ibadan (2015).

However, P.C. Lylord (1971) a Nigerian. Historian, University of Ibadan, once wrote as follows.

“A knowledge of the Yoruba past must be gleaned from myths, legends, folks tales, praise- songs and the like, all of which are rapidly being forgotten by all the younger generations”

Thus, in an attempt to write about the founding of the Ancient City of Ibadan, it appears pertinent to recount such knowledge as well as what some ancient and contemporary historians have written about Ibadan. *“And history needs to be, as indeed it is, re-written from time to time and past events revalued in the light of fresh developments and new ideas”*.

The first Ibadan must have been founded after the sack of the Old Oyo Kingdom during the reign of Alaafin Onigbogi (1530-1542) by Nupe. He therefore fled to Gbere in his mother’s homeland for refuge (Dr. J.A. Atanda, 1971).

The quest for imperial expansion and establishment of unique military institutions of 17th and 18th centuries were prompted mainly by hostilities of invaders from Nupe and Borgu. Under Oba Ajagbo (1600-1658), the military institutions of the 17th century reached their most advanced forms. The disgrace of removal and evacuation of the capital to **Igboho** had driven all the subsequent Alaafins into heavy investment in military training and imperial expansion. He established the institution of Aare-Ona-Kakanfo.

The period between c. 1754-1774 was most distressing in Oyo history. It witnessed the **constitutional** upheaval of great magnitude in which **Basorun Gaha**,

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head of Oyomesi, raised **five**. Alaafins to the throne; but with cunning and subversion, killed **four** of them. Nemesis did catch up with Gaha until **1775** during the reign of the fifth Alaafin, who outmaneuvered and outwitted him; that was, Alaafin Abiodun Adegolu (1774-1789).

However, in the disintegration that followed later, **the Empire lost its hegemony over parts of Popos, Nupe, Dahomey, and Borgu, that had been annexed earlier**. He went further; the **Egbas** under **Lsiabi of Itoko** (Agbein) revolted and killed the **Ilaris of the Alaafin**; **Amosu** of Ikija, in Oke-Ona, **Arinokotu** of Ojoo and **Akila** of Ido (both towns now part of Ibadan) joined in the revolt. Assembled at Abeokuta in **1830 A.D**, they competed with Ibadan and Ijaiye hegemony.

The population movement after the sack of Oyo kingdom between 1530 and 1542 as recorded by Chief M.O. Ogunmola, (2000 and 2020), the Otun of Oyo, must have swelled the population of the first Ibadan that rose to 100,000 by 1600A.D. before the institution of Aare Ona-Kakanfo in 1640A.D. This also was attested to by Fernand Braudel in civilization and capitalism (1981- pg. 479) and Mayers and Owusu (2008).

On his own account, Prince Adegbola Adelegan (2019) at page 736 in the book: “**ILE-IFE: The Source of Yoruba Civilization**”, it was claimed that **Lagelu founded Ibadan in the 16th century**. While Engineer (Dr.) Sir, Jide Fatokun (2020) wrote that Ibadan was founded between **1590 and 1600**, in a Lecture delivered at the Central Council of Ibadan Indigenes (C.C.I.I) Forum in **2020**.

But Reverend Samuel Johnson (1921) claimed that Ibadan is one of the **Egba Gbagura** settlements in the book, “**The History of the Yorubas**”. The claim was repeated by many historians and scholars in their publications despite the fact of what Akinyele’s (1911) and Kemi Morgan’s in their books on Ibadan History, that Ibadan was founded before the institution of the Office of Aare-Ona-Kakanfo in 1640A.D.

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With the occupation of the second Ibadan aftermath of the Owu Wars (**1813-1824**) by the allied army comprising Ife, Ijebu, Oyo and friendly Egbas, according to Professors Akin Mabogunje and J. Omer Cooper in OWU IN YORUBA HISTORY, the settlement at Ibadan marked the end of the period of marauding. The army settled down in **1825A.D.** as it happened in East and Central Africa

According to A.L. Mabogunje and J. Omer Cooper (1971) at page 65 of the book: "**Owu in Yoruba History**" - "This is a development which can be seen in the history of several other such movements of **wandering marauders** in Africa. The **sixteenth century** Jaga and Zimba in Central Africa or the Ngoni in **Nineteenth Century**. East Central Africa are examples in which a long period of wandering and devastation was eventually followed by definitive settlement and the attempt to create a stable polity.

With the stabilization of the Ibadan community, the story of the Owu War really ends. In establishing the constitution of the traditional institution, the town preserved the heterogeneous characteristics of the settlement. *Although the chieftaincy title adopted were traditional ones, the system itself was quite different from the normal Yoruba pattern. The titles were not hereditary but were given in accordance with the effective position of the holder (on merit) in the society and it was possible to progress from one title to another in the hierarchy even to the very top.* This meant that persons of very diverse origin could aspire to the position of Baale (later Olubadan).

Thus, communal differences, according to A.L. Mabogunje and J. Omer-Cooper (1971), had little political significance and the diverse groups tended to fuse together in a **common Ibadan Identity** in the opposite manner to the Egba who **preserved their original town and even village identities** within the single circumference of the walls of Abeokuta.

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The republican nature of Ibadan civil and military population partly explains why it quickly and effortlessly succeeded Oyo as the military headquarters of the Yoruba Empire in the nineteenth century. It was an all-comers community which did not foreclose the participation of a pan-Yoruba community in its military service. This helped to build an influential and popular army which pushed the frontiers of Oyo military expeditions. This singular fact remains the basis of her cosmopolitan composition. (Prof Olayiwola, 2019)

The author is grateful to many people whose contributions have been drawn upon in putting this book together. In addition to sources acknowledged in this text, the author is indebted to Professors Toyin Falola, Bolanle Awe, Akin Mabogunje, J. Omer-Cooper, I. Adeagbo Akinjogbin, equally useful are the written accounts of Ibadan history by Oba I.B. Akinyele, Kemi Morgan, Engr. (Dr.) Sir Jide Fatokun, Rev. Samuel Johnson; Oluremi I. Obateru, Chief M.O. Ogunmola Chief (Dr.) M.A. Fabumi and Professor J.A. Atanda.

A number of them witnessed some of the events, which they narrated and also collected firsthand information from those who participated in the event they described. I am also grateful to all friends and relatives who have been supporting me and Mr. Olaleye Usman Olanrewaju, who has been taking trouble to type the manuscript.

This book is a multidisciplinary kind of work that covers a wide range of various activities, responsibilities and knowledge. Moreover, the book will convey practical ideas that would help you develop a plan to improve the origin and founding of Yoruba cities and kingdoms. Challenges of urbanization and growth of cities, the demographic structure, particularly, in Yorubaland of Southwestern Nigeria. Also important is urban governance, structure and administration.

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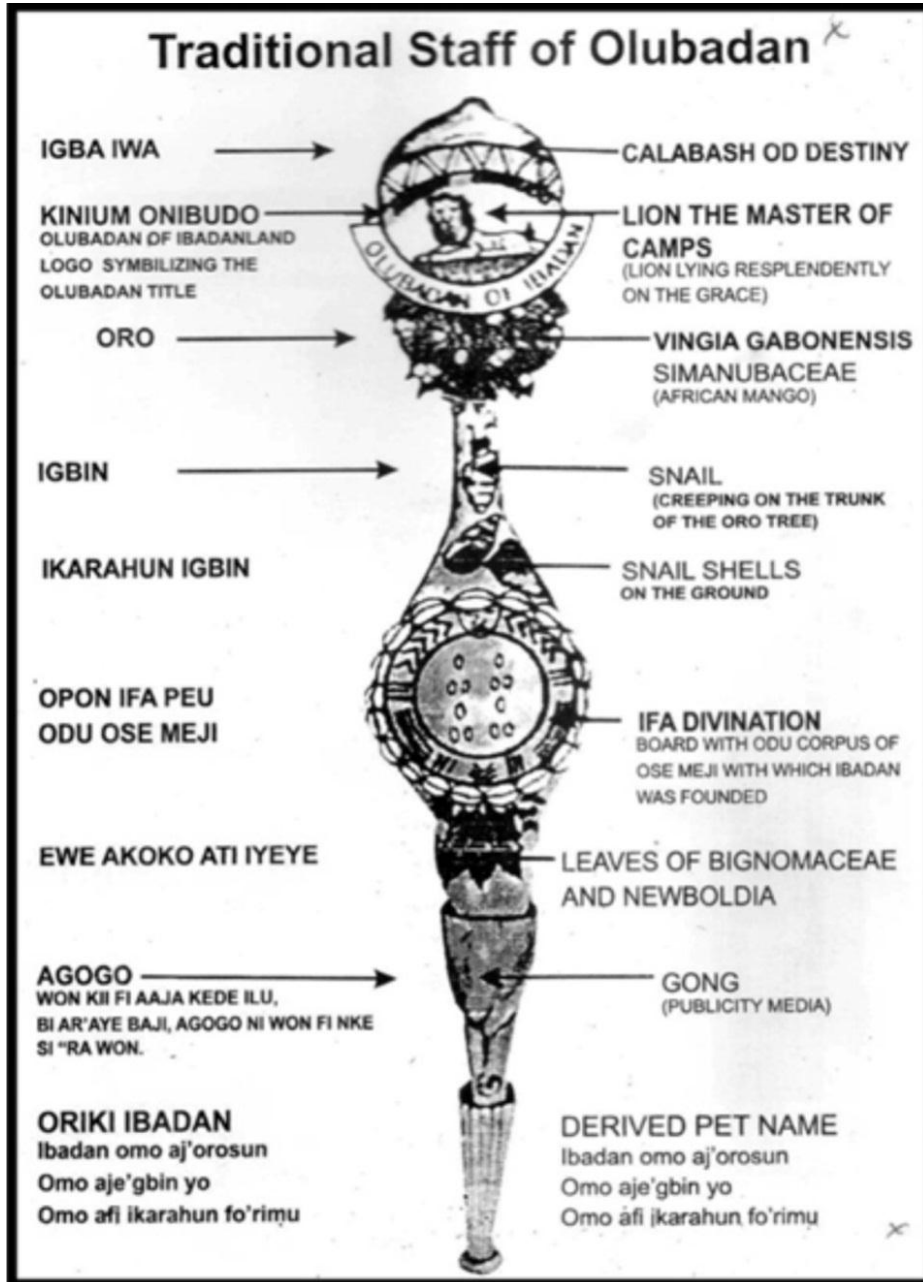
I am indebted to all who contributed to this publication through the Ambassador Lola Tomori Platform created to share the opinion of people with diverse professional background on this contemporary issue affect the development of Ibadan which attracted the attention of the UN-Habitat (2008).

In addition to success acknowledged in this text, the author is indeed to Professor Toyin Falola, Professor Bolanle Awe, Professor Akinlawon Ladipo Mabogunje & J. Omer Cooper, Professor I. Adeagbo Akinjogbin. Equally useful are the written accounts of Ibadan history by Oba I.B. Akinyele, Kemi Morgan, Engr. (Dr.) Sir Jide Fatokun, Rev. Samuel Johnson, Oluremi I. Obateru, Chief M.O. Ogunmola, Chief (Dr.) M.A. Fabunmi, Prince Adelegan Adegbola and Dr. J.A. Atanda. Also useful are online publications of Professor S. Adebajji Akintoye and Akinwumi Ogunsola on Yoruba History.

A number of them witnessed some of the events, which they narrated and also collected firsthand information from those who participated in the event they described. I am also grateful to all friends and relatives who have been supporting me and Mr. Olaleye Usman Olanrewaju, who has been taking trouble to type the manuscript. Finally, I am grateful to Dr. Ade Oletubo FNIVS, who laboured over the editing of the manuscript by supplying the software “**Grammarly**” and Professor Elder Olatoye Ojo; a fellow of the NIESV who also wrote the FORWARD.

ESV. Lola Tomori

23rd October, 2023



Lola Tomori

DEDICATION

- Prof. Akin L. Mabogunje (Late)
- Prof. Toyin Falola – (Texas, U.S.A)
- Prof. Elder Olatoye Ojo (UNIFE)
- To my wife and Children

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**AN OVERVIEW OF A NEW PERSPECTIVE OF IBADAN HISTORY
FROM ORIGIN AND TRANSFORMATION FROM
WAR CAMP TO MEGAPOLIS 1580 – 2000**

As African Societies come to live more and more in cities, they do so in ways that challenges development prevailing theories and models of urban development. The author offers fresh insights that can enable us to rethink prevailing ideas and stereo types about cities in Nigeria. This new book about to be published titled: “**A NEW PERSPECTIVE OF IBADAN HISTORY FROM ORIGIN AND TRANSFORMATION FROM WAR CAMP TO MEGAPOLIS (1580 – 2000)**” for anyone is a must to read for anyone interested in grasping the dynamics of urbanization not only in Yorubaland but also in Nigeria.

According to Garth Mayer and Owusu (2008), cities existed in many area of Africa Prior to the **1500s** and a few (Cairo, Tunis, Ibadan, Janne, or Kano for example) were comparable to European cities in size prior to the rise of European power, while other areas were essentially devoid of larger-scale urbanism.

As urbanization or city creation predates colonialism in many African countries, powerful local rulers enhanced the evolution of many cities into effective nodes of human development and as engines of economic and social growth. According to **UN-Habitat (2008)**, **some of the prominent ancient pre-colonial cities** include: **Bamako, Gao, Timbuktu, Ouagadougou, Agades, Begho, Ibadan, Ile-Ife, Ilorin, Kumasi, and Oyo.**

The original pattern of settlement of Yoruba kingdoms, according to Professor Akinlawon Ladipo, Mabogunje (1971) was undoubtedly in the form of a series of **autonomous city-states** each ruled by a king possessing the full attributes of royalty, and roughly equal in prestige to the others, all of them looking to Ile-Ife as the **sacred mother-city.**

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The **city-state pattern** is a striking feature of **Yoruba socio-political organization which links it with that of the Hausa** and others of the Northern Savannahs and distinguishes it sharply from the **village pattern of the Ibo** and other forest dwellers east of the Niger. The reasons for this urbanization are still obscure.

1.0 CLARIFICATION ON FOUNDING DATE OF IBADAN

Dr. Fredrick Faseun in the book “**ILE-IFE: The Source of Yoruba Civilization**” published in 2009, said, “The nature of history submits it to many subjective exaggerations, over-emphasis, underestimation of facts, outright errors arising from figments of imagination, authors personal aggrandizements and various short-comings. **Except recorded history can be backed up with authentic documents of objective facts, figures and dates**, its credibility is suspects and controversial.

In the introduction to **THE CITY STATE OF IBADAN: Text and Context** published in 2015, it was stated that “Since the publication of “**The City of Ibadan**” in 1967 by P.C. Llord, Akin L. Mabogunje and Bolanle Awe (editors) quite a number of books have emerged on the city which has now become a Sub-Saharan urban and cosmopolitan phenomenon. The new theory emerging is that **the 19th century city of Ibadan** which became a **war camp** and successor to the great Oyo Empire was actually **the third emergence of a primordial city state the first and second had been destroyed** by successive revolts and civil strife arising from the **denizens’ disrespect** for cultural institutions.

In the words of R.G. Collingwood as recorded in the book titled: “IFE: The Genesis of Yoruba Race by Chief (Dr.) M.A. Fabunmi (1985), he said - “The written records of more advanced peoples may similarly be but the materials of history, however, **“History needs to be, as indeed it is, re-written from time to time and past events re-valued in the light of fresh developments and new ideas”**.

Thus, in attempt to write about the founding of the Ancient city of Ile-Ife, it appears pertinent to recount such knowledge as well as what some ancient and contemporary historians have written about Ile-Ife. By extension, it is also applicable to Ibadan as will be seen below.

(a) **Oba I.B. Akinyele** wrote in *Iwe-Itan Ibadan* (1911) that the First Ibadan was founded by Lagelu, an Ife War-Chief, before the establishment of the institution of Aare-Ona-Kakanfo by Alaafin Ajagbo in 1640 when Oyo returned from exile from Ibariba country and settled at Igboho 1580 during the reign of Alaafin Abipa (1580-1590) according to Dr. J.A. Atanda (1980). Both I.B. Akinyele and Alaafin of Oyo, Oba Lamidi Adeyemi III agreed that Lagelu was conferred with the title of **Jagun of Yorubaland by Alaafin Obalokun** (1590-1600). He is father of Alaafin Ajagbo who reigned between (1590-1600).

(b) Prince Adegbola Adelegan in the book: "ILE-IFE: The Source of Yoruba Civilization" published in 2009 wrote that Prince Lagelu founded Ibadan in the 16th century.

(c) Destruction of the First Ibadan in the 18th Century:

In Chapter Four of the book written by Professor Toyin Falola - *IBADAN, Foundation, Growth and Change, 1830-1960*, he quoted Chief Akinyele, the prominent Ibadan local historian that, Lagelu, an Ife war-chief who migrated from Ile-Ife and pitched its tent between the forest and the grassland belts but was destroyed in the 18th Century at the Zenith of Oyo Empire by Alaafin Sango in the **sixteenth century** because its inhabitants revealed the secret of the Egungun (Masquerade). Thereafter, **Lagelu and a host of other survivors of Oyo invasion** were said to have taken refuge on Eleyele Hill. It should be noted that The Alaafin Ilaris spread over Oyo Empire territories and became representaives of Sango who extracted

tributes from the Colonies. The destruction of Ibadan thus occurred before Alaafin Abiodun's reign between (1774-1789). It was followed by Lisabi revolution which freed the Egbas from the bondage of the Old Oyo Empire after killing over 1,000 ILARIS (Prof. Saburi Biobaku).

(d) Events that ended the second Ibadan in 1825:

According to A.L. Mabogunje and J. Omer Cooper in "Owu in Yoruba History (1971) at page 64: After the interview with Oba Akinyele of Ibadan and the Baale of Erunmu, they concluded that the most likely explanations seems to be that **a quarrel between Ibadan and that refugee settlement of Owu-Ogbere** broke out and allied army was called in as it had been in the struggle between **Orun and Idomapa**. Owu-Ogbere was destroyed and the army **then took possession of Ibadan, squeezing out its original** descendants of Lagelu (not Egba population). The settlement of the composite army in Ibadan marked the beginning of a new phase the long chain of events which began at the Apomu market in 1814 and ended 1820 and 1821 to 1825 according to Rev. Samuel Johnson (1921).

(e) Occupation of Ibadan:

At Ibadan camp, each of the major Yoruba sub-groups in the settlement, according to Professor Toyin Falola (2012 pg.2) had its separate quarter and government. "The **Ife and Oyo**, most predominant groups in the community, inhabited the hilly area of **Ojaba and Mapo**; The **Ijebu** lived in **Isale-Ijebu** to the south-east of Mapo; and the **Egba** clustered together around **Yeosa**. As a result of the ethnic rivalry - the Egba was the first victim to be expelled to found a more secure place at Abeokuta between **1829 and 1830**.

Sir Egnr (Dr.) Jide Fatokun summarize **the period of establishing the three periods of Ibadan existence** in Chapter 1 of the book - "Herbert Marcaulay when he wrote: "The City of Ibadan as it is known today is the **third attempt** to establish settled life in what used to be known as **Igbo Ipara**. It is settled at the transition from the forest vegetation to the south and savannah vegetation to the north in southwest Nigeria. The first two attempts, **Ibadan I (1590/1600-1700)** and **Ibadan II c1700-1806**, were both established by Lagelu, Oro Apata Maja and so referred to as Lagelu's Ibadan (Ibadan Lagelu). Third attempt, **Ibadan III or Ibadan Maye**, emerged as a result of Owu War II which is referred to above as **Owu-Ogbere War** which ended in **1825A.D.**

Finally, there is no link between the founding of Ibadan with Alaafin Sango who reigned in the 13th Century a difference of THREE centuries or 300 years.

2.0 FOUNING OF IBADAN BETWEEN 1580 AND 1590:

According to Chief I.B. Akinyele (1911), Lagelu, an Ife **war-chief** who migrated from Ile-Ife and pitched his tent between the forest and the grassland belts of Yorubaland was the founder of the town. As Akinyele's myth of origin explains, Lagelu's settlement was called "Ile-Eba-Odan" (a town on the edge of the grassland) a nomenclature which was eventually contracted to "**Ibadan**".

Like Ijaiye, Ibadan a cording to Professor Toyin Falola (2012) was a centre of communication and, indeed, a rendezvous for Egba, Ife, Ijebu, and Oyo traders. Consequently, it grew rapidly to become a prosperous town. But this prosperity was short lived. It was attacked and was destroyed by the powerful AJELES of Alaafin in the 18th century **but not Alaafin Sango as claimed by I.B. Akinyele and Professor Toyin Falola** and many other authors. Alaafin Sango reigned in the **13th century** after Oranmiyan and Ajuwon. Professor Toyin Falola claimed that the first Ibadan was destroyed in the 18th century and not in the **sixteenth century** because its

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inhabitants revealed the secret of the Egungun (masquerade). According to tradition Lagelu and a host of other survivors of Oyo invasion took refuge at Eleyele Hill, Awotan, now in Ido Local Government Area.

2.1 WHY SECOND IBADAN WAS ABANDONED:

With the collapse of the great empire of Oyo-Ile, new state were created. **Heroes emerged as state founders**, warriors in defence of their colonies. The states with the most developed military machines had more **warrior-heroes** than others. Thus, Ibadan, which later built an empire, had a long line comprising such generals as Oluyedun, Maye, Labosinde, Oluyole, and others.

However, these war-lords were invited when there was a quarrel between Ibadan and the **refugee settlement of Owu-Ogbere** broke out and **allied army** was called in as it had been in the struggle between **Orun** and **Idomapa**, according to Rev. Samuel Johnson (1921). **Owu-Ogbere was destroyed in 1825** and the army then took possession of Ibadan, squeezing out its original Lagelu descendants (and not Egba Population) as claimed by Johnson and Oba I.B. Akinyele (1911). The settlement of the **composite army** in Ibadan marked the beginning of a new phase in the long chain of events which began at the Apomu market between 1814 and 1820 according to Rev. Samuel Johnson (1921) and Prof. Akin L. Mabogunje (1971).

The initial congregation at Ibadan was along ethnic lines. The numerically superior Ife soldiers and Oyo-Yoruba refugees chose **Oja-Iba**, the Ijebu lived in the south, at **Isale Ijebu**, the Egba moved far away from their conquerors and settled at **Yeosa**. This was the occupation of the second Ibadan and the establishment of the **THIRD IBADAN IN 1825AD** (Prof. Toyin Falola, 1989).

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This pattern of settlement was a clear indication of the existing political cleavages in this war camp. Each group had its leaders, and the people looked upon them for authority.

It was the attempt by the notables among these military leaders to create an hegemony, one that would cut across ethnic lines, that accounted for the “civil wars” within the camp which I.B. Akinyele has briefly described in his chronicle. The Egbas were forced to leave Ibadan camp to found Abeokuta in 1830 while the Oyo-Yoruba forces eliminated the Ifes in 1833.

The earliest leaders Oluyedun and Oluyole, tried to make Ibadan a secured place for hundreds of other migrants who joined the new town in the **1830s** while Egba and Owu towns of Erunmu, Ojo, Offa, Oje, Ika, Ikeye were destroyed. Erunmu, a pro-Ife town regained its lost population in **1860s**.

The implication of this is that **the present and third Ibadan** has always been a land of composite character comprising people of diverse origins such as Oyo, Egba, Ife, Ijebu, Ijesha, Ekiti, Hausa, Nupe, Igbo Edo, Urobo, Itsekiri, Efik etc. **As the cityscape changes, so its nationalities and identities** grew with unsurpassable robustness in the 20th century

3.0 ETHNIC LEADERSHIP RIVALRY TO CONTROL IBADAN CAMP:

In the atmosphere of intense personal rivalry between the war-chiefs, quarrels were not infrequent and soon after they settle at Ibadan. There was a remarkable political change early in the **1820s** when the settlement was transformed from a more agglomeration of different settlers into a permanent town particularly owned, inhabited and controlled by Oyo refugees. Two major events were responsible for this important change after the **Owu-Ogbere war in 1825 A.D.**

(a) Conflict between Egba and Ife:

Lamodi, a prominent Egba leader, shot an influential Ife leader, named **Ege**, with a pistol in the course of an altercation. A scrimmage at once broke out. **Lamodi** was killed and a considerable body of Egba, fearing further vengeance, fled the town. Under the leadership of **Sodeke**, they succeeded in beating off all attacks and making their way to naturally defensible site of Abeokuta in **1830A.D.**

(b) Conflict between Oyo and Ife:

In Ibadan, the haughty attitude of **Maye Okunade** towards the Oyo section of the army which gave rise to mounting feeling. One day, according to Rev. Samuel Johnson (1921), two neighbours, an **Owu ex-captive** and follower of Maye Okunade and the other an Oyo, were quarrelling over a piece of land. Maye Okunade intervened and without asking questions drew his sword and cut off the head of Oyo man. This led to an upheaval in which Maye Okunade with some of the Ife Chiefs was driven from the town. He sought refuge at Erunmu where Akinjobi, the Olowu of Owu had gone after destruction of **Owu-Ogbere**. This eventually led to **Gbanamu war in 1833**. The Erunmu Town was captured and its ruler, **the Oluroko**, and the ruler of **Idomapa**, by name Oluwole were caught and killed. The **Olowu** was also captured and was put to death.

In referring to Gbanamu war; Chief (Dr.) M.A. Fabunmi in his book "IFE": The Genesis of Yoruba Race" published in 1985 at page 56 said: *"The political supremacy of Ife was shattered a little more than a century ago when it was defeated by the strong military power of Ibadan. Since then Ife has remained only a spiritual and cultural Yoruba capital, and the resilient core around which the culture of the land has crystalized.* This has been the root course of the **Ife and Modakeke wars** since 1849 which extended to 21st century.

4.0 GOVERNANCE STRUCTURE OF THE COSMOPOLITAN CITY:

The end of the struggle with Maye Okunade meant the end of the most serious communal tensions within the erstwhile marauding army, it was then possible to establish a regular governmental hierarchy and at a public meeting at Isale-Ijebu section of Ibadan, it was decided to introduce regular chieftaincy titles.

In establishing the constitution or government of the city, the **composite character** was preserved so that *although the chieftaincy titles adopted were traditional ones the system itself was quite different from the normal Yoruba hereditary divine kingship system*. The titles were not hereditary but were given in accordance with the effective position of the holder in society and it was progress from one title to another in the hierarchy even to the top.

The chieftaincy system was in fact a career open to talent. This meant that **persons of very diverse origin could aspire to the position of Baale** and indeed **not less than three Baales of Ibadan have been Owus**. Thus communal differences had little political significance and the diverse groups tended to fuse together in a common **Ibadan Identity** in the opposite manner to the Egba who preserved their original town and even villages within the single circumference of the walls of Abeokuta.

Power was divided and exercised by two major chieftaincy groups, **one civil** and **one military**. The civil group was created in **1851** when it had become necessary to relieve the **leading warriors** of duty of governing the town as well as fighting the wars of expansion.

The Baale and his subordinate chiefs were expected to be knowledgeable in **military history** and warfare, and above all they must be familiar with the foreign policies of every major Yoruba subgroup and their neighbours.

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The second civil chieftaincy category was the **Iyalode**, mainly for women. The title was created early in 1851 to reward Subuola, a prominent trader renowned for assisting the warriors. Other Iyalodes during the century were Efusnetan, Lanlatu and Iyaola. They also usually rewarded their subordinates with the titles of Otun Iyalode, Osi Iyalode, Asipa Iyalode etc.

The Iyalodes attended the meetings of the Baale-in-Council where important matters of the state were discussed, they took special interest in the organization of markets and finally, they represented the interest of women in a society dominated by men.

The two military categories of chiefs, and of course the most significant in the political system; were those of **Balogun** and the **Seriki**. The Balogun category was the most supreme, powerful, and prestigious, being made up of the leading, renowned warriors.

Although many Baloguns desired to be the Baales so that they could attain the peak of their political career, others did not. Four Baloguns refused to be Baale during the nineteenth century: **Oderinlo in 1847**, **Akere in 1867** and **Akintola in 1895**. One main reason of not becoming Baale was to enable the Balogun engage in more wars in order to make more wealth and further enhance his stature. However, during the same century, death denied **Balogun Ibikunle**, **Balogun Osungbekun** and **Balogun Ogboriefon** from becoming Baales of Ibadan.

The chief, together with the lineage head (Bale or Mogaji), carried out civil administration. The lineage was very important for every individual, for it was through its membership that a person had access to land, and exercised civil rights, every lineage had a spokesman, the Baale or Mogaji, who, together with the other elders administered the compound.

The power structure impacted upon the judicial system. There were four difference courts: the **Igbejo agbole, Igbejo Ijoye, Igbejo Balogun, Igbejo Baale and Igbejo Ilu**. The first operated in the compound, the second one dealt with cases involving members of different compounds, the third was an appeal courts as well as the only competent court to try the serious cases of murder and others that called for capital punishment. (Toyin Falola, 1989).

5.0 THE BUILDING OF IBADAN EMPIRE:

As predicted from Ifa divination at the founding of Ibadan, it would be a hospitable abode for visitors and settlers. Even vagrants might find prosperity in the liberal, conducive town. Its **chieftaincy structure** has been liberal and generous to both aborigines and settlers. It is thus a **cosmopolitan and representative Yoruba town**, hospitality being mainspring. There has never been a time when strangers and settlers have had cause for anxiety about the safety of their lives and property.

The republican nature of Ibadan Civil and military population partly explains why it quickly and effortlessly succeeded **Old Oyo Empire** as the military headquarters of the **Yoruba Empire** in the nineteenth century. It was an **all-comers community** which did not foreclose the participation of a **Pan-Yoruba** community in its military service. This helped to build an influential and popular army which pushed the frontiers of Ibadan military expeditions. This singular fact remains the basis of her **cosmopolitan composition**.

The fall of the Old Empire, arising from the combination of internal constitutional debacles, power tussles and conflicts, and the rise of militant Islam in Ilorin played significant roles in the emergence of the present and third Ibadan.

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In the case of Ibadan, the works of I.B. Akinyele, Bolanle Awe and Toyin Falola substantiated the evolution of the third Ibadan as a of the nineteenth century wars. The evolution has been associated with an apt description of militarism. *The town consisted of warriors that settled because of the geographical advantage of the areas offered to further launch wars conquest of surrounding communities, the hilltops and bushes around the settlement provided a hide-out that could prevent the invasion of enemies.*

The fact that other states in Yorubaland were engulfed by a series of internal and external wars contributed to the emergence of the present and third Ibadan as a famous state that could assist in repulsing the invasion. By the **1840s**, the war compliments of Ibadan became a motivation for the expansionist drive.

As described by Professor I.A. Akinjogbun (1986), at a point, there was a perception that Ibadan might become the “**Master of the whole word**”. This was because, the towns of Iwo, Ede, Ikire and so on, which had been under the allegiance to Ibadan as a sign of honour, gratitude and loyalty.

In **1877**, the political cooperation and expansion by **Ibadan warriors** were met with rivalry and fear of domination. In order to bring the expansionism to a halt, the Ekiti, Ijesa and other neighboring kingdoms aligned to form the **Ekitiparapo to fight a war of independence** from Ibadan. This War is referred to as the Kiriji war.

The Kiriji war was a war of independence, a challenge to the hegemony of Ibadan over trading roots, slave raiding and excessive taxation. To the Ekitiparapo, the war was to avoid the subjugation of **Ekiti-Ijesa** territories, while to **Ibadan**, it was a war to sustain the economic gains that had been accrued since the **1840s**. The differences in the political motives and ideological difference of the **Egba**

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and **Ijebu** over the blockage of the routes that could link Ibadan to Lagos accounted for what could be termed an immediate cause to the war.

By **1854**, Ibadan had annexed the Ife towns of Apomu, Ikire and Gbongan according to the Emeritus Professor Bolanle Awe (1964) in her publication “**The Rise of Ibadan as a Yoruba Power, 1851-1893**”. She continued, in fact, by **1893**, when the British had succeeded in colonizing Nigeria, **Ibadan warlords** were still lamenting their uncompleted campaigns to fully regain Ilorin from the invading Fulani. **At the close of the 19th century, Ibadan had succeeded in replacing Oyo as the imperial power of the Yoruba country.**

The influence of Ibadan had been responsible for the continual migration and influx of peoples of diverse backgrounds into the metropolis in more recent times. There has been no other West African town that has expanded as unilaterally as Ibadan had done during the 20th century.

6.0 LOCATION AND SIZE OF THE CITY IN THE 19TH CENTURY

In the **1830s**, Toyin Falola (2012) described Ibadan as a small town. It was not more than a kilometer in all directions from Oja’ba at the centre. The layout closely followed the pattern of the **older towns**. It has a market centrally located at the foot of Mapo Hill.

Surrounding this central market in all direction were the earliest compounds of the military chiefs and other notable warriors. The compounds were built in base and brown of Oje-Mapo for security reasons the whole of the town including all the compounds was surrounded by a **protective wall** which was about four metres high. At the base of this wall were the ditches constructed through communal efforts immediately after the victory of the Oyos during the Gbanamu/Erunmu wars.

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By 1851, Ibadan had grown into a huge centre with an estimated population figure of between 60,000 and 100,000 the new areas, notably in the north east, had to be occupied, and the town covered an estimated area to twenty six (26) square kilometer in the **1850s**. The wall enclosing the built up section was sixteen (16) kilometres in circumference, and was known as **Ibikunle wall**. It had major gates leading to Abeokuta, Oyo, Iwo and Ijebu and other minor ones to various farms and villages.

The more contemporary areas of the city lie to the west and north of the range of hills first traversed by the founding fathers. Some of the hills are **Oke-sapati, Oke Oluokun, Oke Are, Oke Fojo, Oke Ado, Oke Bola etc**. The settlement patterns are marked out by the variation in architectural patterns and, to some extent, the social and economic stratification within the sprawling city. Akin Mabogunje noted that the earlier crop of immigrants into Ibadan from **1900** were from neighbouring communities of Ijebu, Egba and Ijesha. They were mostly traders who settled in parts of the western sector known as **Amunigun, Agbeni, Idikan, Oke-Padi and Oke Foko**.

According to Prof. Akin Mabogunje in his book “Yoruba Towns”, the interplay of two cultures can be seen in the morphology of Ibadan. Although the **town wall** (i.e. Ibikunle wall) has gone now, within its former limits is an area with high residential densities, inhabited by a population of local origin, with commercial activity in the form of traditional markets. The modern commercial and government area are located on one side of the core. The **outer zone** of the city wall include homes of immigrants from elsewhere in Nigeria as from overseas, and they also include areas devoted to modern education uses. Hence; **Ibadan is described as a city of Contrast between tradition and modernity.**

7.0 SETTLEMENTS OUTSIDE THE CITY WALL BY NONE-IBADAN INDIGENES

An influx of settlers was noticeable with the arrival of the railway in **1901**. A new suburb grew with the arrival of **Lagosians** and descendants of freed slaves who had settled in Lagos, this area, slightly north of the railway terminus, became known as **Ekotedo** or “**Lagos settlement**”. The railway network also brought settlers who were originally from what later became known as the mid-west southeastern and east Nigeria.

The Hausa came to settle in Ibadan during the reign of Basorun Oluyole in the 1830sa. They first came into town as cattle and beef traders, under the leadership of Muhammadu Na Garke, who was the **Sarkin Pawa** (head of the butchers), and Abdullahi Makana, the **Sarkin Zango** (head of the cattle transit camp). At this initial stage they were settled at Oja’ba as the guest of Basorun Oluyole. With time, the population of the Hausa in Ibadan increased dramatically and the Sabongari (Sabo) settlement was established for them, around Mokola area in 1916. **The land on which Sabo was built was donated to the Hausa Community by bale Irefin (192-1914)**. Adjacent to this place, the Nupe were settled in a portion of Mokola referred to as **Ago Tapa**, which translates as Nupe hamlets. The same is applicable to Ilorin where they settled as **Ago Ilorin**.

Between 1963 and 1991, the Ibadan Municipal Government now comprising five urban local governments had a population of **1,288,663** which amounted to annual growth rate of **2.43%** from **2.8%** in 1963. The less city population comprising six local governments increased marginally to **606,639** from **514,298** in 1963, which accounted for annual growth rate of **0.50%**. The total population for Ibadan and its suburb increase marginally to **1,829,300** in 1891 at a growth of **1.65%** from 1963.

8.0 THE EXPANDING ECONOMY OF IBADAN

With the expanding economy characterized a high degree of specialization, **Ibadan rapidly grew into a big, urban centre.** This rapid transformation of the town is line with “**functional specialization theory of urbanization**” which stresses that an economy based on specialization and division of labour, as obtained in Ibadan, is capable of transforming a small settlement into an urban centre. Such an economy, however, must be accompanied by three interrelated conditions which Professor Akinlawon Ladipo Mabogunje (1967) has simplified;

- (a) For functional specialization to give rise to urban centres, there must be a surplus of food production with which to feed the class of specialists whose activities are now withdrawn from agriculture.
- (b) For the surplus to be made available to the group of specialists, there must be a small group of people who are able to exercise some power over the group of food producers. This class also has to ensure stable and peaceful conditions in which both the **food producers and specialists** can produce of three of their best; and
- (c) For the work of the specialists to be facilitated and their needs for new materials satisfied, there must be a class of traders and merchants.

Ibadan satisfied the three conditions: its numerous farmers operated far above the subsistence level; its military rulers provided the necessary peace and control over the economy; and the exchange sec or allowed for the distribution of surplus local items and imports.

Thus by **c. 1850**, Ibadan had become an urban centre with a population of about **60,000 to 100,000** people living within the town, which covered about **sixteen square miles (16sq. miles)**. By that date it had also established an identifiable social,

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political, and economic structure which sustained it for the structure which sustained it for the remaining fifty (50) years of the century.

9.0 COLONIAL LEGACIES AND NIGERIA CITIES

There is no doubt that urbanization and city creation predates colonialism in many African countries such as Cairo, Tunis, Ibadan, Oyo, Ile-Ife, Ilorin and others. However, the biggest urban spatial impact of European colonialism lies in the location of so many of Africa's eventually major cities along the coast or in close proximity to sites of resource extraction, and the functional retardation of African cities into roles as either entrepot/warehouse towns, bureaucratic capitals or both at once, rather than as organically grown industrial manufacturing engines of value added. However, that cities like Lagos, which was colonized in 1861, the colonial rule facilitated the growth of industry and manufacturing as the basis for urbanization were the exception, rather than norm.

Some cities that pre-dated the rise of European were able to capitalize on colonialism to grow larger (e.g. Kenya, Mombasa, or many North African Cities) but others were bypassed and replaced, ultimately superseded and occasionally falling in to ruin (Garth Mayers, 2011).

In the case of these **pre-colonial indigenous cities**, where the introduction of Western Culture has brought an economic revolution as well as new ideas, the **interplay of contrasting cultures** has had a striking effect on the structure of the indigenous city. **The result of the interaction of Western and native cultures** is most clearly seen where basically Western City has been grafted to a clearly indigenous city leading to **“a twin city”** dual structure of a colonial city where **old and new** urban development are juxtaposed and served as a viable indication of the distinctiveness of two cultures – Western and indigenous urban tradition (M.I. Lawal, 2000).

The structure of Ibadan in Western Nigeria as described by Professor Akinlawon Ladipo Akinjogbin in his book “**Yoruba Towns**”. The city grew during the nineteenth century before West European influence became effective. The interplay of two cultures can be seen in the morphology of the town. He said, although the **town wall** has now gone, within its former limits is an area with high residential densities, inhabited by a population of local origin, with commercial activity in the form of traditional markets. The modern commercial and government areas (GRAs) are located on one side of this core. The outer zones of the city include the homes of immigrants from elsewhere in Nigeria as from overseas, and they also include areas devoted to modern education uses.

9.1 IMPLICATIONS OF TOWNSHIP ORDINANCE:

The Township Ordinance of 1917 was another major change brought about by a policy directive from Lagos. Its main purpose as explained by Sir, Fredric Lugard, **was to establish the broad principle of municipal responsibility, graduated according to the importance of the community, and the measure of its ability, to accept, and discharge satisfactorily the conduct of its own affairs.**

Townships were graded into three classes, first class to third class, “according to the degree of control and responsibility vested in the governing authority, and they include practically all centres where European(s), reside, **only Lagos was a first-class township**, and Ibadan was one of the eighteen (18) **second-class townships**.”

9.2 SEGREGATION AND SEGMENTATION

Colonialism's urban legacies in Africa also concerns **internal form and spatial structure of cites**. One is the segregation and segmentation of the urban landscape, and another is the related high degree of inequality. Often, the most obvious dimension of the segmentation was **racial** or residence restricted to European, Asians, and Africans, respectively, in many colonial cities, justified by rhetorical concerns with health (Swanson, 1977).

The **Ibadan Township Area** was located in parts of the south west of the city. It encompasses part of what later became known as the New Reservation (or Jericho), the Railway Station, Iyaganku, Iddo Gate, and Lebanon street (Old Gbagi). It was conceived to be autonomous in administration, and chiefs were not supposed to exercise power in the township (professor Toyin Falola, 2012).

10.0 POST-COLONIAL ECONOMIC GROWTH OF THE CITY:

The period between 1963 and 1991 witnesses a remarkable feature of the growth of Ibadan with the urban landscape spreading over about **101.9sq.km** in 1973, and about **130.5sq.km** in 1982. The 1980s developments like the construction of expressway (or dual carriageway) along Sango-Eleyele, Lagos Ibadan Expressway engendered a rapid spate of building construction to the south and east of the Eleyele Lake and Ojoo-Olorunsogo-Sanyo areas of the eastern part of the metropolis. The built-up area of the metropolis in 1989 was approximately **240sq.km** and a population density of 5,094 persons per sq.km. Ibadan city further decline to an annual growth rate of **0.47%** in 2006 from **2.43%** in 1991.

Its population was **2.55 million** according to the Nigeria 2006 census and **2.67 million** in 2007 (*based on extrapolation of data in World Urbanization Prospectus: The 2007 Revisions*). Ibadan is located in South-Western Nigeria, 140 kilometres

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inland from Lagos and constitutes a prominent transits point between the coastal region and the Nigerian hinterland to the north. Ibadan had been the centre of administration of Nigeria's old Western region since the days of British colonial rule when Ibadan grew into an impressive and sprawling urban centre.

With its strategic location on the Lagos-Kano railway and the interface of the savannah and forest environments, the city of Ibadan is a major centre for trade. Since the introduction of Structural Adjustment Programme in 1980s, according to the UN-Habitat Report, 2007, *informal economic activity has contributed significantly to the economic development of the city as a means of livelihood and survival of its inhabitants*. The informal sector is increasingly replacing formal employment as the economic mainstay, due to a significantly downsized demand for formal labour in both public and private sectors. Ibadan, the capital of Oyo State, is the commercial hub of the state and other states in Yoruba states and handles 90% of the head offices of the banks, financial institutions and multinational companies operate from Ibadan. They are located in the industrial estates at Oluyole, Lagelu and along Lagos Expressway from Ibadan Toll gate.

To sustain, the momentum of economic growth is a major challenge, and is dependent on continued job creation and poverty alleviation, which is in turn dependent upon strengthening the management efficiency of Ibadan metropolitan area, and supporting improvements in urban infrastructure and service.

The institutional setting in Ibadan has traditionally comprised a host of agencies at federal, state and local government levels with separate land areas, separate legal and administrative frameworks, and engaging in little institutional coordination. This results in a fragmented management system with each agency responsible for multiple services within its own jurisdiction and in many cases with its own set of regulatory laws and frameworks. This has far reaching and adverse

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consequences on **city growth and development**. The resulting poor governance and regulation in Oyo State affects not only the quality of **city planning, infrastructure development** and **public and municipal services**, but also impacts adversely on the **state's economic growth and development prospects**.

The rapid and uncontrolled growth of Ibadan which has resulted in unregulated development and inappropriate land-use changes has also resulted in an estimated 60% of the population living in unplanned, poorly serviced and heavily populated informal settlements in Ibadan. The lack of an effective and efficient mass transit system means rapidly increasing numbers of vehicles on ever-more congested roads leading to overcrowding, increased air pollution, stress and increasing road accidents.

There have been occasional attempts to revive the **Ibadan Circular Road** and **major rail transit system** for Ibadan metropolis that has been planned since 2003/4, but these have failed to attract either public or private investment until recently phase one of which should be completed as soon as possible from Lagos Expressway to Bioku village along Ibadan-Ife Expressway while the Railway from Lagos to Ibadan passing through Olorisa-Oko near Moniya will enhance the economic activities along Lagos-Abeokuta-Ibadan urban corridor. In addition, the dualization of major roads in the metropolis should be completed especially in commercial areas of Iwo Road, Bere-Oritamerin-Agbeni and Lebanon Street to reduce congestion due to parked vehicles that reduce the road through fares by more than 50 percent.

11.0 RAPID URBANIZATION OF WEST AFRICAN CITIES

(a) Population and Urbanization:

What is happening in Lagos that was colonized in 1861 by the British during the reign of King Kosoko of Lagos is happening across the continent of Africa, particularly, West Africa. By the end of this century, according to the UN projects in Africa which had less than one tenth of the world's population in **1950**, will be home to **3.9 billion people**, or **40%** of humanity. However, according to Howard W. French (2022), it is in cities where most of this outstanding demographic growth will occur.

The centre of this **urbanization is the stretch of coastal West Africa that begins in the west with Abidjan, the economic capital of Ivory Coast and extends to 600 miles east passing through the countries of Ghana, Togo and Benin before finally arriving at Lagos.** Recently this has come to be seen by many experts as the world's most rapidly urbanizing region, a **"megapolis" in the making, that is, a large and densely clustered group of metropolitan centres.** When its population surpassed **10 million people in the 1950s, the New York metropolitan area** became the anchor of **the first urban zones** to be described this way, **as a region of almost continuous dense habitation that stretches 400 miles from Washington DC to Boston.** Other regions such as **Japan's Tokyo-Osaka urban corridor, Great Ibadan-Lago-Accra (GILA) urban corridor,** soon gained the same distinction, and were later joined by other gigantic cluster in India, China and Europe (Howard W. French, 2022).

Thus, the story of the region's small cities is equally dramatic. They are wither becoming major urban centres in their own right, or, as with cities like **Oyo in Nigeria, Takoradi in Ghana and Biglerville in Ivory Coast.** They are gradually being absorbed by larger

(b) The Implication for the Growth of Ibadan:

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Although the history of Ibadan in the nineteenth century was dominated by wars, yet there were several other important and interesting aspects of Ibadan history which should not be overlooked. Its diversified origin and very rapid rise to fame, its military-oriented system of government; its religious institutions and economy are all as significant as its wars. Ibadan, people also demonstrate loyalty to a cause, for example, winning a war, achieving peace, and bringing progress, as in all the cases of the nineteenth century wars. Ibadan is full of able politicians, tacticians, philanthropists, managers of men and material. (Prof. Toyin Falola, 1989).

However, with the introduction of Western Culture as a result of colonization in **1893**, there has been an economic revolution as well as ideas, the interplay of contrasting cultures which has a striking effect on the structure of the indigenous city. *The resultant fragmentation of the city in 1917 by the British Government have given rise to Government Reservation Areas (GRAs) for the white while the indigenes lived in the unplanned areas of the Town.* Therefore, the growing inequality and socio-spatial fragmentation of urban life continues to reflect a widening gap between the rich and the poor that translates into urban division among the poor and other various income groups.

The colonial period actually contributed rapid changes to the dismantling of several aspects of nineteenth century structures which provide useful background to the understanding of contemporary problems and challenges in this sprawling city, the **biggest in Nigeria in geographical area** (about 3,149.98 sq. km) with eleven separate autonomous local government areas and third most populous city in Nigeria, after Lagos and Kano.

According to the **1991 Census Final Report**, IBADAN had a population of **1,829,300** compared with **2,560,853 in 2006**, a growth rate of **2.22%** per annum which was challenged at the Census Tribunal at Abuja by the **Central Council of**

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Ibadan Indigenes (CCII). However, going by the growth rate adopted by the Ministry of Budget & Planning, Micro-Statistics Department of Oyo State, Ibadan will reach **4,372,903 by year 2023 and 5,611,642 by the year 2033.** This figure notwithstanding, the consultants of Ibadan City Plan working in collaboration with the World Bank in 2016 projected the population of Ibadan to be **6,017,709 by the year 2016 and 11,315,052 by the year 2036.** This is a vision that Ibadan will become a Megacity.

The institutional setting of IBADAN since the days of Western Region had traditionally comprised a host of agencies at Federal, Regional (now state) and Local Government levels with separate land areas, separate legal and administrative frameworks, and engaging in little institutional coordination. This results in fragmented management system with each agency responsible for multiple services within its own jurisdiction and in many cases with the absence of IBADAN METROPOLITAN DEVELOPMENT AUTHORITY (IMDA) as we have in Karachi, (Pakistan), Madras (India) and other Asian Countries.

The most rapid population growth is taking place in the six outer-city local governments areas of Ibadan Metropolis where intensive investments had fuelled settlements and industrial development ahead of even basic urban services. This explains the inability of the State and local governments to meet the need of their people as a result of the scale of urbanization and its implication for demand for services.

In contrast with what is happening now in Nigeria, there is an urgent need both for rationalization of the structure of decentralized government (Federal, States and Local Governments), and clarification of the responsibilities and duties of the various devolved institutions. Further reform is necessary to strengthen the eleven (11) Ibadan Local Government Authorities (ILGA) and towns in performing their

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functions. The roles of and responsibilities of urban institutions need to be clarified in order to avoid the horizontal and vertical overlap which currently exists.

12.0 IBADAN IN THE 21ST CENTURY

Ibadan is gradually growing towards being a MEGAPOLIS with the current **6 million population as at 2016** among the West African coastal cities. It is the **largest city in geographical area in Nigeria** with eleven autonomous Local Governments (3,149.98sq.km) and the **third largest city by population** after Lagos (21m), and Kano (16m), other seven large cities in Nigerian in ranking order are: Abuja (3,464,123); Port Harcourt (3,179,402), Benin City (1,781,999) Abia (1,114,388), Jos (917,289) Maiduguri (802,988) and Zaria (736,098).

Ibadan has been the headquarters of Yoruba race since 1893 with a break between **1914 and 1934** now the capital of Oyo State from 1976. Ibadan is in the Western part of Nigeria with available infrastructure and employment opportunities. It has continued to attract more people to the city. Known for its commercial and trade activities, Ibadan houses about one thousand, five hundred and fifty-three (1,533) companies. It is also the home to Nigeria's first University. The University of Ibadan (UI), and University Teaching Hospital (UCH), Emmanuel Alayande University; and the first Technical University with a State owned The Polytechnic and four Private Universities.

There is a new Airport constructed after Samonda Aerodrome now turned to Samonda G.R.A. owned and managed by the Oyo State Government. There is **117 kilometer circular Road** under construction and newly refurbished and upgraded **Lekan Salami Stadium complex** with more than fifty (50) standard Hotels.

The city has a fair standard of living with affordable accommodation. However, the increasing population had put the infrastructures under high pressure

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which has resulted in some adverse environmental effects, including poor sanitation, increased slum dwellings, and blocked drainage. These infrastructure are being upgraded and major roads dualized while **3 Bus-Terminals** are being constructed and two at **challenge and Ojoo** have been completed while river had been dredged regularly to mitigate perennial flooding. Finally, the new airport at Alakia is being upgraded and the entrance road dualized with street light while new infrastructure facilities were provided by Oyo State Government in 2022.

13.0 CONCLUSION:

The inspirations for writing this book are numerous and diversified. It contains twenty two chapters. The present work is an addition to the growing literature on Ibadan History. However, it was realized that most of the previous studies have chosen larger territories as case studies, thereby ignoring local peculiarities and developments. There has also been an emphasis on the political aspects of the colonial administration to the neglect of the social and economic aspect of the pre-colonial period.

The Twenty two chapters had shown that this is the third Ibadan which in the nineteenth century was dominated by wars. It rose from a war camp, to a city state and then an Empire. As a military state with an expansionist foreign policy, war could not but occupy a predominant place. Yet, there are several other important and interesting aspects of Ibadan history which should not be ignored or overlooked. Its origin and very rapid rise to fame, its innovative non-hereditary republican system of governance, its religious institutions and economy are all as significant as the wars.

The writing of this book is based on the evolution and characteristics of the Yoruba cities and the process of creating and developing urban communities backed up with authentic documents of objective facts, figures and dates in order to gain credibility in this highly technological world.

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The study has shown the inner structure of both pre-colonial and colonial cities and the process of urbanization in Nigeria and the influence of the British Colony on the internal structures, economic systems, education, urban governance and structure and transport network.

Good urban governance is the effectiveness of the performance of urban governments in formulating policy plans, programmes and practices that seek to ensure that population growth is marched by access to basic infrastructure, shelter and employment. While such access will demand as much, if not more, or private initiatives and entrepreneur, these are critically affected by public sector policies and functions that only government can perform.

CHAPTER ONE
THE ORIGIN OF THE YORUBA PEOPLE AND THE RISE
OF ODUDUWA DYNASTIES

1.1 The Myth of Origin of Yoruba People

In African history, there is confusion between the origins of people and origins of kingdoms and dynasties. This should not be so. Immigration and emigration are characteristics phenomenon not unique to African history alone but to the history of mankind. It is generally known by historians, archaeologists and anthropologist that man evolved in Africa from where it migrated to other part of the world. Before the founding of the Oduduwa dynasty in Ife there was definitely autonomous person there. This myth of Eastern origin and the so-called **KISRA** legend is found among several African peoples.

Oduduwa is regarded as the first king of Ile-Ife. There is also evidence in tradition that after the death of Oduduwa the monarchial system of government which he established was continued. Names of Oduduwa's successors to the throne of Ile-Ife survived in tradition in varying forms. It is even believed that the other kingdoms which became prominent in Yoruba history were either offshoots of the Royal House at Ile-Ife or they copied the system of government established in that kingdom by Oduduwa. This partly explains why the majority, if not all, of the traditional rulers of Yorubaland trace their origin directly or ultimately to Oduduwa and Ile-Ife.

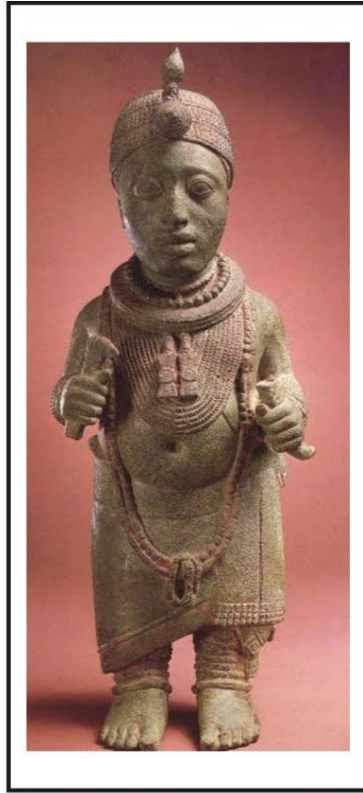
Prior to the coming of the Oduduwa group (immigrants), Ile-Ife was probably the scared city of the aborigines. Yoruba traditions regard Ile-Ife not only as the centre of the world but also the place where all mankind was created. Information about the significance of Ile-Ife must have attracted Oduduwa there. On his arrival, Oduduwa and his followers almost certainly assumed positions of authority either immediately or soon afterwards.

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The institution of **divine-kingship** was probably a magnification of the Oduduwa group (Berber immigrants). Since the dawn of the ancestral cities of the North East, the rise of the cities has been associated with kings, in other words, **kings have ben builders of cities**. Divine kingship apart the pre-eminent culture of the new comers must have attracted the rural population to the capital cities, particularly as association with ruling houses conferred some socio-political status and advantages.

It was during this period that Yoruba artists “evolved one of the finest schools of sculpture that the world has known. They **modeled works in clay and brass** that are of undying power and beauty.

The world famous **Ife bronze and brass heads** and figures (depicting the early Oonis or kings of Ife) were produced to celebrate the **Oonis**. Since the dawn of urban **civilization**, royal places have always attracted and appropriated the best artists and sculptors of their societies. The singular regard accorded the early Oonis of Ife is borne out by the spectacular sculptures of Ife plate I.



THE BRASS FIGURE OF OONI OF IFE

It is obvious from all the above narratives that the origins of Yoruba kingdoms were considerably more diverse than the Yoruba people and their traditions would like to acknowledge. In fact Oduduwa and Ife gave the Yoruba people their first kingdom, elaborated the structure of their type of kingdom, and pointed all the Yoruba people in the direction to this higher level of political existence, according to Professor S. Adebajji Akintoye (2010).

This is more than enough to proclaim Oduduwa as the **father of all Yoruba kings** and people. Over many centuries before the **nineteenth century**, the belief in Ife and Oduduwa as place of origin and progenitor of Yoruba kings ruled the lives of virtually all Yoruba people, and **descent from Ife was the proof of legitimacy for Yoruba kings.**

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In the pre-colonial societies, the king, who was also the high priest combined both religious and political powers. The latter is dependent on the former. Hence the political autonomy of the provincial kings was not total but circumscribed. Ultimate political rested with the Ooni of Ife who was the **high priest-in-chief**. Until about **1900s** when the British took over Yorubaland, no Yoruba king could ascend the throne and exercise political and religious without the consent of the Ooni.

The Age of Anarchy 1793-1893

The misfortune of the Yoruba was compounded by their inability to cooperate to present a united front against the Fulanis. The rulers quarreled among themselves and engaged one another in military combats beginning with **Owu war** of about **1814-1820** which involved the **Owus** on the one hand and the Ifes, Ijebus, Oyos and a section of the Egbas on the other until the Fulanis invasion was halted at **Osogbo** in **1840** by the Ibadan army led by Balogun Odeinlo.

However, the political hegemony of Ife monarchies abated during the Gbanamu war of **1833** when the Ifes were expelled from Ibadan. According to Chief (Dr.) M.A. Fabunmi, the Odole-Atobase of Ife (1985).

“The political supremacy of ife was shattered a little more than a century ago when it was defeated by the strong military power of Ibadan. Since then Ife has remained only a spiritual and cultural Yoruba capital and the resilient core around which the culture of the land has crystallized.

On reduction of the political primacy of Ile-Ife, the provincial rulers assumed semi-political autonomy. They were not only partially independent of each other. **The partial political autonomy automatically resulted in the elevation of the kinglets to the status of kings.**

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In the pre-colonial days, there were 26 kings in Yorubaland, according to Omotoso Eluyemi (1980) but today, there are several hundred “**KINGS**” in Yorubaland who wear beaded crowns and claim descent from the children and grandchildren of Oduduwa.

The increased number of “**kings**” has resulted from the granting to some town chiefs who were Olojas and Baales the right to wear **beaded crowns** since the onset of the 19th century civil wars for various reasons.

1.2 Archaeological and Linguistic Evidence of Yoruba Origin:

Archeological excavations have been carried out in almost all regions of the Yorubaland homeland; at **Ife, Ifetedo, and Asejire** in **central Yorubaland**, at **Iwo Eleru**, and **Itaogbolu** (both near Akure) and Owo in the Yoruba eastern provinces, at Apa near badagry on the south west coast, at **Mejioo** near the ruins of Oyo-Ile in the far northwest, at Ikaokpe in the Ife-Jumu area in the extreme northwest.

It is also pertinent to examine whether the people whom **Oduduwa** met at Ile-Ife were Yoruba-speaking or not. In this connection, **linguistic evidence** is crucial to the reconstruction of the history of the Yoruba. In classifying African languages in general and West African languages in particular, **renowned scholars of linguistics have placed the Yoruba language among the KWA group** in the **Niger-Congo family of language**. They have also asserted that **Kwa** group has been the predominant language in the West Africa for thousands of years.

Anthological investigation has revealed that the black people (Negroes) are indigenous to West Africa. For instance, in the March, 1953 meeting of the New York Academy of Sciences, Daryll Forde asserted that:

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“...the greater part of the forest belt of west Africa over a distance of a thousand miles from central Liberia to beyond the lower Niger in Nigeria is occupied by people speaking a series of related languages to which the general name Kwa, the common root for “people”, has been given.

Through the use of glottochronology, according to Dr. J.A. Atanda, 1980, linguistics has been able to assert that Yoruba **Edo** and **Igbo** began to evolve as separate languages from common parentage about **four thousand years ago** and that Yoruba had evolved as a distinct language, at least, about **two or three thousand years ago**. The similarity of these languages, particularly between **Edo and Yoruba** and Itsekiri makes the expert opinion on the relationship of these West African languages plausible even to non-linguists. A similar relationship has been established among some European languages such as Latin, Portuguese, French, etc.

It follows from this linguistic evidence that the Yoruba-speaking peoples had inhabited West Africa before the advent of **Oduduwa**. In other words, it is more probable than not that the people whom Oduduwa met at **Ile-Ife** were themselves Yoruba-speaking.

1.3 Ife Before the Emergence of Oduduwa:

Herbert J. Muller commenting on the use of the past: Happy is the people without a history and thrice happy is the people without a Sociology, for as long as we possessed a living culture we are unconscious of it, and it is only when we are in danger of losing it or when it is already dead that we begin to realize its existence and to study it scientifically. We cannot help having some philosophy of history however vague or unconscious. So we might try having a clear, conscious and coherent one.

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The myth associated with Oduduwa is the myth of conquering people who took over the rulership of autonomous people and established representatives of the **Oduduwa dynasty** in almost all Yoruba areas. These immigrants probably came from the southern Nile area, particularly, the kingdom of KUSH, and particularly from its **iron working center of Meroe** which will locate it in the **present day Sudan**. Some Yoruba dynasty such as the one in **Ijebu-Ode** claim a **Waddai** ancestry (i.e present day Chad) which is not too-far from origin of Mero as where Oduduwa came from.

Prior to the coming of the Oduduwa group, Ile-Ife was probably the sacred city of the aborigines. Yoruba tradition regard Ile-Ife not only as center of the world but also the place where all mankind was created. Information about the significance of Ile-Ife must have attracted Oduduwa there. On arrival, Oduduwa and his group almost certainly assumed positions authority either immediately or soon afterwards.

In his book, “Oba Adesoji Aderemi”, Dr. Omotoso Eluyemi, an archaeologist in the University of Ife (now Obafemi Awolowo University) writes that many of the most ancient **primitives’ tribes** lived on the surrounding hills tops of Ile-Ife and rock shelters. Traces of this early occupant have been located near these hills, for example, the Ora and Onigbin hills.

Oral tradition of Ile-Ife says that in the most ancient days many of these tribes and settlements constituted themselves later into different **compact communities** that lived not very far from these hills. Tradition mentions their names as units or entities having their own **Oba** (ruler) and each **Oba** had an array of chiefs under him. These units were based on **idile** blood ties (that is, a group of families).

Archaeological field survey undertaken by Dr. Omotoso Eluyemi reveals that thirteen (13) of those **union-communities** have been located. They were the earliest known units or group based on **idile** (family units) in Ife environment. They are:

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- 1) **Iddo** community headed by **Ompetu**
- 2) **Iloromu** community headed by **Obaluru**
- 3) **Ideta** community headed by **Obalesun** or **Obalale**
- 4) **Odin** community headed by **Lakore**
- 5) **Iloran** community headed by **Obaloran**
- 6) **Oke-Oja** community headed by **Obajio**
- 7) **Imojobi** community headed by **Apata**
- 8) **Iraaye** community headed by **Obalaaye**
- 9) **Ijugbe** community headed by **Obalejugbe**
- 10) **Oke-Awo** community headed by **Fegun**
- 11) **Iwinrin** community headed by **Obawinrin**
- 12) **Parakin** community headed by **Obalufe**
- 13) **Omologun** community headed by **Obadio**

(See locational map of the settlements)

Obagbile market, not very far from the Obagbile hills, (now University of Ife Agricultural farms) was the first **Oja-Oko** (rural market) known to ancient Ile-Ife while **Oja-ejigbomekun** (now **Oja-Ife market near Aiyebaju church**) was the **first urban market** known to Ile-Ife. According to chief (Dr.) M.A. Fabunmi (1985), there was evidence that there was trade contact among the tribes that constituted these different early communities.

1.4 The Oduduwa Revolution in Ile-Ife:

Thus, the Oduduwa followers under the leadership of Oduduwa set out to perform the task of reconstruction. Invariably a new settlement emerged from the hybridization of remnants of the pre-existing settlements. The emergence of the new settlement and the ascendancy group as a dynamic group went on together.

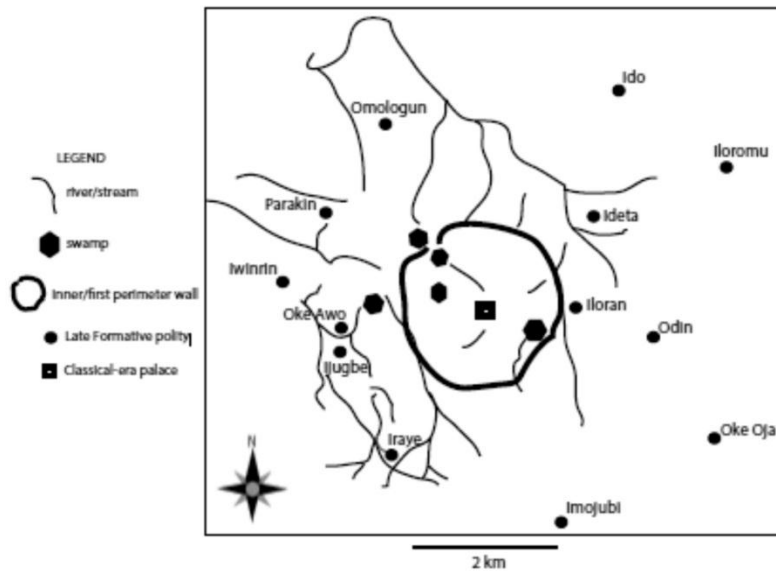


Figure 2.4. Approximate location of mega-House polities in Ilé-Ifé, ca. 800-1000

Another important aspect of royalty that also developed with Oduduwa was the **use of crowns with beaded fringes**, “Ade Ileke” which was not unknown in different parts of Yorubaland during the **pre-Oduduwa** era (R.P/ Bertho, 1950) but it was confined to rituals. In Ile-Ife itself, heads of pre-Oduduwa communities made use of **beaded crown wears**. That is, simple undecorated head wears (oro) made of straw as part of their **regalia**. **The use of ‘Ade’ was a symbol of authority**.

The ready acceptance and absorption of the **Oduduwa group** have been due to their high intelligence, dynamism and superior culture; and also to the liberal and progressive capacity of the aborigines to accommodate strangers, and new ideas. The

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richness of Yoruba culture is therefore due largely to the blending of the two cultural traditions evolved in different environment.

Like Maryan and early dynastic Egyptian cities, Yoruba cities evolved in a stable political environment created by immigrants headed by Oduduwa. The new comers established in the 11th Century (1086-1150) the most indigenous political systems ever found in pre-industrial societies. Classical Yoruba government system was not only hierarchical but also representatively democratic by any pre-industrial society standard.

The system of government differs from one community to another. It also varies in structures from leadership to the governed. When Oduduwa got to Ile-Ife, he met thirteen (13) Aborigines communities which he compressed to five (5) e.g. **Iremo, Moore, Ilode, Ilare and Okerewe**. Within each quarter there are compounds. Within each compound, there are family lineages. Land belongs to family lineages. To own land in Ife, one must belong to a family.

Information has it that scared kingship belonged to the Yoruba Aborigines. Apparently, the kingship institution was elaborately or highly developed among the **Oduduwa group**, the new comers who ruled Yorubaland between **1086** and **1150AD**. The higher status of their institutions coupled with the elevated socio-political plan on which the newcomers (Oduduwa group) were placed by the aborigines as a result of the former superior culture, higher intelligence and greater military powers almost certainly aided the rise of Yoruba cities: on account of the charismatic personality of the new kings, and the great palaces become pole of attraction for the inhabitants of the neighboring aboriginal villages and hamlets.

Yoruba cites cannot be ruled out, the rise of most of them appears to be organic, that is natural through the voluntary migration or movement of a large

number of the aboriginal population to the royal capitals of the new rulers magnetized by their charismatic attributes.

1.5 Conflicting Account of Children of Oduduwa:

According to the **Alake** and paramount ruler of Egbaland, Oba Adedotun Gbadebo, **the Ooni is first among Yoruba monarchs. He identified ego as the cause of disunity among monarchs in Yorubaland.** (The Nigerian Tribune of Monday, February 8, 2016). He then listed the five (5) principal Obas in Yorubaland classified on a **supremacy basis as follows:**

- (i) The Ooni of Ife,
- (ii) The Alaafin of Oyo,
- (iii) The Oba of Benin,
- (iv) Alake of Egbaland
- (v) The Awujale of Ijebuland.

According to Rev. Samuel Johnson's book "The History of the Yoruba" published in **1921**. The **children of Oduduwa** classified according to **age and seniority** in the family of Oduduwa after **Okanbi the eldest**; but not the father of these seven (7) children as popularly claimed by Obas and scholars in Yorubaland were as follows:

- (i) The mother of the Olowu of Owu,
- (ii) The mother of the Alaketu of Ketu
- (iii) The King of Benin
- (iv) The King of Ila
- (v) The Onisabe of Sabe
- (vi) The Olupopo of the Popos, and
- (vii) Oranyan, the First Alafin of Oyo

1.5.1 Contemporary Historical Facts:

- (a) According to Oluremi I. Obateru (2003), former Head of Ibadan Polytechnic Town Planning Department, (Now late), said, **the historical error regarding Oranyan is noteworthy**. It was **Oranyan who founded the kingdoms of Benin and Oyo**. He first founded Benin Kingdom in **1170** and put his son **Eweka I** in charge when returning to Ile-Ife. From Ile-Ife, he again moved northwest to found Oyo Kingdom between **1200 and 1300**. He returned to Ile-Ife where he died leaving his two children, Dada Ajuwon (a.k.a Ajaka) and Songo to consolidate the kingdom. However, he became the fourth (4th) King of Ife before he died. So, Oba of Benin was a grandson of Oduduwa
- (b) In the two list **Owa Obokun** was missing. **Owa Ajibogun**, the paramount ruler of Ijeshaland was a direct son of Oduduwa whose mother was **Saparakunmi**. He also went to **fetch sea-water with Aremitan**, the founder of **Idanre** to cure Oduduwa's blindness. Hence, he was given the nickname "**Owa Obokun**".

According to Chief (Alfa) Samuel Ojo Bada in "**Iwe Itan Saki**" published in **1937** and reprinted in 1986, both were led by **Ajabadi**, the son of **Owafonran or (Ore Otun)**. Owafonran was the father of **Yemoja** who was the **mother of Oranmiyan Odede**. Thereafter, **Ogun** who has been **Regent on Oduduwa throne** returned to Ire-Ekiti where his son, **Ogundahunsi was installed king in 1192A.D.** before returning to **Asabari Hill** in Saki, founded by him. He died there (see Tribune pg. 22 of Tuesday, 16 July, 2019).

(c) About **Awujale of Ijebu-Ode** by name, **Lagborogan**. He was the son of Oduduwa through **Gborowo** his mother and the daughter of **Olu-Iwa** who claimed

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to have come from **Waddai** (the present day Chad) and passed through Ife to found Ijebu Ode. **ARISU** succeeded Olu-Iwa before Lagborogan migrated to Ijebu-Ode

The paramount Ruler of **Remo Kingdom** migrated together with Lugborogan before they parted ways to found Ijebu Remo. The ruler of Ijebu-Remo migrated from **Iremo quarters of Ile-Ife**.

(d) As regards the founding of **Ibadan** by **Lagelu**, he was **Jagun Oshin and Balogun of Ife kingdom** who fought along with **Agura of Gbagura** to support **Olofin Ogunfunminire**, also from the royal family of **Sooko** when the Benin army invaded Iddo in Lagos between 1505 and 1578 during the reign of Oba of Benin called Orhoghua. **Lagelu thereafter, migrated to Ibadan as Jagun Oshin while Oyo was returning from exile at Gbere in Ibariba country (1530-1542)**. Obalokun (1590-1600) the father of Alaafin Ajagbo (1600-1658) conferred Jagun of Oyo Kingdom on Lagelu a.k.a. Oro-apatamaja. Thereafter **Alaafin Ajagbo** established the institution of Aare-Ona-Kakanfo in **1640** while Alaafin Sango, the second son of Oranmiyan reigned in the 13th century A.D. Therefore, Lagelu did not found Ibadan during the reign of Alaafin Sango as claimed by I.B. Akinyele (1911) and quoted by Alaafin of Oyo, Oba Adeyemi III.

Lagelu later married the daughters of Oba Agura of Gbagura, his neighbours with the headquarters at Ido by name **Atage Oota** (a.k.a Olomu-Oru) and the **first Aboke**. He also married the daughter of **Oba Akarigbo of Ijebu-Igbo** who gave birth to **Efunyele**, who became the **second Aboke** (Chief M.K.O. Adebayo, 2015).

1.5.2 Direct Sons and Descendants of Oduduwa:

All Yoruba sub-groups are unanimous in their claims of descent from a common ancestor ODUDUWA. This is unlikely to be completely true. What probably happen, according to Oluremi I. Obateru (2004) was that the early provincial rulers descended from Oduduwa. The most comprehensive list of Yoruba kings was on page 18 and 19 of Omotoso Eluyemi’s Book- “This is Ile-Ife published in 1986. Omotoso Eluyemi, an historian and archeologist, asserts that the children and grandchildren of Oduduwa who left Ile-Ife to found other Kingdoms were:

(A) DIRECT SONS OF ODUDUWA

S/N	THE CHILDREN	KINGDOMS	WIFE/DAUGHTER OF ODUDUWA
1.	AJIBOSIN (Asunkungbade)	Olowu of Owu	Lawuni Iyunade (Daughter of Oduduwa)
2.	SOROPASAN	Alaketu of Ketu and Ake	Daughter of Oduduwa
3.	AJAGUNLA (Ifagbamila)	Orogun of Ila	Adetinrin Anasin (Wife)
4.	ORAMIYAN (Odede)	Alaafin of Oyo	Yemoja (Daughter of Ore-Otun known as Owafanran)
5.	AJIBOGUN	Owa of Ilesha	Saparakunmi (Wife)
6.	LUGBOROGAN	Awujale of Ijebuland	Gborowo (daughter of Olu-Iwa) - Founder of Ijebu-Ode

Sources:

1. *Omotosho Eluyemi in this Ile-ife (1986)*
2. *Chief (Dr.) Fabunmi M.A. in Ife: The Genesis of Yoruba Race (1985)*
3. *Prince Adegbola Adelegan in Ile-Ife: The Source of Yoruba Civilization (2009)*
4. *Oloye Alfa Samuel Ojo Bada in iwe itan saki (1937, 1954, 1966 and 1986).*

1.6 Emergence of Oduduwa System of Government:

The emergence of Oduduwa witnessed the most ingenious political systems over found in pre-industrial societies. The classical Yoruba government system was not only hierarchical but also representatively democratic by any pre-industrial society standard. The highly sophisticated constitutional monarchy with well-defined system of separation of powers and checks and balances based on an unwritten constitution. This will make the life and the liberty of the subjects safe and not be exposed to arbitrary manipulation. Each organ of the government was a check upon the other.

When Oduduwa got to Ile-Ife, he also compressed to **five** the **thirteen** aborigine communities namely: **Iremo, Moore, Ilode, Ilare, and Okerewe**. Within each **quarter** there are **compounds**. Within each **compound** there are **family lineages**. Land belongs to family lineages. To own land in Ife, one must belong to a family. This was the beginning of urbanization of Yorubaland.

Urbanization of Yorubaland connotes civilization. Since the rise of the ancestral cities of the Near East some 5,500 years ago, urbanization has always been associated with civilization. The cultural history of Yorubaland is no exception. The beginning of Yoruba cities marked the inception of the Yoruba golden age that is Oduduwa era.

The period of Oduduwa and the reign of the children and Grandchildren (1086-1793) known as the Golden Age is characterized as such because it witnessed the grandest cultural achievement of the Yoruba people.

- (i) The magnification of the divine-kingship;
- (ii) The establishment of many kingdoms including Oyo Empire.
- (iii) The flowering and building of cities; and
- (iv) Elaborating execution of art and sculpture

CHILDREN AND GRANDCHILDREN OF ODUDUWA

S/NO	CHILDREN & GRANDCHILDREN	KINGDOMS THEY FOUND
1.	Oranmiyan (Odede)	Who founded Benin and Oyo Kingdoms
2.	Ajagunla (Ifagbamila)	The Orangun of Ila
3.	Soropasan	The Alaketu of Ketu (Now in Benin Republic)
4.	Ajaleke	The Alake of Egbaland
5.	Ajibogun	Owa of Ilesa
6.	Lugborogan	The Awujale of Ijebu-land
7.	Obarada	A Kingdom In Benin-Republic
8.	Oninana	A Kingdom in Ghana
9.	Onipopo (Okanbi)	PopoKingdom in Benin Republic (Egun)
10.	Onsiabe	Sabe Kingdom in Benin Republic
11.	Pupu (female)	The Osemawe of Ondo
12.	Ajiponda (Asodeboyede)	The Deji of Akure
13.	Ajibosin (Asunkungbade)	The Olowu of Owu
14.	Awomaro	The Ewi Of Ado ekiti
15.	Arere	The Oluwo of Iwo
16.	Adarawale	The Alara of Arameko
17.	Ogbe (Prince)	The Ajero of Ijero
18.	Owaranran	The Oware of Otun Kingdoms destroyed by the Fulani's in Ilorin
19.	Akinsola	The Elekole of Ikole
20.	Owa Ajaiye	The Akarigbo of Ijebu-Remo
21.	N/A	The Olosi of Osi
22.	Obalufon Aloyemore (3 rd & 5 th Ooni of Ife)	The Alaaye of Ipole (Efon Alaaye)
23.	Olojudo	The Olojudo of Ido-Ekiti
24.	Ademola, Akeran and Agbon	The Owa Otan of Otan Aiyegbaju

Note: The early Monarchs before 1500A.D. at Ile-Ife probably gave their offspring's political jurisdiction over the provinces at different period of time e.g. Adekola Telu, Ogunfunminire and Lagelu.

However, the system of government differs from one community to another. It also varies in structures from leaderships to the governed. For example, Ibadan modernized the **hereditary monarchical system** and evolved a **republican system** made up of the civil and the military traditional council and kingmakers. Ibadan also introduced women headed by **Iyalode** into the system.

According to Dr. J.A. Atanda (1980), the key **political unit** on which government was based in all the Yoruba kingdoms was the town (Ilu). Each kingdom constituted of many towns, but this did not mean that there were many independent governments in each. What happened was that the government of the capital served as the central government of the kingdom, while those of the subordinate towns served as local government units.

Whether at the central or local or provincial level, the system of government was monarchical, that is, it was headed by an **Oba**, or king, who was entitled to wear a crown. But in towns where the **head chief** was not entitled to wear a crown, the head of the government, usually a local government, was termed a **Baale** (literally, “father of the land”). Before the crisis of the nineteenth century, there was usually an **Oba or Baale** in a town. The functions performed by an **Oba and a Baale** were similar.

(a) The Structure of Governance:

In practice, however, the **Oba** was not an absolute ruler. It is true as the **executive head of the government** he exercised considerable powers, particularly over the common people. He could arrest, punish or even behead them without trial.

(b) Council of State (Igbimo Ilu):

In many events, the powers of the **Oba** were checked in many ways. To begin with, he did not rule his town or kingdom alone. He did so together with a **council**

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known as **Igbimo**. In some places the **Igbomo** had specific names; they were called the **Oyo Mesi** in Oyo; the **Ilamuren** in Ijebu-Ode, the **Ogboni** in **Egba towns**, the **Iwarefa** in Ife, Ilesa, Ekiti and Ondo towns.

Igbimo Ilu (State Council) of each town usually consisted of the **most senior chiefs**, who were themselves usually representatives of certain **lineages**, that is, **descent groups in the town**, bound together by strong family or kingship ties. But in some towns, such as those in **Ijebu** and **Egba** kingdoms, these chiefs must also be members of the Osugbo or Ogboni cults.

Irrespective of the manner of composition, the **Igbimo Ilu** (Council of State) was a body which the **Oba** had to consult. He could not make any law or take any decisions on matters fundamentally affecting the town without the concurrence of the **Igbimo Ilu**. If he did, or he became an **oppressive ruler** in any other way, the consequences were usually grave.

(c) Organization of the City:

Administrative and judicially, each town was divided into a number of **wards or quarters** known generally as **adugbo** but which may have specific names. At the head of Adugbo was an **Ijoye (chief)** or **Olori Itun** in some areas. An **adugbo** was made up of a number **agbo ile (compound)**. Each compound was headed by a **Baale or Olori-ebi** (head of the compound or head of the family that is the extended family). While the Ijaye (chief) had a specific title and his appointment must be confirmed or approved by the **Oba**, that of the Baale / (Mogaji) was an informal title not requiring the approval of the Oba except in Ibadan where Mogaji must be approved by Olubadan.

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In addition to the royal city, a kingdom (or state) may contain one or more towns which were politically subordinate to the capital. The ruler of these subordinate towns were titled **Bales** or **Olojas** meaning the ‘**lords of the land**’ or head chiefs. As Bale or Oloja was not an Oba (king), he must not wear a beaded crown. **A beaded crown was exclusive to the king whereas a Bale or an Oloja wore a cap, never a beaded crown.** That was the tradition in Yoruba kingdoms.

According to Samuel Johnson, “The vassal or provincial kings and ruling princes were **1,060** at the time of the greatest prosperity of the Oyo Empire which then included the Popos, Dahomey, and parts of Ashanti, with portions of the Tapas and Baribas. The Tapas and Baribas were Nupe and Borgu peoples respectively. Some of these provincial kings are: Olugbon of Igbon, Aresa of Iresa, Onikoyi of Ikoyi etc.

Oluremi I. Obateru, quoting several authors concluded that there were 26 cities which were royal capitals of kingdoms at the conclusion of the Golden Age in 1793 and end of the civil wars in 1893 with crowned Obas (king). Beaded crown had been the Symbol of Authority in Yorubaland.

But today, there were several hundred “kings” in Yorubaland who wear-beaded crowns and claim descent from the children and grandchildren of Oduduwa. The increased number of “king” has resulted from the granting to some town chiefs who were **Olojas** and **Bales** the right to wear beaded crowns since the onset of the 19th century civil wars for various reasons. In 1917, Governor MacGregor arrogated to himself the right to confer the title of “**king**” and the wearing of beaded crowns on people. The power to approve the beaded crown has been transferred to the Chieftaincy Laws exercised by the State Governors today.

CHAPTER TWO
THE HISTORY OF EGBA AND IBADAN RELATIONSHIP
IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

1.0 HISTORICAL ORIGIN OF EGBA PEOPLE:

The Egba are ancient freedom-fighters, highly intellectual, artistic and agriculturalist Yoruboid-speaking people that forms the sub-set of the larger Yoruba ethnic group of West Africa, particularly in Nigeria and the Republic of Benin. Egba people who were also traders reside in Southwestern Nigeria in the city of Abeokuta, the Capital of Ogun State.

Egba people of Ogun State Egba people who are the original founders of the city of Abeokuta which they share with Owu people (later arrivals), had an opportunity of their land also settled on by missionaries (in the 1840s) by Sierra Leone Creole (Saro, who were Nigerians and others Africans descendants repatriated from diaspora back to Sierra Leone) who later became prominent as missionaries and as businessmen. It must be emphasized that Abeokuta's success as the capital of the Egbas and as a link in the Lagos – Abeokuta oil-palm trade led to war with Dahomey (now Benin Republic). In the battle at Abeokuta in 1851, the Egbas were aided by the missionaries and also armed by the British. Thus, they were able to defeat King Gezo's Dahomey Army that was unique and famous in the history of West Africa for its common practice of using women warriors. Another Dahomey attack was repulsed in 1864. Troubles in the 1860s with the British in Lagos led the Egbas to close the trade routes to the coast and they expelled its missionaries and European traders at about 1867.

Lisabi Revolution (1775 - 1780):

Egba people are direct descendants of **Orafiyan**, son and successor of Oduduwa, the progenitor of Yoruba people. *They were under a federation of three groups-Ake, Okeona and Gbagura scattered over 150 towns and including the modern city of Ibadan, Oyo and Ijaye.* Egba people were parts of the famous pre-colonial African Oyo empire (Kingdom) in Nigeria. Up until the 18th Century, the Egba people lived in a cluster of villages around a place known as Orile-Itoko, as a subject territory of the old Oyo Empire, which was one of the strongest empires that ever existed in West Africa. Just like the Roman Empire, the Oyo Empire was so strong that it easily quelled any form of uprising or rebellion from any of its subject-states. It was however shocking when a little known, but brave warrior, **Lisabi Agbongbo-Akala**, arose from among the Egba people and led the nation in an uprising against the Oyo Army's continuous occupation of their land, the first in the history of political and military confrontation with the Oyo kingdom. The defeat of the Oyo army not only liberated the Egba people from the stronghold of the Oyo kingdom, it also signaled the disintegration of the all-mighty empire and the small nation of Egba ceased to be a colony of the Oyo empire and became a free state while **Lisabi Agbongbo Akala, up to this day, is regarded as the father of the Egba people for his outstanding roles in the people's liberation.**

However, the weakening might of the Oyo Empire as a result of continuous disintegration of the kingdom and rise of former colonies like Ibadan, Ijebu and the likes coupled with the boom of the slave trade, exposed the nation to frequent attacks from Ibadan as well as Dahomey, another big empire with its headquarters in today's Benin Republic.

Thus, between 1825 and 1830 when it became expedient that the Nation of Egba can no longer withstand the frequent attacks of the slave hunters from Ibadan and Dahomey, the Egba people, on the directives of the Ifa Oracle, was led

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by chief Shodeke, on a long but tortuous journey that brought them to the western side of the massive outcrop of granite rocks called “OLUMO”, that is “Oluwa fimo” meaning God puts an end to our wandering.

2.0 FOUNDATION HISTORY OF ABEOKUTA

The story of Abeokuta, the abode of the Egbas, started with their liberation from the sovereignty and over Lord-ship of the Alafin of Oyo Empire, to which the Egbas hitherto belonged.

The Liberation took place between 1775 and 1780, under the leadership of Lisabi, a resident of Igbehin, but who was born in Itoku. He organized a movement under the name of Egbe “Aaro” Tradition mutual Aid society.

Lisabi later used the mutual Aid assistance to free the Egba by organizing the simultaneous killing of the Ajales or the Ilaris in all Egba towns, in 1780, starting from Igbehin. In all more than 600 Ilaris or Ajeles were wiped out in one day. Ilaris the representative of the Alafin of Oyo and collectors of the tribute paid to the coffer of Alafin from all territories under the Oyo Empire.

The Ajales or Ilaris in general, behaved like an Army of Occupation in the places they administered. Their Tyrannical rules mark them out as instrument of oppression and suppression of the people. It was this Authoritarian rule of the Alafin and reckless life’s style of this Ilaris in Egbaland that threw up Lisabi and his Peers who were resolve to bring an end to the evil rule at all cost. The adoption of the universal popular Aaro system of cooperation by the “Egbe Ologun” (Arms Bearers Club) was the strategy Lisabi used to plot against the Ilaris in his Igbehin town. All the other Egba town rose and killed the Ilaris in their midst.

As soon as the news reaches metropolitan Oyo the Oloyo wasted no time in dispatching an Army to crush the Egbe Rebellion. But Lisabi divisional anticipated in the Reprisal and had factored it into his plan the Army of vengeance was routed and the freedom of the Egbas from the yoke of the Alafin was sealed. The time to

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which this Episode in Egba is to relate was between 1775 and 1780. **The period between 1780 and 1828 in the history of Egba was post-Lisabi era in the Egba forest.**

One would have thought that having been liberated from the vice like grip of imperialisms the Egba were not given to serve any monarch, even though they have an Oba, and their constitution was monarchy but would strive to sustain their new found freedom by forging stronger cooperative relation among themselves. That was not to be some factors which were inherent in their psychological makeup soon re-surface once the focused of their unusual unity (somehow superimpose by Lisabi force of character) was missing the internal squabbles and disaffection among the people were often fertilized by the inter-personal dissention among the leaders who were mainly chiefs.

2.1 Egba Migrated From Ibadan to Found Abeokuta

Around 1829, Lamodi of Igbehin and Balogun of the Egba, living in **Maye's camp in Ibadan**, decided that the Egba should find a way of escape from Maye's bondage. The Egbas had heard about Abeokuta earlier on in their quest for a place with good security to settle in. they sent chief Sobookun, the Baamokun of Ilugun, and others to bring a handful of earth and the result was propitious.

History revealed that the Egbas did not get to Abeokuta at the same time. The first batch to arrive Abeokuta consisted of Egba Alake, Oke Ona, and Gbagura, in that order. **Later Olufakun led the Owu to Abeokuta**, while others followed. Lamodi lost his life in an epic battle while trying to prevent his first son, Osota, from being captured by Maye's army, who were pursuing the Egba. ***But before he died, he handed over the mantle of leadership Sodeke. The Seriki of the Egbas, Sodeke, in 1830 led the Egba Alake into Abeokuta. Balogun Olunloye, the Balogun Ilugun, led Egba Oke-Ona whilst Oluwole Agbo, Balogun Ojo Gbagura, led the Gbagura***

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to Abeokuta, likes Joshua in the bible. *Sodeke of Iporo* finally led the Egbas to Abeokuta in 1830.

It was revealed that an Iloko chief named Idowu Liperu had earlier been living at the settlement. He had cross the Ogun River and settles on a farmland, were three hunters, namely Jibulu, Ose and Olunle joined him. Unlike, Liperu, who erected a house with the assistance of the then Olubara Lafa the three hunters lodge in caves under the Olumo Rock. It was them who told the Egba delegate who came to take soil samples about the Olumo Rock.

Later, Adagba and other move to the rock to join Liperu and the three hunters, who had settle there. Adagba was a brave man, who had is farmland located very close to olumo rock. The settlement was called “Oko Adagba,” the other man for Abeokuta while Olumo Rock took his name from it being natural furnished with apartment. “Olumo “means built by the Lord.” Other historians maintained that the meaning of olumo is “Oluwa Fimo” meaning God put an end to our hostility against the Egbas and their suffering.” **Abeokuta is also known as “Abe Olumo”**.

2.2 Leadership Problem among the Egba Ethnic Groups

After the demise of chief Sodeke, Abeokuta has no leaders for quite a number of years. The administration of the town was left in the hands of chiefs like *Ogunbona, the Balogun of Ikija, Okukene the Sagbua of Ake; Someye, the seriki who later became Bashorun who succeeded Apati, Bada of Kemta and others.*

The Egbas realized that they are not united as they had been when Sodeke brought them together. The thought of having an Oba came to them and the lot fell on Okukene, the Sabua of Ake and head of Egba Ogboni – an industrious woodcarver. He installed the Alake of Abeokuta on August 8, 1854. Oba Okukene’s reign witnessed the advancement of Christianity, commerce and the advent of European merchants in Abeokuta.

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He died in 1862. An interregnum of about seven years elapsed between the death of Okukene and the installation of another **Oba in the person of Ademola 1** – who reigned between 1869 and 1877. He was succeeded by Oyekan who reigned between 1879 to 1881. It was the turn of Luwaji to reign between 1885 to 1889. Osokalu ruled between 1891 and 1898. Egba became a nation during Oba Osokalu. Gbadebo 1, ruled between 1889 to 1920. Sir Ladapo Ademola II reigned from 1920-1962. Oba Adeshina Gbadebo II reigned from 1963 to 1971. Oba (Dr.) Oyebade Lidepe ruled between 1972 and the year 2005.

Oba Adedotun Aremu Gbadebo, Okukene IV, born 14 September 1943, was elected the Alake of Egbaland on 2 August 2005 and reigns till date. He is from Laarun Ruling House, a grandson of the sixth Alake of Egbaland, Oba Gbadebo, who ruled from 188 to 1920.

2.3 Agriculture and Industry:

Abeokuta is an agro-based market with small and middle level agro industries. The people produce agricultural products such as Yams, Cassava, Rice, Corn, Palm oil, Poultry, Cottons and vegetables. It also serves as an exporting point for cocoa, palm produce and kolanuts.

Due to the rocky terrain of some parts of the city, it has for many years been home to a number of quarry industries. Although, cotton was introduced by the Missionaries in the 1850's, Cotton weaving, pottery and tie and dye (Adire) are all traditional crafts of the Abeokuta people.

The city is reputed to be the capital of the tie and dye industry in Nigeria. The centre of Adire making and marketing in Abeokuta is at the popular Itoku market at Kenta.

“The dyes were initially extracted from grasses and leaves which were soaked for a number of days in order to extract the dye from it. However, when the Malian traders came to Nigeria in the early part of the 20th Century, they introduced chemical

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dyes which came in varying colours. This development gave a boost to the industry and made the process of adire making a lot faster in a bid to meet the growing demand for it, says Mrs Malaolu, an adire merchant.

2.4 Formalizing the Structure of Egba Groups:

The convention which the Egba people operated since 1830 was never codified until 1897 when the EGBA UNITED GOVERNMENT became structured. Under the convention, the quarters were broadly grouped under four natural rulers namely:

The ALAKE of AKE, the OSILE of OKE-ONA, the AGURA of GBAGURA, and the OLOWU of OWU

The ALAKE who was accepted as the paramount leader assumes the title: THE ALAKE OF EGBALAND, who being the chairman of the other Egba kings, represents the interest of all the Egbas in all aspects that concern the Kingdom.

3.0 THE EGBA POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS

The amalgamation of the Egba people in Abeokuta shared political powers in varying degrees under the following broad classifications:

- The OGBONIs – the SENATE
- The War Chiefs – the OLOGUNs who prosecuted wars
- The PARAKOYIs – the Commercial Chiefs who dominated the Economic sector
- The OLODEs – the Hunting Chiefs whose role was minor but nevertheless significant

Next to the natural rulers, the OGBONI chiefs constituted the Executive Council in the administration of the State. Their advice was highly valued by the natural rulers who invariably consulted them in confidence before taking any major decisions. The Ogbonis adjudicated over cases involving murder, adultery, divorce, recovery of debts, etc.

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The Court, their word was law right from the settlement of the Egba in Abeokuta, until much later after the Adubi War.

They meet regularly to deliberate over the affairs of their communities. For a citizen to discountenance a summons from Ogbonis was considered outright treason. They earned their income through fines and gifts or tributes in the form of food or produce.

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- The OLODEs – the Hunting Chiefs whose role was minor but nevertheless significant
- The War Chiefs – the OLOGUNs -were responsible for executing wars declared by the natural ruler or considered necessary at their own discretions. They were expected to be militarily prepared all the time, either to wage the Obas war or to ward off attacks from invaders. Sometimes, the War Chiefs wielded much power which could constitute a threat to the security of tenure of Oba himself.
- The PARAKOYIs – the Commercial Chiefs superintended over matters of commerce and trade in general. They were responsible for the smooth running of the commercial life of the community and offered economic advice to the state
- The OLODEs – the Hunters' Chiefs looked after the affairs of farming and hunting in peace time.

During wars, they performed Para-military duties.

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Generally, the Egbas had great respect for their Chiefs and each of the four groupings commanded great respect from the entire citizenry. This was why any person with the right means and inclination aspired to obtain a chieftaincy title by any means possible. A woman was usually included as a Chief in each grouping to represent the interest of the womenfolk.

4.0 TRADITIONAL COUNCIL MEMBERS

His Royal Majesty Oba Adedotun Aremu Gbadebo The Alalake of Egbaland
President

His Royal Majesty (Dr) Adedapo Adewale Tejuoso The Oshile of Oke-Ona
Egba

His Royal Majesty Oba Halidu Laloko Sobekun The Agura of Gbagura

His Royal Majesty Oba Olusanya Adegboyega Dosunmu The Olowu of Owu

His Royal Majesty Oba Moshood A. Oyede The Olota of Ota

His Royal Majesty Oba (Dr) J. O. Omolade Olubara of Ibara

His Royal Majesty Oba N. A. Adekanbi The Olofin of Isheri

His Royal Majesty Oba (Apostle) M. A. A. Olabode The Omola of Imala

His Royal Majesty Oba A. O. Oyero The Oniro of Iro

His Royal Majesty Oba Michael A. Fatona The Elewo Ilewo

His Royal Majesty Oba J. O. O. Tella The Onisaga of Isaga

His Royal Majesty Oba S. A. Oloyede The Onijale of Ijale

His Royal Majesty Oba S. O. Fasina Onikooko of Kooko

His Royal Majesty Oba S. A. Ojugbele The Onilogbo of Ilogbo

His Royal Majesty Oba S. A. Oladipupo The Olu of Ifo

His Royal Majesty Oba A. K. Akamo The Olu of Itori

His Royal Majesty Oba F. O. Makinde The Olu of Igbein

His Royal Majesty Oba Onitele of Itele – (Vacant)

To be candid Abeokuta is the most influential amongst other Yoruba towns

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Abeokuta was founded in 1830 by warriors like:

LAMODI-Who initiated the move to ABEOKUTA was then the BALOGUN of EGBA,he died on the way and never made it to the promised land ABEOKUTA.

SODEKE-Who was then the SERIKI of EGBA led the fleeing EGBAs to ABEOKUTA in 1830 after the death of LAMODI.

SODEKE's father was from Iporo but his mother,EFUWON,was from Gbagura.

4.1 The Crowning of Egba Obas

8th August, 1854 - OKUKENU who held the title of Sagbua,the post of headship of the Ogonis,was crowned the ALAKE of AKE Losii, and Ake man was the first choice but he died before he could be installed.

In 1855 – the Owu followed suit by crowning PAWU as OLOWU of OWU

1870 – The AGURA was crowned

1897 – OLOKO (now OSILE) was crowned

14th April, 1952 – OLUBARA, Oba Samuel Adetola Adesina Lalubu the 2nd was the first to be crowned in Abeokuta Town.

THE ALAKE of EGBALAND

The OLOWU of OWU

The AGURA of GBAGURA

The OSILE of OKE-ONA

The OLUBARA of IBARA

The Alake of Egbaland HRH Oba Michael Adedotun Aremu Gbadebo Okukenu

IV

The Olowu of OWUAbeokuta HRH Oba Adegboyega Olusanya Dosumu, the Amororo II

The Agura of Gbagura HRH Oba Halidu Laloko Sobekun II

The Osile of Oke-Ona HRH Oba Adedapo Tejuoso Karunwi III

The Olubara of Ibara HRH Oba Jacob Omolade Lafa II

5.0 HISTORY OF EGBA KINGDOMS

The Egbas are a small offshoot of the Yorubas Proper, who occupy the south-eastern districts of that province. They originally occupied the area bounded by certain imaginary lines drawn, say, from Ijaye to meet the Ogun River at Olokemeji, and along it to its mouth, and another from the same point via Ibadan to the west of Jebu Remo down to the coast. They lived in hamlets and villages for the most, part independently of one another, and never under one rule. All the principal families of the Egbas trace their origin from Oyo, hence the common saying "Egbas who have not their root in Oyo are slaves," i.e., belong to the conquered aboriginal population. Most of the chiefs sprang from the Esos of Oyo. It would seem then that during the wars of conquest, a number of these war-like Esos, under the leadership of the King's half-brother, was detached from the main army, carrying their arms to those regions where they subsequently settled, in the immediate neighbourhood of the Ows. Abeokuta, as we now know it, of course had no existence then. Each of what is now called the "townships" was a separate village or hamlet with its own chief; they were loosely grouped into three divisions, but rather independent of one another, but all acknowledging the King's brother (the Alake) as their Primus. They were:

- (i) **Egba Agbeyin.** These were the Egbas proper, and nearest the Ijebu Remos. The principal towns were: Ake, the chief town, Ijeun, Kemta, Iporo, Igbore, etc.
Egba Oke Ona, i.e., those situated near the banks of the River Odo Ona. Oko the chief town, Ikereku, Ikija, Idomapa, Odo, Podo, etc.
Their chief is called the Osile.
- (ii) **Egba Agura or Gbagura:** these were situated near the Oyo districts, and indeed they contain genuine Oyos in large numbers, and generally they partake of their characteristics largely, hence they are nick-

named” Oyos among Egbas.” The principal towns were: Agura the chief, Ilugun, Ibadan, Ifaye, Ika, Ojo, Ilawo, etc.

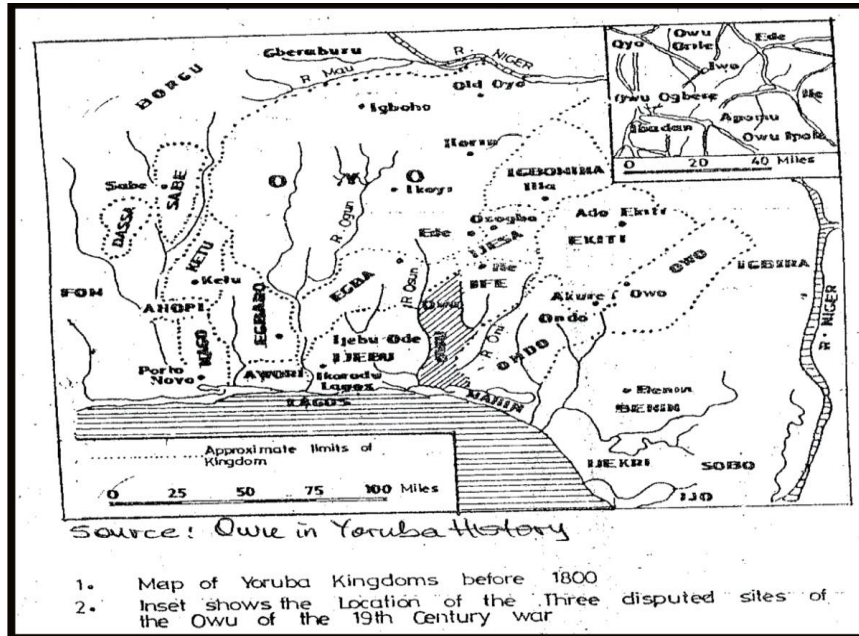


Fig. 4: Map of Yoruba Kingdoms

The Egbas were on the whole few in number, and occupied a limited territory; this can very well be proved by the fact, that after a period of more than half a century, they have been compelled by stress of circumstances to live together within one wall, and in spite of large accessions from other tribes, they still form but a single large town. Situated, as they were then, far from the centre of life and activity, they were little thought of. They had no separate king because all the principal chiefs and distinguished personages were office bearers of the Alafin, hence the common saying, "Egba ko I'olu, gbogbo nwon ni nse hi Oba" (*Egbas have no King, they are all of them like masters*) "Olu wa' royo" (*The King is at Oyo*). It may be noted, that every child born to a reigning Alake must have an Oyo facial mark; and that is so to this day. In early times the Alake ranks among the junior members of the Royal Family; for that reason there has never been a distinct royal family among the Egbas.

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The chief rulers in each division were usually elected (by divination) from any one of the **153 townships**; an Ikija man for instance has been "king" of Itesi, an Ijeun man an Alake. In this respect also the Gbaguras differ from the others.

In later times, at Abeokuta, one Jibode, a wealthy trader and traveller, who vainly endeavoured to obtain the Primacy of Ake, left children and grandchildren who eventually attained the coveted position, which was a singular instance of more than one member of a family becoming an Alake, but then they were all born in different townships.

- (iii) The Osile is said to be an unfortunate title because, more than any of the other divisions, the Oke Ona people were more prone to slaughter human victims; everytime the Osile entered the Ogboni house, he must walk on the blood of a male victim, and when he comes out on that of a female ! Also that Osiles never die a natural death; when their excesses became unbearable they were usually stoned to death; hence the appellation of their chief town, "Oko" — i.e., a pelting stone. For that reason the Egbas were reluctant to resuscitate the title at Abeokuta until Governor McCallum of Lagos in 1897 on the occasion of the Queen's Diamond Jubilee ordered the Egbas and others to reorganize their government, and fill up vacant titles.

Since the destruction of the City of Owu (as we shall see below) and the unification of the Egba villages, the Owus have domiciled amongst them. Hence the so-called Four United Kings of the Egbas: **although Owu is not Egba.**

6.0 OCCUPATION OF THE SECOND IBADAN IN 1825:

After the fall of Owu, and the punishment inflicted upon some Egba towns for secretly befriending the beleaguered city, the camp at Idi Ogugun broke up, and the leading Ife and Ijebu generals returned home to their respective masters, but the rest of the allied armies with the Oyo refugees were invited by the Ijebus to Ipara, a town of Ijebu Remo. Making this place their headquarters, these restless bands of marauders found occupation for their arms in conquering and subjugating several towns in Ijebu Remo under the Awujale of Ijebu Ode, viz Ode, Iperu, Ogere and Makun.

(a) Egba Chiefs:

As stated in the preceding section *there were some friendly Egba chiefs who joined the marauders at Idi Ogugun and at Ipara, and now they were all living together at Ibadan. The most influential among them were : — Lamodi, Apati, Ogunbona, Oso, Gbewiri, and Inakoju. Ogundipe, who afterwards became a notable chief at Abeokuta was then but a blacksmith and a private soldier.*

Egba man Chief Frederick Rotimi Alade Williams, QC, SAN (December 16, 1920 – March 26, 2005) was a prominent Nigerian lawyer who was the first Nigerian to become a Senior Advocate of Nigeria. In the 1950s, he was a member of the Action Group and subsequently became the minister for local government and Justice. He was the president of the Nigerian Bar Association in 1959, the association is the leading body for lawyers in the country. He left politics in the 1960s, as a result of the political crisis in the Western Region of Nigeria.

Pretext was soon found for waging war with the Egbas who were then living in small villages scattered all over the area between Ipara and Ibadan. Several expeditions were made from their base at Ipara, and Iporo, Eruwon, Oba, Itoko, Itesi, Imo, Ikereku, Itoku, etc., were taken.

(b) Oyo Chiefs:

The following are the names of the distinguished war-chiefs in this campaign: - Oyo chiefs - Oluyedun, Lakanle, Oluyole, Adelokun, Opeagbe, Abitiko, Yismati, Oluoye, Koseiko, Abidogun, Osun, Laleitan, Bankole, Fadeyi Ogani-ija, Agbeni, etc. All these chiefs joined the allied army as private soldiers, but the fortunes of war raised them to positions of great distinction.

Notwithstanding this, they were looked down upon by the Ife and Ijebu leaders under whose auspices they joined the war against Owu, and had no voice in their councils. But they were soon to show their superiority.

(c) Ife Chiefs

Maye (the generalissimo in the absence of Singusin) Ogugu, Derin-Okiin, Labosinde, Ogini, Aregbe, Olufadi, Degoke, Kugbayigbe, Oluygde, Epo, Kudayisi.

(d) Ijebu Chiefs

Kalejaiye, Amoibo, Osunlalu, Oguade, Argwgsanle, etc.

Rich with the booty of these expeditions, and finding no fresh fields of operation for their arms they decided to disband the army. The Ijebu war chiefs returned home and the Ifes set out to return by way of Oorun; the Oyos who had nowhere to go to accompanied them. There were thousands of Oyos already in Ife districts.

6.1 The Siege of Oorun and the Conquers of the Gbagura

At Oorun (a Gbagura town) they found fresh employment for their arms when the men of that place refused them a passage. Another circumstance also occurred which hastened the siege of Oorun and the fall of the remaining Egba townships.

A dispute arose between the people of Idomapa a neighbouring town and the Gbaguras about territorial limits which at length broke out into war and Oluwole the king of Idomapa who was the weaker of the two combatants asked the aid of

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Labgsinde one of the leading Ife war-chiefs, and through him the rest of the Ife and Oyo war-chiefs against **Ajiboso the king of the Gbaguras**.

The allies encamped at Idomapa and Oorun was the scene of conflict, where the Gbaguras concentrated all their forces to oppose the Idomapas and their allies.

The Gbagura army was swelled by reinforcement from Ika, Owe Ikija, Iwokoto. The contest was furious and one Ogaro a gallant war-chief greatly distinguished himself in the defence of Oorun. As long as he could handle his bow and arrows, the enemy was kept at bay; but he fell in an engagement, and at the same time famine had commenced its direful work, and so the assailants successfully reduced the town.

As their fighting men had all fallen at Oorun the conquest of all the rest of the Gbagura towns was complete. Oorun when captured was fired ; being a town situated on a high hill, the conquerors were able by the aid of the light to pursue their victory to the next town which they found deserted, and so on to the next and the next until they reached Ojoho. The towns deserted and overrun that night were **Oorun, Ijaiye-maja, Kosi-kosi, Ikerekuiwere, Ora, Ibadan. Ofa and Oje** were also deserted, but the conquerors did not know of this till three days after as they lay outside their line of march.

From Ibadan they followed up the conquest to Ojokodo Iwohaha, and Eguoto; all these places were deserted and plundered in one night and by the dawn of day they were before Ojoho. Ojoho offered a stout resistance and being weary from long marches the conquerors retired to find a resting place. *Of all the towns overrun the previous night, Ibadan alone they found not destroyed by fire, and so this marauding band hastily occupied it, the war-chiefs taking possession of any compound they chose, and their men with them and thus Ibadan was again re-peopled but not by the owners of the town, but by a composite band of marauders, consisting of Oyos, Ifes, Ijebus, and some friendly Egbas, Maye a bold and brave*

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Ife chieftain being their leader. Next to him was Labgsinde also an Ife, but, through his mother, of Oyo descent.

These two leaders were men of different character and opposite temperament. Maye was of an irritable temper, in manners rough and domineering, and never failed at all times to show his contempt for the Oyos, chiefly because they were homeless refugees. At the head of the Oyos was **Lakanle** a bold and brave leader who alone of all the Oyo war-chiefs could venture to open his mouth when **Maye** spoke. **Labosinde** on the contrary was most agreeable and very fatherly in his manners and therefore much respected by all.

Ibadan now became the headquarters of these marauders from which place Ojoho was besieged and at length taken. At this time also Ikeiye Owe and a part of Ika were deserted; the Ika people escaping to Iwokoto. All these were Egba villages of the Gbagura section.

As stated in the preceding section there were some friendly Egba chiefs who joined the marauders at Idi Ogugun and at Ipara, and now they were all living together at Ibadan. The most influential among them were: - Lamodi, Apati, Ogunbona, Oso, Gbewiri, and Inakoju. Ogundipe, who afterwards became a notable chief at Abeokuta was then but a blacksmith and a private soldier.

6.2 Ethnic Rivalry at Ibadan Camp

Rivalry was so rife among these various tribes that altercations were frequent, and one led to a civil war. In a public meeting held at the Isale Ijebu quarter of the town, Lamodi an Egba chief shot Ege an influential Ife chief down dead with a pistol, and in the commotion which ensued Lamodi himself was slain. For fear of the Ifes avenging the death of Ege the Egbas withdrew in a body from Ibadan and encamped on the other side of the Ona River, about 3 or 4 miles distant. Here also they were ill at ease and after divination they sent for one Sodeke to be their leader, and they escaped to Abeokuta then a farm village of an Itoko man, and a resting place for

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traders to and from the Oke Ogun districts. Sodeke was at the head of this new colony until his death. This was about the year 1830 they were continually swelled by Egba refugees from all parts of the country and also by Egba slaves who had deserted their masters. **At Abeokuta the refugees kept together according to their family distinctions, viz.**

- The Egba Agbeyin comprising Ake the chief town, Ijeun, Kemta, Imo, Igboire, etc. These were under the Alake as chief.
- Egba Agura (or Gbagura) comprising Agura the chief town Ilugun, Ibadan, Ojohg, Ika, etc., under the Agura as chief.
- Egba Oke Ona with Oko the chief town. Ikija, Ikereku, Idomapa, Odo, Podo, etc., under the Osile as chief.

Here also the Owus joined them, one common calamity throwing them together. It was some considerable time after that Ijaiye joined them, and so by degrees all the Egba townships about 1834A.D. became concentrated at Abeokuta, the new town comprising Ijemo Itoko and a few others who were already on the spot.

Until the death of Sodeke in A.D. 1844 the Egbas never spoke of having a king over them, Sodeke wielding supreme power in a very paternal way. Of external relations, very little (if any) existed, each of these families managed its own affairs, and there was no properly organized central government.

Even after the foundation of Abeokuta there were still some Egbas residing at Ibadan. Egba women also who were unable or unwilling to go with their husbands to the new settlement were taken as wives by the new colonists at Ibadan and they became the mothers of most of the children of the first generation of the new Ibadan. From this it will be seen that the current tale of the Egbas being driven from Ibadan by the Oyos is lacking in accuracy. Such then is the foundation of the present Abeokuta.

7.0 ABEOKUTA: A CITY FOUNDED UNDER THE ROCK

Contrary to the widespread sentiments in the Western world about Africa being a continent that was inhabited by scattered groups of un-organized and uncultured animal-like humans prior to the occupation of the lands by Europeans, Africa was indeed inhabited by well cultured and organized group of peoples that have formidably built empires as well as smaller territories before the Europeans and Arabs found their ways here.

The Egba nation is one of such numerous nations that had existed before the European incursion which interfered in the gradual evolution of Africa's development. It is also one of the more than 250 nations that were lumped together to form the territory that is known today as the Federal Republic of Nigeria. **Up until the 18th Century, the Egba people lived in a cluster of villages around a place known as Orile-Itoko, as a subject territory of the old Oyo Empire, which was one of the strongest empires that ever existed in West Africa.** Just like the Roman Empire, the Oyo Empire was so strong that it easily quelled any form of uprising or rebellion from any of its subject-states. It was however shocking when a little known, but brave warrior, Lisabi Agbongbo-Akala, arose from among the Egba people and led the nation in an uprising against the Oyo Army's continuous occupation of their land, the first in the history of political and military confrontation with the Oyo kingdom. The defeated the Oyo army not only liberated the Egba people from the stronghold of the Oyo kingdom, it also signaled the disintegration of the all-mighty empire and the small nation of Egba ceased to be a colony of the Oyo empire and became a free state while Lisabi Agbongbo Akala, up to this day, is regarded as the father of the Egba people for his outstanding roles in the people's liberation.

However, the weakening might of the Oyo Empire as a result of continuous disintegration of the kingdom and rise of former colonies like Ibadan, Ijebu and the likes coupled with the boom of the slave trade, exposed the nation to frequent attacks

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from Ibadan as well as Dahomey, another big empire with its headquarters in today's Benin Republic.

Thus, between 1825 and 1830 when it became expedient that the Nation of Egba can no longer withstand the frequent attacks of the slave hunters from Ibadan and Dahomey, the Egba people, on the directives of the Ifa Oracle, was led by chief Shodeke, on a long but tortuous journey that brought them to the western side of the massive outcrop of granite rocks called "OLUMO", that is "Oluwa fimo" meaning God puts an end to our wandering. The very point the oracle asked them to relocate to.

Olumo rock became the greatest strength and pillar of the Egba people, as it puts them at a vantage position to sight their enemies from several kilometers away and allow them to properly strategize and make use of the rock and the caves as protective shields against their enemies. The people then constituted themselves into a confederacy of distinct groups and settled in the areas surrounding Olumo Rock. And as peace gradually returned, they told themselves and whosoever cared to listen that they are the "people from under the rock", that is, Abeokuta.

Thus, the city of Abeokuta, the largest city in today's Ogun State and the capital, South-West Nigeria, is born. Located on the Ogun River, 78km north of Lagos and 70km from the ancient city of Ibadan, Abeokuta is a strategically located city with a rich historical significance to Nigeria and Black Africa.

7.1 Historical Significance of Abeokuta

Due to its strategic position and historical cum cultural significance as well as proximity to Lagos, a coastal city, Abeokuta became a sort of attraction to the missionaries as well as Sierra Leonean creoles as early as the 1840s.

This led to the visit of foremost missionary, Henry Townsend, whose visit had been foretold by the Ifa Oracle in 1843. Henry Townsend conducted the first church service in the new city on January 5, 1843. Similar efforts eventually led to

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the building of the first church in the whole of territories now known as Nigeria in the city of Abeokuta — St Peters Anglican Cathedral, Ake Abeokuta. It also boasts of being the city where the Yoruba Language (one of the three major languages spoken in Nigeria was first documented in print and was also home to the first Newspaper in Nigeria — Iwe Irohin – which was in circulation in the 1860s and remained so till 1867 when trouble with the British in Lagos led the city authorities to close the trade routes to the coast and expel its European traders and missionaries. Abeokuta, survived many challenges to become a powerful force as the capital of the Egba people and seat of the Egba United government, especially during and after the Yoruba civil wars which pitched Abeokuta against Ibadan. After the wars, the Alake (King) of Egba, who was the head of Egba United government, signed an alliance with the British governor, Sir Gilbert Cartar, which made the British Government to grant independence to the Egba United Government in 1893. The city of Abeokuta enjoyed this privilege as a capital city of an independent nation, once again, until 1914 when the Northern and Southern protectorates were amalgamated to form the Federal Republic of Nigeria.

7.2 Its people and culture

Abeokuta is an agro-based market with small and middle level agro industries. The people produce agricultural products such as Yams, Cassava, Rice, Corn, Palm oil, Poultry, Cottons and vegetables. It also serves as an exporting point for cocoa, palm produce and kolanuts.

Due to the rocky terrain of some parts of the city, it has for many years been home to a number of quarry industries. Although, cotton was introduced by the Missionaries in the 1850's, Cotton weaving, pottery and tie and dye (Adire) are all traditional crafts of the Abeokuta people.

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The city is reputed to be the capital of the tie and dye industry in Nigeria. The centre of Adire making and marketing in Abeokuta is at the popular Itoku market at Kenta.

“The dyes were initially extracted from grasses and leaves which were soaked for a number of days in order to extract the dye from it. However, when the Malian traders came to Nigeria in the early part of the 20th Century, they introduced chemical dyes which came in varying colours. This development gave a boost to the industry and made the process of adire making a lot faster in a bid to meet the growing demand for it, says Mrs Malaolu, an adire merchant.

At about two kilometers from Itoku market is Olumo rock, a massive outcrop of granite rocks, which peaks at about 137 meters above the sea level. Located in the part of Abeokuta called Ikija, Olumo rock prides itself as the symbol of Egba unity and the foundation of the city. History has it that a famous hunter.

CHAPTER THREE
THE CAUSE AND IMPACT OF OWU WAR
ON DISINTEGRATION AND TRANSFORMATION
OF YORUBALAND

1.0 THE OWU EARLY HISTORY BEFORE THE OUTBREAK OF THE OWU WAR

Amongst the numerous **City-State** into which the Yoruba-speaking peoples differentiated themselves, tradition suggests that **Owu** in southern Yorubaland was one of the earliest and most important. According to the theory of **common origin of Ife**, the ancestors of the rulers of all Yoruba towns traditionally regarded as important are traced to **children of Oduduwa**, the mythical common ancestor of all the Yoruba.

1.1 Possible Locations of Owu Towns:

There are the existing sites known as **Owu** are known before the **Owu wars** of nineteenth century. The **first** was a settlement of which remains are to be found about **ten to fifteen miles** east of **Awe** near the Modern Oyo. There is today a small village on the site bearing the name **Orile-Owu**. The **second possible site** lies about **twenty miles southeast of Apomu** on the present Ibadan- Ife road. There is a village known as **Ago-Owu** on part of the site and there are extensive remains of earthworks and ruined building on this site. This Palace was generally referred to in older accounts as **Owu-Ipole** (in the last few years there has been a tendency to refer to it as **Owu-Orile** but this is very recent.

The last of the possible early positions of the town bore the name of **Owu-Ogbere** and was built close to Ibadan, according to the authors of "Owu in Yoruba History published in 1971. Its **wall circuit** enclosed a section of the **Ogbere stream** from which its name is derived. The remains of the wall circuit of this town can be traced from a point immediately behind the present Government House on Agodi Hill in Ibadan in a broad arc through a **cocoa nursery** which lies about half a mile **behind**

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Agodi Hill to cut the **Ibadan-Iwo road** just beyond the **Ogbere stream**. Part of the sprawl of present day Ibadan has spilled over into the area of this one time refugees settlement.

1.1.1 The Origin of Owu People:

History has it that Ajibosin, alias Asunkungbade, the first king Owu Kingdom, was one of the grandsons of Oduduwa through his first daughter. As an infant he once put on his grandfather's crown and when it was removed, he wept continually until the crown was placed back on his head. His mother was later told to keep the crown for the son as he seemed so anxious to have it. Hence, he was nicknamed "**Asunkungbade**".

Olowu Ajibosun established Owu Kingdom in a grassland area, a little to the north of Orile-Owu, according to Dr. J.A Atanda (1971). From there Owu expanded its authority, and there was evidence that at the time it wielded authority over the rising kingdom of Oyo and Igbomina. That is why people refer to Owu kingdom in their anthem as: "***Owu la ko da o, bie de Owu, e bere wo***", literally meaning Owu was the first to be created, inquire when you get to Owu.

Within the region of the old Oyo, Owu was very prominent and ruled the waves. Owu collected tribute from the Bariba and the Borgue had ruled over old Oyo until the reign of Alafin Sango. In the war of supremacy that ensued between Owu and old Oyo, the later won. That marked the beginning of movement of Owu to the forest belt in the South. Owu people fought many wars thereafter, won battles and settled in very many place between the Niger River and Atlantic Ocean, yet their main stream settled among the Egbas in Abeokuta and Ijebu.

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According to the address presented by HRM Olowu, Oba Adegboyega Dosumu at the 8th Owu Day Celebration in 2007, he noted that:

- (a) There is a place called “Owu Orile” some ten miles north of the town of Awe which oral evidences claim to be the original homestead of Owu. Spreading for miles on the north eastern side of Awe town is mostly **“IGBO OWU”**.
- (b) The name Olowu was a derivative of the savannah crop called Owu (cotton). Here again is another pointer to the fact that the original homestead of the Owu people was in the savannah and not in the southern forest region
- (c) All Owu settlements in the northern part Yorubaland (below River Niger) are older settlements than settlements in the southern forest region

The migration history of Owu people is not peculiar to this sub-ethnic group. According to Professor Y. Merpet (1978 p.a): ***“migration has played essential roles in all the stages of the history of man right from the communal tribal formation up to the era of class formation”***.

In fact there was historical evidence of movement of old Oyo Capital when it was sacked between (1530-1542) by the Tapas during the reign of Alaaḡin Onigbogi, according to Dr. J.A Atanda (1971). The seat of government was later moved to Oyo Igboho from Kusu in Ibariba kingdom before they finally returned to Oyo-Ile. In the 19th Century, after the failed Eleduwe War, and collapse of the old Oyo empower, Alaaḡin Atiba moved the capital to Ago-Oja, the site of the present Oyo in 1837.

Like the Jews, according to Professor Olatoye Ojo, FNIVS, RSV. in a paper delivered at Owu Day Celebration (National Convention of the Royal Union of Owu People (RUOP), December, 2014. ***“Based on biblical account, the dispersion of***

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Jews in today context is prophecy fulfilled. God is very much at the centre of the dispersal of the Jewish people and he leads them as they move in different directions and with great promises (Deut 4:27, Deut 28:37).

The Owu today are particularly important in Ijebu, Abeokuta, in Ibadan and Oyo Provinces but especially in the first two. Their movements into these two provinces must be seen as part of the general southward movement of people in Yorubaland and Egbaland in the nineteenth century. As such, it is in Ijebuland and Egbaland that Owu have made their most striking progress in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In these paces, they have become an ‘original’ land-owning group in a sense in which they have never done elsewhere. And their Olowu command respect out of keeping with their late-immigrant status (Professor A.L. Mabogunje and J.D. Omer-Cooper, 1971).

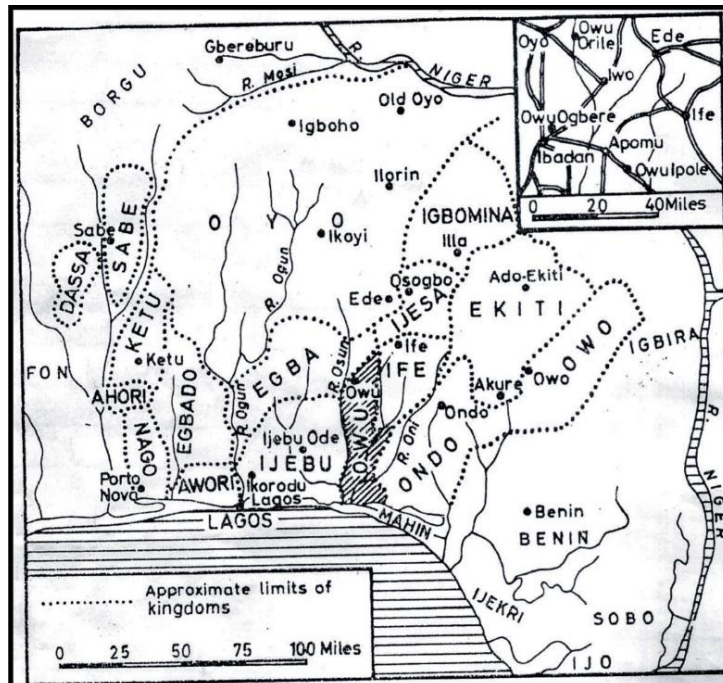
However, the arrival of the Owu in Egba Division is more accurately dated since it is known that it was a few year after 1830 when the Egba themselves founded the town of Abeokuta. According to Professor Saburi Biobaku in “The Egba and their Neighbours”, 1842-72, London, 1957 p. 18,” the Owu were the greatest single body of wonderers who appeared before Abeokuta after 1830 and 1834 respectively.

The Owu in Abeokuta are not EGBAs but they have become more closely integrated with the Egba. The fact of their different origin is not much played up now although their identity is still well preserved by the presence of the Olowu as well as by the annual festivities of Oro, Ogun, Mole and Egungun.

As contained in this publication, it appears that with the destruction of Owu-Ipole a sizeable group of Owu moved near Ibadan and founded Owu-Ogbere. When Owu-Ogbere was destroyed and the allied forces occupied Ibadan itself, some Owu migrated northwards to Erunmu and Kuta; others simply moved into the reconstituted

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settlement as part of the general populace. In Ibadan, the Owu were much intermixed with the rest of heterogeneous population and had no separate quarter of their own until one of their members rose to a position of eminence in the city. This was Oyesile Olugbode from Kuta who rose to the highest position of Baale of Ibadan between 1851 and 1864.



Map 1: The Owu Kingdom c.1100. Inset shows the location of the three disputed sites of the Owu in the 19th century war.

So like the Jews, the Owus experienced dispersion and persecution, defeats and dislocations but each time opportunity presents itself, they seize it to come together and forge ahead. Their footprints remain bold in most part of South Western States where they had course to engage in wars making waves in key sectors of the economy even outside Nigeria in places like: Tosso and Wudah in Republic of Benin and the Owus in Great Britain.

(a) Owu Towns and Cities in Nigeria

Owus are also spread across Yoruba speaking regions like Osun State, Oyo State, Ogun State, Kwara State and Lagos State. Coming nearer home, the Owus in Oyo State are:

- Owu Erunmu
- Owu Ibadan
- Owu Ogbomoso
- Owu Oyo, and
- Owu Ajawa

(b) Owu Tribal Marks

The larger Yoruba ethnic groups are historically known to have used and still use facial tribal marks to distinguish one member of one sub-Yoruba tribe from other. It is said that Owus used a unique traditional facial mark called “**Keke Olowu**” to distinguish them from other tribal groups, especially when on war expeditions.

The “**Keke or Gombo**” consists of four or five perpendicular and horizontal lines placed angularly on each cheek: they occupy the whole space between the auricle and the cheek bones; three small perpendiculars are also placed on the horizontal line on both cheeks. The Keke-Olowu, an Owu variation of these is like the Keke or Gombo with the lines discrete or interrupted and links each ear with the side of the cheeks. It was common prior to the later adoption of the “**Abaja Owu**”.

The “**Abaja Olowu**” are sets of three or four parallel and horizontal lines on each cheek; they may be single or double; each line being from half-an-inch to one inch long. The “**Abaja-Olowu**” in distinction from other abaja’s has 3 perpendicular etchings fitting nearly as 3 horizontal ones and are very thin and narrow on contradistinction from the very bold ones worn by other tribes. This further accented

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with an additional 3 small horizontal etching on the forehead called 'keeta'. Furthermore, members of the royal families would have an additional 6 markings on the forearm with a further 3 below the level.

(c) Historical and Cultural Heritage

The Owu settlement in Ibadan and Oyo Province include some places like Erumu which for instance, are known to be Owu and their head is related through marriage to the people of Owu. In these settlements Aluguba is worshipped as a major Orisha every year. Of the Owu who fled to Ife, Ile-Ogbo, Iwo and Ibadan during the mid-nineteenth century southward thrust of the Fulani, it is not known how many returned. However, Owu people are to be found either as groups or as individual families in different parts of Yorubaland.

Where however, their historical identity cannot be maintained through the annual festival of the Alugbua the Obalufon or the Oro, their ethnic identity is emphasized by their facial marks, with the '**Abaja Olowu**' or the '**Keke Olowu**'.

Even without their tribal marks the Owu have distinguished themselves among Yoruba group with whom they have sojourned. Both Ijebu and Abeokuta members of the Owu community have actively participated in the life of their adopted area and risen to positions of the highest importance.

2.0 THE CAUSE OF OWU WAR IN THE 14TH CENTURY:

According to Akinwumi Ogundiran (2020), Owu's expansionist agenda, hegemonic ambitions and military forays into Igbomina posed a serious threat to the northern trust of **Ife's commercial empire**. Containing this threat was the centre piece of **Obalufon Alayemore's** political agenda when he ascended the throne of Ife during the mid-fourteen century. Obalufon Alayemore was reputed to have pursued vigorous military campaigns and political diplomacy in other to reinstate Ife's influence and control of commercial networks along the northern axis.

Obalufon Alayemore, the **third and fifth Ooni of Ife** resuscitated the expansionist programmes that his earlier predecessors had put in place during the **twelfth and thirteen centuries**. Those efforts had already built the **Ife Empire** by adding Owu, Owo and Edo, as well as most of the Ekiti and Igbomina territories, to the sphere of Ile-Ife's influence. By the time Obalufon Alayemore came to power, most of the northern frontiers of the Empire were under Owu. In order to turn the tide, the king focused his attention on the Igbomina area. This was necessary to halt the advance of owu into Ile-Ife.



Mask head of Obalufon II, Ooni of Ife. Work dated 12th–15th Century, Ife. Copper. [Photo: Phillips (1999).]

The Oral traditions of Ife credited Obalufon II military vigor, expansionist drive, and political sagacity, and the traditions in Igbomina celebrate him for downgrading **Owu's** influence and taking over Owu's colonies and out-posts in the area. Obalufon Alayemore reclaimed lost territories and established new Ife colonies in Igbomina. At the peak of Obalufon Alayemore's reign, Ile-Ife controlled a vast network of towns and villages along the trade routes that linked central Yorubaland with the Niger River.

2.1 Threats to Oyo at Oko by Owu:

At the time **Oranmiyan** left **Oko**, threats from the **Owu kingdom** in the south compelled it to start paying tribute to the **Olowu**. Some of the stronger **Bariba and Nupe groups** overran Oko and forced it to pay tribute. In fact, Ajuwon (a.k.a Ajaka) appears to have been displaced for some time by these unforgiving enemies. **At last, Ajuwon, first son of Oranmiyan, stepped aside and gave the throne to his younger brother called Sango, son of Oranmiyan's Nupe wife, who was believed by the Chiefs to be the more warlike prince.**

With Sango as king of Oyo, the situation began to improve. The secret of the military power of the **Nupe and Bariba** was their use of Calvary **Sango, the third Alaafin of Oyo** embarked on buying horses from some Nupe, his mother's people. When the **Olowu of owu** sent his officers to demand the tribute, **Sango refused to pay**. The Olowu sent an army to compel him to pay, but **Sango's men** so decidedly defeated the invaders as to silence the olowu threat once and for all. **Alaafin Sango moved the base of the kingdom from Oko** back to its original location. When the Bariba and Nupe attacked he fought them fiercely and beat back attack after attack, capturing many horses in the process. Sango's life was filled with terrible battles and surprising victories that his subjects and enemies alike credited him with supernatural powers. Sango spent 7¹/₂ years on the throne, according to Samuel Johnson (1921).

The people, out of gratitude for all he had done for their kingdom, defied Sango, **giving his name to the god of thunder and lighting** and set up **shrines and rituals** for his worship. The **cult of Sango** became the special cult of Oyo-Ile kings, unlike in most Yoruba kingdoms where the **cult of Ogun** (god of iron and war) **was the royal cult**.

3.0 OWU RELATIONSHIP WITH LAGELU DESCENDANTS IN THE 18TH CENTURY

Oral tradition and documented history by local historians revealed that the present Ibadan is the “THIRD” one. The first and second Ibadan were founded by Lagelu in the middle of the 16th century, and at the close of the 17th century (1698-1732) respectively. With the destruction of the first settlement during Egungun festival as a result of revealing Egungun (masquerade) cult in the open market, Lagelu, his children and supporters relocated to Eleiyele Hills at Awotan from where they moved to “ORIYANGI” now called Oja-Iba. At Awotan Oba Gbagura gave his daughter to Lagelu who gave birth to **Oota, alias “Atage Olomu Oru”**. The first son, Olubadan Olukiran gave birth to Nkan LOLA, a female child. Oota facilitated the marriage between Olowu Akinjobi and Nkan Lola (chief M.K.O Adebayo 2015). When they finally moved to Oriyangi the site of second Ibadan at the foot of Mapo Hall, they divided the town into six quarters, according to the late Isaac Babalola Akinyele (1911) as follows;

- | | | | |
|-------|--------------|---|---|
| (i) | ITUN ELEMOMO | - | Aboke Quarters |
| (ii) | OKE IGEDE | - | Oba (Olubadan) Quarters |
| (iii) | ITUN LISA | - | Crown Prince of Olowu Akinjobi Quarters |
| (iv) | ITUN AKAASI | - | The descendants of Akaasi (Lagelu’s Nephew) |

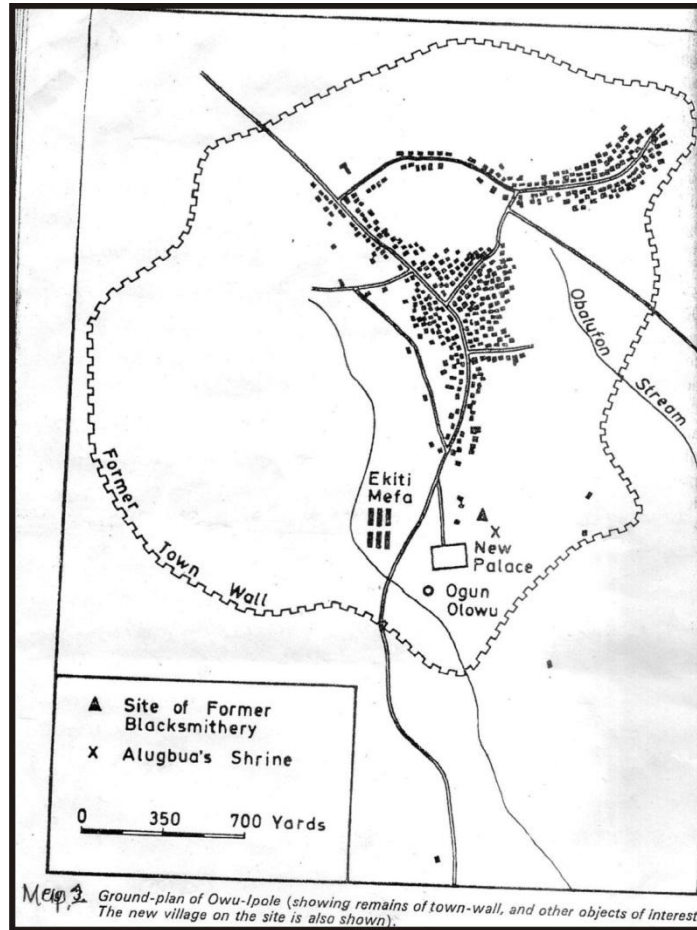
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- (v) ILAROO - The descendants of the Prince of Isheri from Oloto Clan of Lagos.
- (vi) OKE ATI ISALE ATAN - Communal Land or Town Forest

The Owu wars of the nineteenth century started as a result of the collapse of the old Oyo Empire as a result of Fulani wars' in the northern part of Yorubaland. Around 1806 when the war was still going on the Baale of Ogbomosho and the Deputy Aare Ona-Kakanfo to Afonja of Ilorn, Toyeje and Adegun, the Onikoyi of Ikoyi, instigated Olowu Amororo to attack Ile-Ife as a result of slave trading at Apomu. In carrying out the orders, the following settlements around Ile-Ife were destroyed such as Ikoyi Igbo, Apomu, Ikire, Itahakun, Iseyin-Odo, Iwata, Gbongan, Akinboto etc. This was between 1806-1810.

As Ife was about to revenge, the Ife army led by Balogun Singusin and assisted by Maye Okunade was halted at Adubieye near Iwo by the Oluwo of Iwo, Oba Memudu Lamuye I and they were advised not to advance due to the size of the army. The Ife army stayed at Adubieye for five years (1810-1814) before the opportunity came to form alliance with Ijebu army. The refugees from Oyo joined them and laid siege on Owu Orile between 1814-1820. Owu fell after a six-year war (Osife-Kunde but according to Rev. Samuel Johnson, the siege lasted for five years).

The Owus ran out of their heavily fortified city in about 1820. They escaped through their southern gate in group and entered their assailant territories through Ijebu-Igbo and spread southward, settling in places like Ikija, Omu Ayepe, and other places. However, the main body of escapee went towards the new settlement of Ibadan at Oriyangi, later known as Oja'ba at the foot of Mapo Hill which was established by Lagelu descendants. The sketch of the fortified Owu Ipole is in Map 2 courtesy of A.L. Mabogunje and J. Omer cooper in "Owu in Yoruba History"



According to Professor A.L. Mabogunje and J. Omer Cooper (1971) and I.B. Akinyele (1911) although every movement was as a result of war, Owu did not fight Ibadan but instead entered peacefully. This is because Ibadan leaders (i.e. Lagelu Descendants) had earlier sent them olive branch. According Oba I.B. Akinyele (1955-1964) in Iwe Itan Ibadan (1911), there was an agreement between the two and oath made with new hoe **“Okò titun adeun Olowu”**

Ibadan through the descendants of Akaasi (Lagelu’s nephew) was sent to offer the Owu people led by Olowu Akinjobi a land to settle at a place outside Ibadan called **“Ahorò Owu”** on which Government House is now built spreading from Lisa

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quarters to Idi-Ape. **The new settlement is called Owu-Ogbere which derived its name from Ogbere River** across Iwo Road, in Ibadan North East Local Government Area.

3.1 Destruction of Owu Ogbere and Foundation of the Third Ibadan

As a result of the crisis between the descendants of Lagelu and Olowu Akinjobi for the alleged sacrifice of the daughter of Olubadan Olukiran (first son of Lagelu) to appease the goddess of Oba River, the allied army of Ife, Oyo and Ijebu and friendly Egbas were recalled from Iperu where they were staying because they did not go home with other war leaders after disbandment at Idi-Ogungun, Agodi gate, Ibadan. Owu Ogbere was attacked and eventually destroyed while the original occupiers of the second Ibadan (Lagelu descendants) were displaced. The occupation of Ibadan was led by Maye Okunade from Ife, Lakanle (Oyo) and Labosinde (Ife) who was appointed the deputy and Lakanle, Oyo leader.

According to Toyin Falola (1989) in “Politics and Economy in Ibadan - 1893 -1945” the initial congregation of the allied army at Ibadan was along ethnic lines; the numerically superior Ife soldiers and Oyo-Yoruba refugees chose **Oja-Iba**; the Ijebu lived in the south, at **Isale-Ijebu**; the Egba moved far away from their conquerors and settled at **Yiosa**.

It was the attempt by the notables among the military leaders to create an hegemony, one that would cut across ethnic lines, that accounted for ‘civil wars’ in Ibadan camp. The Egba were the first casualty in this rivalry. They were expelled from Ibadan and had to migrate to Abeokuta where a new, more secure and permanent home was established in 1830.

Thereafter, an excuse was found for an open intra-class struggle in c.1833. This later escalated into GBANAMU war between the Ife, who attracted support from

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Edunabon and Ipetumodu and the Oyo-Yoruba who also received assistance from Ijaye, led by Kurunmi, Ede and Iwo where there were other pockets of refugees. The Oyo-Yoruba won, and Ibadan became, up till today, an Oyo-Yoruba town (Toyin Falola, 1989).

Maye Okunade escaped to Erunmu, an Owu town. Ibadan subsequently attacked Erunmu, a pro-Ife town, which was ruthlessly dealt with to the extent that it did not regain its lost population until the 1860s. The Owus eventually migrated to Abeokuta from Erunmu in 1834 with Erumu and Apomu which are now part of Owu settlements in Abeokuta. They were all welcomed by Balogun Sodeke.

Confirming this incident, Chief (DR) M.A. Fabunmi, the Odole Atobase of Ife in a book titled “IFE: The Genesis of Yoruba Race” (1985) “The Political supremacy of Ife was shattered a little more than a century ago when it was defeated by the strong military power of Ibadan. Since then Ife has remained only a spiritual and cultural Yoruba capital of the land has crystallized.”

The main body of escapees from Ibadan marched across Ogun River and finally arrived at Oke Ata near Abeokuta. Sodeke persuaded them to settle about 1834. Again, Owu fought side by side with Egba in the Makun, and other wars against Ado-odo and Dahomey in 1842-1845. Owu contingents fought and routed Awori at Itori, Yobo, Ifo, Atan, Ota and also occupied these places till today.

The Owu people had fought wars, won battles in very many places between the Niger river and the sea (Owus in Lagos State; Epe etc), yet their main stream had settled among the Egbas in Abeokuta. BUT, THEY ARE NOT EGBAS, neither are they IJEBUS (see Johnson’s “History of the Yorubas” p.18). Owu settlements in Ijebu and Abeokuta were not as a result of direct battles or victory over them, but mostly on friendly terms (HRM. Oba Adegboyega Dosumu – 9/10/2017)

3.2 Owu in Ibadan and Oyo Province

According to Mabogunje A.L. and J. Omer Cooper in “Owu in Yoruba History” (1971 pg. 103) the two major groups of Owu fleeing from destruction of their city were those which fled to Ijebu and Abeokuta Provinces. But nearer home, in what are now Ibadan and Oyo Provinces, smaller communities of Owu people are to be found. Within Ibadan city itself they are restricted to a few quarters notably that of Baale Olugbode whilst in the rural districts they are known to be predominant in the villages of Kuta and Erunmu which had close relationship with the Owu but it appears that only a few Owu actually settled there. The same is true of Oyo Province where only small Owu communities are to be found (e.g. at Madakeke in Ife) except for the group which returned in 1824 to re-occupy the site of the former Owu-Ipole.

As has been mentioned earlier in this work, it appears that with the destruction of Owu-Ipole a sizeable group of Owu moved near Ibadan and founded Owu-Ogbere. When Owu-Ogbere was destroyed and the allied forces occupied Ibadan itself, some Owu migrated northwards to Erunmi and Kuta; others simply moved into the reconstituted Ibadan settlement as part of the general populace. (Mabogunje A.L. and J. Omer Cooper, 1971).

Rev. Samuel Johnson (1921) at page 244 of History of the Yorubas’ described Ibadan, after the takeover by the allied forces, as consisting of the central market, and about half a mile of houses around. The town wall was where the principal mosque (central mosque now stands). But the second wall built by Basorun Oluyole extended to Elegun stream at Beiyerunka while the third wall called Ibikunle wall enclosing the built-up section was sixteen (16) kilometers in circumference, with four major gates leading to Abeokuta, Oyo, Iwo and Ijebu and several minor ones leading to various farms and villages around 1858 (Toyin Falola, 1989).

4.0 GBANAMU WAR AND THE EXPULSION OF IFE FROM IBADAN

After the occupation of Ibadan by the allied army of Ife, Oyo, Ijebu and the Egba who destroyed Owu-Ogbere, there was no strong political authority over all the different components that made up the nascent settlement referred to as the third and present Ibadan. There was instead a rather loose, confederate political system binding them together. Each of the major Yoruba subgroups in the settlement had its separate quarters and “Government”.

The Ife and Oyo, the most predominant groups in the community, inhabited the hilly area of Oja-Iba and Mapo; the Ijebu lived in Isale-Ijebu to the southeast of Mapo; and the Egba clustered together around Yeosa.

There was a remarkable political change late in the 1820s when the settlement was transformed from a mere agglomeration of different settlers into a permanent town principally owned, inhabited and controlled by the Oyo refugees. As documented in oral accounts, two major events were responsible for this important change.

The first was in 1829 when a fight broke out between the Egba and the Ife at a public meeting. In the atmosphere of intense personal rivalry between the war chiefs, quarrels were not infrequent and soon after the settlement of Ibadan Lamodi, a prominent Egba leader, shot an influential Ife leader, named Ege, with a pistol in the course of an altercation. A scrimmage at once broke out Lamodi was killed and a considerable body of Egba, fearing further vengeance, fled the town under the leadership of Sodeke. They succeeded in beating off all attacks and making their way to the naturally defensible site of Abeokuta in 1830.

According to Prince Adelegan Adegbola (2009) in the book “ILE-IFE”; The source of YORUBA civilization **the Family of Iyalode Efunroye Osuntinubu of**

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Egba, was among about 150 migrants that settled under the leadership of Egba veteran war leader Sodeke. They all found common refuge under Olumo Rocks at Abeokuta in 1830. **Efunroye Tinubu** was born in 1805 at Ijokodo, to the Egba Gbagura tribe of the Yoruba Nation. Efunroye Tinubu was responsible for the supply of arms and ammunitions to the Egba warriors in the Egba Dahomey War (1845-1847).

Johnson at page 226 of “The History of the Yorubas”/Reprinted 1976) said; “Even after the Foundation of Abeokuta, there were still some Egbas residing at Ibadan. Egba women also who were unable or unwilling to go with their husbands to the new settlement were taken as wives by the new colonists at Ibadan and they became the mothers of most of the children of the first generation of the new Ibadan”.

The second and final stage was the political rivalry between the Ife and Oyo which culminated in a war for the control of Ibadan. The power rivalry after the migration of the Egba out of Ibadan then left the two sub-groups in control. The Oyo at this time were numerically stronger than the Ife due to the influx of refugees from the northern part of Yorubaland affected by the Fulani wars.

The cause of the Gbanamu war of 1833 between the Ife group and the Oyos in Ibadan war camp was as a result of the fight between two neighbours on an Owo ex-captive and Followers of Maye Okunade and the other an Oyo over a piece of land according to Rev. Samuel Johnson (1921) Maye Okunade, the First Baale of the present Ibadan, intervened and without asking questions drew his sword and cut off the head of the Oyo man. This led to an upheaval in which Maye with some of the Ife Chiefs was driven away from the town.

According to Johnson, the Oyo thereafter repented of the action and begged the Great War Leader to return but he refused and instead took himself to Erunmu

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where the Owu people had increased in number after the destruction of Owu-Ogbere. In the war that eventually involved the two camps, the two forces came to close together that contestants grabbed the barrels of their enemies' gun and fought hand to hand with cutlasses. For the reason, the war became known as the "**GBANAMU**", **the grasping of fire war**. The allied Oyo groups secured complete victory over their enemies. Maye himself was captured including Degesin and Ogini, the leaders of the Egba contingent all were put to death after the battle.

The Ibadan succeeded in cutting off all food supplies to the town and ultimately reduced the population to starvation. The town was captured and its ruler, the Oluroko of Erunmu, and Oluwole, the ruler of Idomapa were caught and put to death. The Olowu Akinjobi was also captured but as he was a full Oba traditionally rested with an aura of divinity the chiefs did not dare to order his execution.

On the pretense of sending Olowu to Oni of Ife, on reaching the banks of Osun River, the signal was given and Olowu was shot dead. A dam was then made in the bed of the stream and a grave was dug for the Olowu there. They then let the water flow back in its normal channel over the grave.

The end of the most serious communal tensions within the erstwhile sub-Yoruba-ethnic groups that converged in Ibadan. The elimination of Ife group led by Maye Okunade made it possible to establish a regular governtal hierarchy and at a public meeting it was decided to introduce regular chieftaincy titles. Infact, however, though the Oyo group was predominant, the community retained the composite character it had possessed as a wondering military horde.

Its leading men were not necessarily all Oyo. Indeed, Labosinde, Maye's deputy was retained in the town as a respected figure. What is more in the circumstances of prolonged warfare, hereditary authority had been of little account.

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The main body of Owu people that escaped from Erunmu marched across Ogun River and finally arrived at Oke Ata near Abeokuta were Sodeke and Egba leaders persuaded them to settle in about 1834 with people from Erunmu and Apomu and Erunmu came under Ibadan.

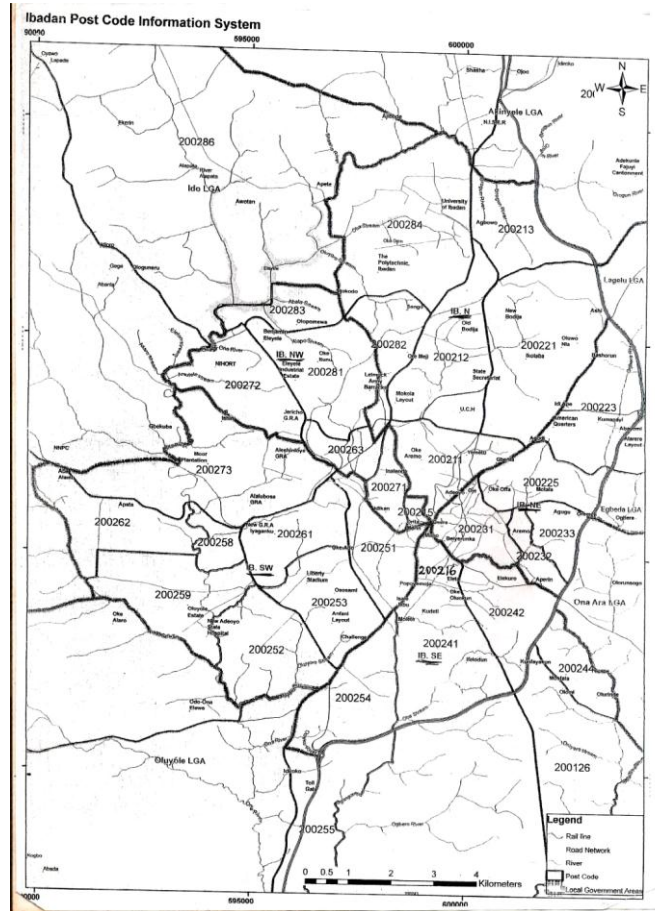
The titles of Olowu and Oluroko were continued by the representatives of the families in Abeokuta.

5.0 MIGRATION OF OYESILE OLUGBODE FROM TO IBADAN

In Ibadan, the Owu were much intermixed with the rest of the heterogeneous population and had no separate quarter of their own until one of their members rose to a position of eminence in the city. This was Olugbode in 1851, barely thirty (30) years after Ibadan was reconstituted, rose to become the Baale of Head of chiefs of Ibadan. He was extremely pushful and aggressive within the power struggle in Ibadan in the nineteenth century.

Oyesile Olugbode was born at Kuta, near Iwo town. His fathers' name was Basorun, a native of Owu-Orile. During the reign of Olowu Akitoba Basorun migrated to Kuta where Oyesile Olugbode was born. He came to Ibadan as a warrior with some ESOS and stayed at Idiape where it was believed ALUGBUA, the great general disappeared and who it was claimed could in the past be summoned by pulling on a chain which he drew under the earth with him when there was war.

When Basorun Oluyole heard of his arrival he sent Balogun Oderinlo to invite him to the city of Ibadan in the same way he did to another Owu warrior, Olunloyo who first stayed at Molete before he was allocated land at Oke-Oluokun, Kudeti area of Ibadan. Olugbode was also allocated the vast land at Odo-Osun. (See map 3).



Map3: Baale Oyesile Olugbode's Quarter within Ibadan Metropolis - part of postcode 200231

In Ibadan, the **Owu** were much intermixed with the rest of heterogeneous pollution and who have fought in the Gbanamu war before the arrival of Oyesile Olugbode after Eleduwe war of 1837, first Ijaye or Batedo war of 1844 and Osogbo war of 1840 against the Fulani invasion under the command of Balogun Oderinlo.

After the death of baale Omiololu Opeagbe, oyesile Olugbode was installed Baaale of Ibadan between (1851-1854). During the reign, Okebadan was resuscitated **Okebadan festival** which was earlier abolished from the days of Maye Okunade.

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Owu established villages at various locations such as: **Idi-Ape, Ojoo, Aroro, Alugbo, Araromi-Owu, Seriki village, Olokuta village, Owobale** and **Erunmu**.

Olugbode's thirteen years of reign (1851-1864) are well remembered in the annals of the city as a period when there was security of life and an absence of discord or serious internal dimensions among the city's population. Rather, it was a period when Ibadan's external relations were immensely enhanced. The territory subject to the authority of Ibadan was considerably enlarged especially in the Ekiti country where **four** of the **six** wars of his reign were fought. Ibadan itself grew in size and population as many people flocked into it, both free-men and slaves. It was also in Olugbode's reign that the **first missionaries** from Europe came into Ibadan.

After the Gbanamu war, in establishing the new system of government called **Militocracy** in new Ibadan referred to as the "**third Ibadan**", the cosmopolitan characteristics were preserved. In the new system the chieftaincy titles adopted were traditional ones but the system itself was quite different from the normal pattern of the Old Oyo and Yorubaland generally. The titles were not hereditary but were given in accordance with the effective position of the holder in the society and it was possible to progress from one another in the hierarchy even to the top Aare Oluyedun, Oluyole, Opeagba uprated the system from 1833 after the Gbanamu war till 1851 when Oyesile Olugode, an **Owu man from Kuta** near Iwo modified the system.

He introduced a traditional republican system whereby there are two major lines: **Otun Baale** and **Balogun Lines** that can become Baale of Ibadan in rotation. He also introduced the Iyalode chieftaincy as the third line but cannot become the Baale. Persons of very diverse origin could aspire to the position of Baale and indeed no less than three Baales of Ibadan have been **Owus**.

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Thus communal differences had little political significance and the diverse groups tended to fuse together in a common **Ibadan identity** in the opposite manner to the **Egba** who **preserved their original town and even village identities** within the single circumference of the walls of Abeokuta.

With the establishment of the Ibadan community, the story of the Owu war really ends, according to Professors A.L. Mabogunje and J.D. Omer-Cupper in *Owu in Yoruba History* (1971).

6.0 CONSEQUENCES OF OWU WAR (1814-1825):

The Owu war which involved the allied army of Ife, Ijebu, Oyo and Egba that were called upon to besiege the city of Asunkungbade at least shed a new government. However, the war effectively marked the end of a particular phase only the cause of the complete destruction of the flourishing **Owu kingdom**, but was also the signal for the disintegration of the Old Oyo **Empire** and of the rest of Yoruba country.

The collapse of the one of the four corners of Yorubaland had entailed a tremendous upheaval and the virtual obliteration Southern Yorubaland. It called into existence of the **two great metropolitan towns of Ibadan and Abeokuta** which were to be main poles of the new order which emerged out of the **final collapse of the old Oyo Empire** and the system of inter-state relationship of which it had been the guarantor.

Disintegration and destruction were not, however, the whole story of the aftermath of the Owu war. New edifices rose on the ancient ruins. **Ibadan, Abeokuta, Ijaiye, Modakeke, Iwo and Ogbomoso** were either founded anew, or augmented by large numbers of new populations. These new towns which grew out of the events which started in **1814** were later to dominate the history of the Yoruba country, as well as to rival one another for the hegemony of the country.

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The people of Erunmu are known to be Owu and their head (baale) is related through marriage to the people of Owu. Hence, Alugbua is worshipped as a minor **Orisha** every year (Page 107 of Owu in Yoruba history published in 1971).

Of the OWU who fled to Ife, Ileigbo, Iwo and Ibadan during the **mid-nineteenth century** southward thrust of the Fulani it is not known how many returned. What is certain is that the OWU people, once their primal city was destroyed (that is Owu-Ogbere) in **1825**, were scattered to the utmost limits of the Yoruba century. and where their **historical identity** cannot be maintained through the **annual festival of the Alugbua**, the **Obalufon** or the **Oro**, their ethnic **Abaja Olowu** or **Keke Olowu**.

Even without their tribal marks, the owu have distinguished themselves among every Yoruba group with whom they have sojourned. It has been seen how in both **Ijebu** and **Abeokuta** provinces members of the **Owu community** have actively participated in this life of their adopted area and risen to positions of the highest importance: and in Ibadan,, within **thirty years** of the destruction of **Owu Ipole** and twenty five years of **Owu-Ogbere**, a son of Owu from Owu Kuta by name – Oyesile Olugbode became the head (Baale) of the most powerful city of Yorubaland (1851-1864).

7.0 EFFECTS OF YORUBA CIVIL WARS

The first visible effect of the Yoruba Wars of the nineteenth century was the widespread destruction of cities, towns and villages. For some 700 years the Yoruba people had built cities and towns all over their country; in the course of one century they smashed many of the biggest and best of them. The areas most profoundly affected were the territories of the Oyo, Egba and Owu subgroups. The great city of Oyo-Ile, for two centuries the greatest and most prestigious city of the Yoruba people, perished completely. So did many other cities in the Oyo homeland - for instance Ikoyi, Kuwo, Igbogun. Owu-Ipole, the proud city of the Olowus, and the Egba royal

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towns of Ake, Oko, Kesi, Iddo, Ilugun, all suffered the same fate, not to count the many small Owu and Egba towns that were obliterated. Ijaye, the old trading town of the Egba people, revived and flourished for some five decades, and then was wiped out. Even the ancient sacred city of Ile-Ife (“the place from which the sun rises”) did not avoid the nineteenth century depredations. Torn down twice over, however, it managed to rise again each time.

The human suffering consequent upon all the devastation and acts of war was grave. The seemingly endless battles and raids resulted in the scattering of countless lineages and families, and in the loss and destitution of many of their members. Persons torn from their roots and homes, and wandering without clear destinations, constituted a large pool of vulnerable targets for adventurers and criminal kidnappers in most parts of the country. Even among groups managing to flee in some order, loss, deprivation and destitution were common experiences. Intense distress bred brigandage, disloyalty and perfidy, manifesting in kidnappings, the sale of friends by friends, and callous reward of hospitality and kindness with vileness and terror. In many parts of the country, refugee settlements sprang up, each the scene of hard struggles by individuals and groups to survive. The traditional norm of respect for peaceful traders on highways survived quite well in most parts, but greatly increased hazards from acts of war and crime increased the frequency and sizes of traders’ caravans as a mode of travel. On the whole, for probably most of the century, the incidence of human distress would seem to have been greater in the Oyo and Igbomina provinces in the north, and the broad middle belt stretching from Ife westwards into the Egbado country. From about the 1880s, the extreme northeastern region of Yorubaland, under Nupe pressure, witnessed greatly increased distress also. (Professor S.A. Akintoye (2010))

7.1 Enslavement of Yoruba People:

The wars and the accompanying raids, brigandage and kidnappings, resulted in the enslavement of countless Yoruba men, women and children. Most, in the early parts of the century, came from the Oyo and Igbomina areas — consequent upon the disruptive conflicts in the Oyo country, the Nupe raids in Igbomina, Afonja's campaigns in Igbomina and Oyo (1817–24), and the campaigns of post-Afonja Ilorin in the Oyo homeland and in the Ibolu country (1824–36). With the Owu War (1817–22), the spate of enslavement entered into the Yoruba midlands — the countries of Ife, Owu, Egba and northern Ijebu. The years of the sharpest increase in enslavements, as well as exportation of Yoruba slaves, then, were the years from about 1817 to about 1830, reaching a peak in 1826.

Thereafter, the conflicts between Ibadan and Abeokuta (with frequent Ijebu and Ijaye interventions), the campaigns of Kurunmi's Ijaye, the war between Ibadan and Ijaye, the Dahomey and Abeokuta campaigns in Egbado, widened the area of enslavements in central and western Yorubaland. From the 1850s, Ilorin's campaigns in Igbomina, Ekiti and Ijesa, and Ibadan's campaigns of expansion eastwards, resulted in the enslavement of large numbers of Ijesa, Ekiti, Akoko and Igbomina people. Ibadan armies regularly arrived back in Ibadan with thousands of enslaved captives, and a number of slave markets sprang up in Ibadan city.

All of these material devastations and human distress were, however, no more than accompaniments of a revolution that was changing the face of Yorubaland and Yoruba society and culture in many significant ways in the course of the nineteenth century. One important direction of the revolution was the transplantation of human populations. As some cities and towns vanished, others sprang up elsewhere. New centers of population (like Ibadan, Abeokuta, new Oyo, Ilorin, Sagamu, Aiyede, Modakeke) gave Yorubaland new centers of culture, commerce, art, and political experimentation. Some of these new cities -because of their population size, unique

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evolution, and location — were destined for special roles in the subsequent development of Yoruba society. For instance, Ibadan has come, in the twentieth century, to serve as a sort of “national” political capital of Yorubaland; Abeokuta, the early headquarters of Christianity; Ilorin, the Yoruba headquarters of Islam. The emergence of Modakeke as twin town to Ile- Ife, and the swelling of Ife towns and villages by refugees, boosted the population of this “ancestral heart” of Yorubaland and thereby has enhanced its share in the twentieth century economy and politics of Yorubaland.

7.2 Change in the Pattern of Population

Also, in broad terms, the wars changed the pattern of population spread in Yorubaland. Yorubaland had entered the nineteenth century more heavily populated in its northwestern region — especially in the Oyo country. By the middle of the century, the heavier population had shifted to the Yoruba middle belt — by then the home of such heavily populated centers as Osogbo, Ede, Ejigbo, Ikirun, Iwo, Ife-Modakeke, Ikire-Apomu, Gbongan, new Oyo, Ijaye, Ibadan, Abeokuta. Further eastwards in this middle belt, northern Ijesa towns like Igbajo, Iree, Ada and Otan as well as northern Ekiti towns like Otun, received some influx of Oyo and Igbomina from the north. Even as far south as Ido, Ado and Ikere in Ekiti, fairly large populations of Oyo resident immigrants emerged. In the distant west also, the region of Egbado and Ketu, for two centuries an area under Oyo political and commercial influence, witnessed a considerable influx of Oyo immigrants. Even some areas south of the middle belt received some of the shifting population, with some of the Owu and Egba flowing into northern Ijebu. In contrast, much of the northernmost reaches of Yorubaland became thinly populated, the northwest (the area of Oyo-Ile) being the hardest hit.

The ultimate, and very important, consequence of all these population movements was a mixing and intermingling of Yoruba subgroups far more profound than probably ever before in Yoruba history. This process of mixing started with a layer of Oyo migrants spreading out over all the other subgroups — thicker in the middle belt, but reaching even to the coast. In the important port towns of Lagos, Badagry and Ajase (Porto Novo), the migrations resulted in substantial Oyo populations. The peculiar development of Ibadan, as well as its empire-building successes, greatly reinforced the process of subgroup mixing. *Ibadan grew as a city of all Yoruba subgroups in a way that no other city in Yoruba history can claim. Oyo, Ife, and Ijebu refugees and soldiers, and Egba and Owu stragglers, started the new Ibadan off. Then the peculiar and open meritocracy of Ibadan's political and social system attracted many from all subgroups of the Yoruba people.*

7.3 Cultural Transformation in Yorubaland:

For all African peoples, **the twentieth century was an era of great cultural transformations**. For a people with such a rich cultural heritage as the Yoruba, it is impossible to do more in a book of this nature than give a very brief outline of the massive cultural transformations of the century. The dissolution of the agbo-ile or lineage compound was, without doubt, one of the greatest and most profound transformations of Yoruba society in the **twentieth century**. It is fairly well known from family traditions, court records, and published accounts in various media, that the process was rocky in many places. Emotional attachment to the ancestral compound usually resulted in the circumstance that persons with financial resources for building new homes often sought to take a piece of the old compound, tear it down and build the new house in its place. Not infrequently, this produced conflicts of claims - and disputes and feuds among lineage members. By about the last quarter of the century, the dissolution was virtually complete for most compounds, and the volume of fratricidal strife petered out.

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The fact that the dissolution was effected, in most cases, piece by piece over a long time and without any coordination, resulted in considerable deterioration of the physical structure of the old Yoruba cities and towns - houses built in disorder on the sites of once beautiful compounds, large quarters impossible to provide with paved roads, serious problems of hygiene arising from lack of sewage and trash disposal arrangements. By the last decades of the century, persons desiring to build new houses tended mostly to go beyond the old town walls - to land that used to be farmland. ***As a result, by, say, the year 2000, every sizeable Yoruba town had two segments - the old town within the old town walls, and then the new town beyond them.*** The latter, being usually a place of land layouts and building plans approved by the Governments, was normally much more orderly and attractive than the former. They are referred to as “Colonial Indigenous City” as a result of interplay of two cultures manifested in the morphology of the towns.

The effects of the dissolution of the agbo-ile on lineages and on society in general were quite complex. A dispersal of most of each agbo-ile’s lineage followed. ***However, a core of the lineage members of each agboile continued to inhabit its old site in their new types of houses - thus constituting a strong pull on dispersed members.*** Even in the growing new town beyond the town walls, the members of each lineage tended also to build homes close together — since each lineage gave land to its members on land that had used to be its farmland, although it also usually sold plots to non-members. Moreover, the old lineage functions (funerals of departed members, naming ceremonies for newly born members, engagement ceremonies and weddings, contests over the selection of chiefs, chieftaincy installation rituals and ceremonies, annual and seasonal lineage rituals, sacrifices and festivals), continued — also a strong force pulling members together. And the old obligations for the welfare of members remained indestructible, so that even the farthest dispersed members of a lineage still accepted and bore responsibilities for the welfare of other

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members. *Consequently, although the agbo-ile disintegrated, the social and psycho-spiritual bonds uniting its lineage survived quite strongly. At the end of the twentieth century, the lineage factor continued to be a very major factor in Yoruba society.* It is important to note, in conclusion, that all that has been said here about the agbo-ile and lineage is applicable to Yoruba people, not only in Nigeria, but also in Benin and Togo Republics.

7.4 The Iyalode in Ibadan Politics and Society

Every Yoruba kingdom had a female hierarchy of chiefs, usually headed by the **Iyalode**. The extent of the Iyalode's authority varied from kingdom to kingdom. According to changing historical contexts. Following the **upheavals of the civil wars** of the early nineteenth century, powerful new states, of which the most important were the **kingdom of Abeokuta, founded in 1830** and the **warrior republic of the third and present Ibadan established in 1825**.

These two states were founded on revolutionary new values and constitutional structures. They produced a socio-political environment that allowed astute, enterprising, wealthy women to assume roles of power and authority hitherto reserved for male titled hierarchies and military rules. In **Ibadan** and Abeokuta, new styles of governance downplayed **hereditary rights** in favor of proven merit based on leadership and entrepreneurial ability, wealth and patriotism in the nineteenth century.

Successful war and trade leaders were appointed to high military and civil office including some notable wealthy **female** traders who won acclaim because of their patriotic loyalty, their economic acumen, their financial support in state expansion and defence, and other community and state services.

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The Iyalode line constitutes the fourth line in the Ibadan chieftaincy, following the Olubadan, Balogun and Seriki lines. A civil title, only a select number of **Ibadan elite families**, descendants of the original settlers, have the right to offer candidates when vacancies occur in the line.

7.5 Impact of Civil Wars on Traditional Governmental Structure:

This civil wars of the nineteenth century produced a far-reaching and lasting modified structure was one in which a town had a **single head chief** called an **Oba** (or **Baale** in the case of uncrowned heads) assisted by a **council of state**.

As the panic that compelled migration and acquiescence in this anomalous situation receded a crisis of seniority arose in some of the enlarged towns like Ogbomoso and Oke-Iho, with federal councils. It was a crisis that survived into the twentieth century and made some **uncrowned heads not only to acquire kindly titles but also to become desirous of wearing crown**. The traditional status symbols of the Oba became highly prestigious ns were hotly sought after. The seed of future political bickering in chieftaincy matters had been sown.

The end the straggle with Maye at the **Gbanamu** war between the Oyo-Yoruba and Ife in **1833**, meant the end of the most serious **communal tensions** within **erstwhile marauding army**. It was then possible to establish a **regular governmental hierarchy** and at a public meeting, the victorious Oyo-Yoruba group decided to introduce regular chieftaincy titles.

In establishing the constitution, of the town, the **cosmopolitan characteristics** were preserved so that **although the chieftaincy titles adopted were traditional ones**, the normal system itself was quite different from the normal system. **The tittles were not hereditary** but were given in accordance with the effective position of the holder in society and it was possible to progress from one

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title to another in the hierarchy even to the very top. This meant that persons of very **diverse origin** could aspire to the position of Baale (now Olubadan).

7.6 House and Lineages in Ibadan:

The **Mogaji post identified the leader of a military Ibadan household and compound**. It was also an incentive for individuals to excel in battle. Although a **Mogaji** might not be immediately appointed a chief, he could still be recognized as the head of a wealthy and successful compound.

This means the residential areas of the classic **Yoruba city were physically organized into quarters or wards**. The city was a composite of quarters. The Yoruba quarters was an urban locality or neighbourhood inhabited by a **clan** that is, a group of people who claim descent from a common ancestor.

On the establishment of a settlement, the followers of the founder, who usually became the king, built their quarters around the city centre which was the royal palace and the principal market. In the case of Ibadan, the Oyos and the Ifes settled around the central market named after Labosinde and later Basorun Oluyole, with Oluyole, Labosinde, Olupoyi, Opeagbe, Kure, Alekuso, Fijabi, Akere quarters surrounding the central market including that of Balogun Oderinlo and Bale Dada Opadare and later Ogunmola and Sunmola Laamo.

According to Toyin Falola in a book titled “Ibadan, Foundation, Growth and change. 1830-1960” - *The open-door policy, the liberty, and the opportunity which Ibadan provided encouraged many ambitious men as well as delinquents, to leave or run away from their towns to try their luck at Ibadan*. In the third and present Ibadan, **strangers** from Oyo would go to Ile-Iba, those from Iwo could go to Ile Ogunmola and after 1870, also to Ali Iwo at Agodi. Those coming from Ogbomoso, Ilora, Agberi, and Ofa were welcomed in the compounds of Ope Agbe and Ibikunle,

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Latosa, Oderinlo, and Alesinloye respectively. Others from Iware went to Osudina's compound; those from Oke-Asa lived with Aijenku and those from Ikire went to Ajobo's compound. There are several other examples but suffice it to say that **nearly every major Yoruba town had at least one well-known representative in Ibadan.**

This liberal attitude to **strangers**, a product of Ibadan's turbulent foundation and militarism, resulted in sprawling compounds where the number of **ara ile** (strangers), in some cases, could be more than that of the **Omo ile** – the core members of the house, related to the founder of the compound. This was true of all **“heterogeneous”** compounds.

The quarter became larger and larger overtime, consequent upon population growth namely by natural increase due to influx of more refuges and adventurous settlers

However, the composition of the **new quarters changed from clan to ethnic linguistic bases.** For instance, such Yoruba subgroups as the Ijebus, Ijeshas and Egbas established or occupied distinct quarters in Ibadan outside their homelands or homesteads. These people settled in fairly distinct separate quarters such as the Hausa quarters at Sabo (or Sabongari), the Nupe quarters as Mokola, while Ekotedo was originally settled by the Ibos, the Ibibios, the Edos (Benin) and the Urnobos.

The **linguistic character of the quarters** has now almost disappeared. Although most members of these linguistic groups are still found in these quarters, Yoruba elements are generally in the majority today.

7.7 The Lineage Membership and Chieftaincy System

In Yoruba towns, chieftaincy titles were claimed on the basis of **lineage membership**, particular titles belonged to specific lineages. For those lineages who had titles, succession was hereditary within the lineage.

William Bascom, an American anthropologist argued that Yoruba towns were urban because they had a formalized government which exercises authority over the primary groups living within residential quarters or compounds, and incorporates them into a political community. Incorporation was taken as given; an automatic result of the appointment of each **quarter chiefs** to a town council. The role of an Oba over the other **council chiefs** further consolidated this unity.

Yoruba chieftaincy titles are hierarchical that is, ranked into several grades. Broadly, there is the **king** at the pinnacle of the state pyramid, followed by the **senior chiefs**, the **quarter chiefs** with the **Bales or Mogaji at the base**. The Yoruba city was organized into residential quarters (or clan) chief. A clan was consisted of a number of extended families headed by its eldest male member.

An Oba gained the right to his position by professing **membership of the royal lineage**, a group who claimed descent from a town founder who was usually associated with a part of migration from Ile-Ife (Peter Lloyd on Yoruba Lineage). Additionally, titles were also bestowed on two other groups of people in a Yoruba town:

- (a) Hereditary titles were conferred on subsequent immigrants whose loyalty and solidarity were beyond doubt;
- (b) Secondly, any eminent person in the urban community irrespective of family sources who contributed outstandingly to its

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development and progress could be bestowed with non-hereditary titles in appreciation of their efforts.

In Ibadan, debates over **residents' inclusion or exclusion** from this political institution are the substance of making a **Civic Community**.

According to **Lawuyi Oguniran**, there are certain things which made Ibadan to be great. **Ibadan was a republican democracy, where every man born in Ibadan has the potential to be Olubadan, if he wants it.** Those who were the founding fathers believe that the chieftaincy belongs to them, but it is not the case. It is a democracy and everyone has the right to representation.

For Mogaji Olugbode, although titles were not restricted to a single family, they belonged to the descendants of those who had gained recognition for their military exploits during the previous century.

The *social system in the first and second Ibadan settlements established by Lagelu dynasty was a hereditary monarchical system* where members of the Lagelu ruling house or lineage could only have access to the throne of **Olubadan**. *But the new social-system initiated by the new settlers is a non-hereditary ruling house system and was based on merit*, which brought a large number of adventurous youths to the cosmopolitan city of Ibadan.

The initiative was sequel to Bashorun Oluyole's suspicions and apprehension of the demands and exertions of hereditary royalty as it obtained in the Oyo monarchical system. He consistently warned against recourse to traditional institutions which were capable of destroying self-expression, self-actualization and personal sense of success. Bashorun Oluyole believed that leadership should be a function of what the individual possessed in excess of those who could favorably compete with

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him. He maintained that, leadership should be earned and not ascribed (Prof. Akin Alao, 2000).

What Ibadan set out to achieve with a **non-hereditary chieftaincy system** was a modernization of the system of government, making it more responsive to change and fulfilling the expectation of the people. **So, by 1851, when Bale Oyesile Olugbode (1851-1864)** was installed, the advantages of a republican constitution over the old order had also been established beyond doubt. Ibadan became a haven for the progressives who became disillusioned about the **hereditary monarchial system**.

The **Lineage** was very important for every **Ibadan indigene**, for it was through its membership that a person had access to land and exercised civil rights. Every lineage had a spokesman, the Bale or Mogaji, who together with the elders, administered the compound. *An Ibadan indigene must have a compound in the city and a residence in the village. (Toyin Falola, 1989).*

Basically, the classic Yoruba kingdom comprised the royal capital, one or more dependent towns as well as several villages and hamlets. The inhabitants of the rural communities belonged to the royal capital. It was in the royal capital that they had their permanent dwellings erected. His residence in the village or hamlet was only temporary; it was neither perennial nor permanent.

The subordinate town or towns and rural settlements around Ibadan city (the royal capital) became parts of the metropolis in either of two ways:

- (a) by **filiations**, that is, **settled voluntarily** or otherwise by people from the royal capital e.g. Omi-Adio, Akufo, Lagun, while Lalupon settled voluntarily with the consent of the ruling class, and

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(b) by **conquest and annexation** such as Ijaye, Erunmu, Ikereku, Podo, Ido, Bakatari and many other Egba and Owu settlements

A Bale does not head a kingdom or a state but dependency or a constituent unit of a kingdom and was, therefore, responsible to the king. Thus, a Bale is a chief of lower status. *In the case of Ibadan, this is not true as Lagelu was not under Alaafin of Oyo or any other Yoruba king (oba).*

According to Oluremi I. Obateru (2006), “**The Bale of Ibadan, in 1936, was elevated to the rank of a kinglet (Olubadan), an act against which the Alafin of Oyo indignantly and vehemently protested as Ibadan was a dependant town (not a city) under his territorial jurisdiction**”. On 21st October, 1936, Governor Bourdillon sactioned Notice No. 1924 in the Nigeria Gazette, thus granting official recognition to the **Olubadan title** which was published on the 29th October, 1936. According to Toyin Falola (1989), “**the notice in the gazette did not fail to recognize the opposition to the change by the Alafin while it also emphasized the fact that it was a mere cosmetic.**

During the colonial administration when in 1917, the Governor Macgregor, arrogated to himself the right to confer the title of “king” and the wearing of beaded crowns on people, several former **Olojas** and **Bales** then became “kings”. The term **Oloja** literarily means market owner while Bale literarily means lord of the lands.

According to Msgr. A. Oguntunyi (1979), Ekiti village and town heads were called **Oloja** and **Owa** respectively. A town head (Owa) claimed to be a descendant of Odudua.

Under the British Rule, the indigenou term “Oba” was used for a “king” to distinguish the relatively numerous kings of this part of the world from the British monarch. The term “Baale” was introduced by Ibadan and was used by the British

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for district heads who normally preferred to be known as “Oba”. They saw a lowering of status in the term Baale.

A kinglet is higher than a **bale** as a duke or an **earl** is higher than a **mayor**. Notable among the Oyo kinglets were the Onikoyi of Ikoyi, the Olofa of Ofa, the Okere of Shaki, the Akirun of Ikirun, Aseyin of Iseyin, the Onjo of Okeiho, the Ona Onibode of Igboho, the Olugbon of Igbon, the Aresa of Iresa - all of whom were responsible to the Alafin as they were not kings.

Finally, in her pioneering research on the nineteenth century history of Ibadan, Professor Bolanle Awe suggested that the conferment of the **MOGAJI** rank was an attempt to reconcile hereditary succession and open competition in town government. During the late 1840s, there were some heads of households who were not related to the family of their predecessor, they gained their position by proving themselves on the battlefields. *By contrast a Mogaji was usually, or at least claimed to be, an heir of the compound founder.* Toyin Falola contends that “**the mogajiship**” institutionalised the process of selection for a title but it is not a tendency for particular families to monopolize chieftaincy appointments through nominating the Mogaji.

CHAPTER FOUR
THE CAUSE AND EFFECTS OF THE FALL OF OLD OYO
EMPIRE ON THE EMERGENCE OF NEW YORUBA STATES

1.0 CAUSES OF YORUBA CIVIL WARS:

According to Professor Adebajji Akintoye, the disintegration of the Oyo Empire and kingdom destroyed the pre-existing system of order and security in Yorubaland and created a situation whereby all centers of power, old and new, had to scramble to establish new systems and patterns that would guarantee order and security. Those efforts created conflicts and wars which the Yoruba people were not able to put an end to, until European powers intervened and imposed their own system of order and peace.

The **kingdom of Oyo-Ile** is regarded in Yoruba traditions as one of the younger of the early Yoruba kingdoms. It is believed to have been founded considerably later than such kingdoms as **Ketu, Owu** and **Ila**. However, in the seventeenth century, Oyo-Ile had become the greatest of all Yoruba Kingdoms; richer, stronger and territorially very much larger than any other. By the eighteenth century, its capital city of Oyo-Ile, known to its northern Hausa neighbors as **Katunga**, was the centre of an empire comprising of northern and western Yorubaland as well as substantial territories of non-Yoruba peoples like the Nupe and the Bariba.

In spite of the fact that Rev. Johnson's neat definition of the boundaries of the Old Oyo Empire implies that the whole of Yorubaland and Dohomcy were included in this Empire. *Dr. J.A. Atanda (1973, 1979) explained that, the Old Oyo Empire of which Alaafin was the head never embraced the whole of Yorubaland. Some parts of the Yorubaland were tributary to the kingdom of Benin and were never controlled by Oyo as Benin itself was not.*

Ilesa, Ile-Ife and Ila were kingdoms, each with a considerable area of influence and independent of Old Oyo. With respect to Ilesa, Dr. J.A. Atanda (1979), it will be recalled that the attempt which Old Oyo made in the **Seventeenth** century, during the reign of Alaafin Obalokun, to reduce Ilesa to submission resulted in heavy losses of Oyo since that time, no further attempt was made by Oyo to control Ilesa. In fact, until the beginning of the Yoruba wars, Ilesa held sway over the whole of Ilesaland.

2.0 THE FOUNDING OF OYO-ILE KINGDOMS:

According to Yoruba tradition, the founder of the Oyo-Ile kingdom was Oranmiyan, said to be one of younger grandson of Oduduwa the time of its foundation, in the light of calculations done from the lists of kings in various Yoruba local historians, was probably in the **twelfth (12th)** or early **thirteenth (13th)** century.

The core of Yoruba traditions is that Oranmiyan set off from Ile-Ife and headed northwards after returning from Benin to establish Oduduwa kingdom and his son **Eweka I.** because the King of Benin in 1170A.D. Oyo and other Yoruba traditions, however, simply have the Oranmiyan migration as an episode in the general story of the founding of Yoruba kingdoms. He finally settled in the far northwest, to the frontier country near the Niger, where small Oyo, Bariba and Nupe settlements existed, clearly interlocked, unifying a few old settlements at that location, he began to establish his kingdom. He also married the daughter of a Nupe Chief, usually identified in the traditions with the name, **Elempe.**

According to Professor Adebajji Akintoye (2010), Oranmiyan's friendship with one Bariba Chief and his connection with a Nupe Chief by marriage did not prove sufficient to secure peace with all the Bariba and Nupe groups. Oyo-Ile was attacked repeatedly by various Bariba and Nupe groups. The difficulties were so intense that Oranmiyan, himself a **famous warrior prince,** decided to move the base of the

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kingdom to a less troublesome site, at a place called **Oko**, near the present Ogbomoso in Oyo State. At **Oko**, the kingdom had peace for some time. But then the need arose for Oriamiyan to return to Ile-Ife. After installing his eldest son, Ajaka **Ajuwon**, on the throne, he left for Ice to become the **fourth** (4th) Ooni of Ife. After Obalufon Alayamore, the third (3rd) Ooni of Ife had deserted the throne for **Odede Oranmiyan** who had just returned according to chief (Dr.) M.A. Fabunmi (1985).

At the time Oranmiyan left Oko, threats from the **Owu kingdom** in the South compelled it to start paying tribute to the Olowu. Some of the stronger **Bariba and Nupe** groups overran it and forced it to pay tribute. In fact, Ajuwon (a.k.a. Ajaka) appears to have been displaced for some time by these unforgiving enemies. At last, he stepped aside and gave the throne to his brother, Sango, son of **Oranmiyan's Nupe wife**, who was believed by the Chiefs to be the more warlike Prince.

With **Sango** as king, the situation began to improve. The secret of the military power of the Nupe and Bariba was their use of Calvary. Sango, the **third** (3rd) Alaafin, embarked on buying horses from Nupe, his mother's people. When the **Olowu of Owu** sent his officers to demand the tribute, **Sango refused to pay**. The Olowu sent an army to compel him to pay, but **Sango's men** so decisively defeated the invaders as to silence the Olowu threat once and for all. **Alaafin Sango moved the base of the kingdom from Oko** back to its original location. When the Bariba and Nupe attacked, he fought them fiercely and beat back attack after attack, capturing many horses in the process. Sango's life was filled with terrible battles and surprising victories that his subjects and enemies alike credited him with supernatural powers. Sango spent 7 ½ years on the throne, according to Johnson, the people, out of gratitude for all he had done for their kingdom, deified Sango, giving his name to the **god of thunder and lighting** and set up **shrines and rituals** for his worship. The

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cult of Sango became the special cult of Oyo-Ile kings, unlike in most of Yoruba Kingdoms where the **cult of Ogun** (god of iron and war) **was the royal cult**.

Ajaka after the death of Sango returned to the throne for the second time while he was succeeded by his son Aganju after death.

2.1 The Hostility from Northern Neighbors:

At one time it would seem as if Oyo had been virtually a protectorate of the **Bariba kings**, and its struggles with **Nupe** had been prolonged and bitter. It probably the struggle with these **northern neighbors** which made it the paramount power in Yorubaland according to Akin Mabogunje in 1971.

According to Akinkumi Ogundiran in his book “the Yoruba: A New History” published in U.S.A (2010), there were external forces that affect the northern part of Yoruba country which included episode of severe draught at the subcontinental level, outbreaks of epidemic diseases at the regional level, political conflicts across the Sudan between **ca1375 and 1600**; relentless attacks from **Nupe** cavalymen **ca1450 through 1560**; and the opening up of Yoruba cast land for intercontinental trade in the **last quarter of the fifteenth century**. It is impossible to disaggregate these sources of perturbation from one another. They were all linked together.

Ile-Ife was the center of gravity of the Yoruba world system, in political, economic and cultural terms, through the end of the **fourteenth century**. The story of stress and atrophy that descended on the region in the following century must therefore start with Ile-Ife. There were already signs of trouble during the late **fourteen century**, but they became more noticeable in the **early fifteen century**, following the death of **Ooni** Obalufon Alayemore (Obalufon II) - **Akinkumi Ogundiran (2020)**.

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The declining political and economic fortune of the region's largest emporium, Ile-Ife, significantly contributed to the instability across the Yoruba world in the **first half of the fifteenth century. Obalufon Alayemore (Obalufe II) was the last great king of classical Ife** according to Akinkumi Ogundiran (2020).

According to Prince Adelogan Adegbola (2009), **Obalufon Ogbogbodirun** and **Osangangan Obamakin** are the same person generally acknowledged as an “early Ooni” and the same of more popular “**Ooni Obalufon Alayemore**”. Obalufon Alayemore brought all the powerful groups in Ile-Ife town together for effective government. He made use of all the available resources of manpower to bring even development into his time and reign.

More importantly was the administrative re-organization which followed the victory of **Obalufon Alayemore** over the **Ugbo**.

According to Oba Adesoji Aderemi, the Ooni of Ife 1930-1980, said, the **Obalufon Alayemore of Efon** was one of the direct sons of Oduduwa who was installed at three separate ceremonies viz., as the **3rd Ooni of Ife**, two, who migrated and founded **Efon Alaye** and installed as the **5th Ooni of Ife** when he succeeded Oranmiyan after his death, after founding Oyo kingdom and left his Ajaka (Ajuwon) to rule.

With the collapse of Ife Empire, about the same time that Benin was establishing a decidedly north ward policy of expansion and Benin and Oyo were forging new commercial relation in the **mid-fifteen century**, the Nupe were also embarking on the process of political centralization. The Oyo, under **Alaafin Kori** and **Oluaso**, stood their ground against the Nupe incursion. Nevertheless, things were about to get worse.

2.2 The Sacking of Oyo Capital (1530-1542):

Equipped with horses, their newly found military hardware, **Nupe** militarists engaged in the activities that affect the northern frontiers of Yoruba world, and they penetrated over one hundred (100) kilometers deep into the region, ransacking the **Yagba** and other **Okun** areas. Westward, the militarists were involved in conflicts against their Ibariba (Borgou) neighbors in the Niger-Moshi area. And, towards the end of the country, **the Nupe invaded, and sacked Oyo, laying waste the core of the kingdom.** The displaced Oyo population set up new homes in **Saki, Kisi, Igbeti,** and **Igboho**, as well as in Ibaraba country. A section of the **Oyo Royal House** managed to keep the idea of the kingdom alive by relocating to the seat of power to Igboho, where **four Alaafins** (kings of Oyo ruled in the **sixteenth (16th) century.** Tasting the sweetness of victory in the north, the Nupe militarists penetrated deep into **Igbomina, Ekiti, and Ibola**, all Ife centric areas. Massive abandonment of towns and villages preceded and followed those attacks.

3.0 THE EMERGENCE OF OYO EMPIRE:

Never before had a group of attackers ravaged such a vast landscape as the **Nupe militarists** did in the northern and central. Yoruba areas, lasting for at least four generations (c.a. 1440-1550). These attacks marked the first regional offensive against the Yoruba community of practice as a group. Their devastating impacts on the Oyo, Igbomina, Okun and Ekiti areas created the longest unrest that the region had faced **Ebi fraternity ideology** (Akinkumi Oyediran, 2020). Alaafin Oluaso and Onigbogi one of his sons reigned during the the period who died in exile.

The Oyo refugees were at first received with open arms by the **King Eleduwe** and his **Balogun Bokoyo** because Ofinran's mother was a Bariba woman (Rev. Samuel Johnson (1921). Later, the Baribas began to ill-treat the refugees, but the

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Prince Ofinran, proved himself equal to the occasion; he collected his people together, and set out at for return to Oyo.

3.1 Imposition of Egungun cult:

When at **Kusu** where they encamped, **Ifa** was accepted by Yoruba proper among the gods of the land. **The Egungun mysteries also we're hither to unknown to the Yoruba, by this means the Tapas have long imposed upon them,** they believed in the reality of the so-called apparitions. On the hills Sanda at **Kusu** the secret was made known to Saha the kings head slave.

The first **Alapini** with the other **Egungun priests** the Elefi, Olohan, Oloba, Aladafa, and the Oloje, emigrated from Tapa country to Yoruba, joining the ruminants returning from Bariba country. These became the first priests, and instructed the Yoruba further in the Egungun worship; therefore the honors and emoluments to be enjoyed in this worship by right belong to them and their successors unto this day (Johnson, 1921 pg.160).

Before the encampment at Kusu was broken up, Alaafin Ofinran died and was succeeded by his son Eguguoju. The deceased king's body was wrapped in **anass's skin** to be taken to Oyo-Ile. At a place called **Okutu-gbogbo** the **cord** broke, and the body had to be bound up a fresh before they could proceed.

For many decades, according to Akinkumi Ogundiran (2020), there was no effective coordinated response in the Yoruba region to curtail the Nupe militarist attacks. The Okun, Igbomina, and Ekiti were too fragmented and weak to put up any serious resistance, although they did not give up. Benin currently clash with the Nupe cavalry on and off in the Ekiti areas between ca. **1440** and **1550** as part of the strategy of protecting its commercial interests. But it was **Nupe's military assaults on Oyo**, and the subsequent evacuation of the latter's capital sometime in the last decade of

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fifteenth (15th) century, that laid the grand works for a coordinated effort to our end to Nupe's menace.

They realized (Oyo people) that they lack the military hardware to successfully confront the mounted forces of the Nupe. Humiliated but defiant, the Alaafin Onigbogi (1530-1542) and his chieftain's retreated and began planning the Oyo come back in **exile**. In the wake of the evacuation of Oyo, **Alaafin Onigbogi** sought refuge in the Ibariba country. However, his successor Ofinran founded a temporary capital farther sought in **Igboho**, in the Yoruba country where four Alaafins ruled namely: **Ofinran, Egungun-Oju, Oronpoto, Ajiboyede** and **Abipa**. The efforts to repel the Nupe from the northern Yoruba territory pre-occupied the reign of the five Alaafins.

From their base in Igboho, Oyo monarchs built one of the largest regional and international military coalitions that West Africa has ever witnessed. The coalition includes Ibariba, Wasangari, Djerma, and Mossi. By the end of **the sixteenth (16th) century**, the Nupe again attacked Oyo kingdom capital. This time, however, the **Nupe** were completely defected and **Etsu Lamojo** was captured. The way then open for reconstruction of the old capital possibly about the end of the sixteenth (16th) century during the reign of Alaafin Obalokun who reigned between **1590 and 1600**.

Thereafter, it would seem that although Nupe was not incorporated into the Oyo Empire it recognized Oyo as the paramount power and a similar relationship seems to have existed between Oyo and Bariba (Borgu) also.

This political development, according to Dr. J.A. Atanda (1979), brought about the division of Yorubaland into two political blocks, East and West. The Eastern block was made up of the Ijesa, Ife, Ekitis, Ondos and Ijebus. The Western block comprised the Oyos, Egbas, Egbados, Ketus and Sabes.

The kingdom of eastern Yorubaland retained their political independence and did not form part of Old Oyo Empire before and after 1793. An attempt by the Old Oyo Empire to reduce Ilesa to submission resulted in heavy losses for Oyo, even at the zenith of Oyo Empire since that time, then never made any attempt to attack Ilesa.

3.2 The State Builders of Oyo Empire:

(a) Alaafin Abipa

The removal of Nupe's thorn from the flesh of Oyo (through military Victoria) allowed the latter to reoccupy their old territory closer to the Mosi-Niger area and begin rebuilding their kingdom, ca. **1570-1790** (Akinkumi Ogundiran, (2020). Those victories also set Oyo on the path of territorial expansion. **Alaafin Abipa** achieved the completion of the series of military victories over the Nupe. He also vigorously led the return-home campaign, which was the center piece of his reign.

According to the traditional history, **Alepata**, Boni, Igiisubu, Loko, Gbandan, and Alomo as among the brave men of Ibaraba extraction who joined Abipa the brave men of Ibrariba extraction who joined Abipa and other Oyo pro-returnists in accomplishing the feat of reoccupying the territory of the old kingdom.

With the defeat of the Nupe brigands, Oyo emerged as the dominant state in the Yoruba savanna. **Abipa** the chieftains immediately began using their newly acquired military hardware; horses, to launch a swift expansion across the entire Obalokun maintained the momentum.

(b) Alaafin Obalokun:

One of the most **celebrated warrior-kings** in Oyo history, **Alaafin Obalokun** used the restless spirit of his soldiers to accelerate Oyo's expansionist campaigns during the **1590s** and the first decade of the seventeenth (17th) century,

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fighting wars in many directions: in **Igbomina**, east central **Ekiti**, **Upper Osun**, **Egba** and the **Yewa-Ogun area**. He completed the process of transforming Calvary from defensive to offensive force and laid a comprehensive framework for Oyo's imperial ambitions, even if his equestrian forays sometimes had to deal with many detours, as well as trial and error. His successor was his son, **Alaafin Ajagbo** who established the institution of **Aare-Ona-Kakanfo**, the Commander-In-Chief of the Oyo army in **1640A.D.**

By **1650**, almost all of **Igbomina** was under the political control of Oyo. These stampeding horsemen of the savannah also pressed southward, deep into what used to be the greater metropolitan area of **Ile-Ife**. Also Alaafin Ojigi who reigned between **1698** and **1732** was a warlike person and an empire builder at the zenith of Oyo glory. His reign marked the greatest limit of Oyo Empire in the seventeenth century, before the constitutional crisis when Basorun Gaha installed and killed about four or five Alaafins.

(c) Alaafin Ajagbo:

Oba Ajagbo established the institution of the **Aare Ona Kakanfo** in **1640** (i.e. the General Officer Commanding Imperial Oyo Army); the first incumbent being his friend from Iwoye Kokorogangan. Kakanfo went to war with Basorun of Oyo, the Agbaakin, and the Asipa, who are members of Oyo Mesi (Oyo State Council).

At the dawn of the eighteenth century, all the Yoruba had established and maintained kingdom that was threatened by a **political crisis**. The crisis began in the Old Oyo Empire, the largest and the most powerful of the kingdoms established by the Yoruba people. One of the major causes was the breakdown of the constitutional set up of the Old Oyo Empire (J.A. Atanda, 1980 pg. 30).

(d) Alaafin Abiodun (1774-1789):

At the time Gaha became the Basorun of Oyo and therefore the head of the Oyo Mesi, **Oyo's Council of State**. Gaha subverted the constitution, and for about twenty years (c. 1754-1774) **he set aside all the checks and balances in the constitution** and ruled with unparalleled despotism and ruthlessness. He made a puppet of four reigning Alafins, whom he installed and deposed as it suited his fancies. It required the dynamism and political sagacity of Alafin Abiodun Adegolu to halt the Basorun's excesses in 1774 with the assistance of Oyabi, the then Aare Ona-Kakanfo.

Although Alaafin Abiodun was able to establish a stable and prosperous reign, he was unable to prevent some of GAHA's atrocities from having repercussions on the Empire. This is because on the disintegration that ensued later, the Empire lost its hegemony over part of Popo, Nupe in (1791) Dahomey and Borgu in 1783 that had been annexed earlier.

The Egbas under Lisabi of Itoku (Agbein) in 1796 A.D. revolted and killed the Ilaris of the Alaafin. He was joined by Amosu of Ikija in Oke-Ona; Arinokotu of Ojoo and AKila of Ido (Chief M.O. Ogunmola, 200 and Professor Biobaku). Alafin Abiodun Adegolu died in 1789.

3.3 The Transformation of Ilorin to an Emirate by Alaafin Ojigi:

The suzerainty of the old Oyo Empire on Ilorin in the 17th century, according to Omaiya S.Y. of the Department of History and International Studies, University of Ilorin, Ilorin, Nigeria (5 August, 2014) was directly influenced by **Alaafin Ojigi's** interest to save the Igbomina Yoruba area that had been turned slave reservoirs by the Nupes. He established the first administrative structure to coordinate the scattered settlements later known as Ilorin (I. Mustian, 1977). The first of the Oyo Ajele (Resident) to be appointed was **Laderin** (Johnson, 1976). His son, **Pasin**, was also succeeded by his own son **Alugbin**, the father of **Aare Afonja** (Johnson, 1976).

3.4 Political Crisis within Oyo Empire in the 18th Century:

The constitutional troubles in Oyo began in the eighteenth century with the activities of the (1754-1774). Though he was eventually overthrown and the old order apparently restored by Alaaḡin Abiodun Adegolu 1774-1789), the strength of Oyo Empire had been permanently compromised. Forced to buy the support of leading men in the realm to help him against the over powerful leader of Oyomesi, Alaaḡin Abiodun had begun the practice of appointing men of royal blood to the all-powerful office of Aare-Ona-Kakanfo or Commander-In-Chief and thus, sowed the seeds at another worse upheaval, that led to the rebellion of Afonja during the reign of Alaaḡin Aole.

What is more, the weakening of Oyo power as a result of internal strife led to a decline of its authority everywhere which could never be restored. The **Egba rebellion could not be crushed in 1796**; and the authority of Oyo in southern Yorubaland was gravely comprised. In **1793**, the **Oyo army** was heavily defeated by the **Bariba** who then became completely independent of any Oyo control. Similarly, in **1800** the **Nupe** launched an attack on Old Oyo and, inspired by a large army sent against them, inflicted on the Oyo forces (A. Daczal, A history of Dahomey, and Inland kingdom of African, London, 199-229). Dahomey increased its autonomy until about **1818** it finally repudiated Oyo Authority by rejecting a demand for the annual tribute with the ominous remark that Oyo had enough troubles on its hands and should not ask for more.

3.5 Alaafin Aole and Afoja crisis (1789-1796):

Alaafin Aole who succeeded Alaafin Abiodun Adegolu did not rest secure on the throne while Afonja, the ruler of Ilorin and Aare-Ona-Kakanfo and a relation of Alaafin Abiodun with a large following of his own and a rival of the royal title, occupied the position of Aare-Ona-Kakanfo, Alaafin Aole therefore sent on expedition to attack Iwere, the home town of Alaafin Abiodun's mother, now in Iwajowa Local Government, in Oyo state.

Afonja, however, sensed that there was a plot against him and was able to exploit the estrangement between the Alaafin and Oyomesi when the expedition assembled contained not only the forces led by the Kaakanfo but also those of the **Basorun** and the **Owita**. The three chiefs agreed to take joint action if their suspicions proved to be correct. When the royal party led them to Iwere and delivered the **Alaafin's assent to attack** it, they refused. Instead, they turned upon the royal party and butchered every one of its members the Alaafin was then in a hopeless position and was forced to commit suicide.

In the last chapter, we gave an account of the disintegration and collapse of the Oyo Empire - and of the Oyo kingdom that had constituted the core of the empire. The wars generated by that process of disintegration were not merely the first wars in nineteenth century Yoruba history; they proved to be the precursors of wider storms of war that came to rage all over Yorubaland for the rest of the century. The disintegration of the Oyo Empire and kingdom destroyed the pre-existing system of order and security in Yorubaland and created a situation whereby all centers of power, old and new, had to scramble to establish new systems and patterns that would guarantee order and security. Those efforts created conflicts and wars which the Yoruba people were not able to put an end to - until European powers intervened and imposed their own system of order, security and peace.

When, therefore, in the course of the first decades of the nineteenth century, the Oyo Empire disintegrated, as also its base (the Oyo homeland), and the once proud state of the Alaafin's fell into dissolution, a major pillar of peace in Yorubaland crumbled. It is not difficult to imagine the sort of effects that the disruptions and violence in the Oyo homeland would have produced in the rest of Yorubaland — reports of terrible conflicts among princes of the Oyo country; of blasted towns and villages; of massive flights of people from their homes and their towns; of Alaafin after Alaafin isolated and helpless in his palace while Oyo princes destroyed their country; of an obscure resident foreigner at Ilorin taking advantage of the mess created by Oyo leaders to become a terror to the whole land; of countless towns shattered before the Ilorin cavalry and of endless crowds of destitute refugees in desperate flight for dear life.

By the middle of the second decade of the century, the refugees from the Oyo country began to arrive in the rest of Yorubaland, especially in the Yoruba middle belt - frightened, many of them detached from family and loved ones, destitute, having lost all the substance of their earthly labor, often made violent by desperation, in their thousands and tens of thousands. The well-to-do or highly placed Oyo citizen might be able to flee in some order, but that was beyond the overwhelming majority of poor and vulnerable folks. Their numbers increased exponentially in the two decades that followed, and probably did not begin to decrease until the last years of the 1830s. For the people of the towns and villages to which they came, these must have been very traumatic times. At least in one area of the Yoruba midlands, in the Egba and Owu countries, their coming turned out to be much worse than traumatic; it became unbelievably destructive. Many towns and villages in those parts suddenly found themselves under vicious attacks by crowds of people too desperate to talk accommodation or hospitality.

(a) Occupation of Ijaiye and Ika-Odan Led by Bodo:

The story of a man named Dado, though by no means typical of most, is illustrative of what these terrible times could do to a person.² Dado was a man of some reputation and of strong military credentials from the Oyo homeland. He did his last military service as a member of a company of valiant men who, determined never to stop resisting Ilorin, kept fighting in engagement after engagement until their number dwindled close to zero. Kurunmi, later ruler of Ijaiye, belonged to this company. The survivors retreated to the small town of Ika-Odan near Ijaiye. Having lost wives, children and all earthly belongings, they had become so brutalized and calloused by their experiences that most of them were in no mood to wait on the good will and hospitality of the Ika-Odan people, but turned their military power on their hosts. So they violently seized homes, belongings, farms and wives and turned their hosts who would not run away into menial servants. When they had eaten up everything available in Ika-Odan and its farms, they extended their forays into Ijaiye farms. Ijaiye farmers rose up and attacked these marauders, and a skirmish ensued. Kurunmi urged a gentler, conciliatory, approach, but Dado denounced him and the rest and led a small group to attack Ijaiye. The people of Ijaiye were driven from their farms into their town, and then the whole population, unready for war, fled the town - apparently believing that they would be able to return after their desperate guests had gone away. *The company then moved from Ika-Odan and took possession of Ijaiye, and decided to make Ijaiye their permanent home, with Dado as their leader and ruler.*

As ruler, Dado turned out to be a disaster. He had no interest in farming or other civil pursuits. All his thoughts and utterances were about fighting wars. Those of his colleagues who settled down and raised farms he accused routinely of cowardice. At last, his colleagues could no longer stand him, and they drove him and his few adherents from the town, and chose Kurunmi as their ruler. Dado wandered

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from there with his group until he came to a little town called **Tobalogbo**. Frightened by his military reputation, the ruler and chiefs of Tobalogbo came out to meet him and offer their hospitality. But, as they stood before him, he ordered his men to fall on them and kill all of them. *He then entered the town and thoroughly looted it. With the booty from there, he went on to Aborerin near Iberekodo, and built a large compound where he resided for some time with his new wives, his children and his followers. But he was not able to settle down.* The Egba had meanwhile founded Abeokuta and some Oyo refugees and others had occupied a new large town founded by Lagelu called Egba village of Ibadan, and Ibadan and Abeokuta were engaged in some conflicts. Dado left Aborerin with his family and joined Ibadan in a campaign in which Ibadan was fighting at Oniyefun against Abeokuta. When the Ibadan forces were defeated there, Dado narrowly escaped with his life, but he lost his whole family and all his belongings. From then on, lonely and destitute, he wandered from place to place, including even a visit to some relatives in the city of Ilorin, and a short residence at Ibadan as a guest of an Ibadan chief. Finally he wandered back to Ijaye, where Kurunmi had him arrested and executed.

No other prominent refugee from the Oyo country is known to have become as dissolute as Dado, but the experiences of Ika-Odan, Ijaye and Tobalogbo were not very dissimilar from the experiences of many other towns and villages in the Egba country at the hands of some of the most desperate refugee groups. Things were extremely hard for the refugees and, for many of them, the temptation to lapse into brigandage was strong. Many small towns and villages in this part of the country were not just violently seized but totally destroyed.

(b) Dispersal of Oyo-Ile People and Occupation of Southern Towns:

In short, then, the coming of large streams of refugees from the Oyo homeland southwards to other parts of the Yoruba national homeland was, for an initial, fairly

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long period, productive of much violence and destruction, and very serious deterioration of security, especially in the west-central area of the Yoruba middle belt. In the years that followed, new significant centers of population crystallized in this middle belt area and went through a process of consolidation, a process that occasioned much stress as well as conflicts and wars. Thereafter, the maturing new states went through a period of rivalry amongst themselves, featuring, again, conflicts and wars. From these, one new state emerged the most successful and strongest of all. Back in the shattered homeland of Oyo in the north, one old city under a new, and foreign, leadership and carrying the banner of a new religion, had emerged as the sole powerful successor of the destroyed kingdom of the Alaafins. From its base in the north, this new kingdom, Ilorin, intent on imposing its own version of order on all of Yorubaland, continued to pursue the refugees southwards, bringing relentless pressure to bear on the new states emerging in the middle belt. *From among the latter, the most successful, Ibadan, stood up to resist the pressure from the north. It succeeded wonderfully; and, because of that success, it developed bigger ambitions, namely, to prevent the northern kingdom from establishing a foothold anywhere in the vulnerable areas of northeastern and eastern Yorubaland. That ambition, because it met with success after success, became transformed into yet a bigger ambition - to establish control over all (or almost all) of Yorubaland, to build a new empire of the Yoruba people.* The empire building venture too, though it encountered varying degrees of local resistance almost everywhere, proved successful, so much so that it looked as if Yorubaland was at last about to find a viable new order. But a major surge of resistance, widespread and considerably unified, then rose to confront the nascent order in a long, final, series of stubborn wars. While these major wars were in progress throughout the century, many types of local disputes and hostile relationships were being played out in local wars. Also,

while Yorubaland in general was thus preoccupied in wars, foreign neighbors (first the Nupe and then the Dahomey) took advantage and repeatedly invaded Yorubaland.

(c) Owu and Ife War (1810 - 1812)

The first war outside the Oyo homeland, then, was the Owu War, c. 1812–22.3 The Owu War was, indirectly and directly, caused by the troubles of the Oyo country. The remotest root of it was planted when the Alaafin Awole ordered the Oyo army in c. 1793 to attack and sack the Ife market town of Apomu. As would be remembered, the Baale of Apomu, finding that the Ooni of Ife was not able to save Apomu, gave his own life in order to save his town. Hatred for Oyo authorities, resulting from this, never died at Apomu and other Ife villages near Apomu. Years later, as the power of the Alaafin's government disintegrated, Oyo traders trading at Apomu or passing through to the Ijebu country came under occasional attacks by the people of Apomu and the other Ife villages. By then, the Alaafin was no longer able to help his subjects. However, two of the leading chieftains of the Oyo country, Adegun (the Onikoyi of Ikoyi) and Toyeye (the Baale of Ogbomoso) sent messages to the Olowu of Owu, Amororo, urging him to help stop the attacks on Oyo traders. Thereupon, an Owu army went into action and suppressed Apomu and some other Ife villages. This led to a brief war between Ife and Owu (c. 1810) in which the Ife army was defeated. Ife then embarked on bigger preparations for war and asked the Awujale of Ijebu-Ode for help. The rulers of Ijebu-Ode under the Awujale had long resented what they regarded as Owu's overambition over the trade routes that connected the Ijebu country with most of the Yoruba interior. Now, they bristled at Owu's sacrilegious disrespect of Ife. An Ife–Ijebu alliance was formed, and it declared war on Owu in 1817.

(d) Owu War Against Ife and Ijebu (1814 - 1820)

At the bottom of all these developments around Apomu were the centuries-old rivalries for the control of the large trade in the market town of Apomu and the routes through the Apomu area. At the height of the power of the Oyo Empire, the Oyo traders had come to dominate this trade - with the strong support of the Owu people, who benefited enormously from being supporters of the Alaafin's government and friends of Oyo traders. As would be remembered, this had considerably marginalized Ife (even though Apomu was an Ife town), and generated hostility between Ife and Owu. The growing disorder in the area threatened Ijebu's trade, and Ijebu was poised to intervene there — especially to stop what was widely perceived as Owu's excessive aggressiveness and its disrespect of Ife's interests.

The usually formidable Owu army marched out to meet the Ife–Ijebu allies, but the allies proved to be stronger - especially because the Ijebu army was armed with guns bought from European traders on the coast. The Owu army fell back on their city, which was then besieged by the allies. The Oyo chiefs who had got Owu into this situation could not help the Olowu; they were too preoccupied with the troubles in their own country. As the siege dragged on, large numbers of Oyo men - refugees fleeing from their own country - joined with the allies outside the walls of Owu-Ipole. The invaders thus became too strong for the defenders, and Owu-Ipole's defenses collapsed in c. 1822. The Olowu (by then a warlike king named Akinjobi managed to escape. The invading armies, greatly swollen by the Oyo refugees, then broke into the city and completely wiped it out. According to widespread traditions, the Ooni ordered that a curse be placed on the site of Owu-Ipole, with an interdict that it would never again be resettled. Owu-Ipole survivors fled, and so did the inhabitants of all the smaller Owu towns - some southwards into northern Ijebu, but most into neighboring Egba villages. The victorious allies, greatly swollen in numbers by the continually arriving Oyo refugees, followed them into the Egba

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country because some of the Egba villages had helped the Owu during the siege of Owu-Ipole. One by one, all towns and villages in the eastern and central parts of the Egba country were destroyed. The Egba people, plus most of the Owu, then fled westwards. When they came under the Olumo Rock in the far western part of the Egba country, they settled down and began to build a new town which they named Abeokuta in 1830.

Thus ended the Owu War. It needs to be added that the siege of Owu (c. 1814–20) was contemporary with Afonja's creation of his Jamaa army in Ilorin in 1817, and his conquest of parts of the Oyo country. **Owu was destroyed in 1820 and Afonja died in 1824.** As will be remembered, Afonja's death was followed by unsuccessful attempts by Oyo armies to dislodge the Fulani from Ilorin, and by the firm establishment of an Islamic emirate in Ilorin.

(e) Founding of Abeokuta

While the disintegration of the old order proceeded in the Oyo homeland in the north, important consolidation of new centers of population began in the late 1820s in the Yoruba midlands to the south. In the west of the region, Abeokuta, founded in 1830, quickly became one of the largest aggregations of population in Yorubaland. Its political evolution was guided by the fact that it had received substantial populations of the three arms of the Egba people as well as survivors of the Owu kingdoms. Abeokuta therefore became a state comprising many kingdoms - namely the Owu under the paramouncy of the Olowu, and the kingdoms of the Egba Alake, the Egba Agura and the Egba Oke-Ona. A steady stream of Oyo refugees had continued to swell the populations of northern Ijesa towns, Ife towns and villages, and the mostly depopulated Owu and Egba countries. Three major settlements sprang up in the latter area. In the small village of Ago-Oja, a group settled under the leadership of an Oyo-Ile prince named Atiba, a son of the Alaafin Abiodun. Ago-Oja

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was the birthplace of Atiba's mother. Ago-Oja's name became changed simply to Oyo. In the deserted Egba town of Ijaye, another group settled, as would be remembered, ultimately under the leadership of a warrior named Kurunmi. After most of the commanders of the allied Ife, Ijebu and Oyo troops that had destroyed the Owu and Egba towns and villages had returned home, a large group of the troops camped at a deserted Egba village named Ibadan, which quickly developed into a regular town. From this point on, most of the accounts of the nineteenth century wars center around the history of these refugee settlements - Abeokuta, Ibadan, Ijaye and Oyo - and the Islamic kingdom of Ilorin in the north, which became one of the most powerful states of the Yoruba people.

(f) Establishment of the Third Ibadan

At Ibadan, the first person acknowledged as ruler was an Ife warrior chief, Okunade, the *Maye* of Ife. Highly respected and feared for his military reputation, Okunade set out to impose strong discipline on the crowd of refugees who constituted most of Ibadan's new population. He was particularly hard on the poor and destitute among the refugees, because he regarded them as unruly. His efforts led to a revolt, and the revolt quickly developed into a civil conflict in which the *Maye*, supported by his Ife soldiers, many Oyo refugees, and many Egba and Owu who had returned to live in Ibadan, was confronted by the majority of the refugees. The *Maye*'s supporters outnumbered his opponents, who trembled at the very mention of his name, but it was the fear and desperation of his opponents that won the conflict. When he finally fell into their hands, they could not believe what had happened, and they did not know what to do with him - until one of them took courage and struck him dead. After that, the town was gripped for many days with the fear that he would somehow return.

System of Government:

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Ibadan gradually settled down after this confusion, and established the rudiments of government. As it took shape, **Ibadan's system of government** was strange to Yoruba culture and traditions. For all Yoruba people, government had always meant monarchy. Ibadan evolved a republican system of government featuring two parallel lines of chiefs - a civil line and a military line. The civil line was topped by the Baale, and the military line by a chief bearing a military title like Basorun or Aare. As the Ibadan system was ultimately established, rising up the ladder in each line of chiefs was by promotion. Any person, no matter his ancestry, could be appointed a junior chief, and then rise up the ladder in his line. The qualification was merit - a combination of good character and contribution to the progress of the city. Therefore, with good character and continued good civic record (and luck) the junior chief could rise to the top. As the Ibadan system thus de-emphasized traditional Yoruba lineages and lineage claims, a new type of "family" group and new type of agbo-ile developed in Ibadan. Each such group coalesced around a prominent person and built a compound for itself. The binding force in this new type of agbo-ile or compound was not belief in a common ancestry but attachment to one leader. If the leader happened to become significantly successful in the Ibadan political system, more of the people arriving in Ibadan would gravitate towards him and join his compound. As a result, the agbo-ile of some of the highest chiefs tended to be large, sprawling, compounds. A very successful trader could build up a large compound also. Later in the century, one of the largest compounds in Ibadan was owned by a rich woman trader named Efunseyitan Aniwura, by then the Iyalode (highest woman chief) of Ibadan.

Over time, Ibadan became a very attractive place to ambitious people from all over Yorubaland. Yoruba people who were strongly attached to their tradition and culture (like kings and traditional chiefs) tended to deride Ibadan as "a people without a king." But the ambitious young person who wanted to succeed in commerce, in

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some trade, or politically, could not resist the lure of this wonderful new city where one could become a big person regardless of one's lowly parentage or one's place of origin. As a result, people poured into Ibadan from all corners of Yorubaland. And as Ibadan grew bigger, so did the opportunities it offered. Ibadan was well located to trade in all directions: southwards to Lagos through Ijebu or Abeokuta routes, southwestwards through Egbado to Porto Novo; eastwards through Ife, Ijesa, Ekiti, Akoko, Owo, to Benin; northwards to the Niger through an endless number of routes. The large and growing population provided a growing customer base for local traders and for artisans of all types. **And when Ibadan began to succeed in war and empire building, it became the ideal home for young men who wanted to distinguish themselves in valor and in politics.** And so they came from the homelands of all Yoruba subgroups - even from as far as the land of the Okun Yoruba close to the Niger-Benue confluence. As they came also, they brought their various versions of the Yoruba cultural heritage. *Migration into successful towns had always been a trait in Yoruba history; with Ibadan, that trait produced its greatest pretwentieth century fruit.*

(g) Establishment of Ijaiye:

At Ijaiye, not far to the east of Ibadan, another large population of refugees accumulated. The settlement had a rough beginning, as would be remembered, under the leadership of Dado. After Dado was removed from the scene, his place was taken by Kurunmi. With Kurunmi as leader, Ijaiye grew very rapidly as large groups of refugees came to it, attracted by Kurunmi's reputation. A man of considerable personal charisma and military brilliance, Kurunmi quickly built Ijaiye into a well ordered city with a formidable military machine. Like Ibadan, Ijaiye evolved into a state without a king. It grew into a military dictatorship ruled by Kurunmi who was much loved, even adored, by his people. Much has survived in the traditions about the person of this man. He was one of the most resourceful generals of nineteenth

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century Yoruba history. He was fond of illuminating his speeches with colorful proverbs. He loved to sing and dance and, when excited, would couch his proverbs in songs and dance to them. He was also impulsive by nature, and as he grew old that trait seemed to worsen, but he never ceased being a great military commander and leader of men.

(h) The New Town of Oyo:

The new town of Oyo under Atiba's leadership also grew into a big city. Until 1835, Atiba continued, as a prince of the dying old Oyo kingdom, to take part in the affairs of the old kingdom while slowly building his new town. He was in the Alaafin Oluewu's campaign against Ilorin in 1835, the campaign in which Oluewu perished, resulting in the abandonment of Oyo-Ile. After that terminal disaster of the old empire, Atiba was crowned Alaafin in his new town. Many urged him to return to the abandoned Oyo-Ile and rebuild it, but he chose to establish a new center for the Oyo kingdom. A man of enormous capabilities and great dreams, Atiba embarked on a very intelligent and expertly orchestrated effort to substitute his new Oyo for the dead Oyo-Ile, and to make himself the direct inheritor of the power, greatness and glory of the Alaafins of the imperial era. He was so successful at this that the leaders of Ibadan and Ijaye agreed to subscribe to his dreams and plans. According to such dreams, the Old Oyo Empire would be revived - or would be regarded as still in existence. Atiba would rule over it all as the Alaafin. The new town of Oyo would be the new imperial capital. The rulers of Ibadan and Ijaye would be the Alaafin's Basorun and Kakanfo, respectively. Ibadan would defend the Ekun Osi of the empire (that is, the Osun and Ibolu areas) and Ijaye would defend its Ekun Otun (that is, the Upper Ogun region and the regions to the west). Ultimately, the revamped empire would drive the Fulani out of Ilorin. The very important step was taken of conferring the titles of Basorun on Oluyole of Ibadan and Kakanfo on Kurunmi of Ijaye. At Oyo, the Alaafin began

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to build a large, prestigious, palace befitting the dignity of the new imperial capital - a beautiful, though smaller, replica of the great palace of Oyo-Ile.

Beyond those steps, however, the Alaafin Atiba was not able to go. It soon became clear that Ibadan and Ijaye, not Atiba's Oyo, were the real centers of power, and that each had expansionist or imperial ambitions of its own.

By 1840, then, many centers of large population had emerged across the breadth of the central region of Yorubaland. Many towns of the Osun Valley (Iwo, Ede, Ejigbo, Ikirun), northern Ijesa towns (Osogbo, Igbajo, Otan, Ada), as well as some Ife towns (Ikire, Gbongan and the cluster of villages in the Origbo suburb of Ile-Ife), had swollen up rapidly, many of them expanding far beyond their old town limits. A large refugee town named Modakeke sprang up as a twin to the ancient city of Ile-Ife. But the most important creations of this time of consolidation were the five new cities - Ibadan, Ijaye, new Oyo, Abeokuta, and Ilorin.

(i) Jostling For Territorial Control of Yoruba Century:

As Ibadan and Abeokuta settled down, a jostling for territorial advantage immediately arose between them. Ibadan leaders were concerned that Abeokuta occupied a strategic location that could block their access to the trade routes through Egbado to the port of Ajase (Porto Novo). Ibadan therefore embarked on a series of campaigns to drive Abeokuta from its location, campaigns which resulted in Ibadan-Abeokuta battles in villages between the two major towns. In these mini-wars, the Ijebu-Ode kingdom usually supported Ibadan, because the Ijebu were also concerned about Abeokuta's competition with Ijebu traders in the coastal trade with Lagos and the rest of the Awori country. Whenever Ibadan went into conflict with Abeokuta, Ijebu sent help to Ibadan, and Ibadan reciprocated whenever Ijebu declared war on Abeokuta. On a few occasions too, Ibadan managed to secure the assistance of Ijaye under Kurunmi. Against all these, Abeokuta proved remarkably able to stand its ground, recording a number of victories over the allies - over Ijebu in a battle

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that was fought on the Owiwi Stream, and over Ibadan at the village of Oniyefun. An Ibadan attempt to attack Abeokuta itself failed in a battle outside Abeokuta (which

(j) Wars in Southern Yorubaland:

Became known as the Jabara War). A major Egba campaign against Ijebu led to a long siege of the Ijebu town of Iperu, but it too failed when a strong Ibadan force came to the aid of Ijebu. For most of the late 1820s and early 1830s, therefore, the relationship of the Ibadan–Ijebu allies with Abeokuta featured a series of conflicts and inconsequential victories and defeats. Against the opposition of Ibadan and Ijebu then, Abeokuta settled down and began to prosper. In fact, during the same years, Abeokuta exerted military pressure on the neighboring Egbado towns and took control of Ilaro and Ijanna. To the south, Abeokuta attacked the old Awori kingdom of Otta. With the help of troops from the Lagos kingdom and from Ibadan, Otta held on for months against the Abeokuta invaders, but eventually fell.

While Ibadan (supported by Ijebu and, sometimes, Ijaye) and Abeokuta thus preoccupied themselves with their local wars, the consolidation of all the new states, and the peace or even the existence of the old states of midland and southern Yorubaland, was threatened by determined enemies from the west and north. From the west, the kingdom of Dahomey, freed from Oyo rule by about 1823, began immediately to put pressure on neighboring provinces of Yorubaland. Dahomey did not only desire control of the trade routes in the Egbado country, it also wanted to seize territory for agricultural purposes. Dahomey armies intensively harassed the Egbado towns, particularly Ijanna, Ilaro and Refufu, and ultimately destroyed Refufu. Abeokuta moved in force into Egbado, however, and stopped Dahomey by, as earlier pointed out, taking control of Ilaro and Ijanna. The situation was to remain this way until the 1850s when Dahomey finally made a frontal attack on Abeokuta, only to be firmly repulsed.

(k) The Invasion of Fulani Jihadist:

From the north, the Oyo emirate of Ilorin was much stronger, more persistent, and more successful. Ilorin had developed into a predominantly Islamic Yoruba kingdom, and most of its troops and commanders were of Yoruba (mostly Oyo) stock, with a strong complement of Hausa and Fulani commanders and troops - essentially the army which Afonja had created for Ilorin, though with additions and modifications over time. Ilorin forces pushed southwards until they came to the Osun Valley and even harassed towns and villages as far as the Ife kingdom. About 1835, the populations of the Ife towns of Ikire, Gbongan and the Origbo villages were forced to flee into Ile-Ife. In the last years of the 1830s, it looked as if nothing could stop the Ilorin from pushing all the way to the coast to “dip the Koran in the sea.” The fate of the new towns - Ibadan, Ijaye, Oyo and Abeokuta - as well as of the old kingdoms south of them in the Awori and Ijebu countries seemed to hang in the balance.

(l) Ibadan Checkmated Fulani Jihadist:

In 1840, however, the tide suddenly turned. Ibadan had started to confront the Ilorin forces by 1838. At Osogbo in 1840, the Ibadan army met formidable Ilorin forces and routed them very decisively, destroying their dreaded cavalry, killing or capturing most of their horses, and capturing many of the Ilorin commanders. Thereupon, Ibadan forces pushed northwards, dislodging Ilorin forces and pushing them all the way beyond Offa, to only a short distance from Ilorin itself. Ibadan decided not to make any attempt on the narrow territory between Offa and Ilorin because it was too firmly controlled by the Ilorin cavalry. The boundary of Ilorin’s domain came to stabilize at this line.

Ibadan thus saved the consolidation of the new towns and cities in the middle belt of Yorubaland. People who had been forced by the Ilorin threat to flee their towns in these places returned. The inhabitants of the Ife towns of Ikire, Gbongan and the Origbo villages returned home from Ile-Ife.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONTEMPORARY HISTORY OF THE ORIGIN AND EVOLUTION OF IBADAN

1.0 ORIGIN OF THE ANCESTRAL FOUNDER OF IBADAN

The reconstruction of Ibadan history is based on the cultural history of the Yoruba people in relation to the origins and growth of their cities before the Yoruba civil war which lasted for 100 years (1793-1893) when the British took over the administration of Yoruba country.

Urban evolution started with the arrival of Oduduwa, the acclaimed Yoruba ancestor. He developed a strong city-state to provide the needed political power after the unification of the thirteen aborigine communities in Ile-Ife and regrouped them into five original quarters namely: Ilare, Ilode, Okerewe, Moore and Iremo.

Between 12th and 13th Centuries, the royal princes and princesses of Oduduwa went out from Ife to found their own kingdoms (or states) that were inhabited by homogenous” ethnics groups. Such were the kingdoms of Ife, Owu, Akure, Oyo, Ondo, Ijesha, Egbo, Ijebu, Ila, Owo and Ekiti.

Apart from the royal migration from Ife to establish old kingdoms according to Chief M.A. Fabunmi (1985), there were also towns as ancient as these kingdoms such as Ogbomoso and Kisi founded by Ibariba citizens or princess, Osogbo founded by Timehin and Larooye in 1670 A.D. Saki founded by Ogun and Ede founded during the reign of Alaafin Kori and Shagamu. Prince Adekola Telu, the founder of the Ruling Dynasty of Iwo was the first son of Luwo Gbagida, the only female Ooni of Ife in the 15th century. But Olumade Pariu, the fifth ruler founded Iwo in 1609 A.D.

Oba I.B. Akinyele in his book “Iwe Itan Ibadan (1911) and Mrs. Kemi Morgan both agreed that Ibadan was founded by Lagelu from Ile-Ife before the establishment

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of the institution of the Aare Ona-Kakanfo during the reign of Alaafin Sango. According to Lola Tomori (2004), Alafin Sango was the second son of Oranmiyaan who reigned in the **13th century** and spent **7 years** as recorded by Rev. Samuel Johnson (1921). He then suggested that this was probably during the reign of Alaafin Obalokun, Agana Erin (1588-1600) on the return of the Oyos from Igboho to the ancient capital, Oyo Ile. It was after Obalokun's reign that Alaafin Ajagbo instituted the office of Aare Ona-Kakanfo (**1600-1658**) and Oyo became strong enough to repel Borgu's attack and developed into empire. However, in recent time, Oba Sijuwade Olubuse II, the Ooni of Ife (1980-2015) said that **Prince Adio Lagelu** was the son of **Luwo Gbagida**, a female Ooni of Ife, founded Ibadan in 1401 A.D. but according to Aboke family, Lagelu's mother was the first daughter of Obaloran who got married to Ooni Luwo Gbagida.

From the knowledge of Ife township, the core area was divided into five quarters namely: **Iremo, Ialre, Ilode, Moore and Okerewe**. There are several compounds within each quarter occupied by clans (or lineages). Each quarter is headed by a High Chief who is a member of Ife State Traditional Council. Lagelu, **the grandson of Orunto (Obalufe)** was born at Degelu Compound, Ajamapo Street, Oke Eso in **Iremo Quarter** where Obalufe is the quarter head and the High Chief of Ooni of Ile-Ife.

Lagelu's mother, according to Chief M.K.O. Adebato (2015) who quoted Aboke Ifasola Ifamapowa (the Chief Priest of Oke'badan) was the first daughter of Chief Obaloran of Iloran compound in **Ilode quarter** of Ile-Ife **who married Luwo Gbagida the 18th Ooni of Ife** from Owodo compound in **Okerewe quarter** of Ile-Ife. Prince Adekola Telu, the ancestor of Oluwo of Iwo was also the son of Obaloran a crown prince of Ooni Luwo Gbagida (Chief (Dr.) M.A. Fabunmi, 1985).

Historically, this pattern of hereditary monarchial system and the right to wear a beaded crown was common in Yorubaland. Ooni **Giesi's mother** was the daughter of Ooni Ogboru, his grandfather who also founded Ife Odan. The **mother of Olowu** of Owu kingdom was a princess of Oduduwa who married her father's **priest**. The right to wear beaded crown was extended to the son and was nick-named "Asunkungbade". The same right was also extended to the **Alaketu** who is the progenitor of the Ketu people whose mother was a princess of Oduduwa (Chief (Dr.) M.A. Fabunmi, 1985)

Chief (Dr.) Fabunmi, the Odole Atobase of Ife in his book "IFE: The Genesis of Yoruba Race" at page 31 that the Yoruba princesses had (and still have) the liberty of choosing husbands according to their fancy from any rank in life, that was why the king's eldest daughter chose to marry her father's priest, for whom she had the son, Olowu.

Table: The Ihare or Ife State Council

S/No.	High Chiefs	Quarters Controlled	Population 1963
1.	Obalufe (or Orunto)	IREMO	30,145
2.	Obajio	MOORE	10,733
3.	Obaloran	ILODE	20,098
4.	Wasin	ILARE	8,620
5.	Obalaye	IRAYE	31,260
6.	Akogun	OKEREWE	29,914
7.	Ejesin	NONE	N/A
8.	Jagunosin	NONE	N/A

Source: Oluremi I. Obateru – The Yoruba City in History 11th Century to the Present 2006.

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The Ife State Council is headed by Ooni of Ife and comprised eight High Chiefs. The most senior Chief is the Obalufe (or Orunto) as Basorun was the most senior Oyemesi Chief in Oyo Kingdom. The pre-colonial state council in Yorubaland with the king or Prime Minister (Obalufe or Basorun) presiding, performed legislative, executive, and judicial functions.

Obalaye represent the Oyo elements of Modakeke in the state council of Ile Ife. The kingship and the senior chieftaincy titles were hereditary except the titles of Ejesin and Jagunosin in Ife.

Historically, Ile-Ife and many other Yoruba cities were composed of two categories of people: the Negro and aborigines who formed the bulk of the population and the Berber immigrants (Oduduwa group) who constituted the ruling class. Among the heads of aborigine communities Oduduwa met at Ile-Ife were **Obaloran, Obalufe, Obalaaye and Obajio** who still play prominent roles in Ife kingdom as members of Ife Traditional State Council while others became palace (service) chiefs to Ooni of Ife. Obalufe (Orunto) head of Parakin community has become the second in command to the Ooni of Ife. Obadio is the keeper of Oduduwa Shrine where Ooni is crowned with “**Are Crown**”

The racial mixing in Yorubaland had promoted intermarriage between Oduduwa group and the aborigines in Ile-Ife and Oyo Kingdom. Ife tradition slave named Lakange captured by Ogun who gave birth to Oranmiyan (Oluremi I. Obateru, 2006). However, Chief Samuel Ojo, the Bada of Saki in Iwe Itan Saki said the woman called Yemoja was a Princess of Ore-Otun an aborigine Oba, one of those who opposed the coming of Oduduwa. Ore-Otun is now the Oba of Otun-Ekiti.

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Also, the mother of Owa Ajibogun was Saparakumi (Chief (Dr.) M.A. Fabunmi, 1985) while the mother of Orangun of Ila was Adetinrin Anasin (Prince Adelegan Adegbola, 2009).

Chief M.O. Ogunmola (2000) in the book entitled *A New perspective To New Oyo Empire 1530-1944*) said that Kisi, Saki and Ogbomosho in the old Oyo Empire had succeeded in having Ibariba and Tapa dynasties. Also, Alaafin Sango's mother was the princess of Elempe, the Tapa King.

Finally, Professor Akinjogbin revealed in his research findings that Oduduwa united all the existing thirteen different communities into one large community to form the original Five Quarters of Ile-Ife known as Moore, Ilode, Irewo, Okerewe and Ilare. With the unification of the thirteen separate political units into a single central political city-state under his power, Oduduwa therefore became the first ruler of the united government of this city-state of Ile-Ife and the ancestor of modern Yoruba nation.

2.0 THE FOUNDING OF THE FIRST IBADAN IN THE 16TH CENTURY

In a paper delivered by the late High chief (Dr.) J.A. Ayorinde titled “**Democracy and Obaship: Case Study of Ibadan**” at Kuti Hall University of Ibadan on 10th October, 1983, he confirmed that: The founder of Ibadan was **Lagelu who was the first legendary traditional and crowned head of Ibadan**. He was a chieftain from Ife, and whose popular appellation was “Oro” Apa'ta-ma ta (Oro! a-pa-ota-Ibon ma-ja), a fastidious non-soldier and professional blacksmith whose main function was to wrought or manufacture bullets for use of hunters and soldiers.

Before setting out on his journey with his entire household, he consulted the Ifa oracle for the purpose of prying into the future of his proposed adventurous bid. As a result of the consultation with Ifa, **Osemeji** (Ose-Meji) was the Odu Corpus

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prescribed for him. **Both Oke'badan and Ose-meji Shrines** are now at Oja'ba where the Olubadan of Ibadan including Bales who reigned before 1936 were crowned by Labosinde, the Oluwo of Ibadan.

The site on which Ibadan was founded was originally known as **Igbo-Ipara (Ipara Forest)**. The root of this Ipara tree has always been well sought-after by hunters and soldiers for the preparation of Odi- a concoction for hardihood of a sort of **"Marijuana"** or **"heroin"** of the day.

Chief Ayorinde went further that the city of Ibadan was founded between the **forest and the savannah areas** respectively, and was given the descriptive name of **Eba-Odan** by the travelers who were giving their co-travelers an idea of where they met with their caravans. The name **"Eba-Odan"** ecliptically became **"Eba'dan"** until it now became **"Ibadan"** age long market centre of repute.

Chief (Dr.) M.A Fabunmi, the OdoleAtobase of Ile-Ife in his book titled "IFE: The Genesis of Yoruba Race" published in 1985 confirmed the origin of Lagelu at page 46 that: "Ibadan was founded by a warrior-chief from Ile-Ife who was called Lagelu and nicknamed Oro-Apata-Maja. He hailed from Atiki compound in the Ilare ward of Ile-Ife". However, Ooni of Ife, Oba Adeyeye Enitan, Ojaja II confirmed that Lagelu was born at DEGELU Compound, Oke-Eo in Ife.

In the Nigerian Tribune of Friday 30th January, 2009. The Ooni Sijuade Olubuse II of Ile-Ife replied the Alaafin of Oyo at Awo's book launch as follow: "The first founder of Ibadan, known as Prince **Adio Lagelu** was a direct son of Ooni Luwo Gbagida, who had a beaded crown with fringe benefits sent to settle in Ibadan in **1410 A.D**". Iwo was founded by **Olumade Pariu**, the grandson of **Prince Adekola Telu** of the same mother with Lagelu in 1609 A.D.

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I.B. Akinyele (1911) described the first Ibadan as a nodal town with 16 gates and a population of about 100,000 people having access to the neighbouring towns of Oyo, Egba, Ijebu and Ife. Thus, Ibadan was demographically important to the old Oyo Empire and must have contributed to the transformation of the society in the 16th century before Oyo-Ile was sacked during the reign of Alaafin Onigbogi (1530-1542) according to J.A. Atanda (1971).

Moreover, with increasing population and its location of Ibadan at the interface of savannah with the forest region, Ibadan had produced a huge and growing market for food producers and manufactures especially with the flourishing 70 blacksmith in the town manufacturing guns and farming implements. The estimated 100,000 population of Ibadan was comparable to the **merchant cities** of Europe such as **Bruges** with a population of 100,000 in **1500 A.D.**; **Venice** with a population of 100,000 in 150,000 in **1600A.D.** and Amsterdam with a population of 200,000 in 1700A.D. (Fernand Braudel, Civilization and Capitalism. 1981 ...479).

According to Myers and Owusu (2008), the population of some African cities that existed prior to **1500s** such as (Cairo, Tunis, **Ibadan**, Jenne and Kano) whose population sizes were comparable to many European cities prior to the rise of European cities powers, while other areas were essentially devoid of large-scale urbanism.

2.1 Lagelu as a Warrior-Chief:

(a) Invasion of Oyo-Ile by Nupe:

Never before had a group of attackers ravaged such a vast landscape as the **Nupe** militarists did in the northern and central Yoruba area lasting for at least four generations (ca.1440-1550) according to AkinwumiOgundiran (2020). These attacks marked the first regional offensive against the Yoruba community as a group. Their devastating impacts on the **Oyo, Igbomina, Okun** and **Ekiti** areas created the longest unrest that the region had ever faced, and they tested the political efficacy of its **ebi** fraternity ideology.

In the attack of Oyo by Nupe (1530-1542) during the reign of Alaafin Onigbogi, **Lagelu as Balogun of Ife was involved fighting on the side of Yoruba army**. When Oyo army realized that they lacked the military hardware of the **Nupe**. Humiliated but defiant, the AlaafinOnigbogi and his chieftains retreated and began planning the Oyo comeback in exile. In the wake of the evacuation of Oyo, AlaafinOnigbogi sought refuge in the Ibariba country at Gbere.

(a) Invasion of Iddo by Benin Army:

A band of Yoruba, led by Ogunfunminire (1425-1505) from the royal family of Sooko left Ile-Ife in the early 15th Century to found a new settlement, according to Ooni of Ife, Oba Adeyeye Enitan Ogunwusi, Ojaja II and Chief (Dr.) M.A Fabunmi (1985), the OdoleAtebase of Ife. They appear to have settled at **Isheri**, on the **Ogunriver**, about 12miles as the crow flies from the present town to Lagos. The settlers spread southwards to **Ebute-Metta**, on the mainland opposite **Iddo Island**, where a town was built and farming began.

It was not very long after the move to Iddo the first invasion from Benin army (1505-1578) took place. However under the **leadership of Ogunfunminire, Balogun Lagelu** from Ile-Ife and **Oba Agura of Gbagura** jointly fought the king of **Benin's soldiers, and they** were repulsed between **1505 and 1573**. Subsequent attacks met with no better success, because, between **1573 and 1590**, thereafter, Benin established its literal control as far as Lagos, where it set up a military base.

3.0 DESTRUCTION OF THE FIRST IBADAN

The Alaafin's position as **representative of Sango** was expected to the full as a means of supporting his authority. The **Sango cult** was spread to every town likewise **Egungun secret cult** earlier imposed by Tapa at Kusu when the Oyos were resorting from exile of Bariba country, under the influence of Alaafin and organized in a hierarchy centered in the palace of Oyo. The Alaafin's Ajele were often themselves **Sango priests**. This added to their authority at the courts of vassal rulers who were nevertheless of **divine** kingship in their own right. The internal struggle of **Basorun Gaba** period (1754-1774) had naturally distracted attention from the outlying parts of the empire and while central control was weakened, **the Alaafin's representatives acted as petty despots exploiting their position in their own interest**.

Thus then **first Ibadan** was destroyed by the Alaafin of Oyo army **because its habitants revealed the secret of the Egungun (masquerade)**. Lagelu and a host of survivors of Oyo invasion were said to have taken refuge on Eleyele hill. Here it is said, Lagelu and his children and other settlers suffered great hardship. They were subjected to hunger and had to feed on Snails and Oro (wild apples). See the map of Eleyele Hill and Eleyele Lake.

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Secondly, in the Egba country, the **Ilari** provoked the people to desperation, and a bold leader, **Lisabi**, came forward to lead the movement of liberation. When they felt strong, Lisabi gave the signal to the **secrete resistance** movement by ordering the assassination of the **Alaafin's Ilari in the home town of Igbein** and this was followed by a general massacre in which **over 600 Ilaris** are said to have been killed (Professor Akin Mabogunje and J. Omer Cooper in "Owu in Yoruba History" - 1971).

When Alaafin Abiodun had established himself on the throne (**1774-1789**), he attempted reconquest of the Egba country. But faced by strong internal organization of the **Egba confederacy** and their superior knowledge of the terrain, his attempts ended in failure. The Oyo army was trapped in an ambush and routed. **Egba independence was assured.**

However, Alaafin Abiodun, according Rev. Samuel Johnson (1921 page 187) avenged the alleged insult at **Ijaiye** when he was trading in potash by Baale of Ijaiye son. He ordered his destruction of the town. **Ijaye was then an Egba town.** With the death of Alaafin Abiodun ended the universal and despotic rule of the Alaafins of Oyo in the Yoruba country. He was the last of the kings that held the different parts of the kingdom together in one universal sway and with him ended the tranquility and prosperity of Yoruba country. (Johnson 1921).

The revolution ensued, and **the tribal independence**, with the loss of Yoruba of the **Tapa and Bariba**, and **Dahomey provinces**, and **the popos** later on, which has continued till today. In a word, with Alaafin Abiodun in **1789** ended the unity of the Yoruba kingdom.

4.0 FOUNDING OF THE SECOND IBADAN

This was between **1775 and 1789**. When Lagelu and his children abandoned Okebadan or Ibadan Hill at Awotan, at they came down to establish a new settlement at Oriyangi. The Ibadan at Oriyangi consisted of the central mosque and about half a mile of homes around. The defence wall was where the principal mosque now stands as at 1825 (Rev. Samuel Johnson 1897 and published and edited by Dr. Johnson (1921). It was surrounded by Ikija, Ido, Ojoo, Erunmu, and Owu settlements (I.B. Akinyele, (1911).

Description of Awotan Hills

Each of these hills has distinctive historical significance. It was at the peak of **Igbo Oke'badan** that a masquerade leading an Egba invasion of Ibadan in the 18th century was eternally destroyed. Legend has it that Lagelu was forbidden from setting eyes on any masquerade. From the valley where he stood, he commanded the masquerade to be swallowed inside the bowels of the mountain. When the invading forces saw what happened, they scampered in different directions for safety.

The second hill **Oke Oso**, constantly emitted smoke, suggesting the presence of volcanic activities. But today the hill has remained dormant but the traces and signs of its past antecedents are still present.

The third hill, **Oke Odo Eleyele**, offered sanctuary to a number of creatures, particularly birds of different species as the doves, the goose and pigeons which swamp the foot of the hill with a perennial stream (Otenru) running through it and which empties its waters into the Eleyele dam.

Today, the stream is still running but strangely the beautiful birds no longer patronize the site. The source of Otenru stream is close to a village called Oriogbo Ojuabere.



Fig. 1: Eleyele Lake Surrounded by Awotan



Fig. 2: The Grove of Lagelu at Eleyele Hills

Thus, **Okebadan** became an annual command festival dedicated to the spirit of the hill, as a thanksgiving to the refuge which it provided in periods of danger, and also to **Lagelu**, the mythical founder of Ibadan. The **Okebadan** festival provided an opportunity as songs were composed to condemn or praise rulers and their policies.

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THE PRAISE POEM OF THE SECOND IBADAN

Ibadan, Omo Ajorosun

Omo a je gbin yo

Omo a fikarahun fori mun

Ibadan ma ja, maja bi ojo kini

Ti o ja aladugbo gbogbo logun

Ibadan, the one whose supper is oro fruit

The descendants of the one who feed on snails

The descendants of the one who used snails

Shell as bowl to serve his maize porridge

Ibadan, don't fight as you did before

As you fought all neighbors at war



*Eyi ni bi Aworan arabinrin Atage Olomu oru ti se ri
(Aworan yii ni a ri lo lati inu yara ikowe si Baba wa
Bishop Akinyele ni Okè Aré Ibàdàn)*

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*Iwo eleduwaorisanla o
Ti o tobijugbogboorisa lo
Aarawaati o kari aye
Ogirimojiganti o karigbogboilekile!
O ori bi o? Leyingbogboatotonu
Ni atariipinaiseatiawawi
“A se alapalosokofe,
A se ohungbogbo fun igi, o ye igi”
“A busa fun alasejuketekete”
Laise, lairo, agbarijoogunawoneletanu
Se kerekere sun moenu bode,
“Abata won watakete
Bi enipekobaodo tan”
Eleduwa o, iwati o se
Ileri amuse itedoiluyii
Ninuoduifaosemejiniijokiiniana
Ki won ma se pa a run;
Dideiranlowolatidojuko
Ogunote, ilaraatitembelekunyii fun wa
“Iwo orisaajuleorunti o ju
Agbarijoorisaorisadaayeraye lo”
Iwo siniagbaraojo, banija,
Ba oju ode enikoja,
Mo fi orisaLamurudupeluorisa
Oduduwa
“Aniodu to da wasileyii”
Mo be o lowe fun iranlowo
Nitoriaanukii won loju re si mi
Owokii won nileaje
Iyo kii own nileolokun*

(b) Marriage Life and Children:

Lagelu had many children and wives. The first son was **OlukiranOluole** who was the father of **Nnkan-Lola** who was given to OluwoAkinjobi in marriage. The daughter was sacrificed to appease the goddess of **Odo-Oba** which caused the conflict between Olowu and the Olubadan of the second Ibadan in **1825 A.D.**

Lagelu also married the princess and daughter of **Agura king** whose headquarters was at neighboring Ido now part of Ibadan. The daughter gave birth at **Atage Oota (a.k.aOlomu-Oru)**. She was the **first Aboke** of Ibadan. Oota is now a chieftaincy title in both Olubadan and Balogun Lines.

Lagelu also got married to the princess and daughter of **Oba Akirigbo of Ijebu-Igbo** who gave birth to **Efunyele** who became the **second Aboke** of Ibadan. And the eldest daughter of Lagelu was **Fapade or Ifepade** and also **Fadeya or Yade** who was believed to have turn crowns wherever he found them while on Eleyele hills after the destruction of the first Ibadan in the eighteenth (18th) century.

5.0 OLOWU RELOCATED TO IBADAN (1820)

Among the first set of people to move into second Ibadan were the prince of Iseri in Lagos after losing to his brother, the struggle for ascendancy to the Oniseri stool. He eventually headed for Ibadan early in the 1800s. The reigning Olubadan gave him the chieftaincy title of Aro, the 4th in command to the Olubadan. His family compound was Ile Aro (JideFatokun, 2011. Pg 21). This was followed by the coming of one Ife prince and princess called Abu and Sooko respectively. Their descendants took the chieftaincy title of Bayambu. There descendants have become Baale of Ajiain Ona-Ara Local Government Area of Ibadan. The Owus, headed by

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OlowuAkinjobi, following the destruction of OwuIpoleor Orile-Owu now in Osun State, escaped to Ibadan around 1820 A.D.

He was warmly received by the then Olubadan and descendants of Akaasi, Lagelu's nephew. A covenant of peaceful co-existence was between among them, using a new hoe (Oke-Tiitun). Thereafter, Olubadan authorized Akaasi to allocate him land to settle on. The place allocated to him, which was part of Akaasi's farm, was later called "**AhoroOwu**" on which Government House was built and which extended to Idi-Ape. This was between 1820s to 1824.

Owu Ogbere was built very close to Ibadan. Its **wall circuit** as described in the book "**Owu in Yoruba history**", enclosed a section of the **Ogbere stream** that enclosed a section of the **Ogbere stream** that crossed the present Iwo Road from which its name is derived. The remains of the **wall circuit** of this town can be traced from a point immediately behind the present Government House at **Agodi Hill** in Ibadan in a broad are through a **cocoa nursery** which lies about half a mile behind **Agodi hill** to cut the Ibadan-Iwo road just beyond the **Ogbere stream**. **Part of the sprawl of present day. Ibadan has spilled over into area of this one time refugee settlement after the fall of Owu-Ipole in 1820.**

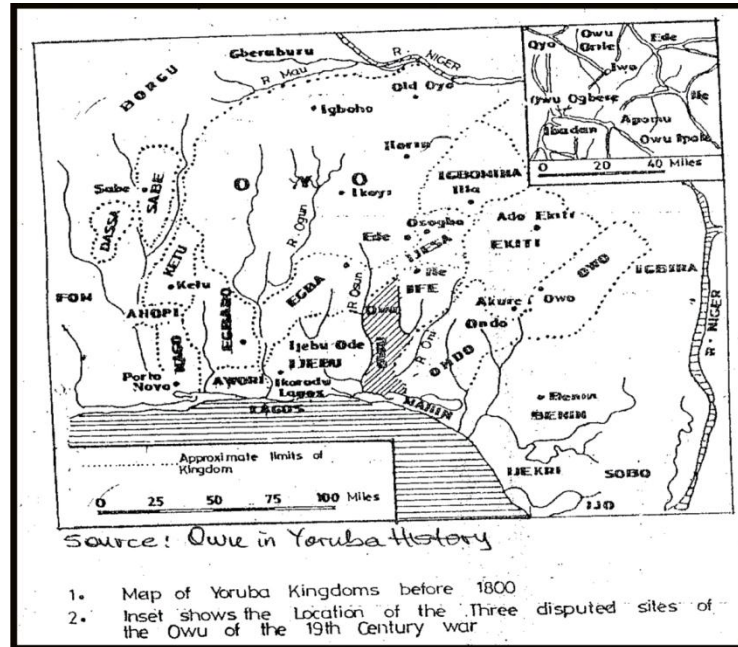


Fig. 1: Map of Yoruba Kingdoms

Unfortunately, the city suffered another setback, the war, which destroyed the second Owu also partly, destroyed the second Ibadan. This was about c.1824.

Soon after the Olowu settled down in Ibadan, war broke out between him and his host Olubadan. Nkan (name), the only daughter of the then Olubadan (presumably Rodoso, one of Lagelu's Sons), was betrothed to the Olowu to strengthen their friendship and led them towards becoming one family. The daughter was scarified by Olowu to appease the god of Oba River on his return from war as earlier promised to give the river Nkan (i.e. something)

The news of death of his daughter annoyed Olubadan who decided to retaliate by attacking Owu. Then Olubadan invited the allied armies, made up of Ifes, Oyos, Egbas and Ijebus led by MayeOkunade from Iperu camp. OlowuAkinjobi escaped to Erunmu where he was welcomed. This was followed by devastation of Egba towns

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around Ibadan and the allied armies also occupied Ibadan making it their permanent war camp.

The Occupation of Second Ibadan

Rev. Samuel Johnson at page 224 of “The History of Yorubas” narrated how Ibadan was occupied after this war tagged “**Destruction of the Egbas Towns**”. He said “*of all the towns overrum the previous night, Ibadan alone they found not destroyed by fire, and so this marauding band hastily occupied it, the war-chiefs taking possession of any compound they chase, and their men with them and thus Ibadan was again re-peopled but not by owners of the town, but by a composite band of marauders, consisting of Oyos, Ifes Ijebus and friendly Egbas led by Maye Okunade and Labosinde both from Ife*”.

According to Toyin Falola (1989), the initial congregation at the present Ibadan was along ethnic lines: the numerically superior Ife Soldiers and Oyo-Yoruba refugees chose **Oja-Iba**, the Ijebu lived in the south at **Isale-Ijebu**, the Egba moved far away from their conquerors and settled at **Yiosa**. This pattern of settlement was a clear indication of the existing political cleavages in this war camp. Each group had its leaders and the people looked upon them for authority.

Ethnic Rivalry for the Hegemony of Third Ibadan

(a) Ife and Egba Crisis:

Lamodi, a prominent **Egba leader**, shot an influential **Ife leader, named Ege**, with a pistol in the course of an altercation. A scrimmage at once broke out. Lamodi was killed and a considerable body of Egba, fearing further vengeance, left the town, under the leadership of **Sodake**, they succeeded in beating off all attacks and making their way to the naturally defensible site at Abeokuta in 1830.

There, they were joined by more and more Egba refugees and also by those who escaped from their captors until Abeokuta emerged as a **veritable metropolis** accommodating the bulk of the Egba who had originally lived in numerous separate towns.

Also, Iyalode Efunroye Osuntinubu, who was born in **1805** at Ijokodo Gbaduga, new in Ibadan to the Egba tribe of the Yoruba nation. Her father's name was Olumosa, while her name was Nijeeade. Efunroye Osuntinubu's family was among about 150 migrants that resettled under the leadership of Egba Veteran war leader, Sodeke. They all found common refuge under Olumo Rock at Abeokuta in **1830**. In **1864**, **Efunroye Tinubu** was responsible for the supply of arms and ammunitions to the Egba warriors in the Egba-Dahomey War (Adelogan Adegbola, 2009).

(b) Ife and Oyo Crisis (Gbanamu War):

One day, according to Rev. Samuel Johnson (1921), two neighbors, one an **Owu** ex-captive and follower of Maye Okunade and the other Oyo, were quarrelling over a piece of land. Maye intervened and without asking questions drew his sword and cut off the head of Oyo man. This led to an upheaval in which Maye Okunade with some of the Ife chiefs who were

driven out from the town and which eventually led to the Gbanamu war in **1833**. Maye Okunade was killed when Olowu Akinjobi also lost his life before the survivors migrated to Abeokuta in 1834. Also killed was Oluwole of Idomapa and Oluroko of Erunmi (Baale of Erunmu).

6.0 CITIZENSHIP AND THE PROBLEMS OF HETEROGENEITY

Ibadan retained its attraction for people from different parts of Nigeria, foreign traders, and some Yoruba ethnic groups migrants to Ibadan of the 1930s have themselves become grandfathers, some of whom have retained association with Ibadan, contributed to its developments and skill reside there with highly increased interaction among the Yoruba, and between the Yoruba and other ethnic groups.

But Ibadan is quite different from America where economic issue predominate and often dictate the pace of political change; where many country allow dual citizenship; where a black American citizen with a Kenya father who had gone to America as a student and won election as America's president. The first Muslim elected congress in US history, Keit Ellison, credited his successful campaign to the votes of naturalized Somalia-American citizens in the twin cities. Minneapolis Somalis have become highly organized, not simply for election campaign, but for social services, education and urban agricultural extension services.

The non-indigenes of Ibadan did not belong to one social class and were not of the same origins. Their interest often coincided; the desire to own a land, job opportunities, competition with Ibadan citizens as to be expected, economic issues dominated the relationship between the strangers and indigenes during the colonial period.

(a) Hausa-Yoruba Relations in Ibadan

The Hausa are the most tolerated and accommodated of all the ethnic migrants in the city of Ibadan. The Hausa constitute the oldest non-Yoruba settlers in Ibadan. They came to settle with Basorun Oluyole in Ibadan as far back as the early 1830s. Some of those living in Sabo today were born and bred in Ibadan. In fact, they have the constitutional rights to claim Ibadan **citizenship** (Ara Ibadan or strangers) but not **indigeneship** (Omo Ibadan). Because of Islamic religion, the average Ibadan Muslim identifies with the Hausa easily as a brother, given the fact that Islam is not only a religion, but also a way of life. To this extent, the Hausa are well integrated into the social, economic and political systems. They were well settled in a segregated settlement known as Sabo. In addition, they can be found at Sasa in Akinyele local Government Area.

They first came into the town as cattle and beef traders, under the leadership of Muhammadu Na Garke who was the **Sarkin Pawa** (head of the butchers, according to Isaac Olawale Albert 2015). At this initial stage, they were settled at Oja'ba as the guest of Basorun Oluyole. With time, the population of the Hausa grew dramatically with and the Sabongari (Sabo) settlement was established for them, around Mokola area in 1916. The land on which Sabo was built was donated to the Hausa community by Baale Ireffin (1912-1914). They conducted themselves in manners acceptable to their host and the two communities co-existed peacefully. They gradually get involved in the local politics because of their location and population in the metropolis.

(b) The Ijebu-Ethnic Group and Christian Community

The Ijebu were well established in Ibadan not all of them were regarded as strangers. Descends of the settlers of the nineteenth century, in particular those who lived in Isale-Ijebu had integrated. The same was true of converts to Christianity in the 1890s and early in the twentieth century, converts who belonged to the community of Christians in Aremo and Oke-Ofa. Several of these had also become integrated.

Those who were regarded as strangers or non-indigenes were outsiders to these two groups (Professor Toyin Falola, 2012). They came mostly in search of economic opportunities during the century, and they did not seek to identify with their already integrated kinsmen. *They had no farms, major factors that reinforced their strangers' status; rather, they are mostly interested in trade and wage Labour.* They concentrated their shops at Amunigun and Agbeni, two neighbourhoods that constituted a sort of extension to the business area controlled by the Europeans and the Lebanos-Syrians. The Ijebu community also spread along **Oke-Bola** and **Oke-Ado** where they built houses and invested in landed property spreading to **Agbokojo**

(c) Location of other Tribes

The **Nupe** quarter was **Mokola**, while **Ekotedo** was originally settled by the Ibos, the Ibiobios, the Edos (Benin) and the Urobos. The linguistic character of the quarters has now almost disappeared. Although most members of these linguistic groups are still found in these quarters, Yoruba elements are generally in the majority. An Ibadan indigene is the Baale of Ekotedo, by name Chief Taiye Ayorinde. However, Olubadan-in-council recognized the head of Ilorin settlers at Ago Ilorin at Mokola likewise the head of Tapas.

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The Igbo of Nigeria are known, among others, for their migratory prowess, and are found in all parts of Nigeria and beyond. The people are easily identifiable by their resilience and adaptability to situation. The quest for survival in an increasingly land resources, is responsible for the high rate of migration among the Igbo. With regard to economic activities, the Igbo in Ibadan partake in virtually all forms of business and occupations. However, trading was identified as the major activity among the people which is linked with heredity.

The Political Gang-Up against Ibadan and Victimization

The first was the position of Ibadan among the political parties when they were formed as a result of the new MacPherson Constitution of May 1951. Only Adegoke Adelabu got the insignificant post of Assistant Secretary in the NCNC. The outcome jolted the Ibadan educated elite into a painful awareness of a seeming conspiracy to compromise “**the Spirit of Ibadan**” (Professor Akinwunmi Isola 2007).

Consequently, Ibadan Peoples Party (I.P.P) was formed as a political party and all the six members were elected to represent Ibadan Division into the new House and all the six were Ibadan sons, and members of the I.P.P. They were Moyo Aboderin, A.M.A. Akinloye, S.O. Lanlehin, Adegoke Adelabu, Mr. D.T. Akinbiyi & Mr. Samuel Akinwale Akinyemi. Eventually the elected members except Adelabu defected to the Action Group.

Secondly, when Adegoke Adelabu became **Chairman of Ibadan District Council in 1954**, the Action Group government of the Western Region under Chief Obafemi Awolowo as Premier relentlessly attacked the NCNC controlled council **accusing it of corruption after only 48 days in office until it was dissolved in 1955**. The Nicholson Commission of Enquiry upon which the Regional Government

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based its decision did not find the council guilty of any maladministration and all the charges against the chairman were dismissed.

Thirdly, the political gangsterism adversely affected the operation of the Universal Primary Education programme in Ibadan in 1955; it also affected market operations in Gbagi (see Labinjoh, 160). For instance, the regional government did not find time to allow such council to function effectively. The exception was that of the Ibadan District Council which were usually left unattended to for at least three months longer than the normal time. At times, they were not even approved by the regional government in order to starve the council of funds to prosecute its projects. (A. Toriola Oyewo, 2007).

Another evidence of lack of reciprocity and political gansterism was during Butcher's Commission of Enquiry that recommended those eleven Districts which were previously under Ibadan administration but which actually belonged to the natives of other towns be separated from it and given autonomy and have their own separate authorities, a decision which was highly unpopular among Ibadan natives.

7.0 BRITISH INFLUENCE ON IBADAN ADMINISTRATION

Constitutional Crisis over Promotion of Chiefs

The **Constitutional problem over the promotion** from the post of Balogun to that of the Baale started after the Kiriji War. Before **1893, the Balogun was the heir apparent to the throne**, and became the Baale unless he declined. In fact, all the **heads** of the administration from **1825 to 1893** were from the Balogun Chieftaincy Line. The constitution was tampered with in **1893** when Balogun Akintola declined the office of Baale, thinking that the British would soon leave and he would be able to prove himself in the battle, like all his predecessors, himself in the battle, like all his predecessors. In other not to promote his junior above him, an

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Otun Baale, Osuntoki, was chosen, and this was the **first time the Otun Baale** had the opportunity to become Baale in 1895 after the death of Fijabi (1893-1895).

After the death of both **Balogun Akintola and Balogun Babalola in 1899**, **Balogun Kongi succeeded them in 1900**. With the death of **Basorun Fajinmi in April, 1902**, kongi wanted to become the Baale from Balogun but he was told that the constitution has changed. Only Otun Baale could become Baale of Ibadan, besides that, he was very rude to the chief. Consequently, **Mosaderin was installed Baale** of Ibadan between **1902 and 1904** and **Balogun Kongi** was asked to leave the town. He went into exile at Iwo where he died. This was made possible by the British Resident, Captain Elegee (1903-1913).

When **Dada Opadare** was Otun Baale, Apampa was Balogun but **Apampa** wanted to become the Baale forgetting what he said during the crisis of Kongi that only the Otun Baale Chiefs were entitled to become Baale. When the chiefs got to the British officer, he ruled that **Dada Opadare** should become the Baale (1904-1907). **Apampa had to cross to Otun Baale** while **Omiyale** became Balogun, when **Omilaye** died **Akintayo** became Balogun.

Because of the crisis between Baale Opadare and Apampa, Dada Opadare was advised to resign by Captain Elgee, the British Resident. **Sunmonu Apampa** was installed Baale (1907-1910) and Lafa became the Otun Baale. **When Apampa died, Lafa was not allowed to become Baale** because he was too old and he was held down with stroke.

Instead, **Balogun Akintayo Elempe** was installed in the night while Irefin became Otun Baale and Situ (Omo Aare) became Balogun (1910-1916). However **Irefin Ogundeji** from Otun Baale Line was installed Baale after Akintayo between

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1912-1914. He was succeeded by Balogun Situ (Omo Aare Latosa) between 1914-1925.

After Baale Situ was sent on exile, Balogun Oyewole was installed in 1925 because of the crisis of Balogun Ola (the son of Orowusi). Thus, Balogun succeeded in quick successions to become Baale of Ibadan from 1914 to 1930. They were Balogun Situ (1914-1925); Balogun Oyewole (1925-1930), Balogun Okunola Abasi Alesinloye (1930-1946). In addition, Akintayo became the Baale of Ibadan instead of Laafa between 1910 and 1912 because Otun baale Laafa was rejected by the chiefs.

Other major changes was as a result of rate of interference by the colonial administration which meddled in disputes among the chiefs and became active in the selection, promotion, and deposition of chiefs, especially from **1907** onward, when the British Residents, Captain Elgee (1903-1913) asked Baale Opadare to resign his appointment. The Colonial administration co-opted the Alaafin of Oyo in the Selection of candidates for promotion, particularly, Lawani and his son who succeeded him, Prince Siyanbola Oladigbolu.

8.0 THE ROLE OF THE BRITISH RESIDENTS IN TRANSFORMING IBADAN SOCIETY;
(a) Inauguration of Ibadan Town Council (1897)

Under Baale Fajinmi, precisely in August 1897, **Resident F.C. Fuller** set up a **Council of Chiefs**, charged with the responsibility of effective administration. It was made up of the Baale, Otun Baale, Balogun and 8-11 minor chiefs or subordinates. The Council members of the first Council were:

Table 2: Ibadan Town Council Member (1897-1902)

	Civil League	Military League
1.	Fajinmi - Baale	Akintola – Balogun
2.	Mosaderin – Otun Baale	Babalola – Otun Balogun
3.	Ogungbesan – Osi Baale	Kongi – Osi Balogun
4.	Dada Opadare – Ekerin Baale	Apampa – Asipa Balogun
5.	Laafa – Maye Baale	Suberu – Ekerin Balogun
		Bangbegbun – Aare-Ago Balogun

Resident F.C Fuller himself was the chairman and Administrator of the council. This was the beginning of what we now have as **Olubadan-Advisory-Council** or sometimes, **Olubadan-In-Council**.

(b) **Mr. F.C. Fuller, C.M.G.**, replaced him in 1897, but before he too left in 1901, **Ibadan had taken long strides away from its past and put on a new face. Railway lines were extended to the town from Abeokuta and with them came trade and many people**, both black and white, to open shops or to work in the Railways; the townspeople now began to loathe wars. Instead they took to farming, trading and rubber-tapping. A new life had emerged. **Thatch yielded place to corrugated iron sheets on house roofs.** The people had plenty to do-and to drink, because alcohol, too, had travelled with the rail-lines. *For the first time, there was some order in the native courts and a Town Council and Prison Department were established* Undoubtedly, Mr. Fuller was conscious of

is responsibility to the Ibadan people whom he came to serve and he went all-out to introduce new measures which would be a crop of blessings to the people. One of such measure which was introduction was **Land Tenure Law which** forbade any citizen from selling or giving out Landed properties to non-natives, white or **black, except on lease-hold basis with the agreement and seal of the newly constituted Town Council of which the Resident was the Chairman.** At first, the people hailed the new scheme and even agreed to the appointment of a surveyor by the Council. Later, they rebelled against the Law on the ground that Mr. Fuller was only scheming to sell all their land to Europeans! Today we can see this was a costly mistake, resulting in indiscriminating buying and selling of lands.

- (c) **Captain R.J.B. Ross** who replaced him in 1901, spent only two years, but before he left he had improved the new face which Ibadan had now put on by **constructing the first three roads in the town:** one from the Residence at Agodi to Isale Ijebu another from Oja Iba to Bode and Oke-Ado and the third from Oja Iba to Iddo Gate.
- (d) **Captain Elgee**, who came in the saddle next, spent the longest period in Ibadan: **1903-1913.** His predecessors had already laid a solid foundation for civic development, so it was left to him to erect an equally solid superstructure on it. But when he arrived in Ibadan, he saw that though the foundation had been truly laid, there were not sufficient funds for adding to the town's growth. The first step he took, therefore, was to gain the confidences of the chiefs in order to set their minds at ease for whatever methods he might employ to raise money to start the work of construction. Having been successful in this respect, he set up **customs posts** at strategic points in the town and, with the money collected, soon

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built up a **police force of twenty men which he increased to fifty within a short period.** The next step he took was to open a Government Treasury. Following these innovations, the town's finances began to grow steadily, and, with administrative expansion came the need for the building of Secretarial.

These employment opportunities naturally brought many Ibadan young men back home from Lagos and Abeokuta where they had been receiving their education at the grammar schools. They spurred others, who otherwise would not have bothered for a higher education, to be more ambitious. Thus education began to assume greater importance and soon its bug so bit the ruler of the town. **Baale Akintayo Elempe (1910-1912) that he made it compulsory for every household to send at least one child to school or pay a fine of five pounds.**

As should be expected only young men with post primary education could head these new departments and, so far only a very few Ibadan young men could afford to attend Lagos or Abeokuta grammar schools for this. The result was that many of them turned to the teaching profession and therefore entered either of the two mission teacher –training colleges **Wesley College** established at Elekuro Area of the town in 1905, or the former **C.M.S. Training Institution which had been removed from Lagos to Oyo in 1896** and re-christened **Oyo Training College**. (In 1920, it was called **St, Andrews College**). Educated men with experience therefore had to be recruited to Ibadan to work in these Government offices. Besides, though the evangelical field was getting wider, the labourers were still so few that Ibadan Christian parents, anxious to see their sons work in the field preferred to send them to either of these two mission colleges not so much for sure employment after training as for the desire to contribute their own quota to the progress of the church.

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Mr. Elgee, on the other hand, preferred the local material to the imported one for his building programme. He did not stand alone. **Rev Akinyele, who had then obtained his B.A. degree (1912)** other non-natives and many natives too were loud in their protests against the prevalent tendency of many Ibadan youths to look up to Lagos or Abeokuta for higher education before they could fit into responsible posts in their own town; and not all of them were fit to enter the Church even if they went to Oyo or Elekuro. If Abeokuta town could own a grammar school and open its doors wide to Ibadan students, they argued, there was no reason why Ibadan, with its budding developments and rosy future, could not also build a grammar school and open its doors to students from these and other places since one of their own sons was qualified to head it. Soon Rev. Akinyele called members of the Ibadan District Church Council and other influential men together and, after they project, they decided to go ahead and turned to Rev. Akinyele, now the pastor in charge of Kudeti church, for guidance and impetus.

Baale Irefin became Ba'ale of Ibadan in 1912. The Chiefs did not want him because they did not want a change in the Traditional Council System, and because he was protecting the citizens from robbers.

His installation was different from all the other rulers. The British people in power then gave him full support. The Christian service was organized and led by Clergy D.A. Williams. The staff of office was given to him with the letter of agreement (constitution) by Secretary Mr. E.H. **Oke, Ibadan Grammar School** was opened founded by Late Bishop A.B. Akinyele of C.M.S. in 1913 at Oke-Are. He donated the highest money towards the construction, he also built the largest and the most sophisticated palace comparable with the traditional palaces in Yorubaland.

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It was **Mr Samson Okeowo** who first offered to Ibadan City Council the free use of his newly completed building at **Alekuso**, a place of about 200 yards from Bere Square, the centre of the town “for as long as the Council needed it”

This site, which covers about the five acres, stands on a hill bearing the name Oke Are. On this site eight months later, on December 2, the foundation stone of the permanent building of Ibadan Grammar School was laid in 1913. **Reverend A.B. Akinyele, the first principal of the school, obtained his B.A. Degree (1912).**

The Oppressive Roles of Captain W. Ross (1914-1933)

In 1911, Aremo (crown prince) Siyanbola Ladigbolu acceded to the throne of Oyo. The Chieftaincy contest between Otun Baale Irefin and Balogun Shittu in 1912 provided an opportunity for intrigues by Captain Ross and the Alaafin. At a meeting called by the Resident on 26th September 1912, ***Ross announced that Irefin had been nominated by the Alaafin to be Baale of Ibadan as opposed to the preference of the council and people of Ibadan.*** Baale Irefin Ogundeyi was eventually deposed

When Shittu was eventually installed Baale of Ibadan, he personified and led a clandestine campaign against Captain Ross, his administration and the Alaafin. Captain Ross called a meeting of Ibadan chiefs and some prominent persons on 21, May 1921 where he made several allegations against Baale Shittu. Baale Shittu was eventually deposed and sent on exile in Oke-Ogun Area where he died eventually.

- (i) **Ogunpa River flooded its banks in 1925** while Prince of Wales visited Ibadan during his reign before he was deposed.
- (ii) **Bere court was also built and roofed with Bere grass in 1920** and the Ibadan Tax agitation, in which Balogun Ola (alias Kobomoje) son

of the late Baale Orowusi, committed suicide took place. Poll tax agitation, in which all Ibadan Chiefs participated, took place in 1918.

- (iii) **Baale Shittu** was deposed in 1925 because he was trying to obtain assistance from Lagos to relieve Ibadan of any control by the Alaafin. Also, **Ola**, son of Orowus, popularly known as Balogun Kobomoje when, through the use of spies and clever manipulations, the other chiefs surprisingly withdrew their support for the protest against **taxation** which he presented. This divide-and-rule diplomacy posed a great threat to the survival of warlike spirit and cooperation among the chiefs.

The Origin of Consenting Authority in Yorubaland:

According to Dr. J.A. Atanda, (1979), Governor MC. Callum and Resident Fuller between **1898-99** initiated the policy of reviving what they conceived as **the ancient powers of the Alaafin**. However, it was Governor William MacGregor who advanced what Mc. Callum and Fuller started. Besides MacGregor supplied the philosophy which, from 1901 onwards, was to lead to the **supremacy of the Alaafin among the Yoruba rulers in Oyo Province**.

Consequently, Alaafin of Oyo from 1900, was allowed to make deliberate interference in the disputes among the chief and became active in the selection, promotion and disposition of chiefs especially from 1907 onward when the Resident, Captain Elgee (1903-1913) advised **Baale Dada Opadare** to resign his appointment during the constitutional crisis over promotion between the Balogun title holders and Otun Baale title holders led by Balogun Apampa.

The involvement of Oyo was based on the promise that the Alaafin was paramount over the Baale of Ibadan and several other **Oba** in Yorubaland (Toyin Falola, 1989). Some were even forced to pay tribute to him. **This was, no doubt, an**

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exaggeration of the power and role of the Alaafin in Yorubaland, but one to which the British were committed.

These powers, granted to the Alaafin reached its peak in the era of Captain W.A. Ross (1913-1931) as the first District Commissioner of **Ibadan Province** before it changed to Oyo Province in 1914 when the capital was transferred from Ibadan to Oyo. He succeeded Captain Elgee who spent the longest period in Ibadan (1903-1913).

The period of 25 years from 1906 to 1931 enabled the Alaafin the opportunity to consolidate on the exercise of the wide powers to the extent of the dethronement of Baale of Ibadan Irefin in 1914, Layode, the Baale of Ogbomoso in 1914, and Shittu (Omo Are Latosa) and Baale of Ibadan in 1925. He died in exile at Oke-Ogun. He created Oyo Province in January 1914 and forced **Baale of Ibadan, Ooni of Ife, Owa of Ilesa and the Orangun of Ila** to be subordinated to Alaafin's Authority and **changed the headquarter of the province from Ibadan where it has been since 1893 to Oyo town.**

Concerning Obas' Salaries in Yorubaland

Captain W.A. Ross in 1917 begged the **Baale of Ibadan and Council to give some pecuniary assistance to the Alaafin of Oyo from the Ibadan Treasury** after the payment of taxes began and the Treasuries were somewhat stronger. This is of practical necessity and the desire to enhance the prestige of the Alaafin of Oyo (Dr. J.A. Atanda, 1979 pp. 143/145 of the New Oyo Empire).

During the time, Ross unilaterally raised the grant payable per annum to the Alaafin from the Ibadan Treasury by **£2,400** per annum to augment the salary of the Alaafin. In a bid to enhance the status of the Alaafin, Captain Ross managed to raise the **Alaafin's salary to £4,500** per annum. The **£2,400** taken annually from the Ibadan

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Treasury formed part of this salary. The remaining **£2,100** came from the Oyo Treasury. But the same year, the amount taken from Oyo Treasury was increased to **£2,400**. Consequently, the Alaafin's salary finally stood at **£4,800 per annum**. With this figure, the Alaafin Siyanbola Oladigbolu I, received the highest salary in the province (Dr. J.A. Atanda, 1979 pg. 14-146).

- The Baale of Ibadan received the next highest salary which was **£2,400** per annum.
- The Ooni of Ife, the Owa of Ilesa, and the Orangun of Ila received **£1,400, £1,400, and £56** per annum respectively.

On the other hand, from **1935** onwards, too, the Ibadan Independent Native Authority were agitating for the completion of their independence by seeking to **stop the payment of part of the Alaafin's salary** which, on the **advice** of the Lieutenant-Governor, they had agreed to pay in **1933** until the death of Alaafin's Siyanbola Ladigbolu. (Dr. J.A. Atanda, 1979 pg. 281 of The New Oyo Empire). They did not succeed in this and had to pay the required part of the Alaafin's salary up to the end of **1944** when Siyanbola Ladigbolu died.

However, in **1936**, Ibadan scored a significant success in their struggle to be on equal footing with Oyo. They succeeded, inspite of Alaafin Ladigbolu's opposition, in having the title of their **head chief changed from 'Baale Ibadan' to 'Olubadan'**. According to Dr. J.A. Atanda (1979), this change was probably in reaction to a taunt in **1934** by Alaafin Ladigbolu that **'they [the people of Ibadan] can never have a higher title than Baale of Ibadan**. (See Nigerian Government Gazette xxiii, 80, of 29 October; 1936, Notice No. 1424).

CHAPTER SIX
STATE BUILDERS AND WAR HEROES OF IBADAN
EMPIRE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

1.0 THE HISTORY OF LABOSINDE

Professor Toyin Falola analyzed the qualities of a hero as someone who contributes something substantial and profound to nation building, war, peace, administration, trade, and general prosperity. The ideal ones are described as honest, peace-loving, and courageous. State builders and founders of dynasties and towns received greater attention such as Oduduwa, Oranmiyan, Ogedengbe etc. Labosinde, a war and cultural hero fits into all these qualities. He was of humble origin, rose to greatness through his ability to work hard, seized opportunities, and face difficulties.

Labosinde was a great Ife war-chief from Oke-Eso in Ile Ife. He was in Ibadan at the establishment of the second Ibadan at Oriyangi. Labosinde had four children: Faeso, Mosadogun, Onifade and Moyinope who was born in Ibadan. Some of the grand-children are: Chief (Mrs.) Onikepo Akande, Popoola, Adisa, Adeniran etc.

Labosinde was a brave man and the son of an Ifa Priest who prescribed ‘**Ifa Osemeji**’ (the corpus) for Lagelu before he left Ile-Ife (Chief M.K.O. Adebayo, 2015). Labosinde according to Adebayo was the **first Oluwo during the reign of Lagelu descendants at Oriyangi and Labosinde market (now Iba market), was named in his honour**. Labosinde’s mother was a Princess of Ikoyi an old Oyo Province.

Labosinde returned to Ile-Ife to join the Ife army raised by **Ooni of Ife, Oba Gbenlare** who reigned between **1800 and 1823** against **Owu-Orile** because the Owus under Olowu Amororo sacked the towns and villages under Ife around 1810 as a result of slave trade. The war, according to Rev. Samuel Johnson and Adelegan Adegbola, was instigated by Adegun, the Onikoyi and Toyeye, the Bale of

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Ogbomosho and the Deputy Are Ona-Kakanfo of **Are Afonja in 1806** which ran into full scale war between allied army of Ife and Ijebu between **1814 and 1820** (five calendar years and 7 years in Yoruba reckoning)

The allied army which was swelled up by the Oyos disengaged at Idi-Ogungun (Ogungun Tree) at Agodi, Ibadan. Maye Okunade, Labosinde and Lakanle went to settle at Ipara on the invitation of the Ijebus. According to I.B. Akinyele, Olowu Akinjobi escaped to Ibadan and formed an alliance with the reigning Olubadan and established Owu Ogbere from the Government House (Ahoru Owu) to Idiape and Basorun where Anlugbua Modern School was built (now Oba Akinyele Memorial High School).

Around 1825, another Owu war broke out between Ibadan and Owu. The then Olubadan had to invite Lakanle, Maye and Labosinde, Owu Ogbere was destroyed. During the time, Oluwole the king of Idomapa asked for the aid of Labosinde, one of the leading Ife war-chiefs, and through him the rest of the Ife, and Oyo war-chiefs fought against Ajiboso, the king of the Gbaguras (Rev. Johnson, 1976: 224).

Rev. Samuel Johnson went further to record that, all the towns were overrun the previous night including Ojoo, Oje etc. Ibadan alone they found not destroyed by fire, and so was occupied by the solders of Ife, Oyo, Ijebu and friendly Egbas and turned it to a war camp. Maye Okunade, a bold and brave Ife chieftain became the leader, next was Labosinde an Ife man, but through his mother whom as of Oyo descent, Lakanle became the Oyo leader. He described Ibadan town at this time as consisting of the central market (Labosinde market) and about half a mile of house around. The town wall was where the principal mosque now stands (1976:244).

3.6 Labosinde as Babasale of Ibadan

“Certainly there would be history without wars, but it would be a much different history than what we know. By and large it is war which has shaped the boundaries of today’s nation...” - Benito Mussolini, October 2, 1935

(M.A. Fabunmi: 1985) brought out the fact lucidly when he said: “the political supremacy of Ife was shattered a little more than a century ago when it was defeated by the strong military power of Ibadan. Since then Ife has remained only a spiritual and cultural Yoruba capital, and the resilient core around which the culture of the land has crystallized”.

There was a remarkable political change early in the **1830s**, precisely after Gbanamu war, when the settlement was transformed from a mere agglomeration of different settlers into a permanent town owned, inhabited, and controlled by the Oyo refugees. In the new arrangement, Oluyedun became the Are-Ona-Kakanfo; Lakanle became the next in command, the Otun Are-Ona-Kakanfo and Oluyole, the Osi Are-Ona-Kakanfo, while the eight members of this military oligarchy governed Ibadan. The only civil title of **Babasale** “Chief Advisor” was given to LABOSINDE.

The post was created to honour Labosinde as next in rank to Maye Okunade, even though he did not support him during the earlier Gbanamu war which terminated Ife administration. According to Rev. Samuel Johnson, he did not aspire to the leadership of the people, preferring private life to the responsibilities of government. He was a man who loved peace; he would never carry arms nor allow any to be carried before him even in those turbulent days, except in the battle field. His role during Oluyedun’s time was to mediate in conflicts among the principal warriors, and gave advice when called upon to do so by the rulers.

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Rev. Johnson went further; a bundle of whips was all usually carried before Labosinde, as used to be done before the Roman Tribunes of old, and with this token of authority, he was able several times to disband men in arms and put an end to evil fights. The combatants as soon as they saw the bundle of whips coming would cease firing, saying to one another “**Baba mbo, baba mbo**’ (father is coming, father is coming).

In **1859**, for the second time, Labosinde Rev. Hinderer took Christianity to Ile-Ife at the instance of Bale Olugbode of Ibadan (1851-1864) (Fabunmi, 1985: 39)

3.7 Labosinde as Oluwo of Ibadan

Osun was the chief of Calvary as he was a famous cavalry officer but was later installed Oluwo by Labosinde, the Babasale. Later, Labosinde moved from Babasale to become Oluwo of Ibadan. He was the custodian of the original Ibadan War Staff. His quarters/compound named after him is known as Labo (short for Labosinde), while the quarter called Isale Osun is named after Osun, the first Oluwo during the reign of Oluyedun. Labosinde’s permanent residence is at Oja’ba.

Labosinde dynasty has produced the following OLUWOS of Ibadanland: Oluwo Labosinde; Oluwo Faeso; Oluwo Mosadogun, Oluwo Onifade Babalola; Oluwo Adeniran; Oluwo Bello Abioye; Oluwo Lamidi Popoola Modasogun; Oluwo Akano Babalola; Oluwo Salami Bello II (1998-2014) and Oluwo Wahab Akanbi Idowu Popoola Mosadogun III (current).

The Ibadan War Staff was originally Oranyan’s Staff which was always kept at Ile-Ife. It became Ibadan’s War Staff and hence kept at Ibadan when Labosinde brought it to Ibadan during the Owu wars. Being an instrument of war, the War Staff was always in the custody of the Balogun, and it was thus passed from Balogun to Balgoun by the Oluwo, the descendants of Labosinde are the traditional custodian

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(owner). The scenario changed when the late Oba I.B. Akinyele, a Christian, became Balogun in 1954; he refused to take its custody, saying it was a symbol of idolatry. Balogun Salawu Aminu, a Muslim (later Oba), also took a cue from this and refused to take its custody. The staff has therefore been kept by Labosinde; the head of the hereditary Oluwo family in Ibadanland till today. It is only the imitation staff that is kept by Baloguns from 1954 to date.

Ibadan War Staff was an instrument of sure victory in wars. The place used for pouring libations on it (Ojubo), is the place which now house a Pharmacy at Oranyan because it surrounds the shrine where Oranyan Staff is propitiated.

4.0 THE ROLE OF MAYE OKUNADE IN IBADAN HISTORY

During the crisis in the Old Oyo Empire, two powerful Chiefs, **the Onikoyi of Ikoyi, Adegun, and Teyeje of Ogbomoso**, the Deputy Aare-Ona-Kakanfo to Afonja of Ilorin, took the initiative in sending a message to the **Olowu of Owu, Oba Amororo** similar to that which **Alaafin Abiodun Adegolu (1774-1789)** had sent to the **Ooni of Ife, Oba Akinmoyero** previously, asking him to enforce the rule against the enslavement of the Oyo people. Owu forces invaded Ife territory and sacked a number of towns including Apaomu. **Owu authority** was then established over Apomu and an Officer of the **Olowu Amororo** was stationed in the town to keep order in the market between **1810 and 1811**.

This action of the Owu infuriated the reigning **Ooni of Ife, Oba Gbenlare (1800-1823)**. Who, apart from the affront to his sovereignty, saw his most valuable source of revenue snatched from his hands. According to Akin Mabogunje and J. Omer Cooper (1971) and Rev. Samuel Johnson (1921), war was declared on Owu and an Ife Army set out which camped in Iwo territory near the confluence of the Oba and Osun Rivers in **1811A.D.** when **Oba Oluwo Momodu Ayinde Lamuye I (1816-1906)** was ruling Iwo.

The leadership of the war was entrusted into the hands of **Yannigan Singunsin**, the Commander-in-Chief of Ife army and others. This small army remained within Iwo territory for about **5years** (1811- 1814) on the advice of Oluwo of Iwo because they were not strong enough to face Owu army. During this time, **Labosinde** from Oke-Eso in Ile-Ife was living with Lagelu descendants in Ibadan. **Labosinde's Family** prescribed (Ose-meji), the Odu Corpus for Lagelu Adio before he left Ile-Ife in the **16th Century**. Both **Oke'badan and Osemeji Shrines** are now at Oja'ba where the Olubadan of Ibadan including Baales of Ibadan (1830s-1930), were crowned or installed by Labosinde, the Oluwo of Ibadan.

4.1 During the Owu Wars

Labosinde returned to Ile-Ife to join the Ife army from Ibadan raised by **Ooni of Ife, Oba Gbenlare** who reigned between 1800 and 1823 against Owu-Orile because the Owus under Olowu Amororo sacked the towns and villages under Ife around **1810** as a result of slave trade. The war, according to Rev. Samuel Johnson and Adelegan Adegbola, was instigated by Adegun, the Onikoyi and Toyeye, the Bale of Ogbomosho and the Deputy Are Ona-Kakanfo of Are Afonja in 1806 which ran into full scale war between allied army of Ife and Ijebu between **1814 and 1820** (five calendar years and 7 years in Yoruba reckoning)

The allied army which was swelled up by the Oyos disengaged at Idi-Ogungun (Ogungun Tree) at Agodi, Ibadan. **Maye Okunade, Labosinde** and **Lakanle** went to settle at Ipara on the invitation of **Awujale of Ijebu-Ode**. According to I.B. Akinyele, Olowu Akinjobi escaped to Ibadan and formed an alliance with the reigning Olubadan and established **Owu Ogbere** situated on land from the Government House (Ahoru Owu) to Idiape and Basorun where Anlugbua Modern School was built (now Oba Akinyele Memorial High School).

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Around **1825**, another Owu war broke out between Ibadan and Owu. The then Olubadan had to invite Lakanle, Maye and Labosinde, **Owu Ogbere was destroyed**. **Owu** Ogbere was built close to Ibadan, according to Professor A.L. Mabogunje and J. Omer Cooper (1971). Its wall circuit enclosed a section of the Ogbere stream from which its name is derived. The remains of the wall circuit of this town can be traced from a point immediately behind the present Government House on Agodi Hill in Ibadan in a broad arc through a cocoa nursery which lies about half a mile behind Agodi Hill to cut the Ibadan-Iwo road just beyond the Ogbere Stream. *Before the time, Oluwole the king of Idomapa asked for the aid of Labosinde, one of the leading Ife war-chiefs, and through him the rest of the Ife, and Oyo war-chiefs fought against Ajiboso, the king of the Gbaguras (Rev. Johnson, 1976 pg. 224).*

Rev. Samuel Johnson went further, all the towns overrun the previous night including Ojoo, Oje etc. Ibadan alone they found not destroyed by fire, and so was occupied by the solders of Ife, Oyo, Ijebu and friendly Egbas and turned it to a war camp. **Maye Okunade**, a bold and brave Ife chieftain became the leader, next was **Labosinde** an Ife man, but through his mother, of Oyo descent. **Lakanle** became the Oyo leader.

According to Samuel Johnson, at page 244 of 1976 edition of “The History of the Yoruba” described Ibadan town at this time as consisting of the central market (Labosinde market) and about half a mile of house around. The town wall was where the principal mosque now stands.



4.2 Maye Okunade as The First Baale Of Ibadan (1825-1831):

According to Toyin Falola (1989), the Oyo-Yoruba refugees settled at Oja’Iba with superior Ife soldiers; the Ijebus lived in the south, at Isale-Ijebu; the Egba moved away from their conquerors and settled at Yeosa. This pattern of settlement a clear indication of the existing political diverges in Ibadan camp, in **1825 A.B.**

The site was not only found to be suitable, but it also had an extensive land reserve for expansion. The availability of a large tract of land was necessary because of people’s farming system of shifting cultivation. The new town, according to Toyin Falola (1989), was small, **it was not more than a kilometer in all directions from Oja-Iba at the centre**, initially named after Labosinde. Its layout closely followed

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the pattern of older towns. It had **Labosinde market** centrally located below Mapo hill. Surrounding this Labosinde market in all directions are the earliest compounds of the **military chiefs** and other warriors. These compounds were built at the base and brow of Oke-Mapo for security reason.

Being a military camp, the administration inevitably fell into the hands of warriors. All the Major Yoruba sub-groups in the camp (i.e. Ife, Ijebu, Egba and Oyo) each had their war leaders who constituted the **governing council** whose laws were binding on the members of the group.

Maye Okunade, the commander was regarded as the leader of all the various groups or sections in the community. When **Maye Okunade became Baale of Ibadan around 1825**, he made **Laboside**, also an Ife, his assistant and **Lakaule**, leader of the Oyo second, and third in command. **Aro, Lisa, Akaasi**, etc, according to Dr. Iide Fatokun (2011) established by Lagelu and his descendants were abolished by Maye Okunade and his new comer colleagues, only Aboke remained of the original Ibadan that belonged to Lagelu. He also jettisoned the **hereditary Olubadan** chieftaincy established by Lagelu descendants

Maye Okuade was actively involved in the conflicts among the leading generals representing the three groups, Ife, Egba and Oyo. The conflicts centered on the control of Ibadan settlement.

Maye Okunade was clever enough to relies that he could not deal with all the three groups at the same time. Maye confronted the Egba first. In one of the frequent altercations between the Egba and Ife, an Egba Chief Killed **Ege**, an Ife chief. The Maye group saw this as an opportunity to put the Egba under Ife's and quickly planned a military attack on them. The Egba read the handwriting on the wall and to avoid total extermination of their war leaders; the all hurriedly left the camp after

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their **Lamodi** had be killed and migrated to found a new settlement at Abeokuta in **1830** under the leadership of **Sodeke**.

The expulsion of the Egba now left the Oyo and the Ife to face each other. **Lakanle**, Oyo's leader, was brave as the Maye, in fact, he was the only soldier in the camp who could challenge the Maye. While the Oyo leaders' dignity was not respected by the Maye, the civilians especially the refugees, were not. The influx of the Oyo refugees became a threat to Maye group. it was certain that there would be a war between the Ife and Oyo in **C1831** (Toyin Falola, 2011 pg 122).

A quarrel by two Oyo and Ife private soldiers triggered off the war. Maye killed the Oyo soldier and this provoked all the Oyo in the settlement. The event culminated in Gbanamu war, which ended in favour of the Oyo. The Ife left the settlement, thus leaving only the Oyo in control.

The logical consequence of the failure of the attack on Ibadan, according to Akin Mabogunje and J. Omer-Cooper (1971) which had been launched from Erunmu was an Ibadan assault on that town. The town was captures and its **ruler**, the **Oluroko**, and the **ruler of Idomapa, Oluwole**, were caught and killed. Olowu Akinjobi also lost life. The owu Ogbere people eventually migrated to Abeokuta in **1834** to join the **Egbas**.with Oluroko of Erunmu.

The end of the struggle with Maye meant the end of the most serious communal tensions within the erstwhile marauding army. It was now possible to establish a regular governmental hierarchy and at a public meeting of victories Oyo subgroup.

In establishing the constitution the constitution of the town, the **cosmopolitan characteristics was preserved** so that although the chieftaincy titles adopted were traditional ones the system itself was quite different from the normal pattern. **The**

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titles were not hereditary but were given in accordance with the effective position of the holder in society and it was possible to progress from one title to another in the hierarchy to the top to the stood of Baale and later Olubadan.

One important thing is that, communal differences had little political significance and the diverse groups tended to fuse together in a common IBADAN IDEANTITY in the opposite manner to the Egba who preserved their original town and even village identities within the single circumference of the walls of Abeokuta.

The arrival of the **Owu in Egba Division** is more accurately dated since it is known that it was a few year after **1830** when the Egba founded the town of Abeokuta after leaving Ibadan. According to **Professor Saburi Biobaku, 1957, P16**, the **Owu** were the greatest single body of wanderers who appeared before Abeokuta after **1830** precisely in **1834** according to **Osile of Oke-Ona**.

In Ibadan, the Owu were much intermixed with the rest of the heterogeneous population and had no separate quarter of their own until one of their members rose to a position of eminence in the city such as Oyesile Olugbode who became the Baale of the Town between **1851** and **1864**.

5.0 THE GOVERNANCE STRUCTURE AFTER MAYE:

IBADAN, the third largest indigenous Nigerian city after Lagos and Kano by population and the 19th among the twenties largest cities in Africa, is the largest metropolitan city in Nigeria in geographical area with eleven (11) autonomous local governments Areas. The city is about **3,135.96sq.km**.

Its success in transforming Yoruba political institution and adapting them to a new age during the nineteenth century was remarkable. In so doing, the characteristics of metropolitan city were preserved so that although *the chieftaincy titles adopted were traditional ones, the system itself were quite different from the normal Yoruba pattern. The titles were not hereditary but were given in accordance with the effective position of the society and it was possible to progress from one title to another in the hierarchy even to the very top.* This applied to even persons of very diverse origin.

Thus, from inception, communal differences had little political significance and the diverse groups tended to fuse together in a common Ibadan identity in the opposite manner to the Egba who preserved their original town and even village identities within the single circumference of the walls of Abeokuta.

The fall of the Old Oyo Empire, arising from the combination of internal constitutional debacles, power tussles and conflicts, and the rise of militant Islam in Ilorin compounded with Owu Wars played significant roles in the emergence of Ibadan.

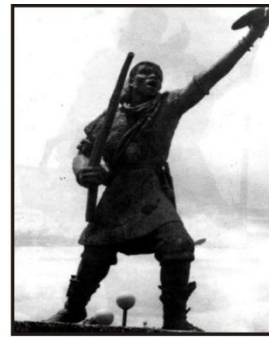
However, the republican nature of **Ibadan civil and military population.** Partly explains why it quickly and effortlessly **succeeded Oyo as the military headquarters of the Yoruba Empire** in the nineteenth century. it was an all comers community which did not foreclose the participation of a pan-Yoruba community in

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its military service. This singular fact remains the basis of her cosmopolitan composition.

According to Emeritus Professor Bolanle Awe, by 1854, Ibadan had annexed the Ife town of Apomu, Ikire and Gbongan. In fact, by 1893, when the British had succeeded in colonizing Nigeria, **Ibadan warlords** were still lamenting their uncompleted campaigns to fully regain Ilorin from the invading Fulani.

At the close of the 19th century, Ibadan had succeeded in replacing Oyo as the **imperial power** of the Yoruba country. The influence of Ibadan had been responsible for the continual migration and influx of peoples of diverse backgrounds into **metropolis** in more recent times. There has been no other West African town that has expanded as unilaterally as Ibadan had done during the 20th century.



5.1 THE ERA OF MILITROCRACY

(a) AARE OLUYEDUN (1831-1835):

Aare Oluyedun who took over from Maye Okunade also continued with **Aristocratic government** with other **seven (7) other military generals**, after the Oyo-Yoruba leaders have expelled Maye Okunade and his Ife sub-ethnic group from Ibadan Camp. *The military elite from Oyo-Yoruba group unanimously appointed Oluyedun, a man respected for his military ability, dignity, and age* (Professor Toyin Falola, 2012). He is the son of the late Afonja of Ilorin, the Aare Ona-Kakanfo of Yorubaland. He participated in many of the wars which included: Kanla and Gbodo war fought to save Ilorin.

In Oluyedun's case, it means **aristocratic government** which **engenders and sustains** high traditions of **public service**. It assumes a **ruling class** that can be trusted to administer public affairs with complete personal integrity and honour. Because of Oluyedun's exalted position and his team in the camp among the Oyo-Yoruba military leaders which is independent of politics. **The implication of this is that, the moving force of aristocracy is in this respect accorded Oluyedun the son of Afonja of Ilorin to lead other seven warlords in his cabinet.** Rome and the eighteenth century Britain are examples of the most successful aristocracies in history in the society. Only a single **civilian title**, the Babasale, "**Chief adviser**", was created for **Labosinde** (an Ife man).

Members of the ruling class during the reign of Aare Oluyedun were:

- | | | | |
|-------|-----------------|---|--------------------|
| (i) | Oluyedun Afonja | - | Aare Ona-Kakanfo |
| (ii) | Lakanle | - | Otun Kakanfo |
| (iii) | Oluyole | - | Osi Kakanfo |
| (iv) | Adelakun | - | Ekerin Kakanfo |
| (v) | Oluwaye | - | Ekarun Kakanfo |
| (vi) | Abitiko | - | Ekefa Kakanfo |
| (vii) | Keji | - | Aare Abese Kakanfo |

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- (viii) Osun - Chief of the calvary (later Oluwo)
- (ix) Labosinde - Babasale (Chief Adviser) and later Oluwo till today.

All these *eight* title holders are the *eight* leading military figures in Ibadan.

This was a simple political system, lacking the “specialized offices and structural differentiation” for which the old Oyo system was famous (Prof. Toyin Falola, 2012).

(b) BASORUN OLUYOLE IYANDA (1835-1849)

According to Rev. Samuel Johnson (1921) at page 305, Oluyole was the son of Olukuloye, grandson of Basoun Yamba, and Agborin, the daughter of King Abiodun, the Alaafin of Oyo (1775-1789). He was born during the period of the Fulani ascendancy and the ravages of the Jamas which started in 1793. As a lad, he was apprenticed to metallurgist for whom he cared charcoal and got married to Oyanu and Latofide. Oyanu had no children but Latofide was the mother of his first born called Akinola.

According to Professor Toyin Falola (2012) at page 135 of his book: “IBADAN: Foundation, Growth and Change 1830-1960; said

“Oluyole participated actively as a soldier in the Oyo-Ilorin war early in the nineteenth century. Like thousands of his compatriots, he had to seek refuge elsewhere when the Old-Oyo Empire began to crumble. He came to Ibadan where Oluyedun, the second leader after Maye Okunade gave him a piece of land at Ile-Iba, in Isale-Ijebu

However, Oba Isac Babalola Akinyele 1981 (fourth edition) of “**Iwe Itan Ibadan**” at page 15 wrote as follows; *Oluyole was not one of the warlords that participated in the Owu-Ogbere war led by Maye Okunade.* He only came after the

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Egba had been expelled from Ibadan by Ife Yoruba sub-group led by Maye. **Oluyedun** gave him land to settle on. The first house built was at Old Iba House at Isale Ijebu still existing till today.

When he became the ruler of Ibadan, he expanded the titles created by Aare Oluyedun and **abolished the Oyo imperial system of government with its sacred monarch.**

Basorun Oluyole (mid – 1830s-1847), according to Professor Toyin Falola, 2012 page 10, assigned for the first time, specific military and civil duties to his chiefs and these included fighting wars of expansion and the maintenance of peace and order in the town.

Basorun Oluyole Iyanda **firmly established the military system.** Military titles were given specific military-cum administrative functions. New titles were created to reward new competent warriors and to expand the bureaucracy. Oluyole himself assumed the title of Baale (a civil title) and later, he was conferred with the title of Basorun by Alaafin Atiba after Eleduwe war in 1837 at the site of the new Oyo Capital with Kurumi becoming the Aare Ona-Kakanfo. The next person to him was Balogun who also had principal officers. His regime had the following principal officers.

OLUYOLE as Baale and later Basorun.

- Bankole Alesinloye - First Balogun
- Oderinlo - Second Balogun
- Lajumoke - Otun Balogun
- Opeagbe Omololu - Sarumi and later Osi Balogun
- Toki Onibudo - Frist Seriki
- Babalola - Asipa Balogun

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- Oyesile Olugbode - Abese Balogun
- Ogunremi - Sarumi
- Yerombi - Agbaakin Balogun
- Dele Oje or Delesolu - Aare-Agoro (Aareago)

Three important military titles were created by Basorun Oluyole namely: the **Seriki** the head of another group of junior warriors to the Balogun; the **Agbaakin** and **Aare Agoro**

After the demise of Aare Oluyedun, Lakanle was the rightful leader as the Otun Kakanfo, but Oluyole organized a rebellion against him on return from the unsuccessful OTA expedition. Oluyole wanted to become the leader of Ibadan and the Commander-in-Chief. He successfully eliminated Lakanle with the help of Elepo, his friend, Aiyejenku and others. Oluyole was the Osi Kakanfo during the reign of Aare Oluyedun.

Oluyole appointed Bankole Alesinloye as the first Balogun of Ibadan but he refused his order to go to war at Iperu. When Oluyole was returning from the war, he was prevented from entering the town through Bode to avenge the death of Lakanle. The plan was leaked to Oluyole who entered through Elekuro. During the public riot, Bankole Alesinloye was killed.

Also, when Oluyole failed to become the Alaafin in place of Atiba in the new Oyo capital, he became oppressive at home and rude to all the senior military leaders including Balogun Oderinlo, who succeeded Balogun Bankole Alesinloye. This led to rebellion among his subjects, because he sent his enemies to war in a bid to get rid of them. Consequently, the whole town rose against him in protest against his high-handedness and those of his children. The uprising was quelled by **Ibikunle**, the Seriki and **Babalola**, the Asipa. He eventually eliminated **Lajubu** and **Akinluyi** after

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the 1940 Fulani war at Osogbo. Elepo was eventually rejected by Ibadan war-leaders and had to leave the town for Abeokuta when Oluyole could not protect him with Atipo, his brother, who went to Ijaiye. *It was the inordinate ambition of Basorun Oluyole that killed him with the collective efforts of the war-leaders.*

However, Ibadan was not alone in adopting **military rule at this time in Yorubaland**. For instance, at Ijaye, a new government set up by **Kurunmi** went further than Ibadan in establishing a **military dictatorship** that concentrated **political, economic**, and religious power in the hands of a **single man**, in the person of **Kurunmi** himself. His subjects feared and dreaded him more “**than even the gods**” and they were required to submit to “**his absolute will**”.

Also, at **Abeokuta**, founded shortly before **1830**, the first government was a sort of **military autocracy** with Sodeke, the leader of the **Egba migrants** to Abeokuta, as the **Balogun**.

Oluyole went further to assert the supremacy of the military over all other subjects despite being the Baale of Ibadan for the first time after Aare Oluyedun. The Laws were made only by the army, and all laws must be obeyed by the citizens. He had official who acted as the policemen to arrest and discipline offenders

6.0 THE INTRODUCTION OF REPUBLICAN CONSTITUTION

In **1851**, power was divided and exercised by two major chieftaincy groups, **one civil** and **one military**. The civil group was created in **1851** when it had become necessary to relieve the **leading warriors** of duty of governing the town as well as fighting the wars of expansion. This **civil group of chiefs** was made up of two categories, the **Baale who were males** and the **Iyalode who were females**. All the **Baale chiefs were not members of any particular Ruling House**. Rather, they were all **veterans** and must have distinguished themselves in war.

(a) The Baale:

The Baale and his subordinate chiefs were expected to be knowledgeable in **military history** and warfare, and above all they must be familiar with the foreign policies of every major Yoruba subgroup and their neighbours.

The Baale civil office holders were primarily charged with administration of Ibadan. The economic prosperity of the town and the maintenance of peace and security. To discharge his duties effectively, the Baale was assisted by a few other distinguished chiefs, all in the same **civil chieftaincy groups**. These were the **Otun, Osi, Ashipa, Ekerin, Baale**, etc. It should be noted that **all these chiefs were not empowered to make laws without the approval of the military chiefs**.

(b) The Iyalode chieftaincy category:

Founded on revolutionary new values constitutional structures, both Ibadan and Abeokuta (Egba kingdom) produced a socio-political environment that allowed, astute, enterprising, wealthy women to assume roles male titled hierarchies and military rules.

In Ibadan and Abeokuta, new styles of governance, according to LaRay Center of the Department of history, University of Ibadan (2000) and Professor Toyin

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Falola (2012 pg. 125), **downplayed hereditary rights** in favour of **proven merit** based on **leadership** and, **entrepreneurial ability, wealth** and patriotism.

Successful war and trade leaders were appointed to **high military and civil office**, including some notable wealthy **female traders** who won acclaim because of their patriotic loyalty, their economic acumen, their financial support in state expansion and defence, and their community and state services.

Their power and authority rested on their control of immense trading and organizational networks, the acquisition of large personal followings, and their ability to extend substantial credit facilities to military leaders, and their generous gifts to their constituents. **Madam Subuola** was the first Iyalode of Ibadan appointed in **1851**

c) Composition of the Council of State (Igbimo Ilu)

From **1851** when Baale Oyesile Olugbode took over the administration of the **third Ibadan**, in the exercise of power, the Baale was the **Chief Executive**. According to Toyin Falola (1989) and as explained earlier, there were cases when the overall civil and military authorities were combined in one person (e.g. Are Oluyedun Afonja, Oluyole Iyanda, Ogunmola Orisagunna and Are Obadoke Latoosa), but when the power was separated between the Baale and the Balogun, then former was supposed to preside at meetings.

IGBIMO ILU (Council of State)

Igbimo Ilu (the council of state) was the supreme organ of the state. Its membership was loose, because not all chiefs were members, any chiefs could be co-opted, and few could deliberate if the topic was very confidential and strategic. The **most permanent members** were the senior chiefs: the **Baale, Balogun, Seriki, Iyalode** and the **most senior six subordinate chiefs** in the Baale and Balogun “**Lines**”. The council’s decisions on most issues were final.

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Igbimo Ilu, part of Yoruba political organization, in practice showed that an **Oba** was not an absolute ruler likewise the Baale as the chief **Executive of Ibadan administration**. It is true that as the executive head of the government he exercised considerable powers, particularly over the common people. He could arrest, punish or even beheaded them without trial. But these were powers that he had to exercise sparingly and more with justification than without it.

In any event, according to Dr. J.A. Atanda (1980), the powers of the Oba or Baale were checked in many ways. To begin with, he did not rule his town or kingdom alone. The Oba or Baale did so together with a council known as **Igbimo**. In some places, the Igbimo had specific names they were called the **Oyo Mesi** in Oyo. The **Ilamuren** in Ijebu Ode, the Ogboni in Egba towns, the **Iwarefa** in Ife, Ijesa, Ekiti and Ondo towns. They are equally referred to as **Oba-in-Council, Osemawe-in council** in Ondo, **Ooni-In-Council, Baale-in council in Ibadan**.

The **Igbimo** of each town usually consisted of the most senior chiefs, according to Dr.J.A. Atanda (1980), who were themselves usually **representatives of certain lineages**, that is, descent groups in the town bound together by strong family or kingship ties. But in some towns, such as those in Ijebu and Egba Kingdoms, these chiefs must also be members of the Osugbo or Ogboni cults.

Irrespective of the manner of composition the **Igbimo** was a body which the Oba or Baale had to consult. He could not make any laws or takes any decisions on matters fundamentally affecting the town without the concurrence of the **Igbimo**. If he did, or if he became an oppressive ruler in any other way, the consequences were usually grave.

(a) BAALE OYESILE OLUGBODE (1851-1864)

In Ibadan, the Owu were much intermixed with the rest of the heterogeneous population and had no separate quarter of their own until one of their members rose to a position of eminence in the city. This was Olugbode in 1851, barely 30 years after Ibadan was reconstituted, rose to become the Baale of head of Chiefs of Ibadan. He was extremely pushful and aggressive within the power struggle in Ibadan in the nineteenth century.

Oyesile Olugbode was born at Kuta, near Iwo town. His father's name was Basorun, a native of Owu Orile. During the reign of Olowu Akitoba Basorun migrated to Kuta where Oyesile Olugbode was born. He came to Ibadan as a warrior with some Esos and stayed at Idi-Ape where it was believed ALUGBUA, the great general disappeared and who it was claimed could in the past be summoned by pulling on a chain which he drew under the earth with him when there was war.

When Basorun Oluyole heard of his arrival he sent Balogun Oderinlo to invite him to the city of Ibadan in the same way he did to another Owu warrior, Olunloyo who first stayed at Molete before he was allocated land at Oke-Oluokun Kudeti area of Ibadan. It was Baale Opeagbe (1850) who allocated the vast land at Odo-Osun to Oyesile Olugbode. He took part in Eleduwe war of 1835, Batedo War of 1844 and Osogbo war of 1840 under the command of Balogun Oderinlo. He rose to the rank of Abese Balogun under Basorun Oluyole.

**BAALE OYESILE OLUGBODE POWERFUL CHIEFS:
(First Republican Chieftaincy Holders):**

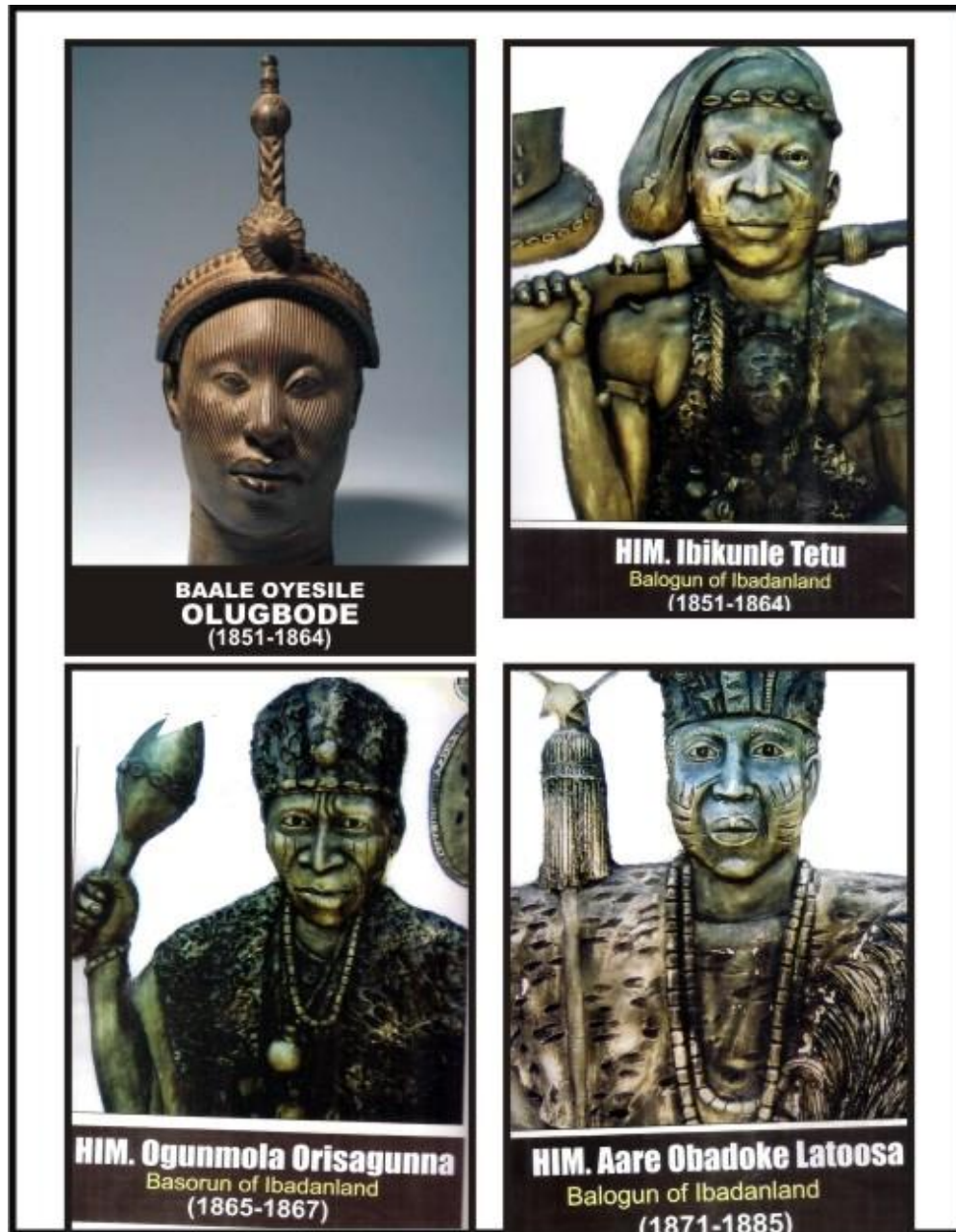
A. Military Chieftaincy Line

- i) Ibikunle - Balogun
- ii) Ogunmola - Otun Balogun
- iii) Osundina - Osi Balogun
- iv) Akere - Asipa Balogun
- v) Orowusi - Ekerin Balogun
- vi) Aijenku - Are-Ago Balogun
- vii) Ajayi Jegedo - Seriki (after him Odunjo)

B. Civil Chieftaincy Line

- i) Sunmola Alao Laamo - Otun Baale
- ii) Tubosun - Aareago Baale (others unnamed).

**FIG. 2: THE WARLORDS THAT ESTABLISHED REPUBLICAN
TRADITIONAL SYSTEM OF GOVERNANCE**



(B) BALOGUN IBIKUNLE TETU (1851-1864)

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Ibikunle was the Balogun of Ibadan from 1851 to 1864. ***He was the greatest Balogun of Ibadan ever had and he commanded more wars than any other military chief.*** He was the most famous and the richest Balogun in the nineteenth century. Ibikunle, the son of Tetu from Ijado, near Ogbomoso was born around **1804**. He abandoned what he regarded as the dull life of a farmer to become a soldier. Though his early exploits at Ogbomoso are not known, oral traditions maintain that he was a great soldier.

He joined the Ogbomoso army and started going to war with some local chiefs. He soon became a reputable young warrior in the land. When he always captured slaves and booties in raids. Because of the valour, therefore, **he was initiated, despite his young age, into the Ogbomoso war-council. He then became part and parcel of the decision making body in Ogbomoso.**

The Fulani crisis forced him to migrate to Ibadan where he attached himself to the household of **Chief Toki Onibudo**, a distinguished warhead. He rose to become the Balogun of the Onibudo's. Private army where he also earned the **nickname "Lion of Onibudo's camp"** he became the head of Onibudo's household when his master died. This new role brought two advantages, the first was that he required enormous property in the form of clothes, slaves, farmlands and soldiers; and second, he became a **war-chief of Ibadan**. Ibikunle distinguished himself as a war chief. He stood out as a brave warrior in all the wars of the **1840S**. In **1851**, Baale Oyesile Olugbode appointed him as the Balogun, he was a popular choice since his colleagues recognized his qualities.

Concerning military tactics and diplomacy as Seriki, especially when the situation became critical and tended to destroy the Army after Batedo war of 1844, Basorun Oluyole grown repressive at home mainly as a result of military success abroad and relatively peaceful at home. Balogun Oderinlo and Osi, raised an insurrection immediately after Batedo war where Ijaiye proved military stronger than

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Ibadan and the Basorun was dissatisfied with this situation. It was only the diplomacy of Ibikunle, the Seriki that quelled the revolt and restored order in the town.

Ibikunle as the Balogun of Ibadan, was always looking for the warfare of his army. He knew when to please them when they were not satisfied. According to Saidi Ologunro of the Lagos University, Ojoo, Lagos (2000), an example of this position can be seen immediately after the subjugation of the Ekitis, when he allowed Chief Abayomi, Chief Ayorinde and the Badas, who had hitherto not satisfied with what they were given when the proceeds of the war were shared, to go in the areas of their choice. This freedom given to his lieutenants made them to be loyal to him and allowed for loyalty of army under him.

Ibikunle was a wealthy man who had the biggest compound in Ibadan, which extended from Ayeye to a neighboring quarters called Iyeosa. He compound still stands till today and his descendants still reside there. Many of his descendants held chieftaincy titles in Ibadan after him, amongst them were: Kueji-Mogaji, Oyewo-Areago Balogun, Iyapo-Seriki; Akintola- Balogun; Oyedeji-Osi Balogun, Akinola-Ekerin Balogun and Madandola-Otun Balogun.

Ibikunle also had many children, one of his grandsons; Akintola became a Christian and was the first Ibadan man to be trained in England. Akintola's daughter was Madam Wuraola Akintola, who was an educated Ibadan woman and became a female chief (Iyalode of Ibadan in 1995).

He built protective wall called "Odi-Ibikunle" around Ibadan in **1858** which was the third wall. His family compound is at Ayeye, Ibadan. He died in **1864**.

(c) BASORUN OGUNMOLA ORISAGUNNA (1865-1867)

Ogunmola, the son of Orisagunna was born at **Odogbo**, a small town now extinct, about thirteen kilometres to the west of Oolo on ogbomoso to Ilorin road, in the present **Ori-Ire** local government with **Ikoyi-Ile** as its headquarters in Oyo state, according to (Chief M.O. Ogunmola (1985) in “A New Perspective to Oyo Empire History: 1530-1944”. The warrior’s Oriki (totem) goes thus;

Ogunmola, Odogbo

Olodogbo Kerilogun

A-la-eeru ma kuu

This can be translated thus:

Ogunmola, from Odogbo

The chiefs of Odogbo

A brilliant star in the battles

Who licks ashes unharmed

This information, according to Chief M.O. Ogunmola (1985), controverts Johnson’s which ascribed Iwo village as his native town. The fact was supported by Chief J.O. Ojediran, also a chief in Oyo. However, the parents of Ogunmola migrated to Fesu village near Iwo like other Yoruba refugees after the destruction of Odogbo near Ikoyi-Ile. The same migration to Iwo District affected Oderinlo Odeyinka early in the 19th Century. Hence, they all have different Tribal Mark from that of Iwo people. Ogunmola and Laamo had the same Tribal mark (Gombo) with Orowusi from Ogbaagba

The above migration history of Ogunmola parents confirmed why Balogun Oderinlo settled him near **Sunmola Alao Laamo’s Compound** because he also migrated from Ikoyi-Ile to Iwo before he came to Ibadan where he rose to **become the first Otun Baale (1851-1864) during the reign of Baale Oyesile Olugbode**. He

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died during Iperu retreat in 1864. Sunmola Laamo, according to history, settled in Ibadan about 13 years before the arrival of Basorun Ogunmola Orisagunna and shared common boundary at Bere, very close to Mapo Hall. Both of them were installed as Ibadan High Chief by Baale Oyesile Olugbode.

Ogunmola, the son of Orisagunna was born around 1810 in Fesu, formerly a district settlement but which is now merged with IWO because of rapid expansion of the town in the twentieth century. He left Fesu for Iseyin and later left the town for Ibadan leaving his **first son Ajala** behind at Iseyin.

Ogunmola combined the virtues and vices of great warlords. He was a charismatic figure, lavish, generous, compassionate, patriotic, fearless, restless and adventurous. He trained as an **Ifa priest and an herbalist**. He went to Ibadan in the 1830's to earn his living as a Babalawo (diviner). But he only practiced for a while before he became a soldier.

He was recruited as a soldier in **Oluyole's private army** where he had rapid promotion. Oluyole recognized his bravery, boldness and other qualities and sponsored him to obtain a junior chieftaincy title in the city. He participated actively in the wars of the 1840's and earned the reputation of being a great tactician, second only to Ibikunle in prowess and ability. He rose to the rank of **Otun Balogun** in 1851 during the reign of Baale Oyesile Olugbode.

In 1864 after the death of Balogun Ibikunle and Baale Oyesile Olugbode (1851-1864) and Sumola Alao Laamo, the first Otun Baale installed by Olugbode in **1851** had also lost his life in the Iperu campaign (1862-1865) Ogunmola thus became the head of Ibadan in **1865** and adopted the title of Basorun which was superior to that of Baale. **However, unlike Oluyole who became the first Basorun outside**

Oyo Kingdom, there was a reigning Basorun in the new Oyo during the reign of Alaafin Adelu (1844-1846). Alaafin ADELU conferred on him the Basorun.

Finally, Ogunmola Orisagunna took deliberate steps to secure a steady supply of firearms to Ibadan. The most important of these steps was **his negotiation with Captain Glover, the British Governor in Lagos, for the re-opening of the Lagos-Ibadan route**, which had been closed since the Iperu war (1862-1865). The route passed through the Ijebu town of Ipara, Iperu and Ikorodu. The Ijebu, as well as the Egba, were determined to control the infiltration of arms to Ibadan. The intervention of Captain Glover led to its re-opening in 1867.

OGUNMOLA'S REPUBLICAN CHIEFS (1865 – 1867):

A. Military Chiefs:

- i) Akere – Balogun
- ii) Tubosun – Otun Balogun
- iii) Abayomi – Osi Balogun
- iv) Orowusi – Asipa Balogun
- v) Ali Laluwoye – Ekerin Balogun
- vi) Ajai Ogboriefon – Abese Balogun
- vii) Osuntoki – Maye Balogun

B. Civil Chiefs:

- i) Oyewo – Aareago Basorun
- ii) Ajobo – Seriki
- iii) Latoosa (Latosisa) – Otun Seriki
- iv) Aijenku – Fowoko
- v) Omoteji – Gbonka
- vi) Ojokojo – Owota (Oota)

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Ogunmola was politically astute and realized his own tremendous power; Ogunmola Orisagunna often abused his power and could be very vindictive. He once ordered the Aseyin, king of Iseyin to report in Ibadan to pay him homage after Ijaye war. He requested **Owa of Ilesa in 1867** to send to him **mats and kola nuts**. In the same year, he requested Alaafin Adelu to supply him with bundles of **Beere grass and posts made of Aayan wood** to build his KOBİ (porch). **Aayan was used for thatch roofs**. The request was political, according to Professor Toyin Falola, 2012 pg. 147; it was synonymous with payment of tribute: the two items were those that the Alaafin himself received from his subordinate chiefs. The Alaafin Adelu had no option but to send the goods. Ogunmola consequently died on the 1st of March 1867, the rumour that spread was that he was poisoned by the gifts.

(d) AARE OBADOKE LATOOSA (1817-1885)

Obadoke Latoosa, the second ruler of Ibadan to bear the title of Are Ona Kakanfo, precipitated the events that led to the longest and last war in Yorubaland (Professor Toyin Fatola, 2012 at page 147). He was a great warrior, a shrewd diplomat, a firm leader, a smart politician and a clever states man. He had the **military ability** of Ogunmola and Ibikunle and the autocratic tendencies of Oluyole and Kurunmi.

He was born in Ilora, near the present Oyo, Ore Orisa, his father, was a farmer and Latoosa followed his footsteps. But when he found farming boring and unrewarding, he started searching for a new life that brought him to Ibadan in **1850s**. He had become the Balogun of his army. It was in this capacity that he participated actively in the Ijaye war where he successfully led a detachment of the army to capture **Irawo**, one of Kurunmi's fortified posts, and garrison at Iseyin. He took over the command of Ekitiparapo war in April 1880 and died quietly at today's Latoosa village, Igbajo on 11th August 1885. He was brought home for burial by his son,

Sanusi and other war chiefs, he was buried at his family compound at Oke-Are, before he died, he allocated land to the crown prince of Adelu, Prince Lawani, who lost to Alaafin Adeyemi I in 1876, at a place now known as OKE-AREMO in Ibadan.

(e) BAALE OROWUSI CHIEFS (1870-1871)

A. Military Chiefs:

- i) Ajobo – Balogun
- ii) Latoosa – Otun Balogun
- iii) Ajayi Jegede – Osi Balogun Ogboriefon (senior to Latoosa)
- iv) Alli Laluwoye – Asipa Balogun (senior to Ogboriefon)
- v) Lawoyin – Seriki

B. Civil Chief:

- i) Femiwa – Otun Baale
- ii) Tajo – Osi Baale
- iii) Fijabi – Agbaakin

AARE OBADOKE LATOOSA CHIEFS (1871 – 1885)

A. Military Chiefs

- i) Ajayi Jegede Ogboriefon – Balogun
- ii) Alli Laluwoye – Otun Balogun
- iii) Ayorinde Aje – Osi Balogun
- iv) Lawoyin – Seriki
- v) Akeredolu – Otun Seriki

B. Civil Chiefs

- i) Jayo – Otun Aare

**KIRIJI WAR CHIEFS APPOINTED AFTER
LATOOSA'S DEATH (1885 – 1893)**

- i) Ajai Osungbekun – Balogun (from Seriki)
- ii) Fijabi – Abese Balogun
- iii) Osuntoki – Maye Balogun
- iv) Akintola – Seriki

(f) BALOGUN AJAYI JEGEDE OGBORIEFON:

(a) Who is Ajayi Ogboriefon:

Balogun Ogboriefon was a native of Ejigbo and many other settlers in Ibadan at the time, he came to Ibadan to join the army there. He fought in the Ijaiye war and was sent to Ilora to guard Oyo against any attacks which Kurumi of Ijaiye's troops might make against her. He also fought at the battle of **Iwawun**. **During the war at Ilesa**, he and Latosisa were camped at the Odo road to prevent food from entering Ilesa town. He fought Ogedengbe and his troops there **and defeated them**. As the Balogun of Ibadan, it is said that he fought in wars as bravely as did the **late Balogun Ibikunle**. If Are Latosisa had given him the chance to conclude the war against the Ekiti coalition, the course of Yoruba history might have been different because Ibadan might have succeeded in re-establishing her hold on Ilesa and on the Ekiti country.

Ajayi Jegede was the Balogun's real name. Ogboriefon was his nick-name. This is how he earned the nick-name.

At one time, the Ibadan troops were fighting at Efon in the Ekiti country. During one of the battles fought there, an Ekiti hunter and his assistant went inside a thick bush and hid behind a giant tree growing there. An Ekiti hunter carried two guns and his assistant carried the pellets. From where they hid, they began to shoot at the Ibadan soldiers fighting in the battle. As soon as the hunter fired one gun, he would give it to his assistant to reload it whilst he used the second gun to continue firing at the Ibadan soldiers. In this way, the Ekiti hunter shot and **killed many Ibadan soldiers**.

Ajayi, who was then a private fighting in this battle, decided to go and find out who was shooting at them. Ajayi suspected that the person shooting at them must be hiding somewhere in the bush. He took a lonely path that led him into the bush.

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There, **he saw the hunter and his assistant hiding behind the giant tree.** In order that they might not see him, Ajayi crept quietly, on all fours, **till he came behind them. And before the hunter could fire his gun at Ajayi, Ajayi shot him dead and then cut off his head.** However, **the hunter's assistant escaped.**

After killing him, Ajayi carried the hunter's two guns in his hand and then held his head **by the ear between the teeth.** In this manner, he carried the hunter's head and guns back to the Ibadan camp.

When he arrived in the Ibadan camp with the hunter's head and guns, the other Ibadan soldiers in the camp gave a shout of victory and said in Yoruba "**O gb' ori Efon de**" meaning "Here comes the carrier of an Efon man's head". And from the time, his comrades began to call him by the nick-name of Ogboriefon. The nick-name has stuck: for up till today, his family is known in Ibadan as the "Ogboriefon family".

He was said to be a very generous man and to be fond of entertaining people on a lavish scale. Compared with the other senior war-chiefs at the time, Ajayi could be said to be a poor man. His favourite companions were his slave called Jato and his horse which he loved very much.

His celebrated victory at the Ikirun or Jalumi war is re-echoed in his praise song which goes thus:

Ajayi the Brave!
Runner, carrier of an Efon man's head
He saw, but never spoke a word,
Till he came running back
With the Efon man's head
How beautiful to behold his prowess in battles!
Ajayi quickly conquered Odu,

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And made it desolate;
Ajayi quickly captured Esa,
And Esa surrendered!
The goat only pretends to be fierce
But the goat cannot crack palm-kernels;
The sheep only pretends to be fierce
The sheep cannot frighten a cricket.
The forest which no one had ever cultivated,
The secret grove which no man had held ever entered,
Ajayi chased Ogedengbe into the forest
And fired shots into it.
Ajayi captured Otin
From the hands of the Fulanis;
He captured Otin
And burnt their Moslem tablets!
Four hundred Efon men,
Eight hundred Fulani men,
Three hundred and sixty horsemen,
Were at the Fulani war.
But the Brave One never turned back,
Till he drove Adalo away.
If the farms are not set on fire,
The farmer can eat his bananas;
If we leave Ibikunle the mighty out,
It's hard to find a Balogun that excels Ogboriefon.

(b) IGBAGBO WAR - 1878

Throughout 1877 and 1878, according to Chief M.O. Ogunmolo, the Otun of Oyo in the book titled “**A New Perspective to Oyo Empire History**” published in 1997 and revised in 2000, Ibadan continued armed conflicts with the **Egbas** in one guise or another. **The Ekitis then took this respite to compact an alliance to get rid of Ibadan's yoke.** The Ibadan answer to the alliance resulted in JALUMI war.

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The war was so named because the battle took place in October when the Rivers Oba, Osun, Oti and others in the areas of war were in great floods, and many of the combatants from all the sides, the Ibadan's, the Ilorins and Ekitis, got drowned in the course of either fighting or escaping.

A prince of Ila Orangun, Adeyala, and two prominent citizens of Oke-Imesi, Fabunmi and Odeyale, united together to raise a rebellion against Ibadan and Oyo agents in their district. In Ila, about **1,000 Oyo were killed**. Although **Ayikiti, the Ooni of Ife**, installed by the Aare Latosisa, pillaged **Ipindun, Ifewara, and Osu** to recoup himself of expenses of his installation, the **Ijesas realizing the consequences of Ibadan, accepted the indignity without joining the alliance** (Chief M.O. Ogunmola, 2000).

On the 19th day of August 1878, news reached Ibadan that the Ekitis and their allies had marched against **Igbajo**, a town **ten miles** east of Ikirun and situated in beautiful hilly country. It was also a border town where people from different parts of the Yoruba country lived. This town had always been on friendly terms with Ibadan.

The aim was to strip Ibadan of all its dependents and ensure it had no town to administer beyond Oba river. In this encounter which in history is referred to as Jalumi War. When the **Arigbajo**, the ruler of Igbajo, saw that his town was under siege by the Ekitis and their allies, he hastily sent on urgent message to Ibadan to ask for troops to defend his town.

Are Latosisa did not realize how serious the situation was at Igbajo because he only sent a small detachment of soldiers under the command of **Osuntoki, the Maye Balogun of Ibadan, to Igbajo** to relieve the town. However, all the Ibadan and Igbajo troops were unable to defend Igbajo town against the strong Ekiti troops

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and they had to retreat to Ikirun. Several of the people of Igbajo also fled from the town to Ikirun, which was about 40 miles north east of Ibadan (Kemi Morgan).

According to Chief M.O. Ogunmola (2000), Igbajo fell into the hands of the Ekitis. **The Ekitis pursued the fleeing Igbajo and Ibadan troops to Ikirun and they lay siege to the town of Ikirun.** Here the Ilorin troops under the command of **Ajia** joined the Ekiti troops in the siege of **Ikirun**. Like the Ekiti, the intension of the Ilorin's was to conquer all Oyo towns right on to the River Oba. According to Kemi Morgan, these Oyo towns included Ikirun itself, Osogbo, Ede, and Iwo.

Several battles were fought here, the Ibadan Igbajo and Ikirun troops suffered heavy losses. Osuntoki, **the Maye Balogun of Ibadan troops at Ikirun**, sent an urgent appeal to Aare Latosisa at Ibadan asking him for more reinforcement. This time, Aare Latosisa, realized that situation for the Ibadan troops at Ikirun must be desperate and he **ordered Balogun Ogboriefon** to lead the rest of Ibadan army to Ikirun to relieve the town.

(c) The Ikirun or the Jalumi War:

On the **31st day of October 1878**, Balogun Ogboriefon arrived at Ikirun with the rest of Ibadan army. The Akirun (ruler of Ikirun) was so happy to see the Ibadan troops that all he could say to the Balogun was "Ajayi, so you have really come? I thought the end had come for us". The Balogun then replied, "Take courage, take courage, we have come, your deliverance is at hand".

The Balogun was told about the locations of the Ekitiparapo troops and the Ilorin troops. The Ilorin camp was situated on a hill on the other side of a swamp which was about three miles north-east of the Ikirun farms. The Ekiti and the Ila troops, under the command of **Fabunmi of Oke-Imesi** and **Prince Adeyala of Ila** camped about a mile from the Ilorin camp, at a place where they could cross the Iba

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stream by foot. The **Ijesa troops, under the command of Arimoro and Ogunmodele** captured the small town of Iba which was about five miles north of Ikirun town and camped within its walls.

At Ikirun, the Balogun held a council of war meeting with his war-chiefs to plan their strategy. Unfortunately before they left Ibadan, are Latosisa himself had caused disaffection among his chiefs. He had **placed his own private army and the private army of the late Seriki Iyapo under the direct command of Ilori, the Osi Balogun instead of under the Balogun.** Ilori therefore felt that this honour conferred upon him by the Are had made him equal in rank to the Balogun. At the council of war, the Balogun suggested that the Ibadan army should be allowed to rest at Ikirun for two days before going to the battlefield. He said that the Ibadan army had suffered hardships on the way to Ikirun and therefore needed rest. They had had to march to Ikirun during the rainy season when the rivers were flooded and many of them had been drowned in trying to cross the **swollen Oba and Osun** rivers. For this reason, the Balogun felt very strongly that the Ibadan army needed time to rest at Ikirun before going to the battlefield. The Balogun also said that because the following day was a Friday, it was unlikely that the enemy would come out to fight them since Friday was considered to be an unlucky day to start any new venture.

But Ilori, stoutly opposed the Balogun's suggestion. He said that the Ibadan army must march out at once to the battlefield to give battle to their enemies. He threatened that if the Balogun did not lead the Ibadan army out Ikirun immediately, he himself would do so. To avoid a quarrel which might ruin their chances of success, the Balogun accepted Lori's suggestion. The Ibadan army would march out of Ikirun the following day which, as we have said, was a Friday, to fight their enemies.

At the meeting, the Balogun divided the Ibadan army into two sections. One section was to be under his command whilst the other section was to be under the

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command of Ilori, the Osi Balogun. The Balogun suggested that his own section of army should attack the Ilorin and Ekiti camps whilst the section under the command of Ilori **should attack the Ijesa camp at Iba.** Again Ilori disagreed with the Balogun. He said that since his military title made him the Chief Commanding the left wing of the Ibadan army, he should have the right to attack the Ilorin and Ekiti camps. **To avoid a quarrel with Ilori at critical stage of the war, the Balogun again agreed that Ilori should lead his troops to attack the Ilorin and Ekiti camps.**

In the morning of the following day, the Balogun and the Otun Balogun led their troops out of Ikirun. They marched out by the eastern or Oba'gun gate, passed through the village of Oba'gun towards the road that led to Iba town where the Ijesa troops were camped.

Ilori, the Osi Balogun, was incapable of controlling the large section of the Ibadan army under him. In the first place, he was always drunk and hardly ever sober. As the Rev. Samuel Johnson pointed out, "the free use of spirituous liquors was considered at this time the same pleasure and mark of greatness; spirits being at this period beyond the reach of poor men". In the **second place**, he had offended his bodyguards had therefore planned to seek vengeance on him whenever they had opportunity of doing so. In **the third place**, Ilori had a dream at Osogbo. In the dream, he saw his late father - Basorun Ogunmola and his late brother - Osun. He was greatly disturbed by the dream, and he had not been behaving normally **ever since because he felt that the dream was a premonition of death.** He was advised to offer sacrifices of a horse and a cow to avoid the disaster. In spite of the sacrifices, he continued to feel restless and sad as though he knew he was a doomed man.

The night before he led his men to attack the Ilorin and Ekiti camps, he did not sleep at all. Before daybreak, he had drunk a whole bottle of gin and after it, he ordered his horse to be saddled. Without telling Chief Akintola and his other

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subordinate war-chiefs, he mounted his horse and rode out of Ikirun town by the Ofa gate.

Outside the town wall of Ikirun, he dismounted and waited for some of his men to come and join him there. Only a few of them who knew that he had already left Ikirun town hurriedly went to join him outside the wall of the town.

When, eventually Chief Akintola and the other subordinate war-chiefs heard that Ilori had left the town, they quickly saddled their horses and rode out of the town to catch up with him on the way.

On the way to the Ilorin camp, Ilori made a very great mistake. He and the few soldiers with him followed the main road leading north-wards. After about three miles, the road turned at right angles along a path leading to a farm. At this point, a high range of hills, parallel to this path, separated Ilori's troops from the Balogun's troops going to Iba.

When they reached the place where the main road turned to the right, they left the main road and took the path leading to the farm. Near this farm was a stream. The few soldiers who followed Ilori went along this path leading the stream and the farm. They did not know at the time that Ilori had changed his mind and had taken another short cut through the farm to the Ilorin camp. His attention was to attack the Ilorin camp from the rear whilst his men attacked it in front.

Even at this time, Chief Akintola and other Ilori subordinate war-chiefs did not know that Ilori and the few soldiers that followed him have left the main road for the bush path leading to Ilorin camp. They were still travelling on the main road trying to catch up with him. This lack of co-ordination among Ilori's troops resulted in the worst disaster of the war for the Ibadan troops.

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Ilori's few soldiers who took the path leading to the stream soon discovered that the stream was near the Ekiti war-camp. They met some Ekiti soldiers who had come to fetch water from the stream.

At first, these Ekiti soldiers were surprised to see them and they rushed back to their camp to tell Fabunmi the news. Immediately, Fabunmi led his troops out of their camp to attack them. A battle was fought where they met; and Fabunmi's troops drove Ilori's soldiers back.

Fabunmi, was, however, surprised to find that the main body of the Ibadan army was not near to help the soldiers whom his men had driven away. He was also surprised to find that the commander of this section of the Ibadan army was not found near his troops. These factors aroused his suspicion and he and his men decided to pursue the fleeing soldiers of Ilori. They pursued them until they came to spot where Ilori took the short cut thorough the farm leading to the Ilorin war-camp.

Here, Fabunmi learnt that Ilori had already reached the Ilorin camp and that he had launched a fierce attack on the Ilorin troops there. Ilori had fought so well and had almost succeeded in taking the Ilorin camp. All that he was expecting was that Akintola and the rest of his subordinate chiefs would soon arrive to join him in the battle against the Ilorin troops so that he might defeat them.

Whilst Ilori was busy fighting the Ilorin troops, Fabunmi thought out a careful plan to trick Ilori. He asked his drummer to strike up Akintola's battle cry which was "Kiniun Onibudo, Kiniun Onibudo;" meaning "The Lion of Onibudo, the Lion of Onibudo". He knew that if Ilori heard the sound of Akintola's war-cry, he would think that Akintola had arrived with more reinforcement to help him. If the trick worked, Fabunmi would then be able to reach the Ilorin camp safely and compel Ilori to fight on two fronts: one against him and the other against the Ilorin troops.

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Fabunmi's plan was successful. As soon as Ilori heard the sound of Akintola's battle cry, he became excited. He thought that Akintola had arrived with the main body of his troops. He therefore sent a messenger on horseback to meet Akintola on the way and to greet him and tell him that the Ilorin camp would soon fall into their hands.

But the messenger Ilori sent to greet Akintola did not return. He had fallen into the hands of Fabunmi's Ekiti troops. Soon, some of Ilori's men that had arrived and were fighting on his side noticed that there was something strange about the way the drums beating out Akintola's battle cry sounded and they began to suspect that somebody else was initiating his battle cry. They told Ilori about their suspicion but he did not believe them.

Later, Ilori discovered that his men's fears were justified. He discovered that it was **Fabunmi of Oke-Imesi and Commander of the Ekiti troops stationed in the area**, who had used this stratagem to deceive him; and that Fabunmi was leading his troops arrived at the Ilorin camp and attacked **Ilori and his soldiers**. Ilori suddenly found himself fighting on two fronts; one front was against the Ilorin troops and the other was against Fabunmi's Ekiti troops.

In the battle that followed, the odds were overwhelmingly against Ilori. To make matters worse for him, the few soldiers that were with him and who ought to have stood by him to defend him until reinforcement arrived for him, deserted him. They had carried out their threat to desert him whenever they had the opportunity of doing so. Ilori therefore had to face his enemies more or less alone. He rode his horse into the battlefield and continued the fight until his horse was entangled in a yam field and he fell off the horse.

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He was captured alive by his enemies and was taken prisoner to the Ilorin camp where one of his own soldiers disclosed his identify to the Ilorin war-chiefs who treated him cruelly. They took away from him everything he had; stripped him naked and gave him a rag to wrap around himself. They locked him in a room and kept him under strict security guard. **The Ilorin war-chiefs were very happy to have captured as prisoner, the son of the great Basorun Ogunmla of Ibadan.**

Some of the remnants of Ilori's soldiers fled back to Ikirun town where the Ikirun people became unfriendly because they had been defeated by the Ilorin troops. It is said that the Ikirun people insulted them and were even ready to stone them for losing the battle.

The rest of Ilori's soldiers who did not flee back to Ikirun escaped across the hills which separated them from the Balogun's troops. They went to the Balogun's camp and told him the sad news of the disaster that had befallen them at the Ilorin camp and of the capture of Ilori himself.

The Balogun was distressed to hear the news but he was a man of great experience who always remained calm even in moments of great crisis. He was in the thick of the battle against the Ijesas at Iba when the news of Ilori's capture was brought to him and he had to find quick solution to this new problem. **He commanded the men who brought the news to him not to tell anybody about it on pain of death.** Then he thought out a plan to encourage his own troops to fight against the Ijesas until victory was won. He called out some of his slaves and ordered them to roll themselves in the dust in an act of submission so that they would look like prisoners. When they had done his, he commanded his servants to "bind them hand to neck like prisoners and like them **to the Otun Balogun with this message.**

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“Greetings to the Otun; **see how bravely Ilori fought!** He has taken the Ilorin camp and these are the prisoners he sent us. Let it not be said that we have failed to take the Ijesa camp”.

The Balogun also sent a message to **Babalola, his eldest son**, who has also fighting this battle. He told him that, he must fight like a hero until victory was won, otherwise, he said, he would disown him.

Soon after, a company of the Ijesa troops came out to give battle. The Balogun immediately called all his troops out to attack them. They launched a savage attack on this company of Ijesa troops and massacred them.

The main body of the Ijesa army, not knowing what had happened to the company of their soldiers that went before them, also marched out of Iba town to give battle. On seeing them coming, the Balogun of Ibadan devised a clever plan to fight them. He ordered his troops to feign retreat in order to deceive the Ijesa troops continued to advance forward whilst the Balogun of Ibadan kept his eyes on them from his post. Suddenly, the Ijesa troops came to the place where the company of their soldiers that went before them were massacred. The sight of the corpses filled them with horror and they panicked. They turned back and fled.

It was at this stage that the Balogun of Ibadan ordered his troops to charge into the fleeing Ijesa troops. He shouted the command. It was the same command Balogun ibikunle had given to his troops during the Ijaiye war. It was “Omo Badan, e gba, e fi ti won; E ma je won o lo”: meaning “Ibadan men, arise and get at them. Don’t give them chance to escape”.

The Ibadan troops then rushed forward and pursued the Ijesa troops. They pursued them to their camp at Iba which they destroyed. They also captured the town

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of Iba. They caught many of the Ijesa troops as prisoners and the Balogun gave orders that they must all be killed.

Some historians have desired this action of Balogun Ogboriefon of Ibadan as barbaric. **But we must remember that all wars whether fought in the first century or in the twentieth century are barbaric. A desperate situation often gives rise to barbaric actions in wars.** It has happened in the history of wars all over the world. The crisis which faced Balgoun Ogboriefon and created a critical situation further was the fact that his immediate subordinate, Ilori, the Osi Balogun has been captured by the Ilorin troops. The section of the Ibadan army under the command of Ilori had been defeated by the Ilorin troops and the Ibadan soldiers had been insulted at Ikirun for losing the battle. The prestige of Ibadan as the greatest military power in all Yorubaland was at stake. To maintain this prestige of the Ibadan army was the task of a Balogun of Ibadan. He must either succeed in maintaining it or die. Consequently, he gave orders for all the prisoners to be killed, so that they might not constitute another problem for him.

The Balogun then began the march to the Ilorin camp. On their way there, he told his troops the truth. He told them that Ilori had been captured and that they must go at once to rescue him.

When they came within sight of the Ilorin camp, the Balogun commanded his own drummers to beat out his own battle cry which was:

Ke! Mo f'ori so le
Iku de

Meaning: “Bang! Headlong I fall!
Death has come!

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In their camp, the Ilorin troops heard the sound of the Balogun of Ibadan's drums and they were puzzled. They had captured Ilori, the Osi Balogun of Ibadan and other Ibadan warriors and had driven the rest of Ilori's troops away. They therefore did not think that the Ibadans would have enough troops to attack them again. But then the sound of these war drums approaching them? Whose war drums could they be? Someone told them that it was the Balogun of Ibadan's war drums beating out the one we captured?" they asked. And the reply was "Yes, Ogboriefon is the Balogun of Ibadan. Ilori is only the Osi Balogun". On hearing this, the Ilorin troops began to prepare for the attack from the Balogun of Ibadan.

Whilst this was **happening, Akintola**, one of Ilori's subordinate war-chiefs had returned to Ikirun when he heard the news of the defeat of Ilori. From Ikirun, Akintola took his troops to Iba to reinforce the Balogun's troops whom he expected to find fighting the Ijesas there. But he arrived at Iba too late. By the time he got there, the Ijesa troops had been defeated, Iba town had been sacked and the Balogun had already left the place with his troops out of Iba town to go and join the Balogun's troops.

Akintola and his troops soon arrived at the Ilorin battlefield to reinforce the Balogun's troops fighting there. Their arrival filled the hearts of the Balogun's troops with joy because they were beginning to feel tired after the battle of Iba and the day's march to the Ilorin camp. As soon as they saw Akintola, they began to shout his battle cry: "Kiniun Onibudo, Kiniun Onibudo" meaning "The Lion of Onibudo, The Lion of Onibudo". His presence inspired them presence inspired them to fight lion, till victory was won. According to this vivid account:

"Akintola came up; and stretching forth his hand across to the enemy, half turned to his saddle; to his men he said, "Awon ta a nu u? Awon ta le mba se

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ta nta?” meaning “And whose are those? Who are they with whom you are exchanging shots?”

The Ibadan troops fully well understood Akitola’s speech. It was a speech to remind them their ancestors in the past treated the Ilorin troops with contempt when the Ilorin troop’s almost reached the outskirts of Ibadan. They sent their representatives to the Ibadan chiefs to demand that the Ibadan chiefs should surrender to them. At the time, the Ibadan chiefs replied by sending them cassava to eat; and cassava at the time was only eaten by sheep and goats! This insult led the Ilorin troops to attack Ibadan but the Ibadan troops defeated them. Akintola was thus calling on the Ibadan troops at the Ilorin camp to do what their ancestors did long ago - to show contempt for the Ilorin troops by fighting them until they defeated them.

The Ibadan troops then began the assault on the Ilorin camp. They dashed into the marshes that separated them from the Ilorin troops and struggled across the marshes till they came face to face with the Ilorin troops. Then, with savagery, they hurled themselves upon their enemies killing them in this dare-devil encounter with them. Before long, the Ibadan troops took the Ilorin camp by storm. The Ilorin troops panicked at this surprise and daring attack made on them by the Ibadan troops and many of them jumped on their horses and fled the camp after killing Ilori.

The Ibadan troops rescued some of Ilori’s men who had been captured earlier on in the day when they were attacked by Fabunmi’s men. After they had done this, they began to pursue the fleeing Ilorin troops. The latter fled towards the town of Ofa which was one of the Yoruba towns formerly under the Alaafin of Oyo. But during the Fulani attacks on the towns and villages of old Oyo, Ofa was captured by the Fulanis of Ilorin and became a tributary town of Ilorin. The Ofa people had always resented the treatment which their new masters at Ilorin gave them and when they had this opportunity of avenging the cruelty which they had suffered at their hand,

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they did so. At any rate, this was an opportunity for them to throw off the Ilorin yoke. They destroyed the bridge across the River Otin to prevent the fleeing Ilorin troops from escaping from the Ibadan troops.

As a result of the heavy rains at the time, the **River Otin** was swollen. In an effort to escape from the fury of the Ibadan troops who were hotly pursuing them, the fleeing Ilorin troops rushed headlong into the swollen river; both horses and men were drowned there. In describing this incident, the Rev. Samuel Johnson wrote:

“Here (River Otin) thousands upon thousands of men, women and horses perished. The river at one point was said to be so choked with human bodies and carcasses of horse that some fugitives who came later were able to escape by walking over corpses”.

This mad plunge of the Ilorin troops into the swollen River Otin gave the name “JALUMI” (meaning plunging into water) to this war which is otherwise known as **“The Ikirun War”**.

The Ibadan troops pursued their enemies to Erin, a town about eight miles from Ofa. They captured several Ilorin men of note as prisoners and sent them to Ibadan. However, Ajia, the commander of the Ilorin troops escaped.

The Balogun and his troops also attacked and destroyed the Ekiti and Ila camp near the Ilorin camp. Adeyala, the leader of the troops from Ila was killed but Fabunmi of Oke-Mesi managed to escape.

After the destruction of the Ekiti and Ila camp, the Balogun and his troops went and attacked other towns which had supported Ekitis. They attacked and captured Ila, Omu, Iresi, Ekan, Erinmope and Igbajo which had earlier in the war

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been captured by the Ekitis. The Balogun's plan was to complete the subjugation of the Ekiti country and appoint new Ajeles for these towns.

But treachery prevented him from completing the task. Ali Laluwoye, the Otun Balogun became jealous of the Balogun's successes in these battles and he sent a secret message to Are Latosisa at Ibadan asking him to recall the Balogun from the war. He said that if the Balogun was not recalled, he would become so rich as a result of the booty from the war that it would become impossible for Are Latosisa to control him when he returned to Ibadan. Are Latosisa acted on Ali Laluwoye's advice and recalled the Balogun and the Ibadan army from the war zone.

At first, the Balogun refused to return home. He sent a message back to Are Latosisa begging him to give him more time to settle the Ekiti problem properly so that the Ekiti might not start another revolt against Ibadan. But Are Latosisa refused to listen to the Balogun's advice and insisted that the Balogun must return home with the Ibadan army at once. He obeyed without further argument.

Thus, the Ekiti problem was left unsolved by the Ibadans. And their chances of consolidating their victory at Ikirun were lost forever. Are Latosisa had miscalculated and misjudged the strength and the determination of the Ekitis and the Ijesas throw off the Ibadan yoke and regain their independence. He had never really considered the Ekiti and Ijesa problem as serious as the Egba problem.

After the Balogun and the troops had returned to Ibadan, Are Latosisa installed new chiefs to fill the vacancies caused by the deaths of Ilori, the Osi Balogun and some other war-chiefs at Ikirun. He made **Akintaro, the Mogaji of the family of the late Balogun Akere** the Osi Balogun in place of Ilori, and he made **Kongi** whose real name was **Feyibunmi**, the Mogaji of Basorun Ogunmola's family and Chief Areago of Ibadan.

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The Balogun returned to Ibadan a sick man, his illness took a turn for the worse at Ibadan and he died in January 1880. The firing of guns in the town announced to the public that **Balogun Ajayi Jegede, nick-named Ogboriefon had died in his house**. His death threw the whole town into mourning because he was one of the last of those great warrior chieftains of old who established Ibadan and made her famous as a great military state. Those who succeeded these old warrior chieftains were young and inexperienced men even though they came from well-known families of Ibadan.

Kongi was the grandson of Basorun Ogunmola and a nephew of Ilori P

7.0 IJAYE WAR AND THE RISE OF IBADAN TO THE GREATEST SINGLE POWER IN YORUBALAND

(a) Rivalry between Ibadan and Ijaye:

According to Prof. Banji Akintoye (2010): by **the late 1850s then, Ibadan had become the greatest single power in Yorubaland**. However, that eminence was not undisputed. Kurunmi of Ijaye, for one, disputed it vehemently. As would be remembered, Kurunmi as ruler of Ijaye had started off being friendly with the rulers of Ibadan and giving them help on many occasions. On their part, they had also shown much deference to Kurunmi on account of his being older and more famous than they. That was in the early years, the **1820s and 1830s**. As Ibadan flourished from about 1840 and went on to conquer an empire, the relationship between Ijaye and Ibadan deteriorated from just cool to very hostile. Various factors contributed to that. Not only did the Ibadan chiefs cease respecting Kurunmi, they increasingly put it to him that their own leader was his superior. They demanded that, since the Basorun was senior to the Kakanfo in the traditional order, Kurunmi as Kakanfo should come to Ibadan to pay homage to the Basorun Oluyole.

(b) Alabaja Conference of 1854:

In 1854 a high-powered meeting of leaders of Ibadan, Ijaye, Abeokuta and Ijebu was held at Ibadan to decide to put an end to all wars and cease selling Yoruba people as slaves. Those decisions were taken, but no positive result followed. For Kurunmi, the fact that the meeting was held at Ibadan and not at Ijaye, and that the Ibadan rulers were generally treated as more important than he, became causes of resentment and outrage.

(c) Attempt to Rebuild Oyo Empire by Alaafin Atiba:

Behind all this growing hostility was the issue of territory. The Alaafin, Kurunmi and the Ibadan rulers had originally agreed to consign the Ekun Osi to Ibadan and the Ekun Otun to Ijaye, with the very clear understanding that the Alaafin would be king over both. Ibadan had gone on to expel Ilorin from the Ekun Osi and then gone far beyond to establish an empire for itself. Both Kurunmi and the Alaafin were alienated by this. But between Kurunmi and the Alaafin, territorial problems also developed, as Kurunmi set out to establish Ijaye's control over all of the Ekun Otun (mostly the Upper Ogun region) which, being close to Oyo, ought now, in the Alaafin's expectation, to be at least partly controlled by Oyo. As Kurunmi increasingly took control of the area and showed no readiness to concede much to the Alaafin, intense hostility brewed between the two. The situation became really explosive when Ibadan, having become the overlord of the Ekun Osi as well as of Ife, Ijesa, Ekiti, Igbomina and Akoko, began to show interest in the Upper Ogun area. Some towns in the area (notably the large town of Iseyin), attracted by Ibadan's greatness, began to gravitate towards it.

(d) Hostility between Ibadan and Ijaye:

From this cauldron of bad blood, hostile actions began to issue - Ibadan against the Alaafin and Kurunmi, and Kurunmi against Ibadan and the Alaafin. When in one of such little acts of hostility on the farmlands a small Ibadan contingent was completely crushed by its Ijaye opponents, hostile feelings towards Ijaye became a raging fever in

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Ibadan. *The Balogun Ibikunle who spoke up for conciliation with Kurunmi in the Ibadan council of chiefs was accused by his colleagues of (of all things!) cowardice, and was reprimanded and fined. The stage was being set for a show-down between Ibadan and Ijaye. By and by, the Alaafin Atiba came to reckon that Kurunmi was a greater threat to his interests than Ibadan was, and tried some cooling of tempers towards Ibadan. As a result Ibadan tended to be intermittently well disposed towards the Alaafin.* On one such occasion of good feeling towards the Alaafin, for instance, Ibadan chiefs, in 1855, invited the leaders of some Oyo towns and urged voluntary acceptance of allegiance to the Alaafin as well as peaceful relations with Abeokuta and the Ijebu kingdom.

(e) The Real Cause of Ijaiye War

The explosion finally came in 1860 when the Alaafin Atiba died and he was succeeded by his Aremo, Adelu. In his last days, Atiba had persuaded the Oyo chiefs to set aside the well-known traditional rule and to crown the Aremo after him. Atiba had also broached the matter to the Ibadan rulers and obtained their concurrence, but he had left Kurunmi, the Kakanfo, in the dark. *Therefore, when Adelu was crowned Alaafin, Kurunmi flatly demanded that Adelu should die (as tradition demanded) and that another prince be crowned the Alaafin.* He then greatly escalated hostile actions against the new Alaafin in the Upper Ogun area. War flared between Ibadan and Ijaye. Known to history as the Ijaye War, this war quickly developed into a siege of Ijaye by Ibadan. Abeokuta declared support for Ijaye and sent an army to its defence. For five years the fighting raged. Ijaye was reduced to starvation but its defenders, commanded by Kurunmi, known to be the greatest general in the land, held their city. When it looked as if Ijaye might crumble, Kurunmi's valiant sons threw themselves into a series of vicious attempts to break the siege - and all died in the bloody clashes. *Then, in 1865, Kurunmi himself, advanced in age and broken-hearted, died - and the defenses of Ijaye collapsed. Ogunmola, then the Balogun of Ibadan, led the final charge into the doomed city, and personally saw to the total destruction of every bit of it, compound by compound. Ijaye's people scattered in all directions, a large portion fleeing to Abeokuta while others fled to Oyo and the towns of the Upper Ogun and even to Ibadan.*

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In later years, as wild vegetation established itself over the once proud city of Ijaye, people coined the sad saying, “Owo ope Ijaye l’a o ti beere ogun Ogunmola” (“Only from palm trees growing in Ijaye at the time will the world ever be able to ask questions about Ogunmola’s assault on Ijaye.”). ***With the elimination of Ijaye, Ibadan at last became the undisputed dominant power in Yorubaland*** according to Professor S. Adebajji Akintoye (2010).

CHAPTER SEVEN
THE EMERGENCE OF IBADAN EMPIRE AND THE
IMPLICATION OF KIRIJI WAR ON YORUBA UNITY

If we take a quick look at the history of the world, we shall find that is a record of a continue process of change. It is a record of the great Empires and civilizations which have lasted for a time and then passed away. Egypt, Greece and Rome are examples of these great civilizations that have passed away as a result of war of conquest by stronger and sometimes less civilization tribes and nations - Mrs. Kemi Morgan.

Ibadan rose to the level of a city state, and then an Empire in the nineteenth century. It success in transforming Yoruba political institutions and adapting them to a new age during the nineteenth century was remarkable. Its ability to survive as an hinterland empire, intricately surviving the menace and hostility of its enemies to the south, became a manifestation of its power and its diplomacy (Prof. Toyin Falola, 2022).

1.0 INTRODUCTION

The Ibadan history from origins takes a fresh and unprejudiced look at events as recorded by tradition, old documents and products of conventional studies by eminent scholars including written accounts of Ibadan and other Yoruba local historians. A good number of them witnessed some of the events, which they narrated and also collected firsthand information from those who participated in the events that they described.

Lagelu and some survivors of the destruction of the first Ibadan were forced to seek refuge on Eleyele Hills at Awotan after its destruction late in the **17th century** when Oyo Empire was at its zenith before they finally settled at Oriyangi (now

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Oja’ba) while Ijaiye (an Egba town) which was attacked and destroyed during the reign of Alaafin Abiodun Adegolu.

Historically, Ibadan people had one time or the other settled at different places like other Yoruba “**community of ancient people**” after the founder Prince Adio Lagelu, had migrated from the cradle, Ile-Ife. It later became a war-

camp and rose to the level of a city-state, and then an empire in the nineteenth century. Its success in transforming Yoruba hereditary political institutions and adapting them to a new age free, just, and egalitarian society without a hereditary system of leadership during the same nineteenth century was remarkable.

Thus, the history of Ibadan like Egypt and some ancient empires could be generally divided into periods. The old settlement established by Lagelu which endured from about 1550A.D. to 1824A.D. it was followed by the transition period when Ibadan became a war camp, or era of civil wars and controlled by the allied armies of Ife, Ijebu, Oyo and Egba refugees between 1824-1830. Next came the full control of Ibadan after 1830s by the Oyo-Osun elements of Yoruba subgroups till today.

According to Bolanle Awe, Professor Emeritus and Former Director, Institute of African Studies, University of Ibadan in her comment (2012) said: “Ibadan, the largest indigenous African town south of the Sahara, has grown from its humble origin as a refugee settlement in the nineteenth century into a sprawling cosmopolitan city that is now home to many millions and serves as the intellectual capital of Nigeria. A city of contrasts, of tradition struggling with modernity”

2.0 THE FALL OF OLD OYO EMPIRE

The crack in the strength of old Oyo Empire and the eventual end of Oyo hegemony in Yoruba history began with the declaration of independence by the Nupe and Ibariba from Oyo Empire between 1785 and 1791. Before this period too, the Egba, the Yoruba sub-group that had been incorporated into the Oyo Empire also successfully revolted under the leadership of Lisabi. By 1796 AD, political authority had broken down in Oyo. A new Alaafin could not be elected after the death of Maku. Without a central authority in Oyo, chaos started in the provinces spearheaded by Afonja, the Aare Ona-Kakanfo at Ilorin, the Onikoyi, Teyeje the Otun Aare-Ona Kakanfo and the Baale of Ogbomoso. Thus, the Fulani involvement, which began as a serious Muslim upheaval in 1817 A.D.; degenerated into a more ambitious programme of incorporating the Oyo Kingdom into the new ILORIN EMIRATE.

The civil wars that engulfed the entire Yorubaland contributed immensely to the growth of many Yoruba towns while a great number of towns and villages including the Oyo-Ile were completely destroyed or moved to new locations like the Egbas 1830 and the Oyos in 1837. Owu was conquered and destroyed. The refugees and the allied went further to ravage the Egba settlements, sparing on Ibadan which they turned into a war camp.

Thus, the disintegration of the Oyo Empire destroyed the pre-existing system of order and security in Yorubaland and created a situation whereby all centres of power, old and new, had to scramble to establish new systems of governance and patterns that is guarantee order and security. Those efforts created conflicts and wars which Yoruba people were not able to put to an end, until European powers intervened and imposed their own systems of order, security and peace.

It should therefore be noted that from Oyo History, that the fall of Oyo-Ile Empire (Old Oyo) arose from the combination of **internal Constitutional crisis**,

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power tussles, and conflicts, and the rise of militant Islam in Ilorin which played significant roles in the augment station of the existing second Ibadan population and eventual establishment of the “**third and present Ibadan**” in 1825 A.D.

3.0 THE GROWTH OF IBADAN AND THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE:

When the third and present Ibadan was finally established by the allied army comprising Ife, Oyo, Ijebu and Egba in 1825 A.D. There arose ethnic rivalry for the hegemony of Ibadan camp, between 1829 and 1833 the Egba and Ifes were eliminated from Ibadan, thus, **Oyo-Osun** sub-Yoruba group occupied Ibadan.

In establishing the Republican system of governance, the cosmopolitan characteristics of the city were preserved so that although the chieftaincy titles adopted were traditional ones, the system itself was quite different from the normal Yoruba traditional hereditary normal Yoruba system. The titles were not hereditary but given in accordance with the effective position of the holder in society and it was possible to progress from one title to another in the hierarchy even to the very top (Baale now Olubadan). In Ibadan, persons of very diverse origin could aspire to the position of Olubadan (formerly Baale).

Furthermore, the communal differences had little political significance and **the diverse group tended to fuse together in a common IBADAN IDENTITY in the opposite manner to the Egba who preserved their original town and village Identities** within the single conference of the walls of Abeokuta.

The advantage of **republican nature of Ibadan civil and military population** party why it quickly and effortlessly succeeded Oyo as the

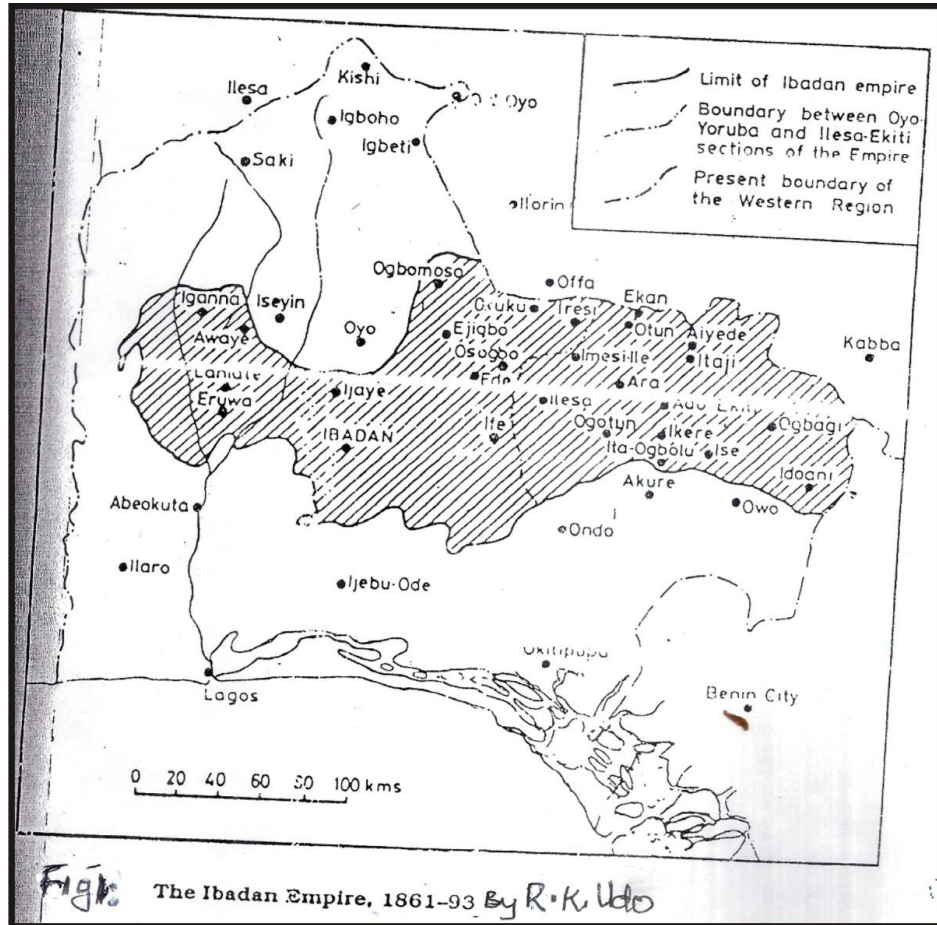
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military headquarters of the Yoruba Empire in the nineteenth century. It was an all-comers community continually which did not foreclose the participation of a pan-Yoruba community in its military service. This helped to build an influential and popular army which pushed the frontiers of Ibadan military expeditions. Since then, Ibadan has moved from just being a city into becoming a **city-state**.

**THE STATE BUILDERS AND HEROES OF
IBADAN EMPIRE (1825 - 1893)**

BAALE	BALOGUN	OTUN BALOGUN	OSI- BALOGUN	PERIOD
Maye Okunade	Labosinde	Lakanle	-	1825-1831
Oluyedun (Aare-Ona-Kakanfo)	Lakanle (Otun Kakanfo)	Oluyole (Osi Kakanfo)	Adelakun (Ekerin Kakanfo)	1831-1835
Oluyole Iyanda (Baale and Later Basorun)	Bankole Alesinloye and Odeyinka Oderinlo	Lajumoke	Opeagbe from Sarumi	1835-1849
Opeagbe Omololu	None	None	None	1850-1851
Oyesile Olugbode	Ibikunle Tetu	Ogunmola Orisagunna	Osundina	1851-1864
Ogunmola (Basorun)	Akere	Tubosun	Abayomi	1865-1867
Orowusi (Awarun Soso)	Ajobo	Latoosa	Ajayi Jegede	1870-1871
Obadoke Latoosa	Ajayi Jegede (Ogboriefon)	Alli Laluwoye	Ayorinde Aje	1871-1885
Vacant	Ajayi Osungbekun (From Seriki)	Fijabi (Abese Balogun)	Osuntoki (Maye Balogun)	1885-1893
Fijabi	AKintola (Omo Ibikunle)	Babala	Kongi (grandson of Ogunmola)	1893-1895

Note: Oderinlo Odeyinka, Ibikunle Tetu and Akere died as Balogun of Ibadan. Balogun Osungbekun was promoted at Kiriji War to fill the vacancies after the death of Aare Obadoke Latoosa in 1885. He was not allowed to become Baale of Ibadan when returned from Kiriji in 1893, hence Fijabi was installed the first post war Baale of Ibadan.



With the influx of more refugees into the city, a system of **Mogajiship** was introduced to differentiate **hereditary succession** to the compound households (**Omo-Ile**) from those who are not related to the frontier of the compound (**Ara-Ile**). The **Mogajiship** also institutionalized the process of selection of Olubadan stool (Formerly Baale stool) and it is not confined to a particular family in Ibadan.

Those who are regarded as **strangers** in Ibadan were those who came mostly in search of economic opportunities during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and they did not seek to identify with already

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integrated kinsmen. They had no farms, a major factor that reinforced their “**stranger’s status**” rather, they were mostly interested in trade wage labour (Professor Toyin Fatola, 2012).

4.0 EMERGENCE OF IBADAN EMPIRE:

The result of the incessant struggle for power among the states was a series of civil wars that plagued the Yoruba country throughout the nineteenth century. The most celebrated of these were the Ijaye war of **1859-1862** and the consequent Kutuje war of **1862-1865** which resulted among other things in the destruction of Ijaiye and the Kiriji or Ekitiparapo war of **1878-1893**. Practically the whole of Yorubaland was involved in these war, and it required the combination of efforts of the Christian Missionaries and the British Lagos Government to put an end to them towards the close of the century (J.A. Atanda, 1980).

(a) Ibadan and Fulani Jihadists

The power struggle which started as a competition for the north-east of Yorubaland between Ibadan and Ilorin was to regain areas lost to Ilorin in the **1820s and 1830s**. In **1840**, Ibadan won a decisive war at Osogbo and gained some immediate advantages:

- (i) Ilorin dropped its imperial ambition towards the south of Yorubaland
- (ii) Ibadan became the dominant power in Oyo-Yorubaland
- (iii) Ibadan gained immediate vassal states and incorporated them into its empire, for example: Osogbo, Ikirun, Ede ad Iwo.

Using the war against Ilorin as an excuse, according to Professor Toyin Falola (2002), Ibadan gradually invaded Ijesa, Ekiti and Akoko countries from 1845 to the 1870s. In 1845, it intervened in the Ilesa-Osogbo border crisis, and consequently attacked Ilesa over Ijebu-Ijesa crisis, and consequently attacked Ilesa and Ijebu-Ijesa.

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In 1847, it responded to the invitation of OTUN against Ilorin to Ekitiland, conquering in the process Ikoru, Ijero, Ara and later Effon Oro, Iyapa (now Aiyetoro), Isan and Itaji. Ajeles were posted too these places as soon as the conquest were over.

5.0 DIPLOMACY AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION

(b) Intervention in Ife and Modakeke Wars

By the Fulani conquest of all the principal towns in Yoruba proper, according to Rev. Samuel Johnson, 1976 pp. 230-234, fugitive from all parts escaped southwards and settled in Ife surrounding towns such as Edunabon, Yakoyo, Ifelende, Sope, Waro, Ogi as well as Apomu Ikire.

The Ilorin army later came on the instigation of Muslims in Iwo and overran these towns. The settlers' comprising Oyo refugees escaped to Ile-Ife and were welcomed and protected by Ooni Akinmoyaro (alias Odunle-bi-Ojo) between 1770 and 1800.

The people of Ife, after the reign of Ooni Akinmoyeroo had grown to regard the Oyo refugees living amongst them as kinsmen of the Oyo-Ibadan who fought and drove them away from Ibadan during the Gbanamu war of 1833. This hatred led into murder of three Oonis of Ife between 1800-1839. It was Ooni Abewela (1839-1849) who resettled them outside Ife town.

Twice, the Ifes attacked the new settlement of Modakeke but each time, the Oyo settlers living there repulsed them. As a reprisal for these attacks on their new settlement, Oyo settlers sacked Ife on their new settlement, Oyo settles sacked Ife town in 1849. The Ifes escaped to Isoya, Oke-Igbo and other Ife towns where they remained until 1854 when Ibadan was at Ijebu Ere war. Ibadan under Bale Oyesile Olugbode offered to settle the differences between the Ife people and the Oyo settler.

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Balogun Ibikunle was sent there to mediate and the mission to Ile-Ife was successful. Thereafter the new settlement formerly called Ogunsua was renamed Modakeke.

In 1882, according to Chief (Dr.) M.A. Fabunmi (1985), during the Ekitiparapo Kiriji war, the Ibadan's wanted to pass through Ife territory to attack the Ijesas from the rear but the Ife refused and their contingent left the Ibadan camp at Igabjo to join Ekitiparapo. The Modakekes therefore attacked Ife, drove the inhabitants away and burnt the town in 1882.

The Modakekes sold many Ife into slavery and leveled all their houses to the ground. Some escaped to Oke-Ogun, and others to Itajamo, Isoya, Iwara, Iloro, Olojoda. That was the second fall of Ife and they only returned home in 1894 under the leadership of Ooni Adelekan Olubosos I after the end of Ekitiparapo war in 1893.

(c) Ibadan and Ijaiye Wars

The almost equal strength and similar interests generated conflicts between the Ijaiye and Ibadan elite. The ambition of Oluyole to acquire more power led to the inconclusive Batedo war of 1844

After the death of Alaafin Atiba in 1859m Prince Adelu, his first son was appointed to succeed him with the support of Ibadan against the tradition and in compliance with the Alabaja Conference of 1855 resolutions initiated by Baale Olugbode. Aare Kurunmi opposed the choice of Adelu because it was against the tradition of Oyo Empire and that Alaafin Adelu would be pro-Ibadan like his father, the late Alaafin Atiba.

To check Ijaiye and maintain political dominance Ibadan proclaimed war on Ijaiye in 1860. The war was fought with much bitterness and Ibadan eventually won in March, 1962. Therefore, the post-Ijaiye war campaigns in Easter Yorubaland after 1865 were to consolidate the territorial gains in this area

(d) The Conquest of Ijesa (1866-1870)

Between 1866 and 1870, Ibadan forces fought against the Ijesa who they conquered in 1870 for the first since the seventeenth (17th) century, when Alaafin Obalokun unsuccessfully attacked Ilesa to reduce the town to submission which resulted in heavy loss for old Oyo Empire (Dr. J.A. Atanda (1979). As a result of the conquest of the Ijesa, it instilled fears into the minds of the Ekiti people.

In 1872, Ibadan intervened in a succession dispute at Ilesa to the annoyance of Ogedengbe who withdrew to the neighbourhood of Akure where he made alliances with some Ekiti kingdoms. This followed the Igbo Alawun war which saw the humiliation of Ibadan for the first time by Ogedengbe's army after Ogedengbe's candidate as Owa was killed in Ibadan.

To redeem their image, Ibadan's army by Aare Latosa himself set out against Yoruba country securely under Ibadan. At the peak of its glory in the mid-1870s therefore, the Ibadan Empire was made up of Ibarapa, metropolitan Ibadan, Ife, Osun, Ijesa, Ekiti, Akoko and most of Igbomina (Abiodun Adediran of O.A.U. Ife, 2000)

(e) The Intervention in Ondo-Akoko-Ugbo Affairs:

The territorial acquisitions of Ibadan, were not only by war. Diplomacy was also employed to take control or at least have significant influence in some areas. It was largely through diplomatic means that in the 1850s, Ibadan incorporated the Ife kingdom into the empire through their mediation in Ife and Modakeke affairs. By the 1870s they had extended their influence eastwards to the Ondo kingdoms through interference in Ondo-Akoko-Igbo affairs.

6.0 PRELUDE TO EKITI PARAPO WAR

The **Ekiti-parapo** people comprised of war leaders from Ilesa, Ekiti, Efon, Yagba, and Akoko led by Ogedengbe troops. Others were Baloguns from Ila, Otun Ekiti and Akure while the Elekole, the Alara, the Alaaye and Ajero personally led their own contingents to Oke-Imesi to join Ogedengbe. Altogether, sixteen Ekiti kings sent contingents to Oke-Imesi to fight under the leadership of Ogedengbe.

During the Ekitiparapo (or Kiriji) war, the Ilorins became the ally of the Ekitiparapo. The Egbas and Ijebus also closed their trade routes to the coast against Ibadans so that their troops might not be able to obtain arms and ammunition from the traders on the coast.

Ibadan's policy was seriously undermined by these disturbances. To solve the problem, Ibadan adopted two urgent steps. The first was to use diplomacy to win more friends and create an atmosphere of temporary peace in Yorubaland. This diplomatic onslaught was directed at Ilorin in order to prevent it from supporting Ibadan's enemies, then Ijebu and later Ondo (1872-1875) in order to secure passage to the coast.

This was the war that brought Ibadan Empire to an end in 1893. It started in 1877 at Okemesi. By this date, Ibadan had acquired several enemies in Yorubaland because, throughout 1877 and 1878, Ibadan continued armed conflicts with the Egbas in one guise or the other, while the fundamental cause of Kiriji war was a desire for freedom by Ekiti Ijesa and others, the immediate causes were:

- (i) An intermitten antagonism between Igbajo and Ilesa ;
- (ii) Fabunmi, the eldest son of Oba Oloja Oke-Imesi, appealed to the Aare of Ibadan so he could secure the marriage of a woman called Fasola already in traditional wedlock with an Igbajo man. Although the Aare

had taken money and a horse, he did not support Fabunmi, and rather the Aare's messenger, Orimogunje, committed an obscenity in the palace of the Oloja Oke-Imesi, which led to a widespread riot in which many Oyos were killed. Odeyale, the oldest son of Orangun Ila, supported Fabunmi immediately.

- (iii) The aim of Ekiti alliance was to strip Ibadan of all its dependencies and ensure it had no town to administer beyond river Oba (Chief M.O. Ogunmola, the Otun of Oyo in "A New Perspective to OYO EMPIRE HISTORY 1530-1944", 1977, 2000, 2010).

The hostilities from the Ekiti Parapo started from Ikirun where they engaged Ibadan in battle. The Ibadan answer to the alliance resulted in Jalumi war.

(a) JALUMI WAR

The War was so named because the battle took place in October when the Rivers Oba, Osun Otin and others in the areas of war were in great floods; and many of the combatants from all the sides. The Ilorins and the Ekitis got frowned in the course of either fighting or escaping.

In this encounter which in history is referred to as Jalumi war, Ibadan came to the rescue of Ikirun and the town was successfully liberated. Although the Osi, Chief Ilori; the son of Bounmola, was slain, the war was not lost.

(b) ILA WAR

A prince of Ila Orangun, Adeyalo, and two prominent citizens of Ole-Imesi, Fabunmi and Odeyale, united together in raising a rebellion against Ibadan and Oyo agents in their district. In the battle at Ila, about 1,000 Oyos were killed. Although Ayikiti, the Oni of Ife, installed by Aare of Ibadan, pillaged Ipindun, Ifawara and Osu

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to recoup himself of expenses of his installation. The Ijesa realising the consequences of offending Ibadan, accepted the indignity without joining the alliance.

(c) IGBAJO WAR

In 1878, the Ekiti allies besieged Igbajo and repelled the contingent from Ibadan that would have given succour to the former, but Ibadan also came to the rescue and Igbajo was successfully liberated like Ikirun.

The Ekitiparapo included Ijesas, Efons, and Ekitis. The death of Balogun Ajayi Jegede Ogboriefon in 1879 invigorated the members. When the Aare got the help of the Ijebus living in Ibadan to mediate on the issue of peace between Ijebu-Ode and Ibadan, the Awujale only catalogued his grievances as follows:

- (i) That Ajobo was expelled from Ibadan and his corpse was not allowed to be brought into the town (Ibadan); and
- (ii) That in the disagreement with Efunsetan, Aijenku and Iyapo, Ijebu's mediations was rejected. If the Aare wanted support he should settle with the Egbas first and then commit suicide to pave the way for peace. Ibadan was also asked to withdraw its troops from Offa and Ikirun. The Ondos kept their neutrality

However, diplomatically, Ibadan Civic Chiefs at home led by Otun Baale Tajo did not allow the son of Balogun of Ijebu, Onafowokan, to be killed when he was captured by the Sodeinde, an Ijebu man in Ibadan. He was asked to arrange for his ransom while they gave him corns, and other farms which surprised Balogun and the Ogboni Chiefs. Eventually, Awujale Fidipote was expelled from Ijebu-Ode and the route to Lagos was opened for Ibadan to buy ammunition (Kemi Morgan).

In 1885, Aare Latosa died. The leadership of Ibadan and conduct of the war devolved on Ajayi Osungbekun who assumed the title of Balogun from Seriki. He

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was able to direct the conduct of war on the fronts: offa, Kirihi and Modakeke. The Ijebus under Ogunsiun were assisted by ex-Awujale's men from Epe, but the whole of Ekiti Darapo alliance found adequate match in Akintola (the grandson of Ibikunle), Apampa (the son of Osi Balogun Osundina) and the Balogun.

In January, 1886, Captain A.C. Moloney took over the autonomous administration of Lagos and his contributions to promote peace in interior. He enlisted the services of Messrs Samuel Johnson and C, Phillip both C.M.S. agents. These revered gentleman were dispatched separately to Ibadan and Ekiti camps with definite instructions and terms to negotiate.

7.0 EKITIPARAPO WARS OF RESISTANCE TO IBADAN

Causes of Ekitiparapo or Kiriji War

That major phase of the wars opened with a big bang in Ibadan on Monday, July 30, 1877. On that day, after massive and careful preparations, Ibadan declared war on Abeokuta. Next morning, an army larger than Ibadan had ever sent out on any campaign, bristling with confidence and wildly cheered by large crowds of Ibadan people, marched out towards Abeokuta. It was led by Momoh Latoosa, the Are Ona Kakanfo, by then the most dreaded war commander in all of Yorubaland.

According to Ibadan's plans, this was to be a short sharp war to destroy or subdue Abeokuta and thus eliminate Abeokuta's control of the trade routes to Egbado and the ports of Porto Novo and Lagos. Following the Ijaye War, all states still independent in Yorubaland had increasingly stood in fear of Ibadan. It seemed only a matter of time before Ibadan would conquer Abeokuta and even Ijebu-Ode and Ilorin, and the small kingdoms of the Egbado country. *The Alaafin's pretensions about being the king over Ibadan had become completely meaningless; indeed, the Ibadan chiefs increasingly treated the Alaafin as a vassal, demanding of him gifts and services that only a vassal would give to an overlord. The Alaafin dared not*

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oppose Ibadan openly, and so he became a secret enemy, surreptitiously giving encouragement to Ibadan's enemies. Abeokuta tightened control on the trade routes through its territory, and Ijebu-Ode, after some hesitation, followed suit-all in order to curtail Ibadan's access to guns and gunpowder from the coast. Ibadan's efforts to persuade Abeokuta, especially, achieved nothing. Therefore, the Ibadan chiefs, after satisfying themselves that the Ijesa, Ife, Ekiti, Akoko and Igbomina provinces were peaceful and under good control, decided to change the Egba situation by force. Hence the declaration of war in July 1877. Latoosa was confident that success would come very quickly. This, he thought, was the war that would end all wars.

Immediately, things began to go against Ibadan's expectations. Rather than end quickly, the campaign against Abeokuta met strong resistance and dragged on - until days became weeks and weeks became months. Ibadan took steps to make friends with Ijebu-Ode in order to isolate Abeokuta and ensure that the routes through Ijebu would be kept open. Again, after a short vacillation (caused by the opposition of the Ijebu traders to any closing of the routes), the Ijebu-Ode government took its decision. *The Awujale Ademiyewo Fidipote accused Ibadan of aspiring to become master of the whole world (that is, the Yoruba world)*, and ordered more stringent closure of Ijebu routes against Ibadan traders. Ibadan sent an army to force the Ijebu routes open; the Ijebu army met it at the Ijebu border town of Oru, and a second front to the war emerged.

Meanwhile, the people of the Ekiti, Ijesa, Igbomina and Akoko provinces of the Ibadan Empire had watched all these developments with interest. In 1878 the Ekiti revolted. The trouble started in the small kingdom of Okemesi (then known as Imesi-Igboodo). Reacting to the Ibadan Ajele's assault of a woman who was prince Fabunmi's wife or the wife of his close relative, prince Fabunmi attacked the Ajele's residence, killed the Ajele and some of his officials and hangers-on, and burnt down

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the house. Knowing that Ibadan would respond with a punitive mission, Fabunmi dispatched urgent messages to all parts of Ekiti, urging the kings and war chiefs to rise and destroy the agents of Ibadan's rule in their towns and villages. The response was immediate almost everywhere. Ibadan Ajeles were set upon and killed or forced to flee. In a few terrible days, the network of Ibadan's provincial administration in Ekiti vanished.

Ikirun or Jalumi War

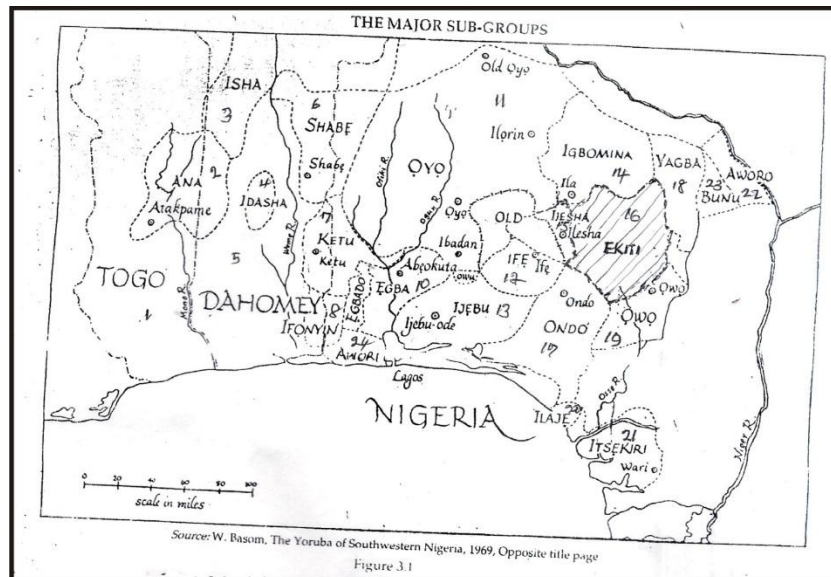
When they were finally satisfied that their forces were reasonably ready, the Ekitiparapo leadership ordered their men to march down the road through the old kingdom of Imesi-Ile, to Igbajo. At Igbajo, an Ijesa border town strongly defended by an Ibadan garrison, they met their first resistance. They overcame the opposition and took Igbajo. Then they rolled down the hills to the plains of the Osun Valley and headed for Ikirun, the largest town in this part of the valley. Here, they faced their first big trial. Even with the help of the Ilorin contingents, they did not have enough forces to surround the big town fully; so they held the eastern and northern parts of the Ikirun walls, apparently hoping that they would have enough time to move up the troops being formed behind them and completely surround Ikirun.

In Ibadan meanwhile, the authorities decided to take firm steps to meet the Ekitiparapo challenge, and a large army was sent out under the command of the *Balogun Ajayi Jegede (better known by his nickname Ogboriefon)*. Ogboriefon easily entered Ikirun from the southwest and early the next morning, he took the field against the Ekitiparapo confederacy and their Ilorin allies. *The Ekiti-parapo and Ilorin forces seem to have had some difficulty with coordinating, which gave Ogboriefon a good chance to scatter and decimate* them in one single day. Of the many prominent men lost in the day, the most painful to the confederacy was prince Adeyale of Ila. The Ilorin troops and many others fled directly north. When they came

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to the small Otin River a short distance to the north of Ikirun, it was unexpectedly flooded. Hotly pressed from behind, many plunged into the flood and drowned - so much so that the bodies of men and horses formed a bridge for later arrivals to run or gallop over. From this, the battle earned the name **Ogun Jalumi** (the war in which men plunged into a flooded river and perished).

Most of the Ekiti, Ijesa and Igbomina forces fled northeastwards in the direction of Ekan and Otun. Ogboriefon followed them in hot pursuit. In town after town they rallied and tried to fight back, but Ogboriefon's forces were just too strong and too fast for them. It looked as if nothing could save the rebellious provinces from the might of Ibadan. *However, as the victorious Ibadan forces stood outside Ekan, ready for the assault, urgent messages arrived from Latoosa in Ibadan, ordering Ogboriefon to return home. Ogboriefon and his men gave up the pursuit and started off for Ibadan.*



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When Ogedemgbe finally arrived, the much younger and much less experienced warrior, Fabunmi, gladly surrendered to him the position of commander-in-chief. Early in 1879, the Ekitiparapo forces finally marched again, down the same road as they had done in the previous year.

The War at Ikirun led by Ogedengbe

After easily overrunning Igbajo, they again advanced on Ikirun. Outside the walls of Ikirun, a large Ibadan army, led by the Seriki from Ibadan, confronted them. A number of minor engagements followed. Then, rather than wait for a major engagement, the Ekitiparapo forces retreated in perfect order back up the hills and past the ruins of Igbajo. In the farmland between Igbajo and Imesi-Ile, they stopped, chose a defensible position, and dug in to await the Ibadan army. When the Ibadan army came, it was much larger than the Ekitiparapo army, and it was by then led by no less a commander than Latoosa himself. After the Ibadan army threw itself against the Ekitiparapo position a few times without much effect, it became obvious that the two armies would be there for some time, facing each other. It turned out to be a long time, punctuated almost daily by fierce battles. By 1880, the two camps had developed features of regular towns - each with a large marketplace, workshops (mostly blacksmiths' workshops), and extensive farms in the surrounding farmlands.

(a) Ekitiparapo Strengthened by Modern Weapons:

Soon after the war started, important help was offered the Ekitiparapo from an outside source. Since early in the nineteenth century, a community of persons returning from slavery in the Americas and recaptives (people freed from captured slave ships) whom the British had resettled in Sierra Leone (all known as emigrants), had been settling in Lagos. After the Ekitiparapo was formed in the interior, the Ekiti and Ijesa among the emigrants in Lagos formed themselves into an Ekitiparapo Association, Lagos. The traders among them used their commercial connections to

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procure for the Ekitiparapo army some new types of fire-arms which were then unknown to West Africa - breech-loading guns like Snider rifles, Martini Henry rifles, and Winchester repeaters, all new developments in fire-arms technology in Europe. The possession of these new guns gave the Ekitiparapo some superiority in the daily battles for some months, and created considerable distress in the Ibadan camp. But neither side was able to dislodge the other, and the stand-off continued. After some time, too, the Ibadan army got some supply of the new guns.

(b) Unholy Alliance against Ibadan by Ilorin

The Ekitiparapo won the diplomatic battles almost overwhelmingly, since all other significant centers of power in Yorubaland were afraid of Ibadan and desired that Ibadan should be humbled. Diplomatic agents of Ibadan and the Ekitiparapo traversed the country tirelessly, and came across each other in many places. Ilorin reaffirmed its alliance with the Ekitiparapo, and it was strengthened with an exchange of some troops between the allies. Ilorin also stationed a large army just north of Offa, to wait for an opportunity to intervene actively. Throughout the war, the Ekitiparapo leaders occasionally had reason to doubt the sincerity and intentions of their Ilorin allies, but the alliance did hold together till the end.

In Ijebu, the Awujale Ademiyewo Fidipote unswervingly rejected all overtures from Ibadan (against the insistent opinions of the leading Ijebu traders) and made it clear that he supported the struggle of the Ekitiparapo. In 1882, Ife revolted against Ibadan and declared support for the Ekitiparapo. In response, Ibadan sent a small army to join with Modakeke to sack Ile-Ife, forcing the people of Ile-Ife to withdraw to a village called Isoya. The Ekitiparapo sent an army under Fabunmi assisted by Arimoro (an Ijesa chief), and the Awujale sent an army under the Seriki Ogunsigun, to the aid of Ife, and a new war front emerged on Ife soil.

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The Alaafin established secret contacts with the Ekitiparapo and frequently sent them messages of encouragement. Openly, however, he had to appear to support Ibadan - but the Ibadan leaders had good reason to believe that he secretly supported the Ekitiparapo, and frequently threatened him on that account.

(c) Neutral Position of Ondo and Owo:

Abeokuta remained at war with Ibadan. Ekitiparapo agents made strenuous efforts to persuade the Osemowe of Ondo to bar Ibadan traders and supporters from the newly opened routes through the Ondo country. But Ibadan's agents were very busy in the palace of the Osemowe too. The outcome was that the Osemowe, while making it clear that he endorsed the aspirations of the Ekitiparapo, chose not to take sides but to allow all parties free use of the routes through his kingdom. However, Ife territory lay north of Ondo, and the Ondo routes therefore passed through Ife territory; and with the revolt of Ife against Ibadan in 1882, Ibadan experienced increasing difficulties on these routes.

In the far southeast, Ekitiparapo agents also worked hard to persuade the Olowo of Owo to deny Ibadan traders the use of the routes through Owo to Benin. Just as in Ondo, Ibadan agents worked hard in Owo too. In the end, the Olowo adopted the same posture as the Osemowe; but Ibadan had serious troubles on the routes through Owo since the northern reaches of those routes all passed through territories of the Ekitiparapo.

(d) Help For Ibadan From Balogun of Ijebu Forces

In late 1882, a slight break occurred in the nearly solid front against Ibadan. The strong class of Ijebu traders, who had always complained that the blockade of the Ijebu routes hurt their trade, *at last won the support of Chief Onafowokan, the Balogun of Ijebu forces*. Faced by a revolt of influential citizens championed by the

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Balogun, the Awujale Fidipote fled into exile. The Balogun then opened the routes, thus allowing Ibadan traders to pass through. However, even he was so distrustful of Ibadan that he kept the army intact and ready at Oru. The ultimate benefits to Ibadan of the Ijebu situation turned out to be very little. Abeokuta immediately started raids into Ijebu in order to disrupt the routes there, while the Seriki Ogunsigun and his army near Ife continued to uphold the policies of the exiled Awujale. The sum total of the results of the diplomatic contests, then, was that while the Ekitiparapo won allies, supporters and sympathizers, Ibadan won virtually none. ***In effect, indeed, the Ekitiparapo became the front-line prosecutors of a broadly based national war against the awesome dominance of Ibadan.*** That national war saddled Ibadan with the stand-off with the Ekitiparapo, with other engagements with Abeokuta on the Abeokuta farms, with Ijebu at Oru, with Ilorin at Offa, with Ekitiparapo, Ife and Ijebu in Ife. From the 1880s, the Fon kingdom of Dahomey added to Ibadan's burdens. Dahomey had launched major attacks on Abeokuta in 1851 and again in 1864, and had been repulsed on both occasions. Dahomey had also been fighting with Abeokuta over the Egbado towns. Now taking advantage of Ibadan's preoccupation with wars on many fronts, Dahomey began harassing the Upper Ogun region of the Ibadan empire (the towns of Iganna, Okeho and others), and continued to do so until the 1890s. As far as the war between Ibadan and the Ekitiparapo was concerned, Ibadan's multiple commitments and problems made it possible for the Ekiti-parapo to stand in the field, head to head with the mighty Ibadan, indefinitely.

As would already be obvious from all the above, the stand-off between Ibadan and the Ekitiparapo in the farmlands between Imesi-Ile and Igbajo occupied center stage in the political life of Yorubaland throughout the last two decades of the nineteenth century. Generally known as the Kiriji War (a name derived from the noise of guns in the daily battles, especially the noise of the ricochet from the new high-velocity rifles), it caught and held the attention of all Yoruba people.

8.0 INTERVENTION OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT:

By 1885, both sides in the Kiriji War had started to show signs of war-weariness. Then in that year, Latoosa died in the Ibadan camp, and the affairs of the Ibadan war effort fell into the hands of Seriki Osungbekun who was promoted to Balogun at the war front. The situation was ripe for a cessation of war. Consequently, persons representing the British government of Lagos, assisted by CMS emigrant pastors, came to the Kiriji War front in 1886 and succeeded in persuading the Ibadan and Ekitiparapo leaders to agree to terms of peace, resulting in the 1886 Treaty of Peace signed by the Ibadan chiefs and the war chiefs and some of the kings of the Ekitiparapo. The same commissioners went to Ife and worked out a treaty of peace there. Neither of these treaties, however, brought the war situation to an end. Though Ibadan and the Ekitiparapo adhered to the terms of the treaty and abstained from further fighting, neither side trusted the other well enough to be willing to be the first to start breaking up camp. As a result, the two sides sat there facing each other for seven more years. As for the treaty in Ife, its most important provision - namely, that the people of Modakeke should disband their town and relocate westwards near to Ibadan - proved unacceptable to the majority of Modakeke people. Therefore, the situation around Ife remained unchanged: Modakeke kept its place, Ile-Ife people continued staying at Isoya, and the Ibadan, Ekitiparapo and Ijebu armies stayed put, though no further fighting occurred.

(e) The Offa War of 1887:

In the far north, in the area immediately south of Ilorin, some change in the line-up took place in 1887. Apparently wrongly believing that the era of wars had ended, the people of Offa let a dispute over the succession to the throne of the Olofa get out of hand. The commotion between the contending parties became so bad that the Ibadan defenders of Offa, rather than let themselves be drawn into it, left the town in disgust and withdrew south to Ikirun. One of the Offa parties then jubilantly invited

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the Ilorin army (that had long camped a short distance to the north) into Offa. The Ilorin army entered, and its leading commander, Karara, the Balogun Gambari, ordered that all the chiefs and prominent citizens of both Offa parties be assembled and slaughtered. Karara's army then viciously looted and took possession of Offa. Thereafter, Ilorin resumed hostile thrusts towards the south - into the country between Offa and Ikirun. However, the Ibadan army at Ikirun continued to be a terror to Ilorin. In these circumstances, the Ilorin activities consisted merely of flash raids, which were quickly abandoned as soon as Ibadan troops appeared. These activities continued until 1893. In the years following the collapse of Offa also, the Ilorin chiefs sent some representatives of theirs to some Igbomina towns, and behaved as if such towns were subject to Ilorin - and this caused much disappointment and anger in the Ekitiparapo camp.

For the Ekitiparapo leaders, the years 1886-93 were years of careful watching of Ibadan's actions, and of considering how to handle Ilorin's pretensions. They were therefore years of deliberations about the future of the Ekitiparapo Confederacy. Concerning this, many ideas emerged in their deliberations, but ultimately the most popular was that the populations of Ekiti, Ijesa, Igbomina and Akoko be relocated into a few large cities comparable to Ibadan. This envisaged the abandonment of all old towns and villages and the moving of their residents to the few large cities, strategically located. The objective was to ensure that the people of the Ekitiparapo territories would ever in the future be able to preserve their freedom against Ibadan or Ilorin or the Nupe or any other aggressors. Before this massive program could be embarked upon, however, the Ekitiparapo camp had to be broken up in 1893, and all its chiefs and people had to return to their homes.

The years 1892-3 saw the termination of all major wars - as European powers along the West African coast embarked on seizing territories in the hinterland. The

scramble by European countries for African territorial possessions had begun. In 1892, the British sent a military expedition to conquer the Ijebu country and make its routes open to Lagos, and the French conquered the Fon kingdom of Dahomey and the Aja country. Early in 1893, some senior officials of the British colony of Lagos came into the interior, made a treaty with Ibadan, got Ibadan to return its armies home, and saw to the disbanding of the Kiriji War camps. All thoughts that wars might be resumed in the future, and all thoughts of the Ekitiparapo leaders for the future of their confederacy, quickly dissipated as the British and other Europeans established their rule over all of Yorubaland.

(f) The Roles of Madam Omosa in Ibadan

Enimowu Arulogun got married to many wives but the prominent one was **Omosa**, the daughter of Basorun Ogunmola. The male children were Morenkeji, Ifalola, Aawojobi, **Oyewo**, Adegbite, Oyebisi, Origbolagun, Olagunju, Folaranmi, Odunewu, Oyeleke, Olabiwonna, Abodunrin, Oosalola, Ajee, Jokotola, Akintola, Oyenwan, Owolabi, who were all males. The female ones were Oni, Majiyagbe, Temola, Wuraola and Adesiyan.

Who is Madam Omasa?

During the Ekiti-Parapo war, the Ijebu War-Chiefs forced The Ijebus to open trade routes to Ibadan after expelling Awujale Fidipote from Ijebu Ode who fled to Epe.

After Awujale Fidipote had fled the town, the Ijebu war-Chiefs decided to open the Ijebu trade routes for legitimate trade with the Ibadans. The Ibadan chiefs welcomed this news from Ijebu-Ode and they received with courtesy a delegation that came from Ijebu ode to see them. Through the help of Chief Onafowokan and Chief Kuku had who lived at Ibadan, the Ibadan chiefs were able to buy from Ijebu

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traders, the slender rifles and cartridges which they sent to their troops fighting at KIRIJI war.

Madam Omosa, was among the first people in Ibadan to buy these rifles and cartridges to send to Kongi and Ibadan troops fighting at Kiriji. One account, according to Kemi Morgan, says that *when the Ibadan troops received this consignment of rifles and cartridges from Madam Omosa, they decided not to call her Madam Omosa again but “Iya Ofa” in appreciation of her efforts to save them being killed by the Ekiti-parapo troops.*

Soon, everybody in Ibadan was buying rifles from the Ijebu traders and sending them to Kiriji. They exchanged their slaves for these rifles. The **Civil Chiefs** at home also ordered that every rich man in Ibadan and every large compound in Ibadan must produce a slave to be sold to the Ijebu traders to enable them buy their rifles.

(g) How She Secured the Release of Her Husband from Captivity

After the breakup of the war-camps at Kiriji in September 1886 and after the Ibadan troops at Kiriji had gone to Ikirun, Ogedengbe the leader of the Ekitiparapo was still anxious that peace should restore to **Ofa**.

The Ibadan Balogun Osungbekun agreed to this request from Ogedengbe, but must give a guarantee that Karara would not destroy Ofa town if the Ibadan troops fighting there were withdrawn. But all these attempts to end the war at **Ofa** failed because the Ilorins and Ibadan did not trust each other.

THE OFA WAR

When there seemed to be no hope of a settlement of the **Ofa war** and there was a sharp division of opinion among the Ibadan war – lords, Enimowu Arulogun, the husband of Omosa, and Basorun Ogunmola son-in-law, decided to take his soldiers to fight at Ofa if the senior war-chiefs would not go. They went with Kongi, Ogunmola's grandson, Winfunke, the son the late Chief Tubosun, Molade, the son of Seriki Odunjo and Salako, the Mogaji of Aiyejenku Foko family.

After making some success at the war front against Ilorin troops and decided to rest, a famous Ilorin horseman called Gata-Ikoko attacked them from the rear. They captured alive Enimowu, his son, Oyewo, Winfunke, Molade and Salako. When they wanted to take them prisoners to Ilorin, Salako refused to go with them and they killed him on the spot. The rest of them were taken prisoners to Ilorin.

In November 1891, Aliyu the Emir of Ilorin died and Momo succeeded him as the new Emir. Momo was partly Fulani and partly Yoruba. His mother was a Yoruba woman who came from Ipapo, a town near Iseyin. Because he was related to the Yoruba, he was willing to negotiate peace terms with the Ibadan Chiefs, according to Kemi Morgan. He began to exchange messages and gifts with the Alaafin Adeyemi I of Oyo (1879- 1905), some of princes of Oyo also exchanged presents with the Ilorin Princes.

About these time too, **Karara** died in the Ilorin war camp at Yanayo and his son Adamu succeeded him as the Hausa Balogun of Ilorin With the deaths of Aliyu and Karara, the way seemed deer for a peaceful settlement of the **Ibadan-Ilorin** way.

Madam Omosa, alias Iya Ofa, the very wealthy wife of Enimowu Arulogun who had been a prisoner at Ilorin since **1887** began to send presents and messages to the Alaafin of Oyo begging him to use his influence to get her husband releases. Madam Omosa also sent slaves and expensive European cloths through the Alaafin of Oyo to the new Emir of Ilorin. The Alaafin of Oyo also sent messages and gifts to the new Emir of

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Ilorin and asked him to releases Enimowu Arulogun and other Ibadan prisoners at Ilorin (Kemi Morgan).

In the year, 1891, the new **Emir of Ilorin released Enimowu Arulogun** who had grown a long bearded and who had not had a hair-cut since 1887. The Emir also released **Oyewo**, Enimowu's son, as well as **Molade** and two nephews of the Balogun of Ibadan. Unfortunately, Winfunke, the son of Tubosun had died in prison before Momo became the new Emir.

The released men went from Ilorin to Oyo taking the Ogbomoso route to Oyo to thank the Alaafin of Oyo for his efforts in getting them released and to pay homage to him. From Oyo, they travelled back to the **Ibadan camp at Ikirun** where they were received with great joy.

9.0 MAJOR LESSONS FROM THE YORUBA CIVIC WARS (1793-1893):

- i. The fall of Old Oyo Empire was due to a combination of internal constitutional crisis, power tussles, and conflicts, and the rise of militant Islam in Ilorin as a result of Aare Afonja revolt against the old Oyo.
- ii. The motive which drove Ekitiparapo to declare war on Ibadan was a very strong one indeed and it was the motive which acted as the Strong unifying force among them. This motive was the **desire to be free, to gain their independence** from Ibadan and to take back from Ibadan, the lands and possession which belong to their ancestors.
- iii. Aare Latosisa's regime also serve to illustrate the peculiarity of the character of **the average Ibadan person who cannot and still not tolerate any form of dictatorship**. The circumstances by which the Ibadan city settled and lived in Ibadan made the idea of **dictatorship** or **autocracy** very distasteful to them. Aare Latosisa fell out with his chiefs revolted against him at **Kiriji war** because of his dictatorship attitude towards them. **And the Ibadan people have not changed in this one important respect** over more than two

centuries even now, Ibadan people will resist with all their might, any appearance of dictatorship or autocracy or any measures which appear to them to be arbitrary.

- iv. The Yoruba country had been weakened by the slave trade and internal strife. Internal strife was responsible for the loss of Ilorin province by the Yoruba. Internal strife among the Ijesas and the Ekitis made them come for a period of time under Ibadan ruler, **internal strife** and **self-defeating competition** among the various Yoruba groups in the 19th century led to the easy subjugation of the country by the British. What happened in the turn of the 19th century to Yoruba country must serve as a **warning and lesson** for the future. As long as there is internal strife, so long shall the race continue to be weak and remain united.

10.0 THE WAY FORWARD

In spite of the impact of the divisive forces of the nineteenth century, and in spite of the resources of belonging to a wider aggregation of peoples in Nigeria, the Yoruba people of today can still be regarded as a distinct group with same characteristics that distinguished the ancient Yoruba from other peoples. In other words, Yoruba people remain to a large extent, a people identifiable by their language and culture. They are also bound together by the idea of a common origin and the belief that they are all descendants of ODUDUWA.

It is now obvious and clear for the emergence of a new chart a new course for the emergence of a new brand of Yoruba nation, committed to the promotion of unity and oneness of the people of the race and elimination of division and separation among the people.

This is a period to share our political past experience, to review and analyses the way forward. The essence of politics is the birth of creature ideas aimed at correcting human arrangements, which have gone wrong.

CHAPTER EIGHT
THE DYNAMICS OF HONOUR IN VIOLENCE AND
CHIEFTAINCY POLITICS IN IBADAN HISTORY

1.0 POWER AND HONOUR IN IBADAN SOCIETY

Honour is a composite concept that has to do with esteem, respectability, and reputation. The twin elements of self-regard and social esteem run through several definitions of honour. According to Julian Pitt-Rivers quoted by Olufunke Adebayo (2007):

“...Honour is the value of persons in his own eyes but also in the eyes of the society. It is his estimation of his own worth, his claim to pride, but it is also the acknowledgement of that claim, his excellence recognized by society, his right to pride (1966: 21).”

This means that a personal evaluation of oneself is not enough to confer honour, the society must “acknowledge that claim” which is usually manifested through a person’s reputation. The role of society as judge is thus very significant in the acquisition of honour by its members. Those two dimensions of honor, the personal and the social are as a result closely related.

The practice of politically motivated suicide was powered by a military machine laden with intrigues, machinations and intense competition for public office and social advancement. The desire to preserve personal and family honour in the face of impending ignominy was a major factor that moved public figures to commit suicide. Far from being “**victims**” they made the most of disadvantageous situation, turned them around and earned respect and esteem in death instead of the ridicule that would have been their lot. Suicide thus served an “**honourable**” purpose for them. The ideals of honour which had its antecedents in the nineteenth century thus carried over into the twentieth century were so strong that Ibadan survived the first

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three decades of colonial rule despite the intrigue-laced nature of Ibadan chieftaincy politics and the official interference of the colonial authorities. This is to say that reveals that politically motivated suicide, though self-destructive was usually meant to serve an honourable purpose such that those involved became heroes even in death.

Throughout the nineteenth century, five principal chiefs committed suicide in Ibadan: Lakanle (1855), Balogun Ajobo (1870), Seriki Iyapo (1877), Chief Aiyejenku Foko (1877) and Balogun Ajayi Osungbekun (1893). In the colonial era were Baale Dada Opadare (1907), Baale Irefin (1914), and Balogun Ola (1917). They did this because they thought themselves to be on the brink of ignominy.

2.0 CHIEFTAINCY POLITICS, ASPIRATIONS AND CONFLICTS

After the expulsion of the Egbas and the Ifes from Ibadan war camp early in 1830s, the most important task which faced the Oyo-Osun military leaders after their victory was the problem of integrating all the various Oyo/Osun and some other sections such as the few remaining Ijebu, Egba and Ife in the community under an effective political authority. In fashioning a new government, the migrants had very little justification to duplicate the old Oyo system of a monarchical government. A military aristocracy was therefore established where most of the notable warriors of the 1830s controlled the reins of government.

Ibadan military system of government had three main features according to Professor Toyin Falola (2012). In the first place, leadership was collective. Power was concentrated in “**Igbimo Ilu**” (the council) made up of government members who were the senior chiefs: the Baale, Balogun, Seriki, Iyalode, and the most senior six subordinate chiefs in the Baale and Balogun “lines”. The councils’ decisions on most issues were final.

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An integral aspect of the political system was the intense conflict for power. The leading elite were always engaged in power politics; and the balance shifted from one person to another on the basis of wealth, influence and size of followers. All elite normally conspired to prevent the emergence of anyone who would wield absolute power, Oluyole and Latosa who tried to create a dictatorship, akin to Kurunmi's model, did not succeed. Secondly, the appointment was not hereditary, titles were achieved through one's ability as a soldier and promotion was from a lower to a higher post or from one line to the other (that is from Seriki to Balogun and from the Balogun to the Baale)

A category of Mogaji lineage heads was however established in the post-1830 era to enable the representatives of the leading families take titles from the lower rungs of the ladder. The aim of this change was to immortalize the names of deceased heroes by rewarding their heirs with junior titles. The Mogaji was, however, expected to be a brave, promising warrior before he could get a title, but if he got the title by default, he would never be promoted. Other people seeking title first struggled for the most junior ones in the Baale, Balogun or Seriki lines. Titles seekers were usually sponsored by the established chiefs.

Finally, new titles were always created to reward those who distinguished themselves in military services such as Agbaakin and Are Agoro, both for brave generals. This was to prevent a situation where there would be powerful warriors without titles who might pose a potential threat to the system. All those features, according to Professors Bolanle Awe and Toyin Falola, emphasized merit and competition, and made it possible for men of humble origin to rise.

The open and competitive nature of the system engendered intense power rivalries and generated conflicts, feuding and vendettas such that the city acquires a

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cognomen: **“Ija Igboro larun Ibadan” – “Civil disorder is the disease of Ibadan”.**

Most of these conflicts centered on.

- (a) Making sure that less competent warriors were not promoted above those adjudged to be more competent;
- (b) The elimination of rivals and opponents;
- (c) The liquidation of over ambitious men; and
- (d) The removal or relegation of senior leaders.

The method of selection and promoting people based on merit meant that Ibadan could look for leadership where it could best be found. Absence of hereditary succession also ensured that the government of Ibadan was never left in the hands of minors of men unfit to rule virtue of their birth.

According to Professor Toyin Falola, it was usual for less-powerful people to recognize the superiority of other by refusing titles and promotions, thereby allowing the most powerful to get what they deserved. But just as victory and bravery in war could catapult a person, so could losing a major war bring a chief to ridicule and “send” him on the downward” in the military hierarchy.

The competition for titles among the warriors was so intense that many actually became casualties. It is also instructive to note that holding political office did not necessarily make a warrior wealthier. Infact, it increased his responsibilities and the material demands that would be made on him. What these men sought to achieve through political office or a chieftaincy title was therefore not wealth but honour, called “Ola”. They wanted to win public recognition and social esteem.

3.0 SUICIDE IN NINETEENTH CENTURY IBADAN

Once a military chief had attained the peak of his career, he jealously guard his honour (Ola), which actually was not just for him, but for all the members of his family and prosperity. His compound (ile) thus became an **ile ola**. By the second half of the nineteenth century, the offspring of the early military chiefs consequently saw it as their responsibility to preserve the honour of their compound. And if any of those second generation warriors distinguished themselves in war in addition to his heritage of ola (honour) he automatically became the target of envy and political intrigue as his success would begin to threaten others especially his political seniors.

(i) The Tragedy of Elepo and Warrior Culture

Elepo and his brothers, Atipo and Epo-o-jorun-o-pa-igi came to Ibadan from Ilobu after the Gbanamu war when the Oyos took control of Ibadan. They arrived and settled at Adalakun compound. According to I.B. Akinyele, they came along with Bankole Alesinloye who came from Ofa whose one of his sons became the first Olubadan of Ibadan in 1936.

Chief Elepo, a brave warrior, became a close friend of Oluyole who was the Osi Are Ona-Kakanfo of Oluyedun. During the Ota war Oluyole was sent to head a team comprising Elepo, Inakoju the Seriki and Bankole Alesinloye. Oluyole made Ipara his headquarters.

According to Rev. Samuel Johnson, the contingent of Ibadan army under Chiefs Elepo and Inakoju met Oluyole at Ipara. Here, a plot was hatched by which Lakanle and Bankole his lieutenant should be wiped out, but the plot was discovered and it aroused great indignation at Ibadan. In the civil war that ensued, Lakanle, the otun Are Ona-Kakanfo committed suicide when Chief Aiyejenku his friend, was sent to him by Oluyole to leave the town after winning other Chiefs over. Thus, the first political suicide was committed in the nineteenth century in Ibadan.

When Oluyole was installed the Bale of Ibadan, he made Bankole Alesinloye the first Balogun of Ibadan as written by I.B. Akinyele in “Iwe Itan Ibadan: 38” Oluyole sent Bankole Alesinloye his Balogun to Ijebu Remo but he refused to go Bankole seized the opportunity to plot against Oluyole and prevented him not to enter Ibadan from Ijebu Remo war. However, Oluyole and his war boys did not take the route guarded by Bankole, instead, they took Elekuro route. When Oluyole entered Ibadan, there was civil war and Temileke, one of Oluyole war boys, shot and killed Bankole as he was trying to enter Oluyole’s residence to kill him. Thereafter, Oluyole offered Elepo the post of Balogun which he rejected despite pressure from his brothers and eminent Ibadan war-chiefs saying his name was enough to win wars.

Bale Oluyole sent Elepo to Iberekodo to attack the town near Abeokuta. Unknown to Elepo, the Bale of Iberekodo had sent gifts to Oluyole while he was boasting that with or without the help of God, he would win the battle and capture Iberekodo. Oluyole subsequently withdrew Elepo from Iberekodo. Thereafter, Elepo was asked by Basorun Oluyole, after Eleduwe war, to wage war against Ede and Ilobu under the command of Balogun Oderinlo who succeeded Balogun Alesinloye. However, Elepo vetoed the destruction of Ede and so Ibadan army marched on to Ilobu (Rev. Samuel Johnson, 1976: 284). The people of Ilobu showed sign of submission by giving Elepo presents and people from surrounding villages gave themselves up to Elepo instead of Balogun Oderinlo.

Rev. Samuel Johnson went further that Elepo ruled the army according to his will; and consequently the Balogun was indignant at this usurpation of his rights and the other chiefs sympathized with him. The restless warriors had nobody to fight and started to go home. According to Rev. Samuel Johnson, he described the scenario as “The AGBAMAJA War” i.e. fully armed but engaging in no fight. The war chiefs rejected Elepo despite his apologies when they got to Ibadan. To worsen the situation,

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Elepo refused arrogantly to prostrate to Balogun Oderinlo, which means he did not accept his leadership but he respected only Basorun Oluyole.

Consequently, Elepo's principal subordinate war-chiefs were withdrawn from him and conferred town chiefs on them while all matters of his quarters of the town were taken straight to the Balogun. Thus, Elepo saw himself isolated.

During the Fulani war of 1840 at Osogbo, Balogun Oderinlo marched out with the whole mighty army of Ibadan without Elepo and Basorun Oluyole, the former having been rejected by the war-chiefs for his actions at the last AGBAMAJA expedition. The Basorun approved of this resolve and therefore Elepo stayed at home. The victory at Osogbo was a most important one and forms a turning point in Yoruba history so concluded Rev. Samuel Johnson in the "The History of the Yorubas"

Elepo not being allowed to go to Osogbo war was sent to Otefan. On his return, Basorun Oluyole conveyed the message of the war-chiefs to leave the town after being victorious of Oshogbo. Basorun later gave him accommodation at his quarter of the town and allowed him to park his goods and belongings at another house (kara). Yet, the Chiefs insisted that he must leave the town. On his way to Ijebu Remo, he asked for his property to which Oluyole said that anything that entered Iba's house cannot come out again. It was then clear to him that his loyalty to Basorun Oluyole was in vein.

His brother, Atipo escaped to Ijaiye where he became famous having won for Kurunmi many wars like Ogodo, Otefon, and Gbogogbo. Elepo later left Remo and went to Ijaiye having heard of his brother's progress and influence at Ijaiye. On getting there, it was said that Oluyole got wind of it and linked up with Kurunmi. Elepo was sent to attack Ile-Bioku from where he did not return. Kurunmi, the Are

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Ona Kakanfo entered Ogboni house (Cult House) and came out with Atipo's head (I.B. Akinyele, 190: 42)

The consequence was very disastrous for Elepo and his brothers as they ended their career in Ijaiye in disgrace. Elepo's attitude did not portray him as a visionary and amiable leader like many war leaders in Ibadan in the nineteenth century. The desire to preserve personal and family honour in the face of impending ignominy made Elepo a selfish leader who was not sensitive to the events happening around him. His inability to re-examine his loyalty and suspect Oluyole's move to eliminate him showed him as a weak person who had no direction and did not know what he wanted. His selfish ambition led him to join his brother, Atipo at Ijaiye to make name but his calculation was wrong. Kurunmi, as a dictator would not allow competition for power and control of Ijaiye. Considering what he did to his Balogun Aasu who founded Fiditi and the conflicts for power between him and Oluyole that caused BATEDO war in 1844, he was a different man not to be trusted.

In conclusion, the fact that Elepo was deprived of all his principal subordinate war-chiefs by conferring town title on each of them, making them members of the town council with equal votes was enough to commit suicide if he had to preserve his honour. He was even not allowed to follow Ibadan army to Osogbo war of 1840. Finally, all matters in his quarter of the town were taken straight to the Balogun and Oba I.B. Akinyele did not include his compound in "Iwe Itan Ibadan" which he wrote in 1911.

(ii) Baale Lakanle

The first of politically motivated suicide in Ibadan involved Chief Lakanle, the Otun Are-Ona-Kakanfo of Are Oluyedun (second-in-command to general commander) in the early 1830s. It was the death of Oluyedun that created a succession dispute between Lakanle and Oluyole his immediate subordinate. This degenerated into a civil conflict between the followers of the two chiefs. Oluyole's group gained the upper hand and he immediately demanded the death or exile of Lakanle. The later, in typical Eso fashion, choose death by ripping his bowels open with a jack knife. Upon Lakanle's death, Oluyole promptly became the head of Ibadan. (I.B. Akinyele, Kemi Morgan and Olufunke Adeboye 2007)

(iii) Chief Aiyejenku Foko

The second case of political suicide took place in 1877 and it involved Chief Aiyejenku, a war veteran who was most respected by the masses (Johnson 1966, 407-10, Akinyele 1981. 101-103). His offence was that he was bold and fearless, the only person who pointed out the excess of Are Latosa (1871-1885). He advised Are Latosa to stop war against Abeokuta (Akinyele 1981: 101) and not interfere in Igbajo chieftaincy dispute which was under his control when Oba of the town was deposed (Kemi Morgan: 114-116 part III). This, no doubt, earned him the hatred of Are Latosa who together with his supporters initiated a web of intrigue in which Chief Aiyejenku was caught. Eventually, he committed suicide by blowing his head with his own gun as Lakanle, his friend, did.

(iv) Seriki Iyapo

The third example was the case of Seriki Iyapo (the son of Balogun Ibikunle). Iyapo's possession of fame, military might, material resources and a heritage of "**ile-ola**" made him a potential threat to all the senior chiefs especially, Are Latosa. The Seriki subsequently became the target of an intrigue master-minded by his political enemies. He was stripped of his title and deprived of his fighting men. He was then asked by the Aare to die. He was not bothered by the Aare's threat but save his compound because he had made up his mind like a brave warrior. He promptly ordered his grave and coffin to be prepared, put his house in order, retired to his inner chamber and killed himself on 17 November, 1877 (Johnson 1966, 416).

According to Olufunke Adeboye (2007), that the military chiefs in these cases committed suicide rather than not fleeing demonstrates their commitment to their own honour and to that of their family. Considerations of one's family honour were particularly instrumental in the choice to die as a martyr in order to preserve the family's name and pride.

(v) Balogun Ajobo

Balogun Ajobo was accused of not consulting the Baale-in-council on many issues including the installation of a new Owa of Ilesa and that he was instrumental to the death of Balogun Akere during the siege of Ilesa town. He was rejected by the chiefs during the reign of Baale Orowusi (1870-1871). When he saw that he had been rejected by the council of Ibadan chiefs on 5 June, 1870, he returned the war staff in his custody to the Baale, ordered his coffin and grave to be prepared during the night, he left the town and took refuge among the Ijebu, one of the Ibadan enemies (Johnson 1966: 385). Ibadan chiefs reacted by driving his remaining family members out of the town and his compound was set ablaze.

Ajobo's choice, according to Olufunke Adebayo (2007), affected his property, most of his slaves escaped and the freeborn soldiers under him sought out new patrons. Ajobo's compound thus became desolate (ahoro). Some of his descendants that later returned to Ibadan lived as nonentities. Even in the twentieth century, none of them could aspire in the most junior chieftaincy title. It was the fear of this type of negative reversal of fortunes that made other embattled chiefs choose suicide over exile (Akinyele 1981: 84).

(vi) Balogun Ajayi Osungbekun

Balogun Ajayi Osungbekun was accused of failure to check the conflicts among the war chiefs on one hand, and competition for wealth and power between him and his colleagues on the other. He was also accused of becoming an autocrat like the late Are Latosa. All political moves to placate his aggrieved lieutenants were futile as he was also accused of lack of control over his slaves' atrocities in the community. He was rejected by the chiefs and had to commit suicide otherwise his compound would be destroyed and several of his relations and children would be killed (Toyin Falola, 1989: 292).

4.0 THE STRUCTURE OF GOVERNMENT

The Structure of government reflected the dominance of the military from Maye Okunade era through Oluyedun and Oluyole. By 1851, three military and two civil lines had emerged, of all these chieftaincy titles, the Balogun, Baale and Seriki were the most significant and these were not hereditary titles. These titles could be competed for by several men of Oyo Yoruba origin including the Yoruba sub-ethnic group from Osun Division.

In the exercise of power, the Baale was the chief executive. There were cases when the overall civil and military authorities were combined in one person (e.g. Oluyole, Ogunmola, Latosa) but when the power was separated between the Baale

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and the Balogun, the former was supposed to preside at meetings. However, when the military title holders were at war, all major decisions had to be suspended or taken by them in the camp.

Promotion was an integral aspect of the system. This enabled title holders who were all keen on mobility to give their best in the service of the state. Criteria for promotion included military valour and vacancies. There were other criteria, notably the policy of the leading elite who preferred younger men, the ability of title-seekers to gain the friendship and support of their superior colleagues, and the possession of wealth and large followership. Another integral aspect of the political system was the intense conflict for power. The leading elite were always engaged in power politics; and the balance shifted from one person to another on the basis of wealth, influence, and size of followers. All elite normally conspired to prevent the emergence of anyone who would wield absolute power. Oluyole and Latosa who tried to create a dictatorship, akin to Kurunmi's model, did not succeed (Toyin Falola: 1989).

(a) Succession to Baaleship of Ibadan

In the nineteenth century, no Balogun was lucky to become Bale of Ibadan due to death. Opeagbe, the Osi Balogun became the Bale because the Otun Balogun Lajumoke had died after Oderinlo, Olugbode, the Abese Balogun succeeded Bale Opeagbe in 1851. Ogunmola, the Otun Balogun Ibikunle became the Bale in 1865, Orowusi, the Asipa Balogun became the Bale after Tubosun and Abayomi, the Otun Balogun and Osi Balogun respectively, had died. Latosisa, the Otun Balogun became the Bale after Orowusi because Balogun Ajobo had been expelled from Ibadan. Fijabi, the Abese Balogun succeeded Are Latosa because Balogun Ajayi Osungbekun was rejected by the Chiefs after Kiriji war and he had to commit suicide. Fijabi became Bale from Abese Balogun.

In the close of 19th century, Balogun Akintola refused to become Bale giving way to Otun Bale Osuntoki to become the first civil chief to become Bale of Ibadan and also Bale Fajimi who later became Basorun, the title he acquired from Alaafin Adeyemi I of Oyo kingdom. Balogun Kongi was rejected by the Chiefs and so died in exile at Iwo. Balogun Apampa had to cross to the civil line to become Bale of Ibadan and also became the fourth and last Basorun of Ibadan. Consequently, Balogun Akintayo became the first Bale of Ibadan from Balogun Line in Ibadan Chieftaincy history (1910-1912). He was succeeded by Irefin from civil inspite of protests from Balogun Cheifs because majority of the populace wanted him.

Situ rose from Balogun in 1914 to the rank of Baale, but after his exile in 1925. Before Situ, the Balogun, Chief Lafa because of his age was not allowed to become Bale from Otun Bale in 1912 because people preferred Bale Akintayo Awanibaku Elempe. Bale Akinwale rose from Maye Bale to Osi Bale because chieftaincy promotion was not regulated and Bale had the power to promote any chief to any post along the line.

From the chieftaincy system of Ibadan being practiced since the nineteenth century and historical antecedents, no Seriki had ever become Bale of Ibadan, but were promoted to Balogun as follows:

- i. Ibikunle from Seriki to Balogun (1851);
- ii. Ajobo from Seriki to Balogun (1870);
- iii. Latosa from Otun Seriki to Balogun (1870);
- iv. Mosanya from Seriki to Asipa Balogun;
- v. Abibu Solalu from Areago Seriki to Maye Balogun
- vi. Ajai-Osungbekun from Seriki to Balogun;

When Balogun Akintola refused the title of Baale twice in 1893 and 1895, thinking he would still have the opportunity to carry his new title to war, the succession passed to chiefs in the Baale line (Falola 1989: 51). The chiefs in the Baale

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line interpreted this as a constitutional amendment which made them the only ones now eligible to succeed to the Baaleship.

The situation fuelled a lot of succession disputes in Ibadan. It was not until 1946 that a formal constitutional amendment, which allowed the two lines to succeed in turn, was made. Unfortunately, Baale Dada Opadare fell a victim of the power rivalries among the chiefs. Baale Irefin and Baale Situ were victims of Captain Ross attempt to impose Alaafin of Oyo on Ibadan which they both stood against; Baale Irefin eventually committed suicide while Baale Situ died in exile in Oke-Ogun area. Balogun Ola was a victim of tax agitation and betrayer of Ibadan chiefs. This brave and heroic act earns his compound the name **Kobomoje**

(b) Governance of Rural Cities in Ibadan

There is an established famous duality in the morphology of Ibadanland. According to Chief Theophilus Akinyele on page 71 of his book, tailing on ANCESTRY said inter-alia:

“It is generally true that every Ibadan person or family has his/its root elsewhere in Yorubaland. Secondly, it is also true that an Ibadan person also has a village within Ibadanland to which he belongs”.

The fact is that all villages and towns that are part of Ibadanland, probably subject to Ibadan tradition and values, cannot claim a right to operate a hereditary ruling house chieftaincy system except in few cases. For example, SOBIKAN dynasty, from where Oyelese family belong constitute the ruling house whereas there are other eighteen families in Erunmu who are qualified to produce Baale of Erunmu.

Declarations, still extant, were also made for the following ruling houses;

- i. Baale of Lagun produced one ruling house Alli-Iwo
- ii. Baale of Lalupon produced ruling houses.

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- iii. Olofa of Ofa-Igbo produced one ruling house – FIJABI
- iv. Baale of Erunmu produced one ruling house – SOBIKAN
- v. Onido of Iddo produced one ruling house – AGURA
- vi. Baale of Omi-Adio produced one ruling house – OSUNDINA
- vii. Oniroko of Iroko produced one ruling house – OPEOLA
- viii. Onikereku of Ireku produced only one ruling house – AKINPELU
- ix. Onijaiye of Ijaiye produced only one ruling house – ONIJAIYE Family.

All these go to show that in traditional matters, questions of customs should not necessarily be allowed to clash with matters of popularity like in the one-man-one-vote scenario of political elective completion. According to Engr. (Dr.) Omololu Olunloyo (9th of November, 2012), the former Governor of the old Oyo State, 1983, these are also potential sources of breakdown of law and order.

(c) The Power of Baale Before 1946

Bale had a role to play in promoting a chief over another and even allowed a chief to jump many steps without consultation with other members of the Bale-in-Council but such a person must have a lineage in Ibadan before 1893. For example:

- 1. Dada Opadare became the Bale of Ibadan between 1904 -1907 without being a prominent chief before, though Basorun Fajinmi made him Ekerin Bale because of his role during Ijaiye war where he was farming.
- 2. Bale Dada Opadare promoted Omiyale from Ekarun Balogun to Balogun.
- 3. Bale Situ (Omo Are) promoted Abibu Solalu from Areago Seriki to Maye Balogun. He also promoted Aminu from Maye Balogun to Osi Balogun and Mosanya from Seriki to Ashipa Balogun. Finally, he promoted Alagba Oritokun to Maye Bale without holding any previous title.

The Baale also lifted some indigenes into prominence with their fathers not holding any post before the end of the nineteenth century. Such people in Ibadan history included:

- (a) Baale Irefin Ogundeyi was from Owu. His father was Ogunlade. His full name is Irefin Ogundeyi which could be found in his praise song (Oriki or cognomen).
- (b) Sodimu was given the post of Maye Balogun by Baale Oyewole Foko in 1925 and rose to the post of Ashipa Balogun during the reign of Olubadan Abass Alesinloye without previous title held by him or his father.
- (c) Baale Oyetunde rose from Osi Balogun to become Baale without his father holding any title before.
- (d) Adebisi Giwa became Ashipa Olubadan from nowhere in recognition of his contribution to the development of Ibadan. His father came to Ibadan from Efon Alaye during the reign of Are Latosa but Adebisi Giwa was born in Ibadan at Idikan (Ikan Tree); now a prominent neighbourhood in Ibadan.

During this time, the educated elite were being given chieftaincy titles in appreciation of contribution of education to Ibadan Chieftaincy politics. The beneficiaries included, Chief Salami Agbaje, who became Are Alasa Balogun; I.B. Akinyele who became Asaju Balogun; J.O. Aboderin Adetoun and D.T. Akinbiyi who became advisers to Olubadan Abass Alesinloye.

It was Ward Price who advised Olubadan-in-Council to regulate the Chieftaincy promotion to reduce despites which led to the Customary Chieftaincy Declaration of 1946 which formalized rotation of Baaleship of Ibadan between the Otun and Balogun Lines to the stool of OLUBADAN OF IBADAN.

In summing up the history of Ibadan before it became a British protectorate and thereafter, we have to take into consideration some of the factors which always influence the course of history. If we take a quick look at the history of the world, we

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shall find that it is a record of the great empires and civilizations which have lasted for a time and passed away. Egypt, Greece, ancient Summer and Rome are good examples. Each of these societies made significant contributions to the world and each played a major role in the shaping of human progress in the areas of technology, the arts and sciences, and in the general field of human thought. They have passed away as a result of wars of conquest by stronger and sometimes less civilized tribes and nations.

Lastly, internal strife and self-defeating competition among the various Yoruba groups in the 19th century led to the easy subjugation of the Yoruba nation by a greater and stronger power. What happened in the Yoruba nation at the turn of the 19th century must serve as a warning and lesson for the future. As long as there is internal strife, so long shall the race continue to be weak and easily succumb to stronger and more powerful forces.

5.0 CONSTITUTIONAL CRISIS OVER PROMOTION OF CHIEFS

The **Constitutional problem over the promotion** from the post of Balogun to that of the Baale started after the Kiriji War. Before **1893, the Balogun was the heir apparent to the throne**, and became the Baale unless he declined. In fact, all the **heads** of the administration from **1825 to 1893** were from the Balogun Chieftaincy Line. The constitution was tampered with in **1893** when Balogun Akintola declined the office of Baale, thinking that the British would soon leave and he would be able to prove himself in the battle, like all his predecessors, himself in the battle, like all his predecessors. In other not to promote his junior above him, an **Otun Baale**, Osuntoki, was chosen, and this was the **first time the Otun** Baale had the opportunity to become Baale in 1895 after the death of Fijabi (1893-1895).

After the death of both **Balogun Akintola and Balogun Babalola in 1899, Balogun Kongi succeeded them in 1900**. With the death of **Basorun Fajinmi** in

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April, 1902, kongi wanted to become the Baale from Balogun but he was told that the constitution has changed. Only Otun Baale could become Baale of Ibadan, beside that, he was very rude to the chief. Consequently, **Mosadering was installed Baale** of Ibadan between **1902 and 1904** and Balogun Kongi was asked to leave to town. He went into exile at Iwo where he dead. This was made possible by the British Resident, captain Elegee (1903-1913).

When **Dada Opadare** was Otun Baale, Apaanpa was Balogun but **Apampa** wanted to become the Baale forgetting what he said during the crisis of kongi that only the Otun Baale Chiefs were entitled to become Baale. When the chiefs got to the British officer, he ruled that **Dada Opadare** should become the Baale (1904-1907). **Apampa had to cross to Otun Baale** whilr Omiyale became Balogun, when Omilaye died Akintayo became Balogun.

Because of the crisis between Baale Opadare and Apampa, Dada Opadare was advised to resig by Captain Elfee, the British Resident. **Sunmonu Apampa** was installed Baale (1907-1910) and Lafa became the Otun Baale. When Apampa died, Lafa was not allowed to become Baale because he was too old and he was held down with stroke.

Instead, **Balogun Akintayo Elempe** was installed in the night while Irefin became Otun Baale and Situ (Omo Aare became Balogun (1910-1916) however Irefin Ogundeji from otun Baale Line was installed Baale after Akintayo between 1912-1914. He was succeeded by Balogun Situ (Omo Aare Latosa) between 1914-1925.

After Baale Situ was sent on exile, Balogun Oyewole was installed in 1925 because of the crisis of Balogun Ola (the son of Orowusi). Thus, Balogun succeeded in quick successions to become Baale of Ibadan from 1914 to 1930.They were

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Balogun Situ (1914-1925); Balogun Oyewole (1925-1930), Balogun Okunola Abasi Alesinloye (1930-1946). In addition, Akintayo became the Baale of Ibadan instead of Laafa between 1910 and 1912 because Otun baale Laafa was rejected by the chiefs.

Other major changes was as a result of rate of interference by the colonial administration which meddled in disputes among the chiefs and became active in the selection, promotion, and deposition of chiefs, especially from **1907** onward, when the British Residents, Captain Elgee (1903-1913) asked Baale Opadare to resign his appointment. The Colonial administration co-opted the Alaafin of Oyo in the Selection of candidates for promotion, particularly, Alaafin Lawani and his son who succeeded him, Prince Siyanbola Oladigbolu who ruled until 1944.

(a) Inauguration of Conference of Obas and Chiefs:

The problem of subordinating one Oba and tis people to another was recognized in the late 1930s, following the ceaseless demands by the other towns in the Divisions for autonomy. One other step was taken to back up the administrative changes. The administration encouraged cooperation among the chiefs and Obas. Conference of Obas and chiefs was inaugurated in **1937** for them to discuss ideas which were of interest to the colonial state.

The first of this conference was held in **Oyo** in **1937**. The **second** meeting was held in **Ile-Ife** in **1938** with Olubadan Alesinloye in attendance. The **third** was held in Ibadan hosted by Olubadan Alesinloye in **1939**. The **fourth** meeting was held in Abeokuta in **1940** by Alake, Oba Adetokumbo Ademola. The Awujale of Ijebu Ode in **1941** and Oba of Benin, the Akenzua in **1942** (Ogbontiba Femi, 1977). According to Prince Adelegan Adegbola (200), about eighteen (18) Obas attended the meeting in **1940** and twenty eight (28) Obas in 1944.

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The forum for Obas and Chiefs to meet was given a legal backing in **1959** when the first **Obas and Chiefs Law No. W.R. 38 of 1959** was put in place.

The Council was inaugurated on **24th March, 1960** consisting of the Chairman (The Ooni of Ife) Oba Adesoji Aderemi and six other members each of whom was appointed for **Two years** only. Oba Adesoji Aderemi was appointed the first African Governor in the British Empire and Commonwealth in 1960 and Oba Ladigbolu II replaced the Ooni as the Chairman of the Council of Obas and Chiefs.

5.1 The Role of Ibadan Educated Elites Organizations

The direct involvement of educated Ibadan indigenes in the affairs of the city administration started in **1903** following the **Native Council Ordinance of 1901** when Baale replaced British Resident as President of the Council. The educated elites appointed were to act as liaison members to explain the Residents criticisms, directives and suggestions to the illiterate chiefs. Thereafter, the first generations of Ibadan educated elites spearheaded the formation of the Ibadan Elite Organizations to:

- (a) Formalize their influence in Ibadan Affairs,
- (b) Create a wider recognition for their status in the society; and
- (c) Promote other specific interests in the Socio-cultural welfare and survival of Ibadan.

The period between **1925** (which marked the end of the Ilupeju Society) and **1930** saw the **Ibadan Educated Elites** searching for a viable political instrument that could bring into limelight. This search ended with the formation of Ibadan Progressive Union (IPU) in **1930**.

The activities of the IPU were diverse, but like the other organizations that proceeded it, it plunged headlong into local politics. In **1933**, IPU asked the British Resident **Ward Price** in Ibadan to put educated men on the Native Council to advise

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the Chiefs. The Resident, Ward Price acceded and **I.B. Akinyele** and **J.O. Aboderin** were nominated as Councilors that year. These two men with the backing of the Residents, the Chiefs and other IPU members led the campaign which in **1934** saw Ibadan re-established as an independent Ibadan Native Authority (I.N.A) **thus freeing Ibadanland from the control of Alaafin of Oyo.**

This led to the **transfer of the capital of Oyo province created in January, 1914 back to Ibadan from Oyo** in the same year. IPU also fought for the **change of derogatory title of Baale of Ibadan to Olubadan** during the reign of Baale Abass Okunmola Alesinloyo who was installed Baale of Ibadan in **1930.**

Thus, the IPU as a body infused life into the Council through its Councilors and gave direction to local administration in Ibadan. Subsequently, **Ife, Ilesa** and **Ila** also became Independent native authorities, thus leaving the Alaafin with Oyo Independent Native Authority comprising Oyo North and Oyo South.

The shortcoming exhibited by the lack of coordinated activities of the various clubs and societies became exacerbated and established the need to find a forum for bringing together all clubs and societies in Ibadan. Togetherness makes joint plan and executions possible and would accelerate the progress of the city.

Perhaps another reason all the clubs and societies in Ibadanland found it necessary to present a common front was the need to jointly respond to spiteful and insinuating remarks and assaults on or about Ibadan people by some **non-Ibadan indigenes** in high quarters or neighboring towns. The remarks could emanate from either, political struggles within ethnic groups, resolution of boundary disputes, or undesirable comments made about certain personalities among others.

Thus, on 25th June, 1982, Ibadan Progressive Union (IPU) organized a meeting of all clubs of Ibadan sons and daughters at Green springs Hotel. Other

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bodies invited were Lagelu “16”, IDU-UI/POLY. Chief Amole was the interim President and Mr. Rafiu Toyese Mobaje and Mr. Jare Fadare represented IDU UI/POLY Lagelu “16” respectively, Thus, Central Council of Ibadan Indigenes (C.C.I.I) was formed.

Many reasons were adduced for the formation of the Central body. The most logical ones were that:

- (i) There was an urgent need for a coordinated direction of the energy and resources of all Ibadan sons and daughters towards the attachment of positive changes in Ibadan.
- (ii) There was an urgent need for the recognition of the common danger posed to the protection of the rights of Ibadan sons and daughters by proliferation of the social and cultural associations which had no common forum to define their common interest and pursue such interests vigosity and collectively in an age where pressures and collective pursuits of interests were necessary for the achievement of one’s right.
- (iii) There were enough and conspicuous evidences to support the view that absence of such a central body had made it possible and responsible for the often stated viewpoint that **“Ibadan can only bark but not bite”**.
- (iv) The absence of such a central body had made it difficult, if not impossible, for Ibadan sons and daughters to provide lasting solutions to many social and political problems which had continued to confront us.
- (v) This was the age in which there was tremendous power accorded to numbers. The sum total of the numbers in any one single club could

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not even in terms of numbers match the sum total of the numbers in such a central body.

The part cannot be greater than the whole.

The cell came into being on July 15, 1982 since then, it has continued to grow from strength to strength.



5.2 Why Ibadan changed its title from Baale to Olubadan in 1936

The civil wars of the nineteenth century produced a far-reaching and lasting modification of Yoruba traditional governmental structure. That structure was one in which a town had a single **head-chief** called an **Oba** (or **Baale**) in the case of **uncrowned** heads) assisted by a council of state (Dr. J.A. Atanda 1980).

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In **1904**, Ibadan had jurisdiction over some eighty six (86) tributary towns, where, Ibadan chiefs were overlords and gazetted as “**Yorubaland Jurisdiction Ordinance 1904** “signed by **Baale Mosaderin of Ibadan and his chiefs** on the one hand, and Charles Herbert Harley Moseley, CMG, Acting Governor of the Colony of Lagos on behalf of the British Monarch, His Most Excellent Majesty, King Edward VII on the other. There were **sixteen (16) crowned Obas** and seventy (70) Baales. Mostly in Osun Division including Iwo, Ejigbo and Osogbo etc. However, the Ooni got the erstwhile Ife.

The **nine chiefs and Obas** constituted the Council. They could bring to Council **advisers** of their choice, and some chose educated men. Council meetings were held at Mapo Hall in Ibadan, and discussions generally centered on the affairs of the Divisions.

However, a permanent source of trouble was that the **Obas and Chiefs** regarded the administration of the Division as a **federal system** in which the Olubadan should not be allowed to enjoy the status of Alaafin before 1934. In 1938 Oluwo made it clear that he was subordinate to the Olubadan, and this generated hostility between the two. The crisis came into the open in the same year at Ile-Ife during the **Conference of Obas and Chiefs. the Oluwo was not invited, and he was humiliated for attending** since no place was reserved for him. The Olubadan, Oba Alesinloye had the support of British Administrators. However, these Obas were allowed not to prostrate for Olubadan again (Toyin Falola, 1989).

Earlier on, Ibadan Chiefs had responded to the **1934 reform** as Oliver Twist would do. What became their second major demand was to change the Olubadan which carried with it the aura of an Oba and not that of a village head. The request was granted in October and gazetted on the **29th of the same month, 1936**. The notice,

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according to Toyin Falola (1989) in the gazette did not fail to recognize the opposition to the change by the Alaafin Ladigbolu I of Oyo.

However, in approving the change, the Gazette also emphasized the fact, that it was a mere cosmetic; the Governor though recorded formal recognition to the title of Olubadan on the understanding that the new title does not confer any rights, privileges or dignities not previously or rightfully held by the Baale of Ibadan. The title means no more than *head of Ibadan and has no hereditary character*;

Furthermore, in approving this change of designation, His Excellency cannot refrain from expressing the opinion that *the change was not in strict accordance with Yoruba custom and that the Chiefs of Ibadan failed in the procedure they adopted to show to the Alaafin whom they have hitherto to acknowledged as their titular suzerain* the courtesy and consideration which they should properly have accorded him.

The last part of the notice simply provided with the Alaafin. To the Chiefs, the change was a purely internal affairs and they did not have to consult anybody. *“They reiterated the demand for “the full rights of an Independent Native Authority and the stoppage of the £2,400 paid to the Alaafin by the Ibadan Treasury with the power and influence of Captain W. Ross from 1914 to 1931 when he left the country. The payment was stopped in 1944 after the death of Alaafin Siyanola Ladigbolu due to the persuasion of Lieutenant General in 1933.*

6.0 ORDER OF SUCCESSION TO THE STOOL OF OLUBADAN OF IBADAN

For purposes of regulating chieftaincy to the stool of the OLUBADAN, **Ibadan Native authority (INA) made a Declaration of native Law and custom on 19th august 1946**, based on the appeal made by the then **reigning Olubadan, Oyetunde I.** the declaration was amended in on 16th January, 1950 to cater for succession to other traditional offices left out in the **1946 Declaration** specially as regards other chiefs. The amended Declaration stated ‘thus:

“Appointment of chiefs other than the Olubadan shall be effected by automatic promotion of the Chief next in seniority in either the Olubadan or Balogun line of Chiefs.”

Finally, the chieftaincy Committee of Ibadan District Council (IDC), designated by an Western Region Notice as the competent council, made another Declaration, on **8th august 1959**. The Declaration, which superseded that of **1949** and its **1950 Amendment** with respect to the Olubadan, was signed by its chairman and secretary, I.B Akinyele and William A. Warren respectively. It was subsequently approved by the Minister of the local Government, D.S. Adegbenro on **7th October, 1959** and registered by permanent Secretary, Ministry of Local Government on **28th October, 1959**.

**DECLARATION MADE UNDER SECTION 4 (3) OF THE CHIEFS LAW,
1957 OF THE CUSTOMARY LAW REGULATING THE SELECTION TO
THE OLUBADAN OF IBADAN CHIEFTAINCY**

- (i) Succession to the **stool of the Olubadan** shall be in **strict rotation** between the following major Chieftaincy Lines:
- **The Olubadan Lines**
 - **The Balogun Lines**
- (ii) The order of rotation in which the respective Chieftaincy Lines are entitled to provide candidates to fill successive vacancies in the chieftaincy shall be:
- (a) **The Olubadan Line**
- (b) **The Balogun Line** (present ruling chieftaincy lines)
- (iii) There are **eleven kingmakers** as under:
- | | |
|-----------------|----------------|
| Otun Olubadan | The Balogun |
| Osi Olubadan | Otun Balogun |
| Ashipa Olubadan | Osi Balogun |
| Ekerin Olubadan | Ashipa Balogun |
| The Iyalode | Ekerin Balogun |
| | Sekiri |

Note: The field of selection for the purpose of the foregoing proviso shall not extend beyond the Ekerin Olubadan Line on the Olubadan Line and the Ekerin Balogun on the Balogun Line.

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Olubadan Isaac B. Akinyele

(iv) Nomination of a Candidate to be Olubadan:

The person who may be **proposed as a candidate** by the Line whose turn it is to fill a vacancy in the office of Olubadan shall be the most Senior Chief in that Line. Provided that the most senior Chief in that Line may be superseded by a Junior Chief if such Senior Chief is found to be disqualified as a candidate under the provisions of section 10(2) of the Chiefs Law, 1957.

And further provided that;

- (a) The field of selection for the purpose of the foregoing proviso shall not **extend** beyond the Ekerin Olubadan on the Olubadan Line and the Ekerin Balogun on the Balogun Line;

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(b) Any Chief from any of those embraced in proviso (a) **found guilty by a meeting of the Chiefs** who are traditional members of the council (at which the **nominated candidate** shall not be present) of disregard of, or disrespect to the position of, or disrespect to the position of authority of Olubadan, or of a senior or Chief under Native Law and Custom may not be eligible for nomination.

Disregard or disrespect shall mean acts of contumely or (insult); refusal to pay necessary customary obeisance and flouting of superior customary authority, the brackets are mine.

(v) **The Method of Selection is as follows:**

- The Line whose turn it is to present a candidate shall nominate a candidate for the chieftaincy **at a meeting of the kingmakers** to be summarized the most Senior Chief of the Chieftaincy Line **no** presenting the candidate
- The Kingmakers shall, if satisfied as to the candidate a right of succession, declare him appointed.
- Provided that should a dispute arise among the line presenting the candidate, the majority decision of the kingmakers shall be final.

Made by the **Chieftaincy Committee** of the Ibadan District Council, which has been designated as the competent council by Western Region Legal Notice No. 22 of 1959, and signed by the Chairman and Secretary of the Committee this 8th of August 1959

SGD. I.B. Akinyele
Chairman, Chieftaincy Committee
Ibadan District Council
SGD. WILLIAM A. WARREN

7.0 HISTORICAL REVIEW OF CHIEFTAINCY DECLARATION

- (a) **1974**, the **military government of Western states instituted a commission of Enquiry** to review the Chieftaincy Declaration and its recommendations were adopted and changes affected.
- (b) In **1976**, there was the Adenekan Ademola Judicial commission of Enquiry. It made recommendations which the then military Government accepted and changes effected in **1981**.
- (c) **Governor Kolapo Ishola set up the Oloko Commission of Enquiry on April 1st 1993** to review the chieftaincy Declaration all over Oyo state by virtue of the power conferred on the Government of Oyo state by section 25 of Chiefs Law.

The Central Council of Ibadan Indigene C.C.I.I. under Chief O.O Bello as National President responded by setting up a committee headed by the late Engr. Lere Adigun (Sahara Engineers) and Esv. Lola Tomori as the secretary. The REPORT was admitted and was later presented to Olubadan-In-Council at Idi-Aro residence of Oba Asanike.

The recommendations were accepted by Governor Lam Adesina led government of Oyo State. **The effect is that all the eleven (11) High Chiefs were recognized under the Chiefs Law, Cap. 21**

- (d) Governor Abiola Ajimobi also set up the Justice O.A. Boade Commission of Enquiry deriving his power from sections 10 and 25 and Cap 28 of the Oyo State Chieftaincy Law 2000. In fact Governor Lam Adeshina reviewed all Oyo state laws including the Tenement Rate Law now Cap.

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160 Laws of Oyo state and the Local government Law which was implemented by Governor Abiola Ajimobi which gave birth to LCDAs.

According to the publication the Nigerian Tribune of Monday, 19 June, 2017, Ibadan United in Diaspora maintained that section 25 (1) gives power to the Governor to set up an enquiry which may consider necessary or desirable to any of the purposes of part II and III of the law, which includes the power to make review, or amend a Declaration.

Even, with due respect to the judgment of Olajumoke Atiki of Oyo State High Court on January 19, 2018 that wearing of Beaded crown was outside the provisions of sections 10, 12, 25 to me is faulty.

- Governor Alao Alakia elevated Baale of Ilora to a Beaded crown wearing Oba and he was installed by Alaafin of Oyo; Oba Adeyemi III.
- Baale Aale of Oke-Elerin in Ogbomoso was equally elevated by Governor Alao Akala while we now have three (3) Imperial Majesties.
- Many upgraded Baales outside Ibadan in Oke-Ogun and Ibarapa had been crowned by Alaafin Adeyemi III in recent time and Soun Ogbomoso!
- Oyo State Government in its publication signed by Mr. Dele Adigun, SSG on 23rd November, 2005 said it has upgraded some chieftaincies in the state and such classified chieftaincies to **Paramount, First class, Second class and Third class.**

8.0 CURRENT SITUATION

(a) PART II (RECOGNIZED) CHIEFTAINCIES IN IBADANLAND:

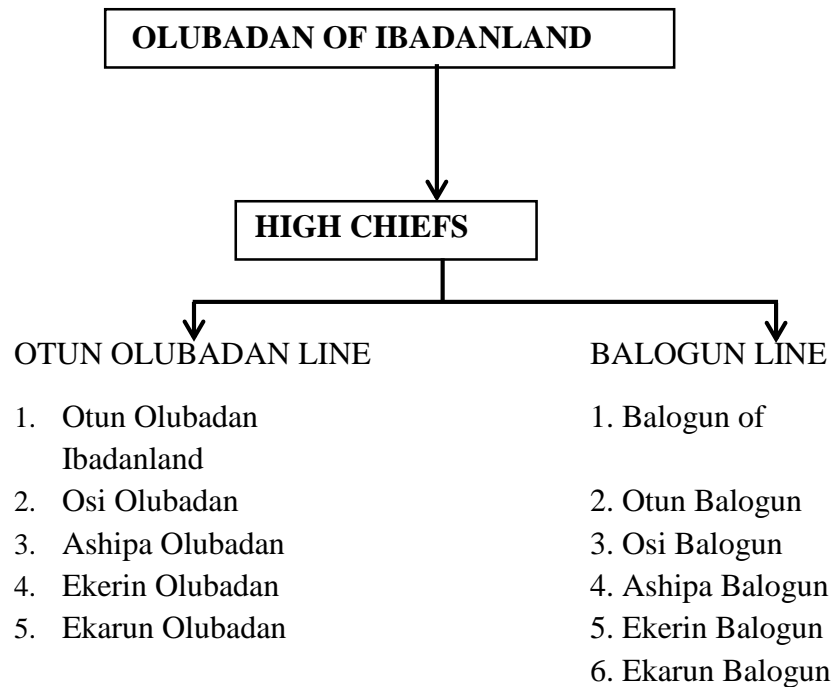
(The Chiefs Law-Cap. 21 Order, 1998)

S/NO.	Local Government	Traditional Rulers
1.	Akinyele Local Government	Ashipa Balogun of Ibadanland Onijaye of Ijaiye Oniroko of Iroko Onikereku of Ikereku
2.	Egbeda Local Government	Ekarun Balogun of Ibadanland Baale Erunmu Baale Egbeda Baale Awaiye
3.	Ibadan North Local Government	Osi Balogun of Ibadanland
4.	Ibadan North East Local Government	Balogun of Ibadanland
5.	Ibadan North West Local Government	Ashipa Olubadan
6.	Ibadan South East Local Government	Olubadan of Ibadanland Otun Olubadan of Ibadanland The Iyalode of Ibadanland Abese Olubadan of Ibadanland
7.	Ido Local Government	Ekerin Balogun of Ibadanland Onido of Ido Olomi of Omi-Adio Alakufo of AKufo Baale of Apete
8.	Oluyole Local Government	Ekerin Olubadan of Ibadanland Baale Abanla Baale Latunde Baale Idi-Ayunre
9.	Ona-Ara Local Government	Otun Balogun of Ibadanland Baale Araromi Baale Akanran
10.	Ibadan South West Local Government	None
11.	Lagelu Local Government	Ekarun Olubadan of Ibadanland Baale Lalupon Baale Lagun Baale Ofatedo Baale Ejioku Baale Ile-Igbon

Note: All recognized Mogajis and Baales in the Metropolis had been deleted and should be replaced by those Chiefs in the two Lines below the High Chief to Jagun

(b) THE SENIORITY LIST OF OLUBADAN CHIEFTAINCY

TITLE HOLDERS



SENIOR CHIEFS

6. Abese Olubadan
7. Maye Olubadan
8. Ekefa Olubadan
9. Agbaakin Olubadan
10. Aare-Alasa Olubadan
7. Abese Balogun
8. Maye Balogun
9. Ekefa Balogun
10. Agbaakin Balogun
11. Aare-Alasa Balogun

QUARTER (JUNIOR) CHIEFS

11. Ikolaba Olubadan
12. Asajub Olubadan
13. Ayingun Olubadan
14. Are-Ago Olubadan
15. Lagunna Olubadan
16. Oota Olubadan
17. Aregbe-Omo Olubadan
12. Ikolaba Balogun
13. Asaju Olubadan
14. Ayingun Olubadan
15. Are-Ago Balogun
16. Lagunna Balogun
17. Oota Balogun
18. Aregbe-Omo Balogun

- | | |
|--------------------------|------------------------|
| 18. Gbonka-Olubadan | 19. Gbonka Baogun |
| 19. Are- Onibon Olubadan | 20. Are-Onibin Balogun |
| 20. Bada Olubadan | 21. Bada Olubadan |
| 21. Ajia Olubadan | 22. Ajia Balogun |
| 22. Jagun Olubadan | 23. Jagun Balogun |

9.0 PROMOTION OF CHIEFS GUIDELINES

The Oyo State of Nigeria, **Cap. 28** which derived his Origin from **Cap.19** and later **Cap. 21** covers only three classes of chieftaincies, namely:

- (i) **Recognized Ruling House**, e.g. Erunmu, Lalupon, Irioko etc.
- (ii) **Recognized Non-Ruling House**,(Olubadan), and
- (iii) **Minor Chieftaincies** – part III Mogajis

According to Governor (Dr.) Omololu Olunloyo, there is a standard administrative **three-part** template for analyzing chieftaincy Law of Oyo State. The three Stages are as follows:

- (a) Nomination
- (b) Appointment
- (c) Approval

(a) PART II (Recognized) Chieftaincies

As part II (Recognized) Oba/Chief is concerned, **nomination** is by a **ruling house** or otherwise by a body so defined (e.g. Olubadan-In-Council) as in the Olubadan case. **Appointment** is vested in the kingmakers and **Approval** is by Government or the Executive Governor of the State.

In the case of **Part III (coronet) Obas** in Ibadanland, the appointment of a **coronet Oba** is governed by the procedure enumerated above the granting of award of coronet is the prerogative Of the **Paramount Ruler (Olubadan)** who as **President of Ibadan Traditional Council**, will present such request by a Baale to the

Olubadan-In-Council for approval of the Kingmakers before passing it to the State Council of Obas and Chiefs through the Governor. After the consent of the Council of Obas and Chiefs, the Executive Governor of the State will give his consent **before the formal appointment, installation/award** of the coronet by the Paramount Ruler (Olubadan)

(b) MINOR CHIEFS (Part III Unrecognized) Chiefs

A minor chief is a chief other than a recognized chief and is governed by part III of the chiefs Law cap. 28 Laws of Oyo State, 2000. These Chiefs include Mogajis and Olubadan Chiefs on both Otun Olubadan and Baogun Lines who are below High Chiefs in Ibadanland.

**CHIEFTAINCY DECLARATION UNDER THE AUTHORITY
OF OLUBADAN OF IBADANLAND**

The chieftaincy declarations of some Baales under the authority of Olubadan (as Prescribed Authority), still extant, were made for the following **hereditary ruling** houses where there is conflict, in some cases, between the traditional custom of the people and the popular demand of the inhabitants of each town.

1. Baale of Lagun (one ruling house; Alli-Iwo)
2. Baale of Lalupon (two ruling houses)
3. Olofa of Offa-Igbo (one ruling house, Fajobi)
4. Baale of Erummu (one rulling house; Sobikan)
5. Onido of Ido (one ruling house; Agura)
6. Baale of Omi-Adio (one ruling house; Osundina)
7. Oniroko of Iroko (one ruling house;Opeola)
8. Onikereku of Ikereku (one ruling house Akinpelu)
9. Onijaye of Ijaiye (one ruling house; Onijaiye Family).

CHAPTER NINE
SOCIO-CULTURAL AND ECONOMIC TRANSFORMATION
OF IBADAN COSMOPOLITAN CITY STATE

1.0 INTRODUCTION

A metropolitan area is defined as a city whose activities form an integrated social and economic system with its sub-urban or rural areas and the entire population of the urban and rural area is its total population.

Urbanization, on the other hand, is characterized and, even defined by fundamental changes in physical concentration of population in the nature and scale of economic production, in land use, and in social structures and patterns of interaction. Changes in all of these dimensions affect the lives of individual and the requirements for resources and governance.

Urbanization, when well-managed, facilitates sustained economic growth and thereby promotes broad social welfare gains. The industrial and commercial activities that are primarily located, and serviced, marketed, and financed, in urban areas account for four-fifths (4/5) of gross domestic product (GDP) in most countries.

The agglomeration of economic activities in the process of urbanization contributes to growth through the real sector, by raising the productivity of output and employment, through the financial sector, by mobilizing and channeling savings, and allowing the accumulation of real wealth in the form of urban real estate, and through fiscal flows, by cities providing the lions share of tax revenue (World Bank, (IBRD) 2000).

Less than half of the urban growth in any region is due to internal (rural to urban) migration, according to the population experts. Most is explained by natural

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population increase within cities and by the structural transformation and incorporation of formerly rural areas at the urban periphery.

Nigeria has been regarded as the most populous nation in Africa with teeming population of over 170 million people crowded over a land area of about 923,000 sq. kilometers. It has over a hundred of cities with population that passes for urban centres. Nigeria cities notably, Lagos, Kano and Ibadan are among the first one hundred largest cities in the world which translates into pressures on land and thus high urban dynamics.

The aim of this paper is to examine the process of change of Ibadan from a war camp of the allied armies of Ife, Ijebu, Oyo and Egba to a city-state and its capacity to become a mega-city.

2.0 THE GROWTH OF IBADAN AND THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE

The history of Ibadan could be generally be divided into three periods as a result of wars in the old Oyo Empire. The first settlement was established at a location between the Savannah and the Forest by Lagelu who migrated from Ile-Ife in the 16th century during the rein of Alaafin Oluaso and before 1530 when old Oyo capital was sacked by the Nupe (Tapas).

The first settlement was destroyed by the Oyo army at the zenith of Oyo Empire when the Office of Are-Ona-Kakanfo was institutionalized because of exposure of Egungun secret in the market. Lagelu, his children and some relatives survived the war and sought refuge at Awotan hills and from the hill they moved down to settle at Oriyangi formerly named Babainde Market but now called Oja-Iba named after Basorun Oluyole.

In the 1820s, there was an excuse to launch an attack on Owu Ogbere that settled on Ibadan land aftermath of the destruction of Owu-Orile by the allied armies

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of Ife, Ijebu and Oyo refugees. The allied armies eventually occupied Ibadan and turned it to a war-camp.

Rev. Samuel Johnson at page 244 of “The History of the Yorubas” described the occupied SECOND Ibadan during the time of Maye Okunade as consisting of the central market (**Labosinde Market**), and about half a mile of houses around. The town wall was where the principal mosque (**now Oja’ba Central Mosque**) now stands. It contained the compound of Maye, Oluyedun, Labosinde, Oluyole, Ogundiwin, Adalakun, Lajumoke, Kofo, Ojo Kure, Babalola (Baba Bale Fijabi 1893), Akere and Alekuso. Thus, the third Ibadan was established.



Mapo Hall

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The **town wall** was extended to Eelegun Stream beyond Ita-Baale Olugbode, while the **third town wall** was built by Balogun Ibikunle in 1856. The wall enclosing the built-up section was sixteen (16) kilometers in circumference, with four major gates leading to Abeokuta, Oyo, Iwo and Ijebu, and several minor ones to various farms and villages. Within the wall were hundreds of compounds, Kudeti Church in the South, Ogunpa Church in the North-West and Aremo Church in the North-East and also Mosques with another praying ground in the North East, (Toyin Falola, 1989).

With the influx of more refugees into the city, a system of Mogajiship was introduced to differentiate hereditary succession to the compound households (**Omo Ile**) from those who were not related to the founder of the compound (**Ara Ile**). The Mogajiship also institutionalized the process of selection of Olubadan stool and it is not confined to a particular family in Ibadan.

Those who were regarded as strangers in Ibadan were those who came mostly in search of economic opportunities during the nineteenth (19th) and twentieth (20th) centuries, and they did not seek to identify with their already integrated kinsmen. They had no farms, a major factor that reinforced their “**stranger’s status**” rather, they were mostly interested in trade wage labour (Prof. Toyin Falola, 2012).

As Ibadan continued to grow, several thousands of non-Yoruba elements migrated into the city and they settled in fairly distinct separate quarters. These include the Hausa quarter known as Sabo (or Sabogari), the Nupe quarter was Mokola, while Ekot-Edo (i.e. Ekotedo) was originally settled by the Ibos, the Ibiobios, the Edo (Benin) and the Urobos. Oke-Ado was originally an Ijebu locality in Ibadan.

3.0 THE LEADERSHIP ROLE OF WOMEN IN POLITICS AND SOCIETY

Every Yoruba kingdom had a female hierarchy of chiefs, usually headed by the **Iyalode**. The extent of Iyalode's authority varied from the kingdom, according to changing historical contexts. Following the **upheavals of the civil wars** of the early nineteenth century, powerful new states, of which the most important were the **kingdoms of Abeokuta, founded in 1830** and the **warrior republic of the third and present Ibadan established in 1825**.

These two states were found on revolutionary new values and constitutional structures. They produced a socio-political environment that allowed astute, enterprising, wealthy women to assume roles of power and authority hitherto reserved for male titled hierarchies and military rulers. In **Ibadan** and Abeokuta, new styles of governance downplayed **hereditary rights** in favour of proven merit based on leadership and entrepreneurial ability, wealth and patriotism in the nineteenth century.

Successful war and trade leaders were appointed to high military and civil office, including some notable wealthy female traders who won acclaim because of their patriotic loyalty, their economic acumen, their financial support in state expansion and defense, and other community and state services.

The Iyalode line constitutes the fourth line in the Ibadan chieftaincy, following the Olubadan, Balogun and Seriki lines. A civil line, only a select number of **Ibadan elite families**, descendants of the original settlers, have the right to offer candidates when vacancies occur in the line.

LIST OF IYALODE OF IBADAN

S/NO	NAME	COMPOUND	PERIOD
1.	Iyalode Subwola	-	1850-1867
2.	Iyalode Efunsetan Aniwura	Oja'ba	1871-1874
3.	Iyalode Iyaola	-	1874-1891
4.	Iyalode Lansalatu Asabi Giwa	Ile Onireke	1893-1913
5.	Iyalode Iya Isale-Osun	Isale Osun	1914-1917
6.	Iyalode lanlatu ajisomo	Ita Aregbeomo	1917-1934
7.	Iyalode Rukayat Ajisomo Orogunbodi	Oja'ba	1935-1951
8.	Iyalode Abimbola	-	1953-1961
9.	Iyalode Adebisi Abeo	Oja'ba (Ile Gbayero)	1961-1974
10.	Iyalode Wuraola Esan	Molete	1975-1985
11.	Iyalode Hunmani Alade	Opo-Yeosa	1985-1995
12.	Iyalode Wurada Akintola	Ayeye-Ibikunle Compound	1995-2007
13.	Iyalode Aminat Abiodun	Idi-Arere	2007- 2/12/2018
14.	Iyalode Laduntan Oyekami	Abebi	July 2019-Date

SOURCE: IBADAN: Facts and Figures by Sir (Dr.) Jinde Fatokun, 2012.

From early times, the daughter of Lagelu called **Yade** (also known as **Oluyade**, meaning she who tears the crown). As Lagelu's daughter, she joined forces with the other Ibadan warriors to terrorize the surrounding villages as a reprisal against the sacking of the first Ibadan between 1774 and 1789. During the raid, she captured the crown of one of the kings. The other daughter of Lagelu was Atage aka

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Olomu Oru (one who has big breast). She was the first pries of Oke'badan (Ibadan Hill at Awotan. The mother was a princess of Gbagura, the king of Egba Gbaguro with the headquarters at Ido new part of Ibadan.

Another woman was identified by her title and place of origin, **Iyalaje Ijaiye**, and said to be very beautiful wealthy and influential in the market system, produced two daugheters who became Iyalodes of Ibadan namely: Lanlatu Asabi Giwa and Ramalatu Ajisomo, the fourth and fifth Iyalodes of Ibadan.

(a) EFUNSETAN ANIWURA:

Historically, the Yoruba have established a strong tradition of recognizing women who stand out among the peers and whose deeds serve as reference points for outstanding achievements in many fields of human endeavor, one of the respected women in the Yoruba society was the Iyalode Efunsetan Aniwura of Ibadan (1871-1874), who rose from humble beginning as a retail food trader in commercial magnate with business connections in Lagos, Badagry, Port-Novo and other West African countries. She was the wife of Elepo, an influential War-Chief during Oluyole's reign as Basorun of Ibadan. She owned farms near Ikija Karao, and at Odo-Ona on Ijebu-Ode and Abeokuta roads. Slaves claimed to number on thousand operated these plantations, producing palm oil and food.

(b) EFUNROYE OSUNTINUBU:

Another giant Yoruba women was the Iyalode Efunroye Osuntinubu, who was born in 1805 at Ijokodo, now part of Ibadan North West. She was born into Gbagura tribe of the Egba kingdom her father's name was Olumasa, while her mother's name was Nijeede. Efunroye came from Orisanla Osuntinubu's family was among about 150 migrants that resettled under the leadership of Egba veteran war-

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leader, **Sodeke**. They all found common refuge under Olumo Rock at Abeokuta in **1830** (Adelegan Agegbola, 2009).

Efunroye's business and commercial interest covered wide range of investment. Her **land holding ventures** completed with the missionary. In 1864, **Efunroye Tinubu** was responsible for the supply farms and ammunitions to the Egba warriors in the Egba-Dahomey war.

(c) LANLATU ASABI GIWA (1893-1913):

When the British assumed control of Ibadan in **1893**, the chiefs were stripped of their power to field armies and wage warfare. Thus the Iyalodes lost an important element of their power, but the incumbent Iyalode, Lanlatu Asabi Giwa appeared to have been a forceful personality that the new administration could not ignore. She married a war-leader, Giwa, with whom she had a son, Latinwo (LaRay Denzer, University of Ibadan, 2000).

She was made Iyalode during the rule of Baale Fijabi (1893-1895) of Ibadan. She sat in the Council, and liaised with the Baale and other Chiefs in running the government. She died office until 1913, thus presiding over women's affairs in the town during the critical phase of British consolidation of their administration Nigeria. During this period the **railway was built and got to Ibadan in 1901**, transforming commercial networks and opening new opportunities for **Ibadan women** in trade.

The colonial administration certainly recognized Lanlatu's position in the town. She was one of the signatories to the treaty the Captain George Chardon Denton signed with the Ibadan chiefs in **1893**.

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(d) RUKAYAT AJISOMO OROGUNGBODI (1935-1951):

She was born in C.1851 was installed Iyalode in 1935 by Baale Bankola Alesinloye (1930-1936) and the first Olubadan of Ibadanlana between 1936 and 1946. Born to the Are Egbe-Omo Family, her father, **Baba Olopa**, was the son of Chief Are **Egbe Omo**, a popular 19th century Ibadan soldier who immigrated from Otefon near Ajase Epo. Her mother was a successful trader from Oritamerin who sold in Elubo (cassava flour) and adire at Oja'ba.



The Statute of Challenge Roundabout was erected in honour of iyalode rukayat ajisomo (1935-1951) and not that of Efunsetan popularly referred to by the people. The statute has been removed to SHODEINDE ROUNDABOUT

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On 17 January 1946, Rukayat petitioned for a rise in her salary to maintain her prestige and pay the upkeep of the female prisoners in her custody and the wages of her warders.

She was also deeply involved in the protest against Oba Bankole Alesinloye Okunola Aba's the first Olubadan. The protest hinged on **widespread suspicion** that Oba Abas wanted to promote the claim of Belo Okunola Abas, the **President of Egbe Omo Ibile Ibadan** (Ibadan Descendants Union from the 1930s to 1950s) as his successor. Additional sources of discontent stemmed from a **serious salt scarcity** and another attempt to **impose taxation on women**. The Iyalode and her chiefs mobilized Ibadan women to stage demonstrations against the Olubadan and the colonial authorities.

Throughout the history of Ibadan, the **Iyalode line of chiefs** has provided an avenue of leadership for talented women. The line itself has expanded to incorporate more influential women as women have come to the forefront of public life. Today titles have become much sought for the social prestige it confers on individuals.

(e) IYALODE WURAOLA ESAN (1975-1985):

She was born into the **Ojo-'badan** family in **1909**. She attended Baptist Girls School Idi-Aba, Abeokuta, and the united missionary college (UMC), Ibadan where she qualified as **3rd class** Teacher in 1930. She founded the Peoples Girls school in 1945. She was installed Iyalode in 1975.

She was the leader of Women's Wing of Ibadan Progressive Union (IPU) in the **1950s**. Wuraola Esan and her husband, Victor Owolabi Esan, were members of the **Egbe Omo Oduduwa** and Ibadan progressive Union (IPU). Egbe Omo Oduduwa was the cultural nationalit organization which gave birth to the Action Group (A.G.) her husband later became the president of the IPU.

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In 1958, she won election as a member of the Ibadan Urban District Council (IUDC) and was adviser to the Action Group during the **1953 London** constitutional conference. She was the only woman member of the federal parliament as Senator between **1960 and 1964**. At the senate, she contributed frequently to the debates, often speaking on women's issues, but also making astute observations on general financial, development and educational policy.

Chief (Mrs.) was deeply involved in the establishment of women's voluntary organizations the most important of which was the National Council of Women's Society (NCWS), created in **1957** by an alliance between the women's section of the IPU with the Women's Improvement Society (WIS) led by **Tanimowo Ogunlesi**, the Women's her daughter was **Professor Jadesola Akande**, a former Vice Chancellor of the Lagos State University (LASU) Movement (WM) led by Elizabeth Adekogbe and the Young Women's Christian Association (VMCA).

(f) IYALODE HUMUAM ALAGA (1985-1995)

She was born into the family of Pa Buraimo Dende, a produce buyer who died in 1915, an Mama Jemilatu Ibiyanja of Ibadan, a trade she grow up in the **Oke-Are's compound** in Ibadan. A 24 she married Gbadamasi Laditi Tejumola Alade of **Yeosa compound** in Ibadan with whom she had four children. She had six children through one Sanusi Osinusi, a tailor at Gbagi (Old Gbagi Commercial layout).

Iyalode Humulani Alde was the first woman to open shop at Gbagi in 1929. She was a major shareholder in **T.L. Oyesina's Ibadan Bus Service**. Though she did not have formal Western education, she employed clerks to manage her textile business.

She was the President, Cotton Traders Union (CTU), and Ibadan African Traders Association (IATA), she organized a protest against Lebanese / Syrain

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traders who engaged in **retail trade** and undercut them. It was in recognition of her **positive leadership roles**, despite her level of education, Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II honoured her with the prestigious award of British Empire (MBE) in **1959**.

She founded the **Ansar-Ud-deen Society** which established Isabatudeen Girls Grammar School, Oritabasorun in **1964**. She was an active women leader in the Action Group (A.G) and Unity party of Nigeria (UPN) in the Nationalist days of the second Republic of Nigeria.

(g) FEMALE KINGS IN YORUBALAND

Many kingdoms have produced the female kings (Oba) in the past. **Ile-Ife** produced a female Ooni. The name of the female Ooni is **Luwo Gbagida**, who was married to Chief Obaloran of Ife. She got her son, Adekola Telu, the progenitor of Olumade Pariu, the founder and the first Oluwo of Iwo, and also the mother of Lagelu's mother who married the son of Obalufe, the Prime Minister or Head of Ife Council of Chiefs and gave birth to lagelu the ancestral founder of Ibadan.

In another development, **Six Female Owas** had reigned and ruled Ilesa. Ondo too has had Female kings. Also Oyo kingdom had produced female Alaafin. The market Ordinance in Calaba which resulted in **Aba Riots** of 1929, women protested the introduction of the new weight of the product reigns which is against the interest of Nigerians.

Women revolted in Iseyin, Oke-Iho in Oyo Province in 1916, Abeokuta in 1918, in warri in 1927 and 1928. They all rejected the exploitation of the exploiters.

In conclusion, from 1918 till the end of the colonial period, Nigeria women and Yoruba women in particular, contributed immensely to the Nigeria independence struggle which came about in **1960**.

4.0 SETTLEMENTS OF NONE-INDIGENES:

(a) HAUSA:

The Hausa came to settle in Ibadan during the early 1800s during the reign of Basorun Oluyole Iyanda, the head of **the present and “third Ibadan”** precisely around **1835A.D.** They first came into the town as **cattle and beef traders**, under the leadership of **Mohammadu Na Garke**, who was the **Sarkin Pawa** (head of the butchers), and **Abdullahi Makama**, the **Sarkin Zango** (head of the cattle transit camp). At this initial stage, they were settled at Oja’ba as the guest of Basorun Oluyole.

With time, the population of the Houses in Ibadan increased dramatically and the **Sabongari (sabo) settlement** was established for them, around Mokola area in **1916**. The land on which Sabo is built was donated to the **Hausa community** by **Baale Irefin** (1912-1914). Sabo soon became over populated and some of the Hausa people moved to Mokola.

From the **1830s** and to the early **1990s**, there was no major friction between the Hausas and the Ibadan people. There were some squabbles between the migrants over chieftaincy titles in the **1940s**, and between a faction of the Hausa-Fulani cattle traders in Bodija and the other livestock traders in **1986**. The traditional leadership of Ibadan, according to Isaac Olawale Albert (2015), quickly intervened and the disputes were amicably resolved. As far as the Ibadan people are concerned, the Hausa were good “guests” until **1993**. “During the annulment of Basorun Moshood Abiola election victory by General Ibrahim Babangida, they conducted themselves in manners acceptable to their hosts and the two communities co-existed peacefully.

(b) EKOTEDO OR “LAGOS SETTLEMENTS”:

An influx of settlers was noticeable with the arrival of the railway in **1901**. A new suburb grew with the arrival of **Logosians** and descendants of freed slaves who had settled in Lagos. This area, slightly north of the railway terminus, became known as **Ekotedo or “Lagos settlement”**. The railway network also brought settlers who were originally from what later became from what later became known as the mid-west, southeastern and eastern Nigeria.

(c) AGO TAPA OR NUPE SETTLEMENT:

Adjacent to Sabo and precisely Mokola Layout, the Nupe were settled in a portion of Mokola Layout referred to as **Agò Tapa**, which translates as Nupe hamlets. Mabogunje rightly observed that the architecture of the Hausa quarters were so impermanent as to suggest that they considered themselves sojourners rather than permanent settlers in the city, these settlers were about a mile and a half north of the railway terminus.

(d) THE IGBO IN IBADAN:

The Igbo of Nigeria are known, among others, for their **migratory prowess**, and are found in all parts of Nigeria and beyond. The people are easily identifiable by their resilience and adaptability to situations. Also, the quest for survival in an increasingly monetizing economy coupled with sparse land resources, is responsible for the high rate of migration among the Igbo.

Limited availability of land in Igbo communities is largely a function of high population density driven pronatalist ethos that is sustained by multiple socio-cultural beliefs and practices. Clearly, high population density is mainly responsible for the high migration experience in Igbo communities. Also, limited social and economic opportunities are strong motivating factors for Igbo migration.



Mokola Layout

In an essay on exile, Nuruddin Farah wrote that **“One of the pleasures of living away from home is that you become the master of your destiny, you avoid the constraints and limitations of your past and if need be, create an alternative life for yourself”** (Farah, in Zeleza, 2005, 13).

The biggest success of **Somali diaspora communities** in United States Midwest cities, are like Mogadishu University, made manifest back in Somalia. **Remittances** are the **“lifeline”** for basic survival for many Somalis living in exile send at least a billion US dollars to Somalia a year, nearly 20 percent of the country’s estimated GDP, a large share of this money comes from Mogadishu-on-the Mississippi (Marchal 2006, Roble and Rutledge, 2008).

In the same vein: having a house / building back home is a strong factor for travelling during major festivals. An **Ijebo man** that does not have a house at home is regarded as irresponsible by family members and kin-group as somebody which a chicken-brain (**Ofofogi**) and a spendthrift notwithstanding the occupational status of the individual. In order not to be so labeled, Igbo especially those in the Diaspora (living in urban centers and abroad) struggle to erect structures even if it means not fully utilizing them.

7.1 Change in the Pattern of Population

Also, in broad terms, the **wars changed the pattern of population** spread in Yorubaland. Yorubaland had entered the nineteenth century more heavily populated in its northwestern region-especially in the Oyo country. By the middle of the century, the heavier population had shifted to the Yoruba middle belt - by then the home of such heavily populated centers as Osogbo, Ede, Ejigbo, Ikirun, Iwo, Ife-Modakeke, Ikire-Apomu, Gbongan, new Oyo, Ijaye, Ibadan, Abeokuta. Further eastwards in this middle belt, northern Ijesa towns like Igbajo, Iree, Ada and Otan as well as northern Ekiti towns like Otun, received some influx of Oyo and Igbomina from the north. Even as far south as Ido, Ado and Ikere in Ekiti, fairly large populations of Oyo resident immigrants emerged. In the distant west also, the region of Egbado and Ketu, for two centuries an area under Oyo political and commercial influence, witnessed a considerable influx of Oyo immigrants. Even some areas south of the middle belt received some of the shifting population, with some of the Owu and Egba flowing into northern Ijebu. In contrast, much of the northernmost reaches of Yorubaland became thinly populated, the northwest (the area of Oyo-Ile) being the hardest hit.

The ultimate, and very important, consequence of all these population movements was a mixing and intermingling of Yoruba subgroups far more profound

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than probably ever before in Yoruba history. This process of mixing started with a layer of Oyo migrants spreading out over all the other subgroups-thicker in the middle belt, but reaching even to the coast. In the important port towns of Lagos, Badagry and Ajase (Porto Novo), the migrations resulted in substantial Oyo populations. The peculiar development of Ibadan, as well as its empire-building successes, greatly reinforced the process of subgroup mixing. Ibadan grew as a city of all Yoruba subgroups in a way that no other city in Yoruba history can claim. *Oyo, Ife, and Ijebu refugees and soldiers, and Egba and Owu stragglers, started the new Ibadan off. Then the peculiar and open meritocracy of Ibadan's political and social system attracted many from all subgroups of the Yoruba people.* Later, Ibadan's conquests and style of provincial administration produced a powerful backwash of the mixed population of Ibadan to most of Yorubaland. Adversity threw the Egba and Owu together in Abeokuta and, later, brought to them crowds of persons of mostly Oyo descent from the

7.2 Cultural Transformation in Yorubaland:

For all African peoples, **the twentieth century was an era of great cultural transformations.** For a people with such a rich cultural heritage as the Yoruba, it is impossible to do more in a book of this nature than give a very brief outline of the massive cultural transformations of the century. The dissolution of the agbo-ile or lineage compound was, without doubt, one of the greatest and most profound transformations of Yoruba society in the **twentieth century.**

- (a) It is fairly well known from family traditions, court records, and published accounts in various media, that the process was rocky in many places. Emotional attachment to the ancestral compound usually resulted in the circumstance that persons with financial resources for building new homes often sought to take a piece of the old compound, tear it down and

build the new house in its place. Not infrequently, this produced conflicts of claims - and disputes and feuds among lineage members. By about the last quarter of the century, the dissolution was virtually complete for most compounds, and the volume of fratricidal strife petered out.

- (b) The fact that the dissolution was effected, in most cases, piece by piece over a long time and without any coordination, resulted in considerable deterioration of the physical structure of the old Yoruba cities and towns - houses built in disorder on the sites of once beautiful compounds, large quarters impossible to provide with paved roads, serious problems of hygiene arising from lack of sewage and trash disposal arrangements. By the last decades of the century, persons desiring to build new houses tended mostly to go beyond the old town walls - to land that used to be farmland. *As a result, by, say, the year 2000, every sizeable Yoruba town had two segments - the old town within the old town walls, and then the new town beyond them.* The latter, being usually a place of land layouts and building plans approved by the Local Governments, was normally much more orderly and attractive than the former.

The effects of the dissolution of the agbo-ile on lineages and on society in general were quite complex. A dispersal of most of each agbo-ile's lineage followed. However, a core of the lineage members of each agboile continued to inhabit its old site in their new types of houses - thus constituting a strong pull on dispersed members. Even in the growing new town beyond the town walls, the members of each lineage tended also to build homes close together - since each lineage gave land to its members on land that had used to be its farmland, although it also usually sold plots to non-members. Moreover, the old lineage functions (funerals of departed members, naming ceremonies for newly born members, engagement ceremonies and weddings, contests over the selection of chiefs, chieftaincy installation rituals and

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ceremonies, annual and seasonal lineage rituals, sacrifices and festivals), continued - also a strong force pulling members together. And the old obligations for the welfare of members remained indestructible, so that even the farthest dispersed members of a lineage still accepted and bore responsibilities for the welfare of other members. ***Consequently, although the agbo-ile disintegrated, the social and psycho-spiritual bonds uniting its lineage survived quite strongly. At the end of the twentieth century, the lineage factor continued to be a very major factor in Yoruba society.*** It is important to note, in conclusion, that all that has been said here about the agbo-ile and lineage is applicable to Yoruba people, not only in Nigeria, but also in Benin and Togo Republics

7.3 Growth and Impact of Western Education

The first decades of the century saw the Christian mission primary schools spread into all corners of Yorubaland. By the 1920s, the missions were advancing their educational programs to the level of secondary schools and teacher-training institutions. By the 1950s, at which time the British admitted Yoruba politicians into limited participation in the government of their people, purely government schools were few and far between, most schools being Christian mission schools. As a result, most Yoruba recipients of Western education in the century were products of Christian mission schools. No other single factor impacted twentieth century Yoruba society as much as this. (S.A. Akintoye, 2010).

In the development of education, indigenous Yoruba participation was important from the beginning. Even before the ***Lagos kingdom became a British colony in 1861***, the people of Lagos had started to show interest in Western education. After 1861, that interest grew tremendously, as the influence of the Christian missions and the emigrants grew. The main initial incentive was that Western education provided sure access to high-level jobs in the services of the

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colonial government and the merchant firms. The same attitudes were later evinced in the rest of Yorubaland, barring a brief initial resistance by kings and other prominent people in virtually every community. It was the indigenous converts that the churches mobilized to build the mission schools which mushroomed all over Yorubaland. Everywhere, from about the 1930s, important societal organs employed their influence to persuade parents to send their children to school.

From the late 1920s, the few literate persons in every community began to form themselves into Development Associations or Progressive Unions, their favorite agenda being the encouragement of parents to send children to school. When the constitutional changes of 1949–51 brought these literate Yoruba into the government of their Western Region in the 1950s, they immediately made educational development the highest priority. Among other things, the Regional Government encouraged and assisted each sizeable community to build a secondary school of its own, and each administrative division to establish a teacher-training institution. Then it embarked upon the ambitious program of Free Primary Education, thus making the Yoruba people the first African people to institute a program of free education.

As children began to graduate from the elementary schools, secondary schools sprang up to receive them. Almost all such were **community schools or schools founded by Christian churches or Muslim communities**. Since the beginning of the century, Yoruba Muslim communities had increasingly contributed to the growing movement of Western education, both at the elementary and secondary school levels. As T Gbadamosi has shown in his study of the growth of Islam in Yorubaland, Yoruba Muslims, like Muslims all over the world, had reservations about Western education. In fact, as Christian mission schools had started and grown in Lagos in the late nineteenth century, Lagos Muslims had kept their children away from such schools - until during the 1890s when the British

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colonial government of Lagos had taken steps expressly encouraging Muslim participation in the growing educational movement. Thereafter, although the Muslims continued to have reservations about Western education, they increasingly sent their children to the schools that were available, while building some schools of their own. By the late **1950s**, the contribution of Yoruba Muslim communities and organizations to the establishment of schools had become very considerable, and some large secondary schools in the Western Region and Lagos were products of their efforts. In addition, a whole class of entrepreneurs emerged who invested in the establishment of private secondary schools.

The massive increases in secondary school enrollment necessitated, in turn, more and more institutions of higher learning. *In 1948, the British government of Nigeria had established Nigeria's first university, the University College, Ibadan, in the heart of Yorubaland.* In 1962, two years after Nigeria's independence, the government of the Western Region established a regional university, the University of Ife, Ile-Ife (later, Obafemi Awolowo University). With the constitutional internal restructuring of the Nigerian Federation into smaller component states after independence, newly created Yoruba states founded universities of their own - Ogun State University, Lagos State University, Oyo State University, Ladoke Akintola University in Osun State, University of Ado-Ekiti in Ekiti State, Adekunle Ajasin University in Ondo State, and a number of private universities and polytechnics, all in the 1980s, the 1990s and the first years of the twenty-first century. In 1979–83, too, the Yoruba states expanded free education to the secondary school level.

5.0 THE LEGACIES OF COLONIALISM OF SEGREGATION AND SEGMENTATION OF THE URBAN LANDSCAPE

The biggest urban spatial impact of European colonialism lies in the location of so many of African's eventually major cities along the coast or close proximity to sites of resource extraction, and the functional retardation of African cities into roles as either entrapport/warehouse towns, bureaucratic capitals, or both at once, rather than as originally grown industrial manufacturing engines of value added.

Cities where colonial rule facilitated the growth of industry and manufacturing as the basis for urbanization were the exception, rather than the norm. Some cities that pre-dated the rise of Europe were able to capitalize on colonialism to grow larger (e.g. Mombasa, Kenya, or many North African cities), but others were bypassed and replaced, ultimately suspended and occasionally falling into ruin (Garth Mayers, 2011).

Colonialism's other urban legacies concern internal form and spatial structure of cities. One is the segregation of the urban landscape, and another is the related high degree of inequality. Often, the most obvious dimension of the segmentation was **racial segregation**, with separate areas for business or residence restricted to Europeans, Asians, and Africans, representatively, in many colonial cities, justified by rhetorical concerns with health (Swanson, 1977).

The structure of Ibadan in Western Nigeria is described by Professor Akin Mabogunje in his book "**Yoruba towns**". The city grew during the nineteenth century before west European influence became effective. The **interplay of two cultures** can be seen in the morphology of the town. Although the **town wall** has now gone, within its former limits is an area with high residential densities, inhabited by a population of local origin, with commercial activity in the form of traditional markets. The modern commercial and government areas are located on one side of

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this core. The **outer zones** of the city include the homes of immigrants from elsewhere in Nigeria as from overseas, and they also include areas devoted to modern education areas of the city. (See the map of Cocoa House Neighborhood).

(a) Township and Segregation:

The **Township Ordinance** was passed in **1917**. Its main purpose, according to Lord Lugard, was to establish the broad **principle of municipal responsibility**, graduated according to the importance of the community and the measure of the ability to accept and discharge satisfactorily the conduct of its own affairs. **Townships were graded into three classes from first to third according to the degree of control and responsibility vested in the governing authority**, and they include practically all centres where Europeans reside, only **Lagos** was **first-class township**, **Ibadan** was one of the eighteen **second-class townships**.

(b) Ibadan Township Area:

Ibadan township area was located in parts of the southwest and southwest. It encompasses part of what later became known as the **New reservation (or Jericho)**, the **railway station, Iyaganku, Iggo-gate, and Lebamen street**.

It was conceived to be autonomous in administration and **chiefs** were not supposed to exercise power in the township. The township was primarily intended to promote a deliberate policy of segregation. This was to be art two levels.

- 1. The first** was between the indigenes of a town and Nigerian's from other places (the so-called alien natives). Indigenes were discouraged from setting in the township, but the law was more strict on preventing the poor-laborers and other engaged by Europeans, than on the elite who found the township a better place to live.

2. **The second** was to segregate Europeans from Nigerians, irrespective of the status of the latter. Europeans lived in reservations where the best medical and security facilities were provided. The reservations were close to the township but must always be distinct.

Thus, **the foundation of modern urban area** was laid around **Dugbe** on the **south-east of Mapo**. The railway then activated new economic activities and physical developments of its own along Oke-Ado to Molete. Two years after, the arrival of the railway, various European firms were awarded **leasehold rights** and so they began to establish **modern businesses** in Oke-Ado and Oke-Bola, making that area the **INNER CITY**. And it had remained so till today.

DEFINITION OF URBAN CENTERS AND URBANIZATION

Urban centers are defined as centres with various economic activities, provision of basic facilities and services and physical development (Jack Harvey, 2000); Professor Akin Mabogunje (1974) defines **Urban Centres** on the basis of the ability of their residents to shoulder certain responsibilities such as supporting community services. Urban centres are defined based on different population sizes in different countries:

- An urban centre in Japan has at least **30,000** people; in United States at least **50,000** people; in Greece at least 10,000 people; in Australia at least 1,000 people and in Denmark at least 250 people (Aluko, 2010). According to the Nigerian **(1952) census**, an urban centre was with the population of more than 5,000. By contrast, the **1963 census** in Nigeria fixed **20,000** people and above for an urban centre.

However, **urbanization** is defined as the agglomeration of people in relatively large number at a particular spot of earth surface (Onyemelukwe, 1977,

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Agbola, 2004, Olutuah and Adeniyi, 2005). Conversely, another school of thought believes that urbanization is not about the population size, but must satisfy certain conditions like **modernization**, physical and economic development, as well as the heterogeneity in occupation (Worth, 1938, and Jack Harvey, 2000).

Index of urbanization in Nigeria is the population increase mainly caused by **rural-urban** migration and not by natural increase. Many researchers see rural-urban migration in urbanization process as the genesis of the resultant problems of urbanization in any part of the world. However, urbanization process in the developed countries is as a result of rapid development modernization and industrialization and not agglomeration of people which usually results from **rural-urban** drift.

Urban growth is the rate of growth of an urban population. Urban refers to growth that makes intensive use of the land for the location of buildings and impermeable surfaces to such a degree. **Urbanization** is mainly caused by urban growth, which could be due to natural population growth, reclassification of urban and rural system and rural-urban migration (Agbola, 2004).

CHAPTER TEN
THE DEVELOPMENT OF WESTERN EDUCATION
IN IBADAN FROM THE 19TH CENTURY

1.0 BACKGROUND HISTORY:

In 1842, the Wesleyan Missionary Society visited Badagry, and established the first school there almost four centuries after the Portuguese first school in Benin (Oyedeji, 1983). The Church Missionary Society (CMS) also in 1842 visited Badagry on their way to Abeokuta for data collection in preparation for their missionary activities in Nigeria. **In 1851, the British government sent an expedition under Commodore Bruce to attack Lagos founded in 1472 by the Portuguese which was conquered in the same year.** The conquest of Lagos prepared the ground for more missionary activities especially in the interior of Nigeria.

Thus in 1851, Rev. & Mrs. David Hinderer visited Ibadan under the auspices of the C.M.S, during the reign of **Baale Oyesile Olugbode (1851-1864)**. The couple were hosted by the Mogaji of Tubosun Compound, situated near Ila Baale Olugbode because Tubosun was the landlord of the Mogajis in the area, including Baale Olugbode. (Professor Lekan Oyedeji, University of Lagos, 2000). The Mogaji of Tubosun was then the Aare Ago Baale. From Tubosun compound, the Hinderers established **the first school in Ibadan** at Kudeti (Akinyele, 1911).

Their first two students were Francis Lowescott Akinyele (later Revd) and his sister, Yejide, both children of a famous Ibadan warlord, Chief Olunloyo. Both Francis and Yejide formed the nucleus of a school which consisted of two teachers to two students with no definite syllabus and of no building requirements (Dr. E.O. Adeoti, 2000).

2.0 BRITISH INFLUENCE ON DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION:

After the **Ekitiparapo war in 1893**, the first **three resident officers**; Captain F.L. Bower, F.C. Fuller and C.H. Elgee, played an indirect but very significant role in changing the attitude of the people to education.

In the period of relative peace brought by Captain F.L. Bower, more schools were built by the missions for instance, the C.M.S established **Saint Paul's School, Yemetu in 1894**; the Methodist founded the **Methodist School, Elekuro in 1898**, while the Roman Catholic Mission established **Saint Augustine, a boys school in 1895**.

Both Captain F.C. Fuller (1897-1901) and Captain C.H. Elgee (1903-1913), embarked on projects which provided employment opportunities for school leavers in **1900**, the British Protectorate of Southern Nigeria was established, which marked the beginning of direct government participation in the **socio-political** life of Nigeria. In the **Education Ordinance enacted for the Southern Protectorate in 1903**, Department of education was established and rules and regulations were laid down for the establishment of schools. Existing **mission schools** which met stringent government criteria were approved by the Education Department and thus qualified for grants-in-aid.

With this development, those schools which received government approval were called **Assisted Schools** (Dr. E.O. Adeoti, Lagos State University, 2000). Saint David's School, Kudeti; Saint Peter's Aremo; Saint James; Ogunpa, Baptist School, Idikan and Saint Augustine's, (RCM) were grant-aided while the Salvation Army School, Ekotedo was unassisted.

Direct government participation in the education of children in Ibadan started in **1905**, when it opened an elementary school for the sons of chiefs. This was the **Baale School** and it was formally declared open in September, 1906 at Oranyan area of Ibadan. Government intention according to Captain Elgee was to bring about an indirect but quiet revolution of the chieftaincy system.

Following government's positive response, the **Islamic Mission** pioneered by **Alhaji Y.S.Ola Ishola and Chief Adeoye Omiyale**, opened two Muslim Primary Schools, one at **Odeoye** along Adeoye Road, near Agbadagbudu area, of Ibadan, and the other at Ibuko (now Isale Bode) opposite Bode market, Ibadan. On the 18th May, **1933**. In these schools Muslim children could obtain western education without parents getting unnecessarily fretful about Christian proselytizing. Later on, other Muslim bodies: **Ahmadiyya, Ansa-ur-deen** and **Nawar-ur-deen** came to establish other schools in different parts of Ibadan.

3.0 Expansion of Western Education:

The missionaries enjoyed the monopoly of establishing schools in Ibadan from **1851 to 1882** when the British government passed its first Education Ordinance which ushered in the participation of the British Government in Education in Nigeria. From **1882 to 1948** as evidence of the British Government's involvement and participation in education. Some of the oldest **secondary schools** were established. These include the:

- Ibadan Grammar School - 1913
- Ibadan Government College, - 1929 and
- Ibadan Boy's High School.
- Wesley College - 1905.
- United Missionary College (UMC) - 1934
- University College Ibadan – 1948.

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When secondary schools were few and far between in Nigeria, all roads also led to Ibadan every January as Government College, Ibadan Grammar School, Ibadan Boys' High School, Loyal College, Queens Schools, Lagelu Grammar School, St. Thereas College, Ibadan City Academy (among others) resumed the school year. These and others were unique because they had produced good results in the West African School certificate Examination, had good boarding house system could boast of reputed educationist as principals and Tutors.

1948 - April 18 1948 - Saint Luke's College, Molete was established by the Anglican Mission for the training of teachers for its schools.

- The University of Ibadan, Nigeria's Premier University was established.

According to the reports (majority and minority), which recommended Ibadan in 1943 as the seat of Nigeria's Premier University, the University of Ibadan, the following merits were recorded in favour of the city:

- a. it is the 4th largest city in Africa and the largest in tropical Africa, it was therefore ripe for a large hospital which could be planned with a medical school
- b. it has abundant land for development (unlike Lagos)
- c. it is located on the railway line that linked the south with the north
- d. it is at no great distance from the air and sea terminals...
- e. the Federal Departments of Agriculture and Forestry (FDA & FDF) had their headquarters there and both had established training schools in the city.

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The University of Ibadan was established as a College of the University of London; it later opened its Medical School at the University College Hospital (UCH). The University became autonomous in 1962. The UCH, together with its Nursing School, Eleyele Schools of Nursing and Hygiene, provided a comprehensive training for Doctors, Nurses, Midwives and other Para-medical staff. From its inception in 1948 in Nigeria's independence in 1960, the University of Ibadan (U.I.) was the only University in Nigeria. It is noteworthy that it lived up to its expectation of training students from all English-speaking West African countries, namely, Ghana; Sierra Leone and the Gambia, many of whom were trained especially in its Medical School, University College Hospital (UCH), opened by Queen Elizabeth II, the Princess Royal of Britain on 20th November, 1957. It had 500 beds, which later expansions increased to 800.

In addition to academic teaching, the hospital provides research facilities for the Faculty of Medicine; it runs a School of Nursing and Midwifery and also trains its paramedical staff.

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It is also noteworthy that of the 16 Nigerian Universities which admitted students in 1982, almost all their Vice Chancellors (VC) were former lecturers and **students** of U.I., the same was true of their Registrars and Provosts of their Medical Schools. The whole country continues to be the catchment area of U. I. (Ibadan). The compositions of both students and staff populations reflect the federal character more than anywhere else in the country.



The University of Ife ("Low Obafemi Awolowo University - OAU) started at the North Campus of the present **Ibadan Polytechnic** at its inception in 1962 before gradually moving to its permanent site at Ile-Ife. The same premises was earlier occupied by the **Nigerian College of Arts and Science, (1957-1954)**.

OTHER NOTABLE EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS INCLUDE:

- Immanuel College of Theology, Samonda, was established in 1958 by the Anglican and Methodist Missions for the training of ordained Ministers.
- Cooperative College to train personnel for running Cooperative Societies, which were formed in response to the needs of cocoa, coffee and palm oil producers.

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- Technical College, founded in the 1960's and upgraded to a Polytechnic in 1972.

1955 - Universal Primary Education (UPE) was introduced nationwide. Under the Chairmanship of Adegoke Adelabu (a.k.a. Penkelemesi), Ibadan City Council acquired land for 50 primary schools.

1958 - Ibadan City Council established Lagelu Grammar School.

1959 - Ibadan Provincial Council established a Teacher Training College at the premises now occupied by Ibadan North-East Local Government, Iwo Road, Ibadan.

PRIVATE PROPRIETORS

1. Chief Timothy Lajide Oyesina established two Secondary Schools
 - Ibadan Boys' High School - July 1938, the first privately owned post-primary institution in Ibadan and third on the whole, following Ibadan Grammar School, 1913 and Government College, 1929.
 - Ibadan City Academy, Commercial biased, 1948,
 - And five primary schools to feed the secondary schools:
 - Akinyele Memorial Primary School, OkeAdo
 - Abiola Jacobs Primary School, Foko
 - Public Day School, Elekuro
 - Public Day School, Kobomoje and
 - Aresa Primary School.
2. Mrs. Wuraola Esan established
 - Ibadan People's Girls School 1945.
3. Chief Mrs. J. Egbinola Bolarinwa established
 - Alafia Institute, Mokola, 1947 as the first Private Nursery/Primary School in Nigeria.

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4. Mrs. Tanimoowo Ogunlesi founded –
 - The first Day Nursery School in 1947.
 - Children's Home School, 1948 and
 - Christ High School, 1966

THE PRESENT STATE OF EDUCATION AS AT 2007

The present state of education in Ibadanland can be assessed by the enormous numbers of Primary and Secondary Schools, as well as tertiary institutions in the land. There are 887 Primary Schools with an enrolment of 389,175 pupils and 13,444 teachers. There are 571 Secondary Schools - 307 in Ibadan Municipality and 264 in the Less City areas. The distribution of the Primary Schools is as contained in the following table.

Table: Distribution of Primary Schools in Ibadanland

S/N	LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA	NO OF PRY. SCHOOLS	TOTAL ENROLMENT	NO OF TEACHERS
A.	IBADAN METROPOLIS			
1.	Ibadan North	74	47,721	1,821
2.	Ibadan North-East	73	46,738	1,751
3.	Ibadan North-West	43	32,132	1,003
4.	Ibadan South-East	62	39,258	1,615
5.	Ibadan South-West	79	34,101	1,650
	Sub-Total	311	199,950	7,840
B.	IBADAN LESS CITY			
6.	Akinyele	122	46,255	1,111
7.	Egbeda	73	21,636	1,080
8.	Ido	75	28,699	715
9.	Lagelu	82	23,110	1,024
10.	Oluvole	110	30,723	783
11.	Ona-Ara	94	38,802	891
	Sub-Total	556	189,225	5,604
	GRAND TOTAL (A + B)	887	389,175	13,444

NOTE: This table is based on (the 2005/2006 enrolment)

Source: Oyo State Basic Education Board, Hqts. Ibadan. Aug. 2007

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The evolution of Schools brought about the establishment of bookshops in Ibadan, prominent among which are University of Ibadan Bookshop, Oclusote Bookshop, Baptist Bookstore, Mosuro Book Sellers. It is germane at this point to note that a whole street at Bere/Alekuso/Orita-merin is the home of book sellers in Ibadan including, Holy, Lawal, Wonsebolatan, Diamond to mention but a few. Scholars from all over the country troop to Ibadan on daily basis to purchase different kinds of books.

WHAT LED TO EDUCATIONAL GROWTH IN IBADAN

Another factor that led to educational growth in Ibadan was the opening of many **adult education centres** in several parts of the town. The areas included Oja'ba, Beere, Oja'gbo, Beyeirunka, Aremo, Mapo, Isale-Ijebu, Kudeti and Eleta. This was a laudable programme. It enabled men and women who missed going to the regular schools earlier to have some education. They were taught in the evening (*eko irole*). However, it did not enjoy much patronage in subsequent years after the late 1970s. This was as a result of the introduction of the Federal Government Universal Free Primary Education Programme of the mid-1970s to the late 1970s. In 1979, Chief Bola Ige and his ruling Unity Party of Nigeria (UPN) in government in Oyo State introduced free education at all levels. It provided tuition-free schooling and free books for pupils in primary schools and students in the secondary schools. He built more secondary schools to accommodate many of the products of the primary schools. This scheme led to:

- (i) The establishment of several community secondary schools;
- (ii) The encouragement of stakeholders to be involved in the establishment of schools without claiming ownership;
- (iii) The mass education of Ibadan children up to secondary school level;
- (iv) The mass training and gainful employment of teachers; and

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- (v) An increase in contributing education centres that catered for secondary school dropouts.

The **Universal Basic Education** (UBE) programme, started in 1999, also promoted the education of many Ibadan indigenes who probably would not have attended school. The UBE offered free education for the first nine years of schooling up to the junior secondary school. The nine years covered six years primary school education and the first three years of secondary school education.

CHALLENGES

Ibadan indigenes did not, initially, embrace Western education. This apathy has several possible explanations. Adeoti (1997) wrote that a major reason was economic. Being farmers, the Ibadan could not release their children from farm work to go to school. Doing so would have reduced labour on the farm until during public or school holidays. Moreover, they regarded their young children who sometimes acted as errand boys and girls as indispensable. The introduction of school fees made things worse as many could not afford such payment and therefore stayed out of school.

Another major factor for shunning Western education was religion. Islam reached Ibadan in the 1830s and was relatively entrenched in its Quranic education institution before Christianity, along with Western education placed great importance on Christian religious instruction. Thus, Western education became synonymous with Christianity and therefore opposed by Muslims. Most of them believed that sending their children and wards to such schools would amount to exposing them to being converted to Christianity.

There was also a cultural or class dimension to the indifference to Western education. The chiefs and warriors hesitated to release their children and wards for

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Western education in Christian schools. Instead they preferred to send their slaves, sons of slaves, commoners, lazy or heady children or, in polygamous homes, children of wives who were not their husband's favourites, or as a form of punishment to the women for misdemeanor.

Most of the chiefs later regretted this development, because, after sometime, those who embrace Western education began to secure jobs as interpreters, letter writers and clerks in some commercial houses. Those who had standard 4 or 6 certificates gained employment as junior clerks in government offices or in private sector firms. They earned regular and relatively good salaries. They wore better clothes and lived better lives than those who did not go to such schools. Their income no longer depended on their seasonal products. The material benefit of Western education provided a great incentive for acquiring Western education and encouraged massive enrolment in primary and secondary schools.

Within the first six decades of the 20th century, several primary and secondary school were established. These include:

- (i) St Paul School, Yemetu, 1907
- (ii) Ibadan Grammar School, 1913;
- (iii) Government College, Apata, 1929;
- (iv) St John's School, Okeseni, 1932;
- (v) St Theresa College, 1933;
- (vi) Native Authority Practicing school, Leaf-Road, 1933;
- (vii) Ibadan boys High School, 1938;
- (viii) Ibadan City Academy, 1946
- (ix) St Annes School, Molete, 1950;
- (x) Eleta Native Authority School, 1950;
- (xi) Mokola IDC School, 1952;

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- (xii) Ahmadiya Grammar School, Eleyele, 1955;
- (xiii) Yejide Girls Grammar School, 1956;
- (xiv) Igbo Elerin Grammar School, 1957;
- (xv) Loyola College, 1954;
- (xvi) Islamic High School, 1957;
- (xvii) Lagelu Grammar School, 1958; and
- (xviii) Our Lady of Apostles, 1958

The introduction of the Universal Free Primary Education in the then Western Nigeria in 1955 removed the economic reason for not embracing Western education, thereby accelerating the growth rate of enrolment in schools and colleges.

In 2001, another university, Lead City University, a privately owned institution, was established in Ibadan and The Polytechnic Ibadan was established in 1970. A few other Polytechnic (privately-owned) have since been established.

At the nursery and primary school levels, there are hundreds of private institutions in Ibadan city and in **all its satellite local government areas**. They are owned either by religious bodies, or by private individuals and society. Among such schools are Alafia Nursery and Primary School, Oluyole club and the Socio-Economic Development of Ibadanland.

Mokola (1955) which had both day and night facilities, and Omolewa Nursery and Primary School (1962). Other noteworthy institution in the city include the University College Hospital (UCH), which is the first teaching hospital in Nigeria; the internationally acclaimed International Institute of Tropical Agriculture (IITA); the Nigerian Institute of social and Economic Research (NISER), the Cocoa Research Institute of Nigeria (CRIN), the Nigerian Horticulture Research Institute (NIHORT), and the Institute of Agriculture Research and Training (IAR&T), and the Forestry

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Research Institute of Nigeria (FRIN). Before the dissolution of the Western Region, Ibadanland was home to the most sophisticated and liberal scientific and culture community on the continent of Africa, as personified by the immortalized Ibadan school of Historiography.

There are now hundreds of distinguished Ibadan indigenes in all fields of endeavours, operating in Ibadan or at national and international levels. These include several professors in all disciplines, numerous industrialists, professionals and administrators as well as respectable religious leaders. Education institutions are located in every nook and cranny of the city that it was observed that hardly is there any street that one would not find an education institution. At last, the age-old belief that Ibadan indigenes do not go to school has been put to an end.

CONTRIBUTION TO EDUCATION BY IBADAN INDIGENES

Some notable Ibadan indigenes who have contributed to the promotion of Western education among Ibadan include the following.

Bishop Alexander Babatunde Akinyele (1875-1968)

He was born in Ibadan to Pa Josiah – a convert of David Hinderer- and Mama Abigail Lapemo on September 5, 1875. He was a great devotee to Christian virtues. He rose to become the first indigene of Ibadan to obtain a university degree, the Bachelor of Arts degree from the University degree, the Bachelor of Arts degree from the University of Durham, UK in 1912 and a Master of Arts (MA) degree of Fourah Bay College in 1948. He was a church organist in 1897 and rose to become the seventh Nigerian Anglican Bishop of the Anglican Communion. He founded the famous Ibadan Grammar School in 1913 and served as its pioneer principal till July 1933. He established the Ibadan Progressive Union (IPU) higher education scholarship in 1938 and donated one pound. For all his contributions to education,

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the church, and the community, Bishop Akinyele was honoured with the title of Commander of the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire (CBE) in 1949. He became the first Bishop of St James Pro-Cathedral, Oke Bola on March 24, 1952 at the age of 77. He died at the ripe age of 93 on May 6, 1968 (Fatokun, 2011).

Alhaja Humuani Alaga (1903-1993)

She was born into the Alaga Ojaba Muslim family. She had no formal/Western Education. However, she was a very prominent and noteworthy community and market women leader, Queen Elizabeth II honoured her with the prestigious award of Member of the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire (MBE) in 1959. She founded the Ansar-Ud-Deen Society, which was initially opposed by the Ibadan Central Mosque authorities until the Society established a school in 1951. She was instrumental to the founding of Isabatudeen Girls' Grammar School, Orita Bashorun in 1964. This was the second private, all-girls school established by Ibadan indigenes

Chief T.L. Oyesina (1904-1975)

He was a very notable private education proprietor. He was one of the pioneers of African education. He established the first private (an all-boys) secondary, Ibadan Boys High School (IBHS) at Oke-Ado in 1938 and later Ibadan City academy in 1946. Mass secondary school education in western Nigeria most probably started under the proprietorship of Chief T.L. Oyesina as a response to the high demand for more schools than the government or missionaries could provide.

The schools gave admission to several interested applicants, particularly those who could afford to pay higher fees than what was charged by government or missionary schools. Many of them came from several parts of Ibadan and other towns around it. Within a decade of its existence, IBBHS had enrolled thousands of

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students. Most schools established before his were more selective and admitted fewer numbers of students. Ibadan Boys High School has produced thousands of elite Nigerians.

Chief Mrs. Wuraola Esan (1909-1985)

She was born into the famous Ojo'Badan family. She graduated from the United Missionary College (UMC) in 1930. She was an active women leader of the Ibadan Progressive Union (IPU) and the Action Group the then ruling party in Western Region. She rose to become the only female senator of the federal public of Nigeria from 1960-1964. **She established People's Girls School Molete in 1945**, in order to boost the educational advancement of girls in Ibadan. It has succeeded in producing thousands of very successful woman for Ibadan and Nigeria in general.

Archdeacon (Dr.) Emmanuel Oladipo Alayande

He was a distinguished Ibadan born and bred Nigerian educationalist. He was a pupil teacher, a secondary school teacher and school principal of note. He was an ordained minister of god in the Anglican Communion. He was a political leader who ran for the governorship of the state in the late 1970s. He was a great community and National Union of Teachers leader and a public servant who was respected greatly by his people. He earned honors such as members of the Most Excellent order of the British Empire (MBE) and officer of the order of the Niger (OON), and Doctor of Law (Honoris Causa) of the university of Ibadan, 1988.

He produced several generations of highly accomplished Ibadan indigenes and others from several parts of Nigeria. He did this while he served as the fourth principal of Ibadan Grammar School. He was there for four decades. He dodged encouraged his students to aspire to reach lofty heights, irrespective of their

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circumstances. He played a prominent role of formulating and implementing educational policies in Nigeria in general and in the western region in particular.

He used Ibadan Grammar School to a great advantage for influencing the socio-economic and political development of Ibadan and the Ibadan people. He consistency demonstrated unflagging commitment to Western education and social change. He pursued his objective spreading education and enlightenment as a basic for the prosperity of Ibadan. This was irrespective of the religion of the students. Thousands of his students achieved fame and distinction in diverse fields such as law, politics, engineering, administration, accountancy, business, medicine, journalism and tertiary academics. Many of his former students, such as Prof. C.S. Ola and Prof. J.A. Akinpelu, credited all they owed and achieved to Venerable Alayande and to their school, Ibadan Grammar School. A few of his famous students include Chief Bola Ige, lawyer, politician, administrator and former Governor of Western State; Chief Bayo Akinnola, an industrialist, entrepreneur and socialite; Dapo Adelugba, professor, playwright and dramatist; Chief M.S. Adigun, administrator and educational entrepreneur; Chief Adenuga, one of Nigeria's foremost industrialist, entrepreneur and business mogul, chief Patrick Dele Cole, administrator, media practitioner and writer, Chief T.A. Akinyele, administrator, technocrat and author; and General Ike Nwachukwu, soldier and diplomat.

Chief Nathaniel Olabiyi Idowu (OFR)

He was born at Eniosa Onibepe, near Olorunda Abaa on March 15, 1934. He was the Balogun Parakoyi and **Okanlomo of Ibadanland**. He was a primary school teacher from 1953 to 1961. He was a highly successful entrepreneur, industrialist and philanthropist. He established about thirty (30) viable companies in Ibadan and several cities in Nigeria. **He single-handedly established and financed a secondary school, Olorunda Abaa Community Grammar School, in his village.** He

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adequately equipped the school with modern technological teaching and laboratory equipment. In appreciation of his commitment to and promotion of education in Oyo State, the school was renamed N.O. Idowu Comprehensive High School by the Oyo State government.

Alhaji Y.S. Ishola

Alhaji Y.S. Ishola was one of those who imbibed Western education relatively quite early. He was one of the first set of Ibadan Muslim adherents, living in Lagos, who benefited from Western education. He and his social group of friends established the Muslim Missionary Society through which he encouraged more Muslims to embrace Western education. This society was dedicated to the spread of Islam through education. He was instrumental to the establishment of Muslims schools at Odoye, Bode, Agugu, Ode Aje and Eleyele and the Islamic High School, Basorun in 1959.

CHAPTER ELEVEN
THE ORIGIN OF OLUBADAN BEADED CROWN AND
THE NEED TO BUILD A MODERN CENTRAL PALACE

1.0 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Historically, **Lagelu** was the ancestor and founder of Ibadan who migrated from **Degelu Compound**, Ajamapo area in Ile-Ife as confirmed by the **HRM, the Oni of Ife, Oba Adeyeye Enitan Ogunwusi, Ojaja II** in 2016 during, the visit of Ibadan cultural week committee to the palace of Ooni of Ile-Ife.

The **mother of Lagelu** was the first **daughter** of **Ooni Luwo Gbagida**, the only female Ooni in Ife history and the **18th Ooni who ruled in the 15th century**. Her husband was **Chief Obaloran** (now an Oba), one of the Council members of Ooni of Ife (**Ihare or Alagba –Ife**). The daughter married the **son of Obalufe**, the head of Ooni state council member. The product of the marriage was **Prince Adio Lagelu** who derived his crown from his grandmother just like **Prince Adekola Telu, the ancestor of Oluwo of Iwo**, who was the **first son** of Ooni Luwo Gbagida. Lagelu with his wives and children migrated from Ile-Ife to found **Eba-Odan** and later **Ibadan** in the middle of the 16th century around **1554 A.D**

Lagelu and his successors wore beaded crowns and adopted the title of Olubadan according to Dr. Jide Fatokun in “IBADAN: Facts and Figures (2011)”. But when Ibadan was occupied by the army of Ife, Ijebu, Oyo, and friendly Egbas after displacing Lagelu descendants who invited them to avenge the death of **NKANLOLA the granddaughter of Lagelu sacrificed by Oluwu Akinjobi**, they set aside **Lagelu’s hereditary succession** and all its perquisites, including the beaded crown. The **Aboke** family still keeps the original beaded crown. The claim was confirmed by Aboke Ifasola Ifamapowa, the reigning Aboke and Chief T.A. Akinyele (2011).

2.0 MISINFORMATION ABOUT THE ORIGIN AND STATUS OF IBADAN:

The introduction to the historical background of Lagelu in Ile-Ife before the migrated to found the city of Ibadan covered the royal city status on Ibadan with the roles played by his children in building the second Ibadan late in the eighteenth and nineteenth century. Thus is contrary to the opinion of Professor Akinlawon Mabogunje who has written extensively on urbanization has this to say “As far as Nigerian cities are concerned, Ibadan is a city of relatively of recent origin. Its claims to **city status** carry none of the customary sanctions of a **Crowne head**, a **palace** or a hereditary line of chiefs.

But according to Aboke Ifasola Ifamapowa, Olubadan Sotuyele was on the throne as Olubadan of the second Ibadan between **(1821-1826)**, who allocated land through **Akaasi**, Lagelu’s cousin, to **Olowu Akinjobi** for the settlement of Owu refugees after the destruction of **Owu Ipole** between **(1814-1820)**. His predecessors were; Olubadan Oluole, Olukiran, Olubadan Adesola, Olubadan Rodoso, Olubadan Akinlolu Agbogunmagbin and Olubadan Dawoolu.

- Olubadan Adesola was buried at Labosinde’s compound but formerly the palace of these Obas at Oriyangi.
- During the reign of Olubadan Akinlolu Agbogunmogbin, the Children of Lagelu made important sacrifice that involved a hunchback man who was the Ifa Priest (Babalawo) and Osemeji oracle came out for the third time. (Chief M.K.O Adebayo, 2015).
- Labosinde lived in the second Ibadan before he went back to Ife to join Ife army against Owu in 1812A.D. He also took part in Ibadan war against Owu Ogbere (1824-1825).

But the titles of Olubadan, Aro, Lisa and Akaasi were abolished after **Owu-Ogbere war** in 1825 then the allied army of Ife, Oyo, Ijebu friendly Egab occupied

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Ibadan after the destruction of Egba villages aftermath of **Owu-Ogbere** war and converted it to a war camp in **1825A.D.** Maye Okunade and his colleagues abolished the title of Aboke, Olubadan and others. Subsequently, Maye Okunade, Labosinde and Lakanle became the rulers of the **third Ibadan**.

It was in the time of Baale Oyesile Olugbode (1851-1867) that **Ogundawo**, a descendant of Lagelu, was sent to Abeokuta to appeal to his son, **Okewale** to make the prescribed appeasement to **Okebadan** at Awotan. This explains the reinstatement of the Okebadan festival and fact that the Aboke, the first in the present Ibadan, Chief **Okewale** returned to Ibadan from Abeokuta, as a result of the appeal made to him by his father, Ogundowo through **Awanibaku**, Baale Akintayo father. He was by the Balogun of Ogunmola private army and Okewale close friend (Sir (Dr.) Jide Fatokun, 2011).

2.1 The Wrong Impression of Not Being an Ancient City:

According to Justin Labinjo (2000), people usually take pride in and usually mention about Ibadan that Ibadan started as a war camp or military settlement. Again this is historical fact, but that fact has not helped Ibadan in its development, rather, it may have impeded Ibadan progress.

He went further, the significance of cities being ancient is that they would have had time to evolve complex civilizations with the attendant sophisticated political, economic, religious and other social institutions. Ibadan which he claimed was founded only in the **1820s** has not had the chance to do this, and the incursion of colonialism into its natural growth processes denied it the opportunity to become a well development city.

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There are no great mosques, no internal centres, of learning, no famed architectural edifices, no internationally acclaimed Koranic teachers, none of the central traits of a renowned city.

Contrary to the narrative of Justin Labinjo (2000), on Ibadan being an ancient city. By **1851**, Ibadan had grown into a huge centre with an estimated population figure of between 60,000 and 100,000. New areas, notably in the north east, had to be occupied, and the town covered an estimated area of twenty six square kilometers in the **1850s**. The **city wall** enclosing the built up section was sixteen (16) Kilometers in circumference, with four (4) major gates leading to Abeokuta, Oyo, Iwo, and Ijebu, and several minor ones to various farms and villages. **Within the wall were hundreds of compounds, churches: Kudeti in the South, Ogunpa in the north-west and Aremo in the north-east, all belonging to the Church Missionaries Society and also mosques, with another large praying ground at Agodi in the north-east.** Thus, within a short time, Ibadan grew to become **the largest city state** in nineteenth century Yorubaland.

2.2 Ancient Architectural Edifice in Ibadan Built between in (1850-1950)



OJA'BA CENTRAL MOSQUE



ST. PETERS AREMO SHOP



MAPO HALL, IBADAN CENTRAL



BOWER'S TOWER



**ALESINLOYE ABASS PALACE
ISALE-IJEBU**



**ADEBISI GIWA PALACE
IDI-KAN**

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The UN- Habitat (2008) wrote that early urban development has been recorded during the Sudanese Empire of **800AD**, the Mali Empire of **1500 AD** and Songhai Empire **1800AD**. Those important historical artefacts the cities, flourished as a result of their locating along the Trans-Sahara Trade routes emphasizing their importance as catalysts in socio economic inter-relations. The report went further, that **powerful local at rulers** enhanced the evolution of these early cities into effective nodes of human employment and as engine of economic and social growth. Some of the **prominent ancient pre-colonial cities** of the region include Bamako, Gao, Timbuktu, Ouagadougou, Agades, Begho, Benin, Ibadan, Ile-Ife, Ilorin, Kumasi, and Oyo.

According to Emeritus Professor Bolanle Awe in her praise for IBADAN :Foundation, Growth, and change (2012); she said Ibadan, the largest indigenous African town south of the Sahara, had growth from its humble beginning as refugee settlement in the nineteenth century into a sprawling cosmopolitan city that now home to many millions and serves as the intellectual capital in Nigeria. A city of contrasts of tradition struggling with modernity.

3.0 THE REFORM OF IBADAN CHIEFTAINCY SYSTEM:

The reform started with the new policy of the colonial government as explained by Dr J.A Atanda and quoted by Toyin Falola (1989 p. 242) that: the doctrine that the jurisdiction of any Native Authority must be based on the consent of the people over whom such authority would be exercised. The administration (of Oyo province) was considered by Lagos to be too centralized.... (with an) Alaafin who would not readily be persuaded to change the status quo.

In 1934, during the time of Resident Ward-Price, a new Ibadan Native Authority, independent of Oyo, was constituted. While Oyo was opposed to this, Ibadan welcomed the change with the deepest satisfaction. In the same year, the

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headquarters of Oyo province was transferred to Ibadan from Oyo where it remained until **1938** as headquarters of the Chief Commissioner, Western Provinces. The title **changed from Baale to Olubadan, in 1936.**

Ibadan Chiefs responded to the **1934 reform** as Oliver Twist would do, they wanted other changes. What became their second major grievance was the title of **Baale** which they now wanted to change to the Olubadan which carried with it **the aura of an Oba and not that of Village head. To them, the Baale title had become a derogatory one for the status of their ruler** and too common, because it was borne by the heads of tiny villages, palm wine sellers, and farmers guilds. In making a request for a change in **July 1936**, they indicated a preference for the **OLUBADAN, and alluded to other related issues in order to obtain the consent of government.** (Toyin Falola 1989 p.244).

The request was granted in October and gazatted on the 29th of the same month in 1936 by the Colonial Government in Lagos. The notice in the gazette did not fail to recognize the opposition to the change by the Alaafin Ladigbolu 1, while it also emphasized the fact that it was a mere cosmetic – that is, the title of “Olubadan” does not confer upon the holder the right to wear beaded crown, and that it is hoped that no holder of it either in the future shall have such aspiration. This clause was part of the issues alluded to in their application in order to obtain the approval of the government in Lagos headed by Governor Burdillion through Gazette Notice No. 1424.

Baale Okunola Abass Alesinloye became the first Olubadan in 1936 after reigning for six years as Baale of Ibadan 1930-1936. In 1946 For purpose of **regulating chieftaincy succession** in the land, Ibadan Native Authority made a Declaration of Native Law and custom on 19th August,1946, based on the appeal made by the then reigning Olubadan Oyetunde I. The Declaration was amended on

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16th January, 1950 to cater for succession to other traditional officers left out in the 1946 declaration. Specifically as regards other chiefs, the Declaration stated:

“APPOINTMENT Of Chiefs other than Olubadan, shall be effected by automatic promotion of the chiefs next in seniority in either the Olubadan or Balogun line Chiefs”

3.1 Why Ibadan changed its title from Baale of Olubadan.

The civil wars of the nineteenth century produced a far-reaching and lasting modification of Yoruba traditional governmental structure. That structure was one in which a town had a single **head-chief** called an **Oba** (or **Baale**) in the case of **uncrowned** heads) assisted by a council of state (Dr. J.A. Atanda 1980).

In **1904**, Ibadan had jurisdiction over some eighty six (86) tributary towns, where, Ibadan chiefs were overlords and gazette as **“Yorubaland Jurisdiction Ordinance 1904 “signed by Baale Mosaderin of Ibadan and his chiefs** on the one hand, and **Charles Herbert Harley Moseley, CMG**, Acting Governor of the Colony of Lagos on behalf of the British Monarch, His Most Excellent Majesty, King Edward VII on the other. There were **sixteen (16) crowned Obas** and **seventy (70) Baales**, mostly in Osun Division including Iwo, Ejigbo and Osogbo etc. These tributaries excluded Ife, Ilesha and Ila jurisdictions.

The **nine chiefs and Obas** constituted the Council. They could bring to Council **advisers** of their chose, and some chose educated men. Council meetings were held at Mapo Hall in Ibadan, and discussions general centered on the affairs of the Divisions.

However, a permanent source of trouble was that the **Obas and Chiefs** regarded the administration of the Division as a **federal system** in which the Olubadan should not be allowed to enjoy the status of Alaafin before 1934. In 1938

Lola Tomori

Oluwo made it clear that he was not subordinate to the Olubadan, and this generated hostility between the two. The crisis came into the open in the same year at Ile-Ife during the **Conference of Obas and Chiefs. the Oluwo wa not invited, and he was humiliated for attending** since no place was reserved for him. The Olubadan, Oba Bankole Alesinloye Abass had the support of British Administrators. However, these Obas were allowed not to prostrate for Olubadan again (Toyin Falola, 1989).

Earlier on, Ibadan Chiefs had responded to the **1934 reform** as Oliver Twist would do. What became their second major grouse was to change to Olubadan title which carried with it the aura of an Oba and not that of a village head. The request was granted in October and gazetted on the 29th of the same month, 1936. The notice, according to Toyin Falola (1989) in the gazette did not fail to recognize the opposition to the change by the **Alaafin Ladigbolu I** of Oyo.

3.2 Events that Led to Chieftaincy Declaration;

From inception of the “third Ibadan” in 1825 the rulers of Ibadan had been the military head (i.e. Balogun) of the town until the British took over in **1893**. The “Constitution” was tampered with in 1895 when Balogun Akintola declined the office of Baale. Since they did not want to promote his junior in the Balogun line above him, an Otun Baale Osuntoki, was chosen, and this was the first time when the Otun had the opportunity to become Baale. Hitherto, the post of Otun represented the apex of the career of the Baales line of chiefs. In 1902, when Balogun Kongi wanted to become the Baale, he was denied the opportunity to occupy the post (Toyin Falola 1989 p.51).

The Otun Baale succeeded in the end .In 1904 a constitutional amendment was made to the effect that only the Otun Baale could become the Baale and Balogun Apampa had to become an Otun Baale in order to become eligible for the Baaleship.

Lola Tomori

Apampa had to engage in a reckless power rivalry with Baale Dada Opadare who was forced to live only for a short period in the throne (1904-1907). From 1895 till 1914, all the Baales held the title of Otun-Baale prior to their appointment and were generally opposed by the Balogun.

The Balogun chiefs did not, however give up the struggle to have an automatic promotion to the Baaleship. After Baale Ireferin's death in 1914, the struggle of the Balogun chiefs materialized as one of them (Situ, son of Aare Latoosa) was made the Baale in the same year.

During the reign of Olubadan Abass Alesinloye, Iyalode Rukayat Ajisomo Arogubodi (1851-1951) was deeply involved in the protest against Oba Alesinloye Okunola Abass, the first Olubadan of Ibadan. The protest hinged on widespread suspicion that Olubadan Abass wanted to promote the claim of Bello Okunola Abass, the President of Egbe Omo Ibile Ibadan (Ibadan Descendants Union) from 1930 to 1950 as his successor.

During the reign of Olubadan Oyetunde I, for the purposes of regulating chieftaincy succession, Ibadan Native Authority made a Declaration of Native Law and Custom of on August, 1946 based on the appeal made by the then Olubadan.

Finally, the Chieftaincy Committee of Ibadan District Council, designated by a Western Region Legal Notice as the competent Council, made another Declaration on 8th August 1959. The declaration, which superseded that of 1946 and its 1950 amendment with respect to the Olubadan, was signed by its chairman and secretary, I.B. Akinyele and William A. Warren respectively.

It was subsequently approved by the Minister of Local Government, D.S. Adegbenro on 7th October, 1959 and Registered by the Permanent secretary, Ministry of Local Government on 28th October, 1959. It has remained in force since

Lola Tomori

then, despite the attempt made to subvert it in 1983 because High Chief Oloyede Asanike, the rightful successor to the departed Olubadan D.T. Akinbiyi, was illiterate, the laid down order was eventually upheld. That Is;

(1) Succession to the stool of Olubadan shall be in strict rotation between “the Olubadan line “and “THE BALOGUN LINE “.

(2) There are eleven (11) king makers as under :

Otun Olubadan	The Balogun
Osi Olubadan	Otun Balogun
Asipa Olubadan	Osi Balogun
Ekerin Olubadan	Asipa Balogun
The Iyalode	Ekerin Balogun
	Seriki

(3) The field of selection for the purpose of the foregoing provision shall not exceed beyond the Ekerin Olubadan on the Olubadan line and the Ekerin Balogun on the Balogun line.

(4) Any Chief from any of these embraced in provision (a) above found guilty by a meeting of the Chiefs who are traditional members or the Council (at which the nominated candidate shall not be present) of disregard of or disrespect to the patron of or disrespect to the position of authority of the Olubadan, or of a senior chief under Native Law and Custom may not be eligible for nomination.

4.0 ALAAFIN'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE DEBATE ON REQUEST FOR BEADED CROWN;

In a motion moved by the HIM .Oba Lamidi Olayiwola Adeyemi on the chamber of the Oyo State Council of Obas and Chiefs, on the 7th December 1976 to grant the Olubadan of Ibadan, Oba Gbadamosi Adebimpe and Soun of Ogbomosho Oba Jimoh Oladele Oladunni Ajagunbagbe III and their successors-in-title the perpetual right to wear beaded crown, the following were the substance of the motion.

“Members would vividly recall that in the meeting of 11th of November, 1976 held in this Chamber, His Highness - Oba Gbadamosi Adebimpe, the Olubadan of Ibadan paved the way for this event by this application for authority to wear a beaded crown. Consequently, the Ooni of Ife, The Owa Obookun of Ilesha, the Orangun of Ila and may self were briefed so that the matter could receive a most careful consideration

4.1 The Olubadan of Ibadan

The people of Ibadan are among the most virile and progressive of the Oyo speaking people in Oyo state. They played vital role in the old Empire when the Alaafins political and royal sovereignty were never in doubt.

Their contributions to the history of Yoruba land are unique; the diplomatic and military prowess of the people of Ibadan during the nineteenth century is fresh in our memory. it is just appropriate that the Olubadan should wear a beaded crown

The irony of the situation is that the Ibadan people never allowed their enviable past record to have the better of themselves. Barring the skirmishes of the last 1930s on the issue and even when lesser natural rulers under Ibadan Native Administration enjoyed the entitlement of beaded crowns they restrained their aspirations tamely.

Lola Tomori

It was this attitude that was highly praised by the Oni of Ife in his address to the conference of Obas and Chiefs of the old Western region held on the 7th of May 1957. I quote “don’t let us deceive our selves it is not the hood that make the monk; it is not the beaded crown that made the Oba. For instance, you have in the hierarchy of Chiefs rulers such as the Olubadan of Ibadan the fact is that **non-wearing of beaded crown by them** does not detract a jot from the importance and dignity attached to their titles and their personalities”

We have every cause to praise the patience, maturity, and the contributions of Ibadan people in the past and present scheme of Yoruba political hegemony ; and that they should have to wait so long to ask constitutionally our inescapable duty as members of this great body to grant them.

Chairman, on the basis of the aforementioned reasons, I therefore, as the Alaafin of Oyo, move passionately that Oba Gbadamosi Adebimpe and all other subsequent Olubadans be accorded recognitions in the matter of wearing beaded crowns and other paraphernalia of office.

The request was consequently granted. Thus Oba Gbadamosi Akanbi Adebimpe, the Olubadan of Ibadan land (1976—77), was the first Olubadan to wear beaded crown. With the Chiefs Wearing Beaded Crowns Order, 1977 Ibadan was the number 64 on the 67 long lists with effect from 1st December 1976

4.2 Ooni, Oba Okunade Sijuwade's Comments

As a result of the contribution of Alaafin of Oyo to the granting of beaded crowns to Olubadan of Ibadanland by the Council of Obas and Chiefs in the Oyo State, news and rumors were going round , even contribution by commentators on the Radio programme; the late Oba Okunade Sijuwade II. The Ooni of Ife had this to say;

Late Oba Okunade Sijuwade II, the Ooni of Ife at the Awos Book launch published in the Nigerian Tribune of Friday 20th of January 2009, said “the Olubadan crown has nothing to do with Oba Lamidi Olayiwola Adeyemi III, the Alaafin of Oyo. The controversy was finally laid to rest in 1976 between the then Governor of Oyo State, Major General David Jembewon and the late Oba (Sir) Adesoji Aderemi; the then Chairman of Council of Obas and Chiefs of Oyo State with my good self, then as Prince Okunade Sijuwade in attendance. According to Oba Okunde Sijuwade, the meeting was short and precise because of Ibadan historical background and affiliation to ILE-IFE.

The Ooni stated that ‘the first founder of Ibadan Crown Prince Adio Lagelu was a direct son of Luwo Gbagida, who had a beaded crown with fringe benefits and sent to settle in Ibadan in 1410 A.D’.

He went further, Ibadan has always been political headquarter of the Yoruba people , where Papa Awolowo served as the first Premier of the defunct Western Region , followed by the Late Chief S.L. Akintola.

The approval of the beaded crown by the Oyo State Council of Obas and subsequently by the State Government has proved the claim of some of Ibadan elders wrong that the request for the beaded crown would be wedged in between the Ooni

Lola Tomori

of Ife and the Alaafin of Oyo in the controversy that was to emerge as to which of them will grant Ibadan's crown

Since the approval of beaded crown for Olubadan of Ibadanland, the wearing of beaded crowns has become the Sword of Damocles dangling over the Ibadan Traditional System because some unwary Baales in Ibadanland have been surreptitiously lured into turning themselves into pawns in the hands of politicians with the juicy carrot of wearing of beaded crowns even if the heads are nothing more than Chinese-made artificial beads. The hood does not make the monk (Chief T.A. Akinyele July, 2011).

5.0 THE LOCATION OF YORUBA KINGS PALACES:

Usually the first public facility constructed in every **royal city** was the palace. For this an effort was usually made to find a **distinctive location**, normally a low hill around which the new city could evolve. **Imode** built the first Owo palace on the low hill known as **Oke Asegbo** (Asegbo Hill), where the Owo city Hall now stands. His successors moved it to a better location on Oke Ekusi (Ekusi Hill) where it now stands.

Awomoro built the Ado (Ekiti) palace on the gently rising hill known as **Oke-Ado**, where it served as the hub linking the group of quarters of the old settlers at Ado-Odo and those of the immigrants (at Oke-Ewi), and where it stands today. The **Ijebu Kingdom of Ofin** built the Akarigbos palace on **Oko hill**, a beautiful location overlooking most of the royal town. In the **hilltop city of Efon** in Ekiti, the **Alayes palace** was built on a distinct peak.

6.0 BUILDING OF NEW OLUBADAN PALACE

*“Indeed, some people have natural Leadership gifts. With seeming ease they work with others, they motivate co-workers and subordinates, and they never seem to make demands on people. Ibadan has produced such leaders who has mastered the dynamics of planned change, since inception of the **THIRD IBADAN** in the 19th Century.*

INTRODUCTION:

(a) The Location of Yoruba Kings Palaces:

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Table 1: Yoruba Palace: Built-up Areas and Royal Palace

Palace	Total Palace Area (Hectares)	Built-up Area		Royal Park	
		Hectares	% of Palace area	Hectares	% of Palace Area
Owo	43.2	3.8	8.8	401	91.2
Ilesha	20.6	2.4	11.8	18.2	88.2
Ondo	17.4	2.0	11.6	15.4	88.4
Ado-Ekiti	10.9	5.3	48.1	5.7	51.9
Ile-Ife	8.1	1.8	22.0	6.3	78.0
Ijebu-Ode	7.7	2.8	36.8	4.9	63.2
Akure	8.3	1.5	17.6	6.8	82.4
Oyo	6.9	6.9	100	-	-
Ila	5.8	4.7	81.0	1.1	19.0
Ake(Abeokuta)	2.5	2.5	100	-	-

Sources: The Yoruba City in History by Olutemi Obateru, 2003. Pg. 186, Chapter 7

In every kingdom, the main palace buildings were surrounded by many arces of ground, most of which was left under virgin forest. A wall (known as **gbagede**) was then built to surround the palace and its grounds, with access through one large gate.

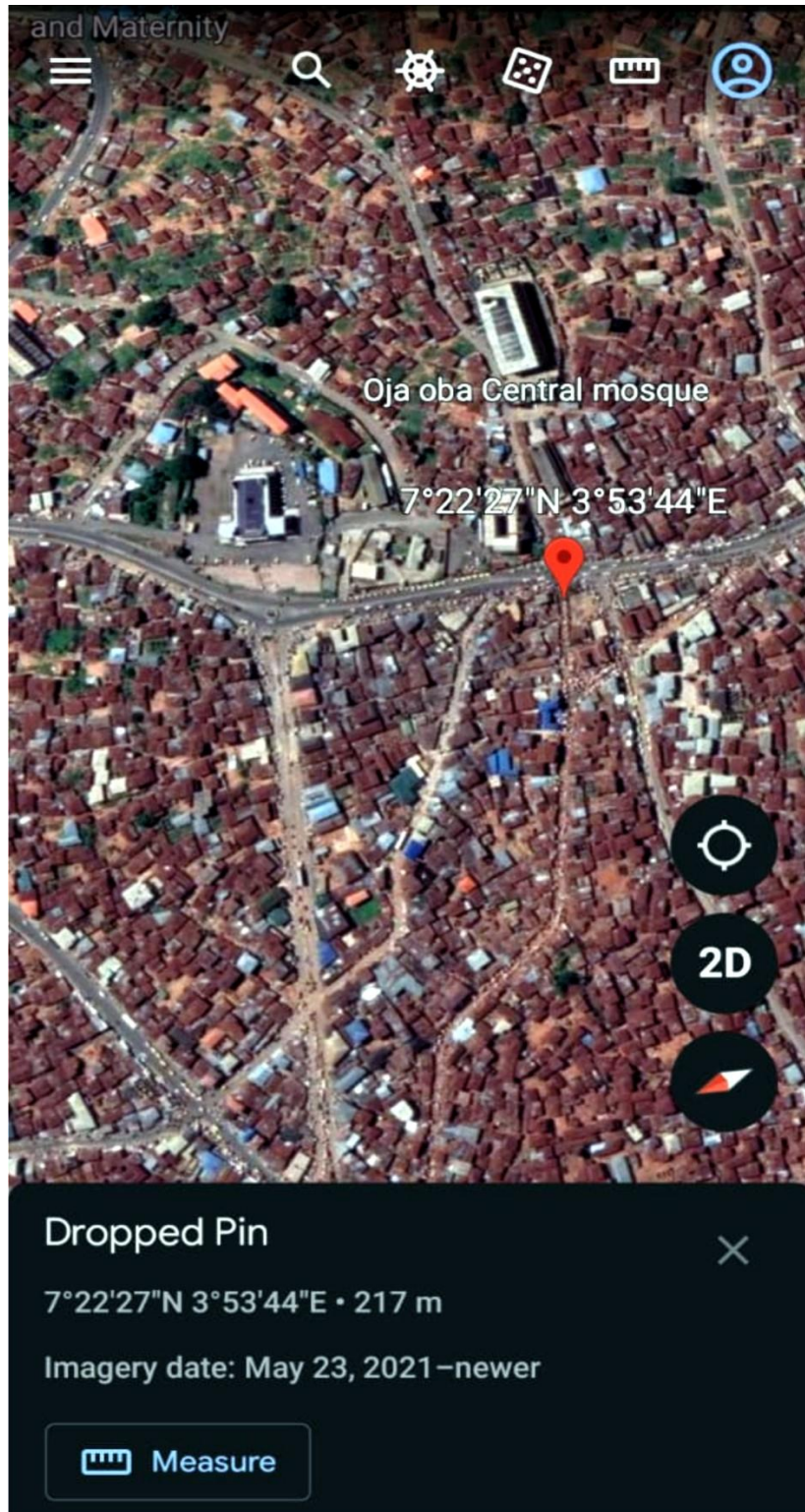
In forest country of Yorubaland by the eighteenth century, the palaces of Ijebu-Ode, Owo, Ilesa, Ode-Ondo, Akure and Ado-Ekiti seem to have been the most impressive, according to Professor Adebajji Akintoye (2010). The Owo palace being the largest (see the table), followed by the Ilesa palace, and then, Ijebu-Ode, the Ode-Ondo, Ado-(Ekiti and Akure palace.

Palace walls (gbagede) were different from **city walls**; they were like house walls, built of molded mud plaster, but made much thicker and higher than any **house wall**. The palace of Irefin Ogundeyi, the Baale of Ibadan (1912-1914) was built on a rectangular parcel of land of about **5 arces** built on the slope of Oke-Irefin (Irefin Hill). The palace is fenced round with a mud wall. The entrance arcade has five (5)

Lola Tomori

KOBIS, that is gabled roof structures, and one of which served as the entrance, while the rest covered the verendah open to the road where buying and selling take place. Ibadan Baales and later Olubadan did not have **Central Palace** like other Yorubaland Obas but used their respective residence as the Palace until the 20th century when one was built at Oja'Iba, the centre of the city near Balogun Oderinlo's Residence at the slope of Mapo hill on the South toward the Central mosque built in **1850**.

Lola Tomori



(b) The Age-Long Practice of Ibadan Traditional Rulers:

Recreation and Tourism areas which are part of the natural environment are important for the social life and economic development of the city. In the pre-industrial societies, it was the royal palace that conferred city status on an urban settlement.

Are Oluyedun Afonja and Basorun Oluyole after the exit of the Egbas and Ifes from Ibadan was had problem of integrating all the various Oyo and some other sections (for example the few remaining Ijebu, Egba and Ife) in the community under an effective political authority. As none of them could claim to be the first settler or founder of the “THIRD” Ibadan there was no infection of building a Central Palace for the head of the community.

By 1851, three lines had emerged namely: the Balogun, Bale and Seriki. Other chieftaincy titles recognized were Iyalode, Aboke and Oluwo. The last two are hereditary and restricted to the family of Labosinde “the kingmaker of Ibadan land” and Aboke, “the Chief priest of Oke-Badan”, to the descendants of Lagelu, the founder of Ibadan respectively.

The Baales and later Olubadan of Ibadanland lived in their private respective residences, even up to the reign of Baale Oyewole Foko (1925-1929). During this period, there were two tiers of government. The provincial Government with the headquarters at Oyo from 1914 when Oyo Province was created and the Ibadan Native Authority with the headquarters at Ibadan. Between 1925-1929, three things happened:

The idea of building a permanent official residence (palace) for the Bale was rejected. Ibadan never had a palace, therefore successive Baale and later Olubadan from 1936 had been converting their private compounds into the official lodge.

Lola Tomori

The building of Council Hall at Mapo as the secretariat of the Native Administration and the first Civic Centre in Nigeria. The foundation was laid in 1925 at a cost of €23,914 and was completed and officially opened on October 5, 1929.

The foundation of Ibadan Native Authority hospital at Adeoyo was laid in 1929 for the majority of the people after the Nursing home at Jericho had been built for the Europeans in 1905.

1.1 First Olubadan Central Palace

The royal is the most important physical component of a Yoruba city in terms of location and functions and it confers city status on an urban settlement.

The position of the palace was invariably the city's geographical centre or as close to it as possible if there were physical constraints. As the embodiment of the city and the fountain of city life, all the radial arteries of communication converge on the palace.

A Central Palace was built at Oja'ba in 1980s opposite Mapo post office and along Oja'ba Oranmiyan Road sharing boundaries with Balogun Oderinlo compound and the Ibadan central Mosque.

The central palace had its inadequacies such as:

- That it is rather choky for present day usage and because of constraint of space, it has no room for expansion.
- That there is no open space for ceremonies and other out-door activities.
- That the environment falls short of a befitting palace of the most populous, indigenous African city.
- Lack of a comfortable and decent residential apartment for the Olubadan.
- Lack of administrative offices for palace staff and no provision for Guest Houses.
- There was no provision of royal park like of the old traditional palaces for public as well as Oba's private use for recreation

Lola Tomori



OLD OLUBADAN PALACE (FRONT VIEW)



REAR VIEW OF OLD OLUBADAN PALACE

Lola Tomori

The winds of cultural change that have been sweeping over Yourbailand since the advent of the white man have not side-tracked the palace. For example, most kings have replaced the former single-story compound apartments with storey buildings of concrete construction (instead of mild from clay soil) to provide both office and residential accommodation to befit their socio-political status and to keep abreast of Western civilization. Instead of thatch roofs, palace apartments now have corrugated asbestos or iron roofs.

The Central Olubadan Palace at Oja'ba is a reflection of cultural transformation of the Yoruba traditional religious, social and political institutions.

1.2 Land Acquisition For A Befitting Olubadan Palace Complex:

The need for a befitting Olubadan Palace was conceived by the CCII as a long-term project during the tenure of **Late Chief O.O. Bello**. The first major task of actualizing this dream was the securing of a suitable site and acquisition of sizeable land that would accommodate a grandiose and befitting Olubadan Palace.

When **Chief O.O. Bello** led members of CCII Executive Committee on a solidarity visit to Governor Kolapo Ishola on 5th August, 1992, the Council among many requests demanded for the release of a suitable and sizeable parcel of land by Oyo state Government to Ibadan Traditional Council for the erection of a befitting Olubadan Palace complex and complementary buildings. The Technical Committee members were:

- (i) Chief Dosu Babatunde (Town Planner) - Chairman
- (ii) Chief (Engr.) Dele Oderinlo (Engineer (Mechanical) - Member
- (iii) Chief (Surveyor) Emiola Olarinde (Land Surveyor/Map Maker) -Member
- (iv) Arc.Lanre Ladeji (Architect) - Member
- (v) Mr. Lola Tomori (Estate Surveyor & Valuer) - Member/Secretary

Lola Tomori

The Committee of five identified and selected the Oke Aremo site. Governor Kolapo Ishola granted a certificate of statutory Right of Occupancy on the Surveyed parcel of land at the foot Agbala Forest, Oke-Aremo, covering **5.233 hectares** in favour of Ibadan Traditional Council. The C of O was registered as No.4 page 24 in volume 32381 dated 13th October, 1993 with Survey Plan No. 1B. 1932.

In 1997, Asiwaju Bode Amao-led Executive realized that the acquired land would not be enough to accommodate all the envisaged components of the palace complex. Asiwaju Bode Amao`s administration then took another bold step to acquire more land for the palace complex which was granted by His Excellency, Senator Rashidi Adewolu Ladoja, the then. Executive Governor of Oyo state. The additional land area was **3.91. Hectares** thus making the acquired land for Olubadan Palace Complex to be 9.81 hectares. ***Total Land Area is 9.243 Hectares (See Google Earth Map & Layout)***

1.3 Case Studies of the Existing Palaces

The principal land uses of the ancient cities in Yorubaland are the royal palace, the royal (central) market, the roads, the residential quarters and the defence fortification. All these were physical features in Ibadan when it was established at the present site at Oja`Iba with the exception of a central palace

The position of the palace was invariably the city`s geographical centre or as close to it as possible if there was physical constraints. As the embodiment of the city and the fountain of city life, all the radial arteries of communication coverage on it

That third Ibadan has no ancestral father but co-founders who are eligible to become the king (Oba) of the city unlike the common hereditary kingship system in Yorubaland. Therefore, each Baale and later Olubadan of Ibadan usually converts his residence to a palace

(a) Olubadan Alli-Iwo Palace

The palace is rectangular in appearance and consists of **three core areas**. The outer core area served as the entrance lobby, with pronounced gabled roof. Two long elevated areas bedecked with traditional carved columns, added glamour to the entrance lobby.

The inner core served as the palace. The area faced a large **inner court which served as the festival ground**. The last core area was directly behind the palace. This section served as the Oba's residence together with the immediate/extended families. There were also areas occupied by the proscribed slaves.

(b) Baale Irefin's Palace

Irefin Ogundeji was installed Baale of Ibadan between (1912-1914). His palace was built on a rectangular land of about 5 acres bounded in the north by Agodi Oke-Adu Road. The access road links Oke-Adu with Oje-Agodi Highway from the roundabout.

The palace is fenced round with a mud wall. The entrance arcade has five (KOBIS), that is gabled roofed structure, one of which served as the entrance while the rest covered the verandah open to the road where buying and selling take place. (see picture below). According to Chief M.O. Ogunmola (2010 page 56), the Otun of Oyo, noted that Alaafin Aganju (1357) was a lover of palatial structures, particularly "Kobi" – building with steep gradient gables. His palace was reputed to contain one hundred and twenty high rise gables.

Lola Tomori



The inner courtyard faces the main a storey building palace. The extensions of the entrance arcade on both sides are residential areas for palace officials and other family members. Directly behind the entrance arcade are offices and drummers apartment. The Obas's residence is adjacent to the palace. (see the picture below).



Lola Tomori

The building shows the beauty of Yoruba architectural science and technology. It was built of mud bricks of clay dried for some days. The gabled projections are entrances to leading to the corridor serving the rooms of the extended families. All the buildings are covered with corrugated iron sheets.

The backyard served as the royal park or Oba's forest for the outdoor recreation of Baale Ireferin. It also served as the botanical garden as the botanical garden where rare and special medicinal plants were cultivated and conserved. It was a mausoleum, a place deceased Baale and family members were buried.

(c) The Sanusi Adebisi Mansion

Balogun Sanusi Adebisi Giwa's mansion and Mapo Hall were built Carew (Keru) who was running a consortium of professional builders and structural engineers with the whitemen. The mansion was built between 1926 and 1929.

The mansion was a classic example of the early modern architectural that emerged in the early 1920s in Yorubaland. Architectural features of the building could be noticed in few notable structures in Ibadan Municipality such as Oke-Are Court House, the Agbaje Family Palace and the Mapo Hall including Oyewole Foko Palace.

The entrance arcade consists the house for the drummers/trumpeters and palace security. The at the inner side while the front facing the road has a covered long verandah supported by well reinforced concrete round pillars and a good parking space connecting the main Idikan road.

Lola Tomori



The functional space distribution within the palace was super. Various public meeting halls (Ogboja Halls) were well specified. The traditional courtyard was situated on the centre portion of the compound. The residence formed part of the palace and both did not overlap. The staff quarters were beside the palace including the family houses.

Lola Tomori



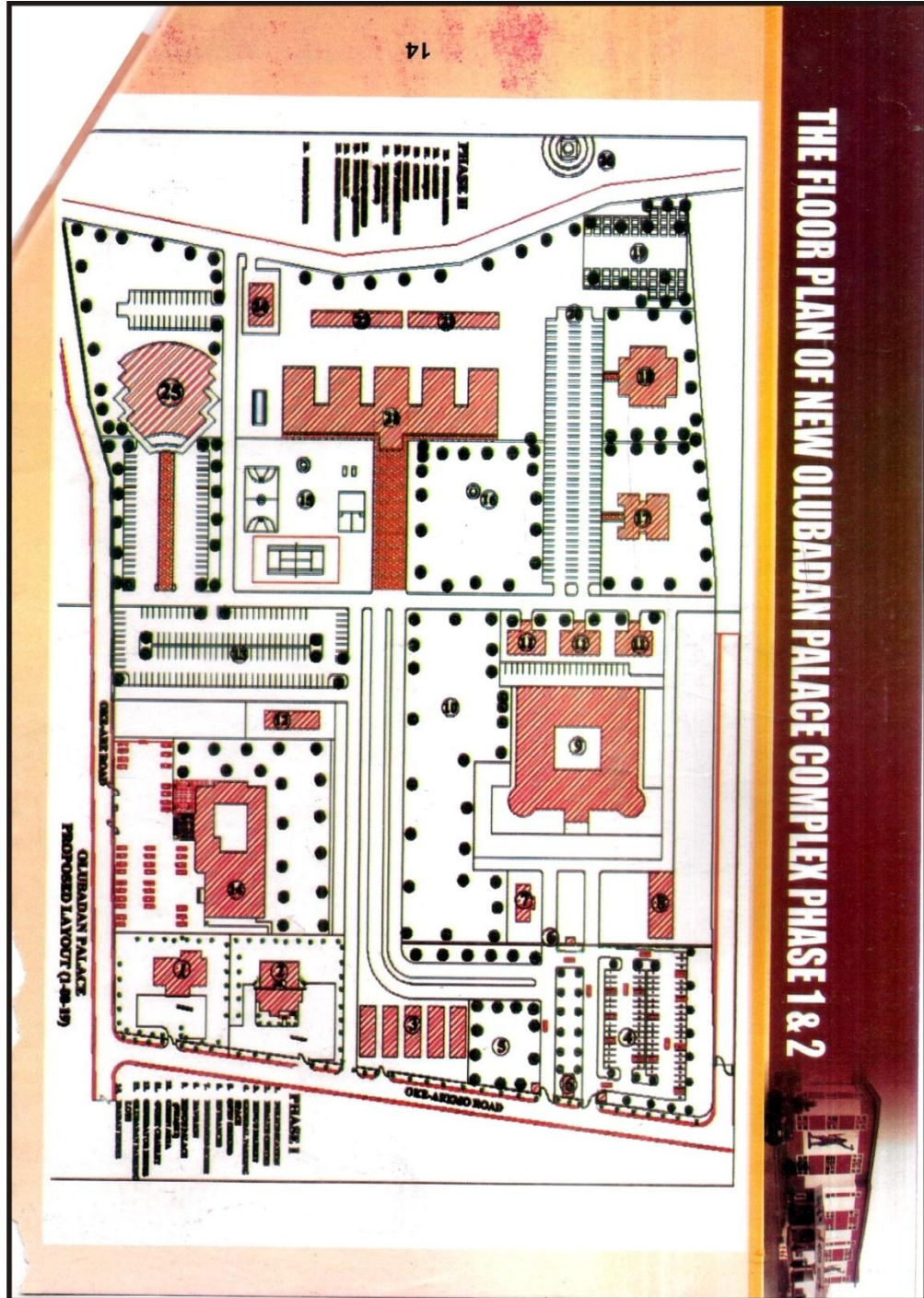
The structure reflects the interplay of African and European cultures. On the first floor are three residential apartments served with open verandah with a triangular dome in the middle.

(d) The New Olubadan Palace at Oke-Aremo

On 25th January, 2014, the Chairman Olubadan Palace Fund-Raising Committee, Chief Adebayo Oyero. While Chief Bode Amoo, President, General of the Central Council of Ibadan Indigenes (C.C.I.I) presided over the **Launching of Olubadan Palace** Fund at Lekan Salami Sports Complex, Ibadan. The entire project was to cost about ₦2.5 billion but the first phase would cost about ₦850 million.

Lola Tomori





Lola Tomori

The palace complex has the following components which were divided into 3 phases.

- Main Palace Building
- Royal Guest House
- Festivities Ground
- Ceremonial Pavilion
- Reception Block
- Car Parks
- Palace Transport Pools
- Power House
- Police Post
- Fire Station
- Woodland
- Existing Ibadan House
- Olubadan Market Complex
- Future Development
- Gate Houses.

The ceremony of the Turning of the SOD of New Olubadan Palace at Oke-Aremo, Ibadan was performed by His Excellency, The then Governor of Oyo State, Senator Abiola Ajimobi on Wednesday, 10th September, 2014. The first phases of the palace Project consist of:-

Lola Tomori

2.0 IBADAN HOUSE COMPONENT

Its foundation was laid during the **1998** Ibadan week celebration and on completion, it was commissioned by his Royal Majesty Oba (Dr.) Yunuss Bankole Ogundipe, CFR, J.P. the 39th Olubadan of Ibadan on 20th day of May, 2007. It is now the National secretariat of C.C.I.I.

Architect Billy Shodende designed the IBADAN HOUSE, prepared the Architectural drawing and the model exhibited during the launch of Ibadan House Project in 1997. The **Late Engineer (Chief) Dele Oderinlo** prepared the structural drawing. **Engr. (Chief) Lekan Ladeji** prepared the Mechanical / Electrical drawing. **Mr.S.O. Alabi** prepared the Bill of Quantities. **Chief Dosu Babatunde** prepared the master plan twice to include Ibadan House. He also proceeded the Building Approval. Chief **P.S.E. Olarinde**, a Licensed Surveyor, surveyed the entire land and the contour map. All of them render selfless service to Ibadanland without charging Professional fees. THE BUILDING COMMITTEE below was set up by Chief Olabade Amoo.

The First Building Committee Membership:

1. Engr. (Chief) Dele Oderinlo – Chairman
(He died on the Job)
2. Mr. M.A. Tomori – Secretary
(Estate surveyor and valuer)
3. Chief Oladejo Oladeji – Member
(An Accountant)
4. Dr. Adeniyi Adelokun – Member
(University Lecturer)
5. Alhaji L.A.B Adigun – Member
(From Omo Ajorosun clu.)
6. Alhaji K.O.Oladokun – Member
(National Treasurer of C.C.I.I)

Lola Tomori

Engr. Amidu Idowu did the pegging supervised the digging of the digging of the Foundation. The first phase of the building up to the Decking level was carried out before it was taken over by Chief Bayo Oyero as a result of the death of the Chairman.

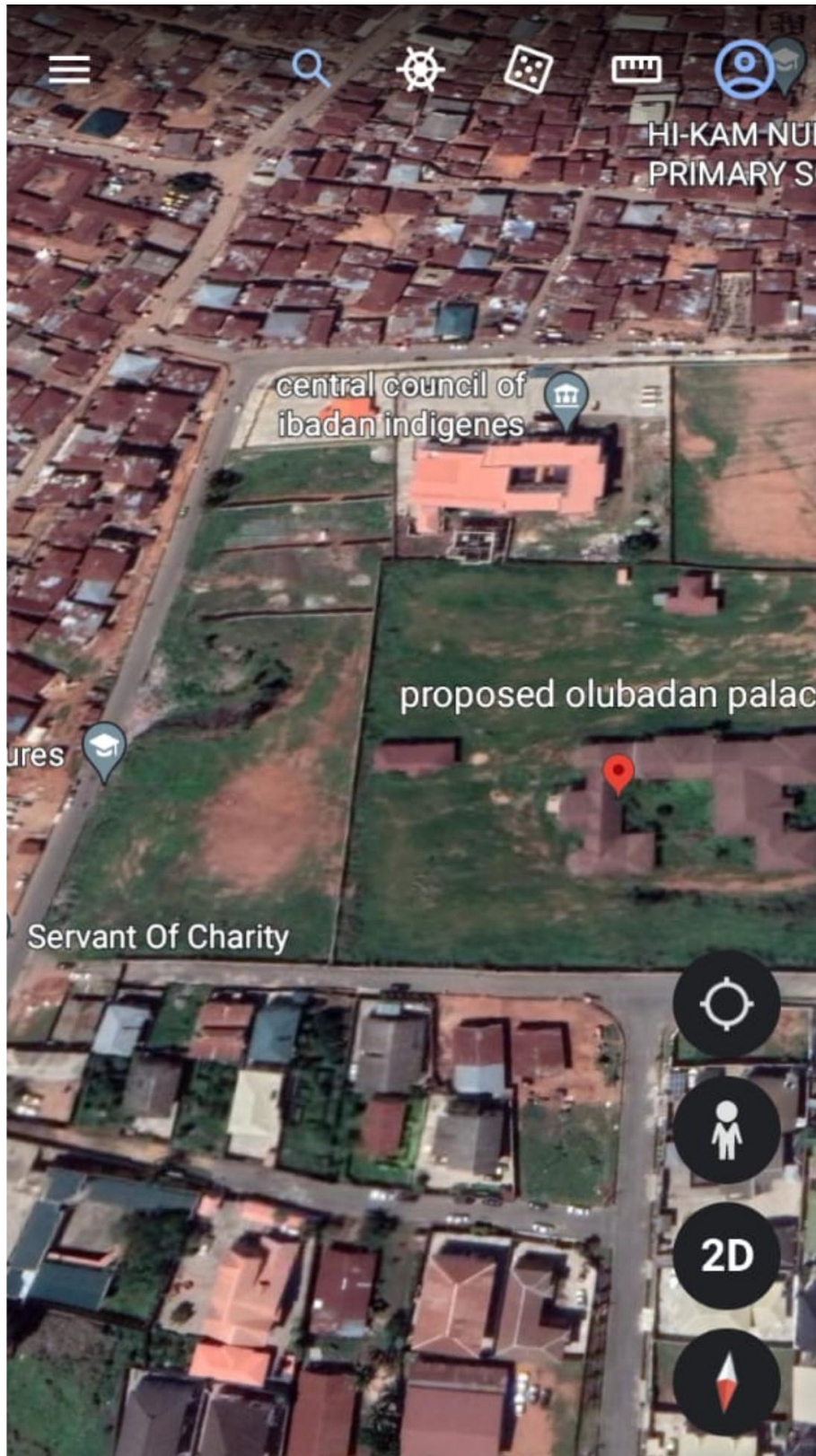
The main palace building has the following facilities and accommodations for the use of Olubadan.

- Bedroom Apartment for Kabiyesi
- Office for Kabiyesi
- Olubadan-In-Council Chambers;
- Lounge for High Chiefs;
- Reception Hall for VIPS;
- Visitors' Waiting Room
- Other Offices;
- Committee Room;
- Clinic;
- Store;
- Conveniences; and
- Open Courtyard for Multipurpose Activities

It is imperative to design the forest at the slope of Bower's Tower behind the Olubadan Palace building into a **Royal Park** which is used to be extensive land-use element of the ancient Yoruba palace. The royal park was a multi-purpose public establishment.

The royal park should serve as Olubadan recreation area it should serve as a zoo where special and rare animals are conserved for medical purposes and as botanical garden. The royal park should sere as a mausoleum for the burial of deceased monarchs which Balogun Sanusi Adebisi Giwa provided for in his palace at Idikan and Irefin Palace at Oke-Ofa

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CONCLUSION

The Yoruba Palace started in every Kingdom no doubt, as the **compound where the** and his family lived and where **government business** were done. However, centuries of myth making around the king turned the palace into a place of mystery where only the sacred person of the king resided, where chiefs is went to transact government business with him.

According to Professor S. Adebajji Akintoye (2010), in most kings, mundane features of human life were ultimately exiled from the palace, like women giving birth babies crying, persons dying or being buried, voices raised in anger or quarrel or excitement, people leaving for or arriving from farm, market places or other pursuits

But this run contrary to the opinion of Town Planners who believed that the position of the palace was invariably the city's geographical centre or as close to it as possible if there were physical constraints. As the embodiment of the city and the fountain of city life, all the radial arteries of communication coverage on it.

According to TPL Oluremi I. Obateru (2004 (2006) ***"First and foremost, it is necessary to understand that the royal palace is a public edifice, built and maintained by the entire population of the kingdom. It is therefore not the private property of the incumbent king"***.

Like its ancient Middle East precursor, the Yoruba Palace is functionally multi-purpose, the most notable being **residential, religious, governmental, commercial, socio-cultural, recreational and storage.**

CHAPTER TWELVE
THE IMPLICATIONS OF POPULATION GROWTH
AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT ON IBADAN CITY EXPANSION

1.0 THE SYSTEM OF CITIES AND THE URBAN HIERARCHY

Ibadan along with Kano and Kumasi (Ghana) is one of the few major pre-colonial sub-Saharan cities to retain its importance as an urban center Owisu (2008), existed in many areas of Africa prior to the 1500s, and a few (Cairo, Tunis, Ibadan, Jenne, or Kano for example) were comparable to many European cities in size prior to the rise of European power, while other areas were essentially devoid of Larger-Scale urbanism.

Accordingly to UN-Habitat Reports on the State of African Cities (2008), “Urbanization or city creation predates colonialism in many African countries, apart from Egypt, where **urban civilization** dates back to 5,000 years, several cities in other African regions have centuries old histories. Early urban development has been recorded during the Sudanese Empire of 800 AD, the Mali Empire of 1500AD and Songhai Empire of 1800 AD. These important historical artifacts, the cities, flourished as a result of their location along the **trans-Sahara trade routes**, emphasizing their importance as catalysts in socio-economic inter-relationships.

However, powerful local rulers enhanced the evolution of these early cities into effective nodes of human development and as engines of economic and social growth. Some of the prominent ancient pre-colonial cities of the region include: Bamako, Goa, Tinbuku, Ouagadougou, Agada, Begho, Benin, Ibadan, Ile-Ife, Ilorin, Kumasi and Oyo.

1.1 What Are Megacities?

A megacity is a very large city metropolitan area, typically with a population of more than 10 million people or resident, there are 33 megacities in the world. The top five megacities are all located in Asia. Tokyo in Japan, is the largest megacity by population with 37,800,000, Asia is the continent with the most overall megacities with 19 (or 20 if you count turkey as part of Asia). Europe has 5 megacities (including Istanbul, Turkey). Africa, North America, and South America each have three megacities with five, e.g. Beijing, Guangzhou, Shenzhen, and Tianjin.

Tokyo in Japan is the largest megacity by population with 37, 800, 000, Delhi in India is second with 25, 700, 000, followed closely by Seoul with 25, 620, 000, Shanghai in China is the fourth most populated city in the world with 24, 750,000, the fifth most populated city is Mumbai in India with 23, 140, 000 people, Lagos in Nigeria is 24th most populated megacity in the world out of 33 megacities.

Colonialism and African Cities;

According to Garth Myers (2011), cities existed in many areas of Africa prior to the 1500s, and a few such as: Cairo, Tunis, Ibadan, Jenne, or Kano, for example, were comparable to many European cities in size prior to the rise of European power, while others areas were essentially devoid of larger-scale urbanism (Mayers and Owusu, 2008).

The biggest urban spatial impact of European colonialism lies in the location of so many of Africa's eventually major cities along the coast or in close proximity to sites of resource extraction, and the functional retardation of African cities into roles as either entrepot/warehouse towns, bureaucratic capitals or both at once, rather than as originally grown industrial manufacturing engines of value added. Cities where colonial rule facilitated the growth of industry and manufacturing as the basis

for urbanization were the exception, rather than the worm. Some cities that pre-dated the rise of Europe were able to capitalize on colonialism to larger e.g. Mombasa, Kenya, or many North African cities.

In **2010**, forty six (46) of the continents fifty-three (53) independent states, the primate city in the urban hierarchy is the **colonial capital**, primary port, or port-capital. Fully twenty-eight (28) of the fifty largest cities on the continent were **cities of those historical types** in **2010**. As table 1 shows the dominance of the largest of these urban types has actually increased on the continent since **1980**, rather than decreased (UN-habitat, 2008).

*Table 1: Africa's Largest Cities: Population (in millions)
For the Twenty Largest Cities On the Continent.*

S/NO	CITIES	POPULATION 1980	CITIES	POPULATION 2010
1.	Cairo	7.349	Cairo	12.503
2.	Lagos	2.575	Lagos	10.572
3.	Alexandra	2.519	Kinshasa	9.052
4.	Casablanca	2.109	Khart	5.185
5.	Kinshasa	2.053	Luanda	4.775
6.	Cape Town	1.900	Alexandra	4.421
7.	Johannesburg	1.656	Abidjan	4.175
8.	Algiers	1.621	Johannesburg	3.618
9.	Abidjan	1.384	Algiers	3,574
10.	Kano	1.350	Addis Ababa	3.453
11.	Durban	1.214	Kano	3.393
12.	Ibadan	1.186	Nairobi	3.363
13.	Addis Ababa	1.175	Dar es Salam	3.319
14.	Khartoum	1.164	Cape Town	3.269
15.	Ekurhuleni (East Rand)	1.107	Casablanca	3.267
16.	Luanda	0.962	Ekurhuleni	3.157
17.	Dakar	0.957	Dakari	2.856
18.	Accra	0.863	Durban	2.839
19.	Nairobi	0.862	Ibadan	2.835
20.	Dares Salaam	0.836	Accra	2.332

Note: Cities that served as colonial capitals, primary Colonial Ports, or both.

Source: Un-Habitat (2008:174-7)

Thirteen 13 of the other twenty- two (22) largest cities are in Nigeria and South Africa, pointing to another, related, element of the **colonial legacy**: most Africa countries other than Nigeria and South Africa have what mainstream Western Geographers would consider to be **poorly developed urban hierarchies**, so that very **high rates of primacy** and the absence of significant **secondary cities** are still rather common.

(a) High Urban Primacy Ratio:

During the Colonial Era, high urban primacy ratios are not immediately disastrous for a country's development, but what makes the twin challenges of **primacy** and a thin **urban hierarchy** more daunting in many African countries is that the causes for rapid growth are commonly seen to be not directly attributable to economic growth and industrialization with exceptions here and there (Becker et al 1994; Bryce son 2006).

Under colonialism, rural-to-urban migration seems to have been fueled as much by the **pull factor** of perception as by actual opportunity and by the **push factors** of rural landlessness, heedlessness, **involution**, poverty, and lack of employment. Agricultural involution is the concept developed by Clifford Greets in Southeast Asia, whereby smallholder farmers progressively subdivide inherited plots over generations so that all descendants have unviable plot sizes. The end result in many countries was large numbers of the rural poor becoming the urban poor and of became more extreme in the independence era in many countries.

(b) Segregation and Segmentation of the Urban landscape

Colonialism's other urban legacies concern **internal form and spatial structure**. One is the segregation and segmentation of the urban landscape and another is the high degree of inequality. Often, the most obvious dimension of the

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segmentation was **racial segregation**, with separate areas for business residence restricted to Europeans.

Since the largest colonial cities were such owing to their political (and often, to a lesser degree, economic) significance, they became laboratories, incubation sites and potent physical symbols of mechanisms of colonial power (Demissic 2007a). Urban form thus reflected at least four ideological concerns. These were:

- 1) Separating out who could and could not be in the city;
- 2) Devising a map for who belonged where among those allowed to be urban;
- 3) Providing for and reinforcing spatial expressions of the hierarchy of colonial rule; and
- 4) Enabling the accumulation of resources by the colonial regime, the metropolitan power, and elites associated with both

In Maiduguri, in Northern Nigeria. Where so few whites settled even as administrators, the colonial plan of the city still excluded all Africans except servants from the small “**European Residential Area**” and the small Syrian trader population was confined to its own zone of shops in a legacy on often sees in the dramatically “distorted” division between high status centres, and a spreading, sometimes immense, dirt-poor habitat that is poorly served and under integrated (Coquery-Vidrouch 2005a.5).

Definition of City

The most apparent feature of the **urban settlement** is its relatively large size, a feature that visibly distinguishes it from the village. No definition of urban settlement which ignores the size factor can hope to be completely satisfactory.

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A **town is an urban settlement** which is more or less freely located in space. The **city is an extended form of a town**. The extension takes place in either of two forms by **accretion** (peripheral expansion) or by **merger** (agglomeration). Since the emergence of the early cities of the middle (Near) East these have been the processes of urban development.

In reality, human settlements constitute an **urban hierarchy** ranging in ranking in size from the **farmstead** through the **hamlet, village town, city, metropolis** and **conurbation** to the **megapolis**.

A **metropolitan area** is an urban centre the entire population in and around the city whose activities form an integrated social and economic system.

Yoruba City Concept:

In the Yoruba Golden Age (1086-1793) urbanization connotes civilization. Since the rise of the ancestral cities of the Near East some 5,500 years ago, urbanization has always been associated with civilization. The cultural history of Yorubaland is no exception. The beginning of **Yoruba cities** marked the inception of the Yoruba Golden Age.

The degree to which a city is socially heterogeneous is to a large extent a function of its types, era, location and size. A city of a million (1million) population should invariably be more socially heterogeneous than a city of 100, 000 people. The Yoruba urban community was socially heterogeneous within the limits of its type, era and size.

i) The Yoruba City:

This was the royal capital. As there was only one oba (king) in the kingdom. Only the seat of the kingdom was designated city. No other settlement in the

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kingdom, no matter its size, qualified for that designation (Oluremi I. Obateru, 2004 pg. 27).

The Yoruba word for town is **Ilu**. The royal capital city was called **olu ilu (chief town)** or **ilu alade (royal town)**. Political status was thus the basis of the distinction.

ii) The Yoruba Town:

In addition to the royal city, a kingdom may contain one or more towns which were politically subordinate to the capital. Emanating from its subordinate political status was its smaller size.

The ruler of town was titled **Baale** or **Oloja** meaning the “**lord of the land**” or **bead chief**. As he was not an oba (king), he must not wear a **beaded crown**. A beaded crown was exclusive to the king. A Baale or an Oloja wore a cap, never a beaded crown.

1.2 The Growth of Cities and Metropolitan Areas in Yorubaland in the 19th Century

P.C. Lloyd is of the view that the capital cities of Yorubaland between before 1793 when the civil wars started had the population of 15,000 to 50,000. Although he did not state the basis of his view, the figure appears reasonable. Professor Mabogunje and Professor J. Omer-Cooper (1971) estimated a population of about 40,000 for the destroyed city of Owu. According to Oluremi I. Obateru, it is probable that the cities had population of at least 50,000 to 200,000 with Old Oyo having at least 200,000 at the height of its splendor about the middle of the 18th century.

During the civil disorders, urban population growth took three forms: **natural increase, rural-urban migration;** and **under-urban migration**. The refugees from the rural areas and the destroyed settlements were accommodated by enlarging the

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limits of the urban centres as well as by developing the open spaces (vacant lands) within them.

The Fulani invasions of northwestern Yorubaland in the early 19th century, the Owu war of about **1814-1820**, according Samuel Johnson (1921) also the 2nd Owu war in **1821-1825**, the intermittent Dahomey raids and attacks from the west resulted in mass population shift from the **open savanna** and **woodland** country of the northwest into the **traditional open forest** of the central or middle-belt zone which trends north east across central Yorubaland. The South east ward population displacement explains not only the high population density of the open forest zone, but also the phenomenal growth of such urban centres as Ibadan, present day Oyo, Ogbomoso, Oshogbo, Iwo, Ede, Iseyin, Ikirun, Ile-Ife, and Ilesa in the early and middle 19th century.

Abeokuta and Ilorin in similarly experienced spiral growth- Abeokuta came into being through constipation of Several Egba villages and towns, while Ilorin became the focus of centripetal population movement from the surrounding districts. The growth of Ilorin, like that of the present- day Oyo was not organic: growth was for cattily imposed upon it by Afonja in order to strengthen his politico- military position.

When the great empire of Oyo collapse, and states were created, heroes emerged as state founders, worriers in defence of their polities, and warlords, according Professor Toyin Falola (2012), extracting tributes from their colonies. The states with the most developed military machines and more warrior heroes than other. Thus, Ibadan, which built an empire, had a long list, comprising such generals as Oluyole, Oluyedun, Oderinlo, Ibikunle, Ogunmola and Latosa, the Aare Ona-Kakanfo and Balogun Ogboriefon.

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The **present and third Ibadan** when the allied army took over in 1825 was not more than a Kilometer in all directions from Oja’ba at the centre. The layout, according to Toyin Falola (2012 pg7) closely followed the pattern of the older towns. The second Ibadan had a market centrally located at “**Oriyangi**” and later became **Labosinde market** after 1825 and the **town wall** was where the **principal mosque** now stands (page 244 of Johnson), during the reign of Baale Omololu Opeagbe (1850- 1851).

The market is surrounded in all directions by the earliest compounds of the Military Chiefs and other notable warriors. All the initial wars were offensive Ibadan itself was not attacked, making it a safe place for its inhabitants. It also made it a favoured place for refuges. Indeed, Ibadan maintained an open door policy (Toyin Falola, 1989).

By 1851, Ibadan had grown into huge urban centre with an estimated population figure of between 60,000 and 100,000. New areas, notably in the **north-east**, had to be occupied as indicated later in the map, and the **town covered an estimated area of twenty six (26) square kilometers in 1850.**

The **town wall** endorsing the built up area was **sixteen (16) kilometers in circumference**, with four major gates leading to **Abeokuta, Oyo, Iwo, and Ijebu**, and several minor ones to various farms and villages.

Within the town wall built in 1856 and known as **Ibikunle town wall**, were hundreds of compounds, church e.g. Kudeti in the South, Ogunpa in the north-west and Aremo in the north-east, all belonging to the Church Missionary Society and also mosques, with another **large praying ground** (Yidi) in the north east. Thus, within a short time (1825-1900), Ibadan grew to become the **largest city-state** in the nineteenth (19TH) century Yorubaland.

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Agriculture in the 19th Century:

Farmland outside the town wall also expanded. This was inevitable if the large population had to feed without reliance on importation. Whilst the farmlands were no more than eight (8) Kilometres to the **town wall built by Basorun Oluyole** in the 1840s, they had become so extensive in the late 1850s that Daniel May reckoned them to be as far as thirty (30) Kilometres to the walls. Daniel may also note the existence of **farm villages**, the number of which Alvan Millson put at one hundred and ninety three (193) in 1891.

Synergy between Rural and Urban Economies:

Interdependence is particularly evident in sub-Saharan Africa, where **town and village house holds** maintain multiple ties through seasonal migration and remittances, creating an informal safety net. Resources and income shift between rural and urban markets as the national economy grows and transforms structurally, and productivity changes unevenly across areas (World Bank in Cities in Transition, (September, 2000).

Ibadan had **a large number of satellite villages** which supplied the town with agricultural products. The extensive farmlands of the war chiefs, cultivated mainly by slaves were located in these villages. Growth of secondary and market towns, where value is added to agriculture generates demand for agricultural goods and labour, raising rural incomes when markets are allowed to work (USAID 1991).

The large population and the viable agricultural base encouraged the development of agricultural base encouraged the development of a market system and rapid expansion in commerce. Within the **city state** itself, the internal markets thrived on the basis of large demands and on the wide network of exchange between

the town and the villages. More importantly, Ibadan became a notable economic centre in Yorubaland, largely because of its favorable **geographical location** which made it possible for the Ijebu and Egba middlemen who dealt in coastal goods to interact with others from the hinterland.

1.3 Ibadan Urban Transition in the Regional Context During the Colonial Period

Sustainable cities and towns fulfill the promises of development for their inhabitants, in particular, by facilitating upward mobility for the poor, while contributing to regional (Yorubaland) progress. **Urbanization is more than a demographic along a rural-urban Continuum (World Bank, 2000).**

Urbanization is characterized, and, even defined, by fundamental changes in the physical concentration of **economic production**, in **land use**, and in **social structures** and **patterns of interaction**. Changes in all these dimension affects the lives of individuals and the requirements for resources and governance.

- As industry and services become more important in production, they demand more infrastructures, generate technology and information exchange, and provide diverse employment options.
- Densification of settlement directs land and wealth into housing and related infrastructure and increases the need for complex systems to provide water and energy, market food, transport goods and people, remove wastes, and protect public health and safety.
- Land became more intensively developed, and the resulting spatial layout affects accessibility, physical contacts among communities, environment (encompassing **agricultural land** at the urban periphery), and the costs of fixed infrastructure.
- Throughout this transition, families and communities are deeply affected;

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more woman work outside home, children and adults confront diverse opportunities as well as risks, cultures mingle, new ideas multiply, and disparities in wealth become more apparent.

The **urban transition** translates into different systems of urban settlements in different countries. Even cities and towns in Yorubaland as well as in Nigeria show very dissimilar outcomes in the extent and nature of poverty, in the palters and growth rates of investments and employment, in the spatial dispersion (“sprawl”) of residential and commercial areas, and in environmental quality and **cultural amenities** and **Heritage sites** as reflected in pictures

The Effect of Township Ordinance of 1917:

The **Urban Fragmentation** typically create two cities within city, as illustrated in the panoramic view of Ibadan from Mapo hill and Oke-Area (Aare Hill) dividing the city centre with the highest point at Sapati Hill where the Bower’s Tower is located. The structure of which is described by Professor Akin Mabogunje in his book “**Yoruba Towns**”. The interplay of two cultures can be seen in the morphology of Ibadan city. Within the formal **Ibikunle Town Wall**, built in 1856, within its former limits is an area with high residential densities, is an area with high residential densities inhabited by a population of local origin (Ibadan indigenes), with commercial activity in the form of traditional markets such as, Oja’ba, Oje Ode-Olo, Oritamerin, Gege, Agbeni etc. The Modern Commercial and government residential areas are located one side of the Core area. **The outer zones of the city include** the homes of immigrants from elsewhere in Nigeria as from overseas, and they also include areas devoted to modern education areas like polytechnic and University of Ibadan, Government Reservation Areas, Bodija Housing Estates and Oluyole Estates.

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As the capital of Oyo state, Ibadan occupies a strategic **regional position** with Nigeria. With a population of **4million in 2020** at a growth rate of **2.75%** projected by the UN-Habitat in 2008, it is the most populous city in Oyo State and the **third** most populous in Nigeria after Kano and Lagos. It is the country's largest city in geographical area with an area of **3,145.96**, which is nearly 11 percent of Oyo state in land mass.

In 1893, the city became a British Protectorate with a population of **150,000**. It developed as the centre for the colonial administration of the Western Province, which reinforced the position as a focal point for trade, and commerce. Post-independence Ibadan retained its administrative and political importance its administrative and political importance in the old Western Province, which reinforced the position as a focal point for trade, and commerce. Post-independence Ibadan retained its administrative and political importance in the old Western Region and today is the capital of Oyo state and the hub of Regional activities.

The physical growth and expansion of Ibadan like many other cities was influenced by its **transport network in 1901**, when the **railway** from Lagos was constructed pass Ibadan and later extended northwards to Kano, ensuring the economic significance of Ibadan and further contributing to it becoming to it becoming a major trading centre. A road building project which started in **1897** in Lagos linked Ibadan by October, **1906**.

The Ibadan-Lagos Expressway commissioned in 1976 further led to rapid urbanization in the eastern and northern part of the city, followed by the Eleyele Expressway in the west of the city. Since then, the **Ibadan urban area** has spread further into all parts of the neighboring local government areas. The Federal Government has also constructed a new Lagos-Ibadan high-speed rail lines with Inland-air-port at Olorisa-Oko near Moniya in Akinyele Local Government Area.

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The high-speed rail-line will also link up Kaduna and Kano and provide opportunity to open up the city to further investment and increases commercial activity between the two cities ”To ease congestion and traffic grid lock in the city, Ibadan Circular Road is being constructed under public-private partnership. It covers about 117Kilometers with Toll-Gates. This will also open up rural areas for development and further investment in Housing going on at Ajida New Town and Private Estates springing up in the less City Local Governments.

The major **spatial growth** of Ibadan urban area occurred mainly in the periods from **1964 to 1984** and **2000 to 2020**. Of the total land area of the city covering **3,145.96 sq. Kilometre**, only **546sq. Kilometre (17.4%)** is urbanized whereas **164.76 sq. kilometer** of built development lies within the **villages** and the peripheral areas of the city. The undeveloped area comprising agricultural land, forests, and open spaces total **2, 435 sq. Kilometre (74. 5%)** (Ibadan Master Plan March, 2017).

Finally, Ibadan City-State, which lies within the tropical forest zone but close to the boundary between the forest and the savannah, is characterized by **rugged terrain** with steep slopes creating a very dense network of streams with wide valley plains. The city ranges in elevation from **15metres** in the valley area to **275metres** above sea level on the major north-south ridge which crosses the central part of the city.

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*Site of Central Mosque built
in 1850 of Oja'ba Ibadan*



Oke-Badan and Eleyele Reservoir



Panoramic View of Ibadan from Oke-Are



*The Statute of Balogun Oderinlo
(1835-1850) at Mapo Roundabout*

1.4 Ibadan Population Growth and urbanization in the 20th Century

The population of Ibadan grows progressively from **100,000 in 1851, 175,000 in 1911 and 745,488 in 1952**. In tabular form as follow:

Year/Period	Population	Remarks	Growth Rate %	Average Growth Rate %
1856	70,000	Estimated	-	-
1860	150,000	Estimated	-	-
1890	150,000	Estimated	0.0	0.0
1911	175,000	Census	0.79	0.79
1921	238,094	Urban	3.60	3.60
1931	287,133	Urban	6.29	6.29
1952	745,488	Urban = 459,196 Rural = 286,252	0.89 -	0.89 -
1963	1,141,677	Urban = 627,376 Rural = 514,298	2.80% 5.7%	3.95%
1991	1,829,300	Urban = 1,222,663 Rural = 606,639	2.43% 0.50%	1.65%
2006	2,550,593	Urban = 1,338,659 Rural = 1,211,934	0.47% 2.22%	2.43%

Sources: *Census Ordinance of October 25, 1917,*

National Population commission 1991 and Federal Office of Statistics, 1963

Between 1931 and 1952, Ibadan City's population increased from 389,133 to 459,196 inhabitants, which amounted to a drop in population to an annual growth rate of 0.8% from 6.29%. The low growth rate was attributed to the temporary movement of people from the older (traditional) parts of the city to the farms and newly developing areas. The population of the less city (suburban area) was 286,252 where the census was conducted for the first time. Between 1952 and 1963, the population of the city increased slightly to 627,379 with an annual growth rate increasing to 2.80% due to increasing flow of people into the city from the enhanced status of the city in the socio-economic and political arenas of the country.

The rural populations increased tremendously to 514,298, accompanied by an annual population growth rate of 5.7%. While the total population for Ibadan city and

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its suburb increased tremendously to 1,141,667 at an annual population growth rate of 3.95% and Ibadan became the largest city in Nigeria, followed by Lagos.

Between 1963 and 1991, the Ibadan Municipal Government now comprising five Urban Local Governments had a population of 1,228,663 which amounted to annual growth rate of 2.43% from 2.80% in 1963. The less city population increased marginally to 606,639 from 514,298 in 1963, which accounted for annual growth rate of 0.50%. The total population for Ibadan and its suburb increased marginally to 1,829,300 in 1991 accompanied by a drop in the annual exponential growth rate to 1.65%.

As Akintola observed in 1963, there were **3,000 villages** established in Ibadan within a radius of **40 kilometres** within 130 years or so of building the city. Settlements listed for Ibadan Division in 1963 census **1,184** but these are **central villages** selected for census purposes (catchment Areas).

According to the Physical Development for the Old Oyo State in 1990 by the UNCHS (Habitat) which in collaboration with the Ministry of Physical Planning, it stated that in **1977** Akinyele had **1,312 villages**, Lagelu had **671 villages** within an area of **417sq.km** within an area of **1,351sq.km** an Oluyole had 1,087 villages within an area of **945sq.kilometres**. This was the period when the six (6) Less City Local Governments was merged into three (3) LGAS.

The criteria adopted in selecting central villages were a minimum of 250 people in the sparsely developed area and 500 people in the thirdly populated area. These villages, serving as central villages for the surrounding area can attract by their enhanced job opportunities, migrants who might otherwise move to bigger towns. The infrastructural facilities needed in these selected villages are provided in order to

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stabilize the rural population and attract people to take agriculture and allied occupations in future.

The period between 1963 and 1991 witnessed a remarkable feature of the growth of Ibadan with the urban landscape spreading over about 101.9sq.km in 1973 and about 130.5sq.km in 1982. The 1980s developments like the construction of expressways along Sango-Eleyele and Lagos/Ibadan Express road engendered a rapid spate of building construction to the south and east of the Eleyele reservoir and Ojoo-Olorunsogo axis of the eastern part of the city. The built-up area of the city in 1989 was approximately 240sq.km. and a population density of 5,094 persons per sq.km. Ibadan City further declined to an annual growth rate of 0.47% in 2006 from 2.43% in 1991. The graph/histogram clearly shows the growth rate pattern of both the city and the surrounding rural population (1991-2006).

It is observed that the population of Ibadan has continuously been on the increase and these low rates of growth might be due to imperfections and inaccuracies of census estimates by the National Population Commission (NPC). The table below shows the growth on Local Government basis

National Population Census as it Affects Ibadan

Nigeria as a nation came into existence in 1914 when the Northern and Southern Protectorates were amalgamated under the British Colonial rule to form one single country. All the census before 1914 (i.e. 1866, 1881, 1891 and 1901) and up to 1921 were necessarily limited to a few parts of the country.

It was 1921 census that covered the whole country under the provision of the **Census Ordinance** passed on October 25, 1917. The Census was conducted in two parts: one for the towns called the township census, and the other for the rest of thirteen townships enumerated and the figure for Ibadan Township was **238,153**

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The 1931 census was not a successful exercise because, according to Brooke, the census of Southern Nigeria Provinces finally became a mere compilation of existing data and the result was only provisional in character. It was also reported that the 1931 census was adversely affected by worldwide economic depression and shortage of administrators. However, the population of Ibadan Township was **387,133** at a growth rate of 5.0% from 1921.

The 1951/53 census was conducted and used as basis to allocate seats of representatives in the Federal House of Representatives hence, it was heavily politicised. The population of Ibadan Township was by then 459,196 at a growth rate of 0.8% from 1931.

The 1962 census covered the whole country and was conducted simultaneously in May but it also became a political rather than a statistical exercise. However, in 1961 Ibadan Divisional Council had been split into Ibadan City Council and Six Ibadan District Councils. The population of the city was 627,279 while the rural population was 514,298.

The Ibadan City by the head **62** residential quarters, which were grouped into **47** political wards and census figures were allocated to each political ward. The districts had the following number of wards:

- (i) Ibadan North District Council with the headquarters at Moniya had 27 wards;
- (ii) Ibadan East District Council with the headquarters at Iyana-Offa had 27 wards;
- (iii) Ibadan South East District Council with the headquarters at Akanran had 25 wards;
- (iv) Ibadan South East District Council with the headquarters at Olode had 18 wards;

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- (v) Ibadan South West District Council with the headquarters at Idi-Ayunre had **18** wards; and
- (vi) Ibadan West District Councils with the headquarters at Ido had **21** wards.

The 1991 housing and population census was conducted in eleven Local Government Areas because the defunct Ibadan Municipal Government (IMG) had been split into 5 local councils while Lagelu was split into Lagelu and Egbeda Local Governments while Ibadan South was merged with Ibadan South West to become Oluyole Local Government. The total population of Ibadan was **1,229,663** for the urban area and **606,637**.

According to the 1991 census data released, there were 1,399 Supervisory Areas and 4,222 Enumeration Areas for Ibadan Municipal local government:

- Ibadan North East: 770SAs and 1,018EAs
- Ibadan North: 175SAa and 874EAs
- Ibadan North West: 98SAs and 483EAs
- Ibadan South East: 171SAs and 860EAs; and
- Ibadan South West: 185SAs and 987EAs.

The six rural local Governments had a total number of 600SAs and 3,038EAs:

- Ona-Ara had 69SAs and 615EAs;
- Ido had: 69SAs and 337EAs
- Lagelu had: 78SAs and 391EAs
- Oluyole had: 82SAs and 419EAs
- Egbeda had: 118SAs and 584EAs; and
- Akinyele had: 137SAs and 694EAs.

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The CCII Committee on Census led by my friend, Surveyor Adeleke must note these facts and ensure his team obtains information from the National Population Commission who did not make them available in 2006. The committee must have learnt from the TRIAL CENSUS conducted in Ibadan North West Local Government in 2016; the response of Oyo State Government, our political representatives at the National Assembly and State Assembly, the political and traditional rulers, the market leaders and other stakeholders. That was food for thought

We can only get prepared for the census if we know what happened in the past and its implications on the creation of Local Governments, creation of Ibadan State, representation in the State and National Assemblies and our political relationship with other 4 geopolitical zones.

The result of 1963 census showed that the population of Ibadan was 45% of the total population of the present Oyo State comprising, Ibadan, Ibarapa. Oke-Ogun, Ogbomosho and Oyo geo-political zones. In 1991, the population of Ibadan was 55% of the total population of Oyo State. The data made available concerning Ibadan: 99,100 residential buildings in the five urban Local Governments, 1,399 Supervisory areas (SAs), 4,222 Enumeration areas (EAs), and population of **1,228,663**. The suburb with six LGAs had 600SAs, 3,038EAs and a population of **606,637**. The growth rate of suburban area was 2.21% per annum for the same period.

In 2006, the population of Ibadan Metropolis was 1,343,147 at a growth rate of 0.57% p.a. while the six Ibadan suburban was 1,211,934 at a growth rate 4.7% p.a. The total was 2,559,853 at a growth rate of 2.22% from 1991. The average growth rate of Oyo State was 3.2% p.a. It means other four geopolitical zones of Oyo State are growing faster than Ibadan, the State capital with 45% of the total population

According to Un-Habitat (2008) Report “The State of African Cities 2008: A framework for Addressing Urban Challenges in Africa, Nairobi”:

- Ibadan located at the interface of savannah and forest and the capital of Oyo State, is the third largest city in Nigeria by population after Lagos and Kaduna
- Ibadan is, however, Nigeria’s largest city in geographical area with eleven administration separate local government areas.
- Ibadan in 1960 was the second-most populous city in Nigeria and the tenth largest in Africa after Alexandra, Algiers, Cairo, Cape Town, Casablanca, Durban, East Rand, Johannesburg and Lagos.
- Ibadan was the tenth among the 20 largest cities in 1980 with a population of 1.186 million and nineteenth in 2010 with a population of 2.835 million (UN-Habitat (2008:174-7).

1.5 The Changing Context of Population and Urban of Ibadan City State

Between 1931 and 1952, Ibadan City's population increased from 389,133 to 459,196 inhabitants, which amounted to a drop in population to an annual growth rate of 0.8% from 5.0%. The low growth rate was attributed to the temporary movement of people from the older (traditional) parts of the city to the farms and newly developing areas. The population of the less city (suburban area) was 286,252 where the census was conducted for the first time. Between 1952 and 1963, the population of the city increased slightly to 627,379 with an annual growth rate increasing to 2.80% due to increasing flow of people into the city from the enhanced status of the city in the socio-economic and political arenas of the country.

The rural populations increased tremendously to 514,298, accompanied by an annual population growth rate of 5.7%. While the total population for Ibadan city and

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its suburb increased tremendously to 1,341,667 at an annual population growth rate of 3.95% and Ibadan became the largest city in Nigeria, followed by Lagos.

Between 1963 and 1991, the Ibadan Municipal Government now comprising five Urban Local Governments had a population of 1,228,663 which amounted to annual growth rate of 2.43% from 2.80% in 1963. The less city population increased marginally to 606,639 from 514,298 in 1963, which accounted for annual growth rate of 0.50%. The total population for Ibadan and its suburb increased marginally to 1,829,300 in 1991 accompanied by a drop in the annual exponential growth rate to 1.65%.

The period between 1963 and 1991 witnessed a remarkable feature of the growth of Ibadan with the urban landscape spreading over about 101.9sq.km in 1973 and about 130.5sq.km in 1982. The 1980s developments like the construction of expressways along Sango-Eleyele and Lagos/Ibadan Express road engendered a rapid spate of building construction to the south and east of the Eleyele reservoir and Ojoo-Olorunsogo axis of the eastern part of the city. The built-up area of the city in 1989 was approximately 240sq.km. and a population density of 5,094 persons per sq.km. Ibadan City further declined to an annual growth rate of 0.47% in 2006 from 2.43% in 1991. The graph/histogram clearly shows the growth rate pattern of both the city and the surrounding rural population (1921-2006).

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It is observed that the population of Ibadan has continuously been on the increase and these low rates of growth might be due to imperfections and inaccuracies of census estimates by the National Population Commission (NPC). The table below shows the growth on Local Government basis

Table 1: Population Analysis of Ibadan Local Governments

S/No	Local Government Area	Population 1963	Population 1991	% Increase 1963/91	Population 2006	%Inc 1991/2006
1.	Ibadan North	122,310	302,271	147.14%	308,119	1.50%
2.	Ibadan North East	78,641	275,627	250.49%	331,444	19.87%
3.	Ibadan North West	80,139	147,918	84.58%	154,029	3.32%
4.	Ibadan South East	84,755	225,800	166.41%	266,457	17.82%
5.	Ibadan South West	261,634	277,047	5.89%	283,098	2.00%
6.	Akinyele	116,600	140,118	20.17%	211,359	50.84%
7.	Egbeda	45,825	129,461	182.51%	283,643	117.50%
8.	Ido	65,584	53,582	-18.30%	103,261	92.72%
9.	Lagelu	100,498	68,901	-31.44%	148,133	114.23%
10.	Oluyole	51,082	91,527	79.18%	203,461	121.49%
11.	Ona-Ara	53,590	123,048	129.61%	265,571	115.41%
TOTAL		1,060,658	1,829,300	72.47%	2,560,853	39.94%

*Source: - * Federal Office of Statistics, Lagos, 1963*

** National Population Commission, 1991 & 2006*

Table 2: Distribution of Size of Households in Oyo State/Ibadan in 2006

<i>Size of Household 2006</i>	<i>Population 2006</i>	<i>No. of Households in Oyo State 2006</i>	<i>No. of Households in Ibadan</i>
1 Person	190,206	190,206	85,895
2 Persons	369,838	184,919	83,214
3 Persons	521,070	173,690	78,161
4 Persons	711,300	177,825	80,021
5 Persons	814,860	162,990	73,346
6 Persons	852,342	142,057	63,926
7 Persons	783,951	111,993	50,397
8 Persons	741,080	92,635	41,686
>8 Persons	596,247	43,466	19,560
	5,580,894	1,279,687	538,384

Source: Calculated from NPC Priority Tables 2009.

In 1991, when Ibadan Municipal Government was split into five Local Government Areas, the City lost some areas to Ibadan Less city. In contrast, the census figure of 1963 for the less city especially in the western and eastern parts of the city included areas now in Ibadan North West, Ibadan South West and Ibadan North. These boundary adjustments affected Lagelu and Ido local Governments census figures in 1991. Lagelu LGA lost Asi, Yanbule, Bashorun and LamidiAjadi area to Ibadan North East Local Government Council. Ido Local Government lost Ijokodo, Eleyele, and Agboye group of villages to Ibadan North West and part of Apata, Gbekuba, Oke-Alaro, Alexandra, Owode Estate to Ibadan South West Local Government Area. However, the regularization of boundary disputes before 2006, Housing and Population gave some population advantage to these less city LGAs coupled with sprawling of urban population to the less city where land is available at cheaper rates for housing development. See table 4 for population projection of Ibadan (2013-2033) at a growth rate of 3.2% p.a.

The comparability of these figures with those of Un-Habitat in Tables 2 and 3 attests to the relative credibility of these figures and more significantly; the importance of Ibadan in the comity of cities in Nigeria. It is the third largest after Lagos and Kano.

Table 3: Comparative City Population and Growth Rates of Ibadan, Lagos and Kano Urban Agglomeration

Year	Population of Ibadan ('000)	Growth Rate (%)	Population of Lagos ('000)	Growth Rate (%)	Population of Kano ('000)	Growth Rate (%)
1990	1,739	—	4,764	—	2,095	n.a
1995	1,993	2.73	5,966	4.50	2,360	2.38
2000	2,236	2.30	7,233	3.85	2,658	2.38
2005	2,509	2.30	8,767	3.85	2,993	2.38
2010	2,887	2.46	10,578	3.76	3,395	2.52
2015	3,376	2.88	12,247	3.22	3,922	2.89
2020	3,760	2.75	14,162	2.61	4,492	2.73
2025	4,237	2.39	15,810	2.20	5,060	2.37

Source: Adapted from UN – Habitat of the World's cities, 2012/2013

Table 4: Projected Population of Ibadan Metropolitan Area

S/NO.	Local Govt. Area	2013	2018	2023	2028	2033
1.	Akinyele	264,062	309,104	361,829	423,547	495,793
2.	Egbeda	353,614	413,931	484,537	567,186	645,835
3.	Ibadan NE	413,207	483,689	566,194	662,129	775,822
4.	Ibadan North	384,128	449,650	526,348	616,129	721,224
5.	Ibadan NN	192,026	224,781	263,122	308,004	360,541
6.	Ibadan SE	332,189	388,851	455,179	532,820	623,705
7.	Ibadan SW	352,935	413,136	483,606	566,096	662,657
8.	Ido	129,764	151,898	177,808	208,137	243,640
9.	Lagelu	184,676	216,176	253,050	296,214	246,740
10.	Oluyole	253,652	296,919	347,565	406,850	476,248
11.	Ona-Ara	331,084	387,558	453,665	531,048	621,631
	Total	3,191,339	3,735,695	4,372,903	5,118,802	5,611,642

Source: Oyo State Ministry of Budget and Planning, macro-statistics Departments, 2013

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But the general concern today is the provision of education, health, better nutrition facilities for the mass population, reduction in employment and underemployment; a fall in the standard of living; no provision of food is sufficient quantity and quality for the teeming population, lack of good housing and environmental sanitation, inequitable income distribution and provision of not enough skilled manpower.

With increasing urbanization of Ibadan the problems have shifted from that of providing for subsistence to one of imbalance between population and available resources. The economic difficulties being experienced in Ibadan and other cities in Nigeria in recent years, is an indication that they do not benefit really from rapid population growth. The growth rate of Ibadan population is lower than the average growth rate of Oyo State in 2006 which was 2.2.% compared with State growth rate of 3.2% per annum. This is a manifestation of political conspiracy by the other geopolitical zones and incompetence of the National Population Commission at every stage of the census exercise.

We have to mobilize the people and establish complaint centres in all the LGAs and LCDAs and monitor the census exercise in all the Enumeration Areas (EAs) with possible assistance of the Mogajis, Baales and other stakeholders who should be involved in the census exercise and guide the enumerators in interpreting the EA maps. We must not wait for Census Appeal Tribunal at Abuja that was always established to fail because the National Population Commission would never make available vital documents.

Population Analysis of South Western States

The table below shows the trend in population growth rates of Yoruba states since 1952 up to 2006 and population growth rate of cities in selected countries in Africa and Middle East in 1993 as recorded by UNCHS.

Table 5: National Population Analysis of South Western States 1952-2016

States	1952	1991	2006	Growth per Annum from 1991
Lagos	510,232	5,724,116	9,013,334	3.07%
Ekiti	327,396	1,514,136	2,384,212	3.07%
Ogun	978,088	2,333,726	3,728,098	3.17%
Ondo	618,187	2,271,202	3,441,024	2.81%
Osun	1,257,853	2,158,143	3,423,535	3.12%
Oyo	1,165,845	3,452,720	5,591,589	3.27%
TOTAL	4,857,601	17,455,043	27,581,992	3.08%

Note: The Population of Osun Davison in 1952 included Ogbomoso

The population of Western Regions grew by 26.3 percent between 1931 and 1953. It grew by astonishing 124.6 percent between 1953 and 1963. But between 1963 and 1991, it slowed down by 83.6 percent. On the other hand, the Northern Region has grown consistently and steadily by over 60 percent between 1963 and 1991 census period. The West and Mid-West and the highest growth are over 70 percent during the 60 year period (i.e. 1931-1991) when compared with the national growth rate of 65 percent. Lagos now being a mega-city had limited space for expansion having a total area of **3,345.00km²** while cities like Ibadan, Abeokuta and some areas in Ogun State will continue to absorb the split-over of the population from Lagos State. Ibadan is **3,125.30km²** with eleven local government areas, the largest geographical in Nigeria, for a single metropolitan area.

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According to Agbowu, in his critical analysis, of the census results (1931-1991), if a country as a whole grew at an average rate of 65 percent over the 60 year period, one would expect that the components whose rates of growth exceed the national average should show an increased proportion. But curiously, the West and Mid-West have been clamped into the proportional population trap and their growth artificially constructed.

Comparative analysis of census figures for Nigeria shows that, the population growth between 1931 and 1952 was estimated at 2% per annum, between 1953 and 1963 it was 3.8% per annum, between 1963 and 1991, it was 2.83 per annum and between 1991 and 2006, it is 3.2% per annum.

Professor Sam Aluko in the Nigeria Tribune of Wednesday, 17 January, 2007 observed that the rate of growth of 3.2% per annum between 1991 and 2006 seems curious, he posited that, “one would have expected that with increased growth in the economy, increased standard of living, migration of Nigerians, particularly a large number of middle class people abroad, which has been phenomenal since 1991 and with the hard economy situation since the 90s, one would have expected the rate of population growth to fall below 2.83 which it was between the 80s and 1991”.

The census figures so far released would have a serious implication on the economy. It means that the per capital income of Nigeria has consequently fallen from 320 dollars to about 250 dollars per head which reduces the human and capital development income of Nigeria and makes it almost one of the poorest in Africa today.

1.6 The Way Forward

It is advisable to forget 2006 Census exercise because, this time around, it appears the NPC would use satellite images of each area to mark out the Enumeration Areas in 2017. Census data are very important in Nation building and efficiency in governance at all levels when we know how many people, how many buildings and the number households in a particular settlement.

- We must start mobilizing all stakeholders in each Local Government areas including the Local Council Development Areas to have the knowledge and prepare the lists of localities, neighbourhoods and villages.
- The Local government authorities must prepare local maps to show the settlements, road network for ease of identification of Enumeration Areas (EADs) and landmarks to assist the Census Enumerators who will not be familiar with the neighbourhoods
- The state government must as a matter of duty establish State Technical and Mobilization Committees for interacting with the NPC officials and providing technical support and vital information to Local Governments.
- Members of the public, civil society, clubs and traditional rulers must be adequately mobilized to support the coming Census exercise if we want efficient and effective service delivery government at both the state and local level.

I want to emphasize here that we were ill-prepared for the Housing and Population Census with the exception of probably Lagos State and a few others. Traditional rulers and politician's contributed a lot to the problems by instigating boundary disputes, substituting miscreants and party supports for the trained NPC staff.

It was discovered that NPC in Oyo State used free-hand sketches from many towns Enumerations Area Demarcation while old township maps, prepared between

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1969 and 1992 were used for big urban centres instead of using current satellite imagery maps that would have shown the details of the structures on the ground and the extent of the urban areas and the villages. At the end of the day, many areas were schemed out of counting during the census exercise. Nigerian that the European have provided satellite imagery maps that covered the whole country while many State Governments relied on the information and refused to invest wisely on the Housing and Population Census. This was responsible for wrong EAD maps.

Finally, population explosion in the urban centres which are now increasing in the country with the creation of 774 Local Government Councils and 36 states plus the Federal Capital Territory, Abuja would put much pressure on the housing stock and the existing infrastructures. Already, the current rental level of houses in the urban centres is as indication that the housing stock is inadequate while the Land Use Act, 1978 has made access to affordable land for development by the poor a mirage.

The provisional census figures released by the NPC cannot be queried now nor be used strictly as statistics for planning purposes until we know the number of buildings, number of Household units, Average number of people per building and average household size and disaggregated age group data.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN
EMERGING GREATER IBADAN-LAGOS-ACCRA
(GILA) URBAN CORRIDOR

1.0 INTRODUCTION

According to Dr. GAB (2022) as a scholar, the good thing to do daily is to think about something, the better thing is to read about something and the best thing is to write about something. This paper is adapted and modified from the Un-Habitat Report (2008). Any variations from the original are the sole responsibility of ESV. Tomori Moshood A; the Grand Ambassador of Ibadan culture who transcribed material from the published document titled: “The State of African cities 2008: A framework for Addressing Urban Challenges in Africa, Nairobi UN-Habitat.

The Greater Ibadan-Lagos-Accra (GILA) urban corridor is a development pathway that spans key cities in four West Africa Countries; Ibadan and Lagos in Nigeria; Cotonou in Benin; Lome in Togo; and Accra in Ghana, see Map 1 below. Of these four West African coastal nations, Nigeria and Ghana with a combined GDP of US\$127,592,000 are among the largest national economies in the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). The countries spanned by the Gila corridor and the cities it contains are of great economic significance to the region. The Gila corridor is, indeed, the engine of the regional economy and this potential is recognized by the relevant countries.

The corridor is mushrooming with clustered settlements over a distance of about 600 km. The major cities in the corridor are almost equidistant at about 150 to 200 km from one another. It is arguably the most clustered urban corridor in sub-Saharan Africa and the GILA is often cited in the literature. Lagos metropolis is the hub of what is becoming a massive regional metropolitan landscape with urban

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corridors in different directions. One runs from Lagos through Abeokuta and Ibadan to Ilorin as the northern boundary and from Ibadan through Ile-Ife, Ilesa and Akure to Owo as the eastern limit within Nigeria, making **southwest Nigeria the most urbanized sub-region in Africa**. The other major extension is transnational in scope, and runs west of Lagos through Cotonou, Porto Novo, and Lome to Accra.

2.0 CONCEPT OF URBAN CORRIDOR

Urban corridors typically develop along intra-city transportation arteries connecting cities with one another and unlocking the peri-ruban and rural areas between them. The GILA corridors is no exception. The Lagos-Accra extension is connected by the Trans-African Highway (Figure 3.6.w) while the Lagos-Ilorin extension by both road and Railway. The major cities in the GILA urban corridor are linked by substantial traffic flows. There are significant passenger and goods movement between these cities, especially by road. Some of the cities in the transnational arm of the corridor west of Lagos are also linked by air. For Instance, there are daily air services between Lagos and Accra, mostly by Nigerian owned airlines. However, as noted earlier, the urban corridor is fragmented between four sovereign states whose borders act as barriers to movement thereby vitiation the economic advantages derivable from conurbation clusters. However, this problem is mitigated somewhat by the West African regional integration project, ECOWAS, which is meant to promote freer movement of people, goods and services.

3.0 POPULATION OF CITIES IN THE GILA CORRIDOR

THE GILA corridor is also significant demographically. As of 2007, the populations of the largest GILA cities were as follows: Accra 2.12million; Cotonou 0.76m; Ibadan 2.67m, Lagos 9.67m and Lome 1.45m (see table 3.6.1). Lagos is by far the largest urban agglomeration in the corridor and, indeed, in the ECOWAS region. The emerging GILA urban corridor will have a combined population of 18.25 million by the year 2010 if we only count the population of the main urban agglomeration, with Lagos accounting for over 50 percent of this total. In addition, there will be an unknown number of residents in the smaller cities, towns and settlements between these large cities and the total population in the GILA corridor can only be guessed. Conservative estimates could put the total GILA population around 25 million.



4.0 URBAN PRIMACY IN THE GILA CORRIDOR

With the exception of the Nigerian cities in the corridor, the cities account for substantial shares of the urban populations of their respective countries. For example, Lome accommodates 58 percent of the total urban population of Togo, while Cotonou accounts for 22.4 percent of all urbanities in Benin. Accra's share of Ghana's urban population is 19.7 percent. These figures are indicative of the degree of the importance of these cities in their national urban systems, especially so in the case of Togo. They also show a wide variation in urban primacy. In 2007 there was no urban primacy in Ghana, with Accra 1.2 times the size of the second-largest city Kumasi. Cotonou in Benin had three times the 2007 population size of Porto-Novo and has a mild degree of urban primacy. Lagos, despite the significant size of Nigeria's second-largest city Kano (3.19m in 2007) also had a mild degree of urban primacy of 3.0. Lome, however, has a colossal 12.9 times the population of Togo's second-largest city Sokode.

Urban primacy can affect regional development as it draws human, financial and other resources away from the remainder of the country and creates localized development at the expense of other national areas. On the other hand once a certain level of development is reached, primate cities are often the only localities able to concentrate the critical mass of intellectual and financial resources required to support the tertiary and quaternary sectors.

5.0 URBAN WEALTH CENTRES:

Lagos accounts for 26.2 percent of Nigeria's **GDP**, making its economy larger (triple or more, in fact) than the economy of any of the other ECOWAS countries, including that of Cote d'Ivoire. This is indicative of the scale of **economic impacts that urban primacy carries** in the GILA urban corridor. More than half of Nigeria's industrial capacity is located in the mainland suburbs of Lagos. In 1990, these establishments accounted for at least 50 percent of Nigeria's manufacturing value added. Lagos has also greatly benefited from Nigeria's natural resources, especially oil and natural gas, whose revenues fuelled the urban economy's expansion as it did in the remainder of the country generally.

Except Ibadan, which is located in the hinterland of Nigeria, the major cities and smaller settlements in the GILA urban corridor are located along the coast. The maritime port cities have comparative advantages as transport hubs to their hinterland and as gateways to the global economy. Unfortunately, most of these coastal cities are developing and physically expanding with neither the corresponding investments nor holistic regional and urban planning that will enable them to better face the spatial, demographic, housing, services, infrastructure and economic challenges ahead.

6.0 POPULATION AND URBANIZATION OF CITIES

(a) ACCRA

Accra is the capital and most populous city of Ghana with 2.1 million inhabitants as of 2007. The city forms not only the core of the Accra metropolitan area, but is also the administrative, communications, and economic centre of the country. Over 70 percent of Ghana's manufacturing capacity is located within the metropolitan agglomeration of Accra.

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With the spatial growth of the urban agglomeration these informal settlements become part and parcel of the urban fabric. Informal settlements like James Town are mazes of muddy lanes where goats, chicken and dogs scramble for food.



Accra is a major transport hub, home to the Kotoka **International Airport**, and lies on railway lines to Tema, Takoradi and Kurasi. The main harbor city, Tema, is connected to one Ghana's highways. Public transit in the city is provided by a mix of privately owned mini-vans, taxis and buses. In 2022, the city introduced a metro bus service which was initially met with scepticism by commuters but which was increased in popularity since.

(b) COTONOU



Cotonou is the largest city of Benin and its economic capital. Its official 2007 population count was 761,137 inhabitants, tenfold its 1960 population of 73,000. Other estimates claim that its population may now be as high as 1.2 million (the 2007 revision of the UN's *World Urbanization Prospects* puts the 2007 population at around 780,000). The urban area continues to expand, notably towards the Nigerian border at the western periphery of the city. At Benin's largest city it houses many of its government and diplomatic services, making it Benin's *de facto* capital, even though the *official political capital is Porto-Novo with a 2007 population of 257,000*. Cotonou has a major port, while it is also home to an airport and the terminus and an important link in the Benin-NEger railway to the city of Parakou in the North of Benin and beyond.

(c) IBADAN

According to Emeritus Professor Bolanle Awe (2012), Ibadan, located at the interface of savannah and forest is the largest indigenous African town south of the Sahara, has grown from its humble origin as a refugee settlement in the nineteenth century into a sprawling cosmopolitan city that is now home to many millions and serves as the intellectual capital of Nigeria. A city of contrasts, of tradition struggling with modernity: Ibadan's unique history has engaged the attention of writers and scholars right from the nineteenth century to date.



Ibadan, located at the interface of savannah and forest and capital of Oyo State, is the third largest city in Nigeria by population after Lagos and Kano. Ibadan is, however, Nigeria's largest city in graphical area with eleven administratively separate local government areas. **In 1960, Ibadan was the second most populous city in Nigeria and the tenth largest in Africa after Alexandria, Cairo, Cape Town, Casablanca, Durban, East Rand, Johannesburg and Lagos.** It is located in south-western Nigeria, 140 kilometers inland from Lagos and constitutes a prominent

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transit point between the coastal region and the Nigerian hinterland to the north. Its population was 2.55 million according to the Nigeria 2006 census and 2.67 million in 2007 (based on extrapolation of data from *World Urbanization Prospects: the 2007 revision*).

Ibadan had been the centre of administration of Nigeria's old western region since the days of British colonial rule where Ibadan grew into sprawling urban centre.

Ibadan has an international airport and is served by the Ibadan Railway Station on the Lagos-Kano railway line. Primary routes go from Ibadan to the northern parts of Nigeria and to Lagos. In the 1980s, the Ibadan-Lagos expressway generated the greater urban sprawl (to the east and north of the city). Since then, Ibadan city has spread further into the administrative area of neighboring local governments. The building of the Ibadan-Lagos expressway has encouraged Lagos corridor where accommodation is cheaper.

Another driving force is the establishment of religion-based permanent camps along the Ibadan-Lagos expressway (Islamic and Pentecostal Ministries) with some of these camps now developing into substantial settlements. The Redemption Camp is a case in point as it provides a primary school, a secondary school and the Redeemers University. It has a complement of urban services, including a bank and a petrol station, among others. In addition to the religious establishments, some enterprises (both manufacturing and commercial) are springing up along the Lagos-Ibadan corridor and the Lagos-Abeokuta corridor which are filling in significant employment opportunity.

These developments are creating the very livelihoods that in turn attract people to the corridor in increasing numbers. The distance from Lagos is partly responsible for the low cost of land and accommodation, even if commuting cost

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increase. In addition, being predominantly rural, the demand for the land and accommodation is not sufficiently high to drive prices beyond the reach of many.

With its strategic location on the Lagos-Kano railway and the interface of the savannah and forest environments, the city of **Ibadan is a major centre for trade**. Since the introduction of Structural Adjustment Programmers in 1980s, informal economic activity had contributed significantly to the economic development of the city as a major means of livelihood and survival of its inhabitants. The informal sector is increasingly replacing formal employment as the economic mainstay, due to a significantly downsized demand for formal labour in both public and private sectors. Most of the workers who have lost their jobs entered the urban informal sector. This is a phenomenon common to many to many Nigerian cities, although Lagos has managed to retain notably more formal sector work opportunities than Ibadan.

(d) LAGOS

Lagos was founded before the middle of the 15th Century, Lagos was a military outpost of Benin Kingdom in 1472 when a Portuguese expedition led by Ruy de Squeira landed there. It was initially called a EKO.

Lagos possibly originated as a fishing settlement but later became a farming village now Iduganran in Isale-Eko, the palace of Lagos king. In 1800, it had a population of less than **1,500**, between 1810 and 1861, Lagos grew rapidly in **wealth and importance** as a result of Yoruba civil wars which supplied its slave market with thousands of captives. **In 1861, it became a British Colony**. In addition, it has been Nigeria's economic centre of gravity as well as the largest and busiest West African port.

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Today, the name “Lagos” most often refer to the 600km² urban agglomeration of Greater Metropolitan Lagos Island, Victoria Island, Ikoyi, Lekki and mainland suburbs. All these are part of Lagos State, which now comprises 20 Local Government Areas (LGAs).

Lagos is the most populous conurbation in Sub-Saharan Africa with 7,937,932 inhabitants at the 2006 census and an estimated urban agglomeration population of 9.67 million in 2007, based on *World Urbanization Prospects: The 2007 Revision*. It is the second-most populous urban agglomeration in Africa after Cairo, Egypt, but projected to overtake Cairo in size by 2025 when Lagos is expected to reach 15.8 million inhabitants. In absolute terms, Lagos is believed to be the second fastest growing large urban agglomeration in Africa after Kinshasa (7.85m inhabitants in 2007).

In administrative terms, Lagos is not a municipality and it has no overall city administration. **The metropolis is split into 16 LGAs.** This is one of the key reasons that the outlying towns and settlements developed without uniform planning regulations or significant local authority guidance. It also created difficulties for

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solving citywide problems such as waste collection and disposal. Instead, state government assumed these responsibilities. In addition to the problem of urban waste, access to housing, energy, water, sanitation, sewage and transportation has all been adversely affected by the haphazard development of a geographically and administratively highly disjointed city.

Mobility is affected by the island topography and bridge bottle-necks that make sure that traffic congestion is a daily reality with an average of two to three hours to cover a distance of 10-20km.

To improve urban mobility, the Bus Rapid Transit BRT (Lagbus) scheme was launched in June 2006.

The first phase of the Lagos BRT, from mile 12 through Ikorodu Road and Funsho Williams Avenue up to CMS, started operation in March 2008 following six months of delays and two weeks of test runs. It is projected that the system will carry up to 10,000 passengers/hour per direction at peak travel times.

The port of Lagos is Nigeria's leading port and one of the largest in Africa. It is administered by the Nigerian Port Authority and is split into three main sections: Lagos port in the main channel next to Lagos Island, Apapa Port the site of the container terminal and Tin Can Port. The latter two are located on the Badagry Creek.

7.0 TEN LARGEST CITIES IN NIGERIA BY POPULATION AND INFRASTRUCTURAL DEVELOPMENT

Among the 36 states in Nigeria, some are more densely populated and have better infrastructural development than others. Below is a list of the top 10 most populated cities that have massive infrastructures.

7.1 Lagos



Marina, Victoria Island, Lagos

- State: Lagos
- Population: 21 million
- Population Density: 2,607/km²
- Geopolitical Zone: South-west
- Others: Yoruba is the dominant ethnic group

Lagos is arguably the largest city in Nigeria. With about twenty-one million (21,000,000) people, it is recorded as the most populated city in West Africa. Oftentimes, when people abroad talk about Nigeria, they refer to Lagos because it is the hub for almost all economic activities. Despite the high standard of living, many people still migrate to Lagos because of the ample opportunities available there.

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Being the center of economic activities in the country, it houses major industries and headquarters.

The state is home to the renowned Nollywood industry. Also, most companies like Dangote Cement, BUA, cement, and even foreign companies like Jumia and MTN are found there. The well-known Murtala Muhammed International Airport is also located here. In total, the state houses about thirty-three thousand, four hundred and fifty-eight (30,458) companies.

Irrespective of its large economic activities, about 66% of the population lives in the slum. This is due to the high cost of living and huge social margin in the area. However, Lagos has a good number of employment opportunities. This city is equally known for its unending traffic congestion obviously caused by the large population.

7.2 Kano



Murtala Mohammed Flyover Kano

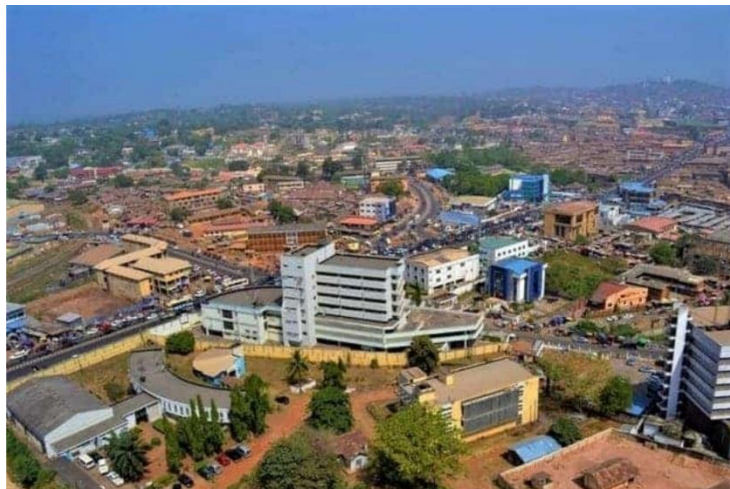
Lola Tomori

- State: Kano
- Population: 16 million
- Population Density: 442km⁻²
- Geopolitical Zone: North-West
- Others: Dominating ethnic groups are Hausa and Fulani

This is the second most populated city in the country, and it is mainly occupied by Hausa and Fulani tribes. With a population of sixteen million (16,000,000) people, Kano State is the major commercial state of the North. It has active industries in agriculture, food processing, and textile. Most of the industries are centered on industrial estates. Some significant structures present in Kano are the newly constructed Kanawa International market, an international airport, and several educational institutions. The state has about one thousand, two hundred and forty-seven (1,247) companies.

The cost of living in Kano State is low, unlike Lagos. However, the current security challenges facing the northern part of the country have resulted in fewer employment opportunities and reduced migration into this area.

7.3 Ibadan



Skyview of Ibadan

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- State: Oyo
- Population: 6 million
- Population Density: 831 km⁻²
- Geopolitical Zone: South-West
- Others: Dominating ethnic group is the Yoruba

Ibadan is the capital of Oyo State, one of the most popular states in the Western part of Nigeria. The city has a population of about six million (6,000,000) people, and its available infrastructure and employment opportunities have continued to attract more people to the city. Known for its commercial and trade activities, Ibadan houses about one thousand, five hundred and fifty-three (1,553) companies. It is also the home to Nigeria's first university, The University Of Ibadan (UI), and a domestic airport, including standard Hotels and newly refurbished and upgraded Lekan Salami Stadium complex. Apart from the Federal University of Ibadan and University of Teaching Hospital (UCH), there are four Private Universities and the Polytechnic Ibadan.

**INFRASTRUCTURE ASSETS FINANCED
THROUGH PPP AND PFI**



EXPRESS CHALLENGE JUNCTION



LEKAN SALAMI SPORTS COMPLEX

The city has a fair standard of living with very affordable accommodation. However, the increasing population has put the infrastructures under high pressure,

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which has resulted in some adverse environmental effects, including poor sanitation, increased slum dwellings, and open drainage. These infrastructures are being upgraded and major roads dialyzed while 3 Bus-Terminals are being constructed. To reduce flooding phenomenon, Ogunpa channelization was constructed while rivers had been dredged regularly.

7.4 Abuja



Skyview of Abuja

- State: Abuja
- Population: 3,464,123
- Population Density: 439 km⁻²
- Geopolitical Zone: North Central
- Others: Dominating ethnic group is Hausa

The capital of Nigeria, Abuja, is the fastest growing city in Africa and one of the fastest in the world. It is home to the presidential villa, Aso Rock, embassies, government ministries, and parastatals. The popular Nnamdi Azikiwe International Airport is located here among several other infrastructures. The city has about

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eighteen thousand, three hundred and fifty-one (18,351) companies and has high employment opportunities.

With an estimated population of three million, four hundred and sixty-four thousand, one hundred and twenty-three (3,464,123), the city still experiences an influx of people. The increased influx of people into Abuja is no doubt in search of greener pastures. The cost of living in the city is very high, but the surrounding rural areas have a cheaper cost of living.

7.5 Port Harcourt



Port Harcourt

- State: Rivers
- Population: 3,179,402
- Population Density: 2726 km⁻²
- Geopolitical Zone: South-South
- Others: Dominating ethnic groups are Ijaw, Ikwerre, and Ogoni

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This prominent city has a population of about three million, one hundred and seventy-nine thousand, four hundred and two (3,179,402) people. Founded in 1912 by Fredrick Lugard, the city is mainly known for possessing crude oil. The oil was discovered in 1956, and it led to the building of several companies and the creation of employment opportunities. Port Harcourt has continued to grow as more people migrate there searching for jobs in different oil companies.

The city houses seven thousand, six hundred and fourteen (7,614) companies, including Chevron, Royal Dutch Shell, etc. It also has a Port Harcourt International Airport located on the outskirts of the city. Most of its higher institutions are government-owned, and it is equally known to have a high standard of living.

7.6 Benin City



Benin City

- State: Edo
- Population: 1,781,999
- Population Density: 953 km⁻²
- Geopolitical Zone: South-South
- Others: Dominating ethnic group is Fon

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The city of Benin is known for its rich culture and history. What was formerly known as the Benin Kingdom is the capital city of Edo state, but they are one of the few Nigerian cities that managed to retain their culture post-colonization. The city has continued to grow and has a current estimated population of one million, seven hundred and eighty-one thousand, nine hundred and ninety-nine (1,781,999) people.

The major reason many people visit this city is because of its tourist attraction sites. Places like the Palace of the Oba of Benin, the National Museum, and the King's square have been a huge attraction to Nigerians and foreigners. Having about eight hundred and seventy-nine (879) companies, the city provides employment opportunities but not as many other populated places.

The city is best known for its artworks, including bronze, casting, and metalwork, which are mostly related to their culture. It also has a domestic airport that serves transportation within the country.

7.7 Aba



Aba

- State: Abia
- Population: 1,114,388

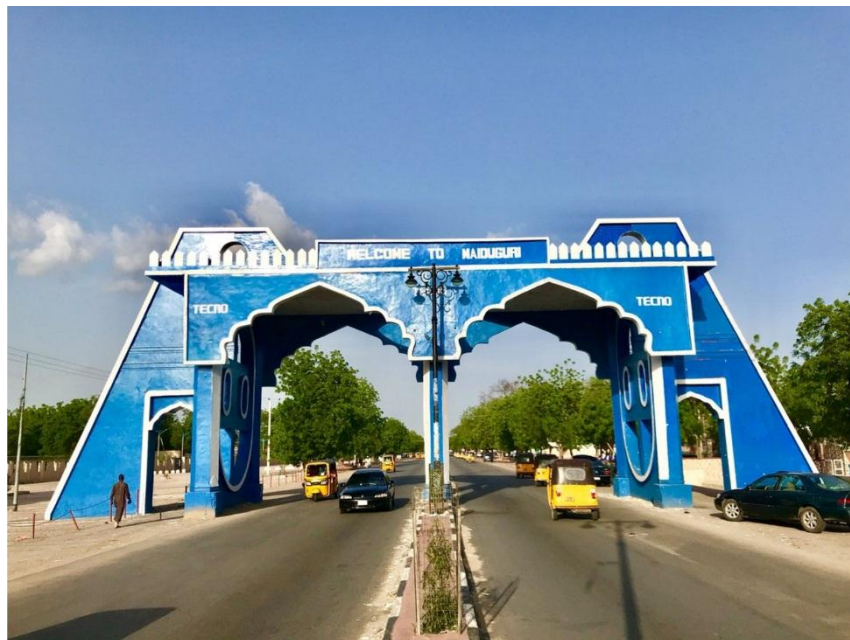
Lola Tomori

- Population Density: 7400 km⁻²
- Geopolitical Zone: South-East
- Others: Dominating ethnic group is Igbo

This commercial hub of the east is located in Abia State and is known for the production of several goods. It has four hundred and eight (408) companies and an estimated population of one million, one hundred and fourteen thousand, three hundred and eighty-eight (1,114,388) people.

The majority of the people in this area are independent businessmen, and buying and selling is the order of the day. The popular Ariaria market is found here, and many people visit this city mainly for commercial and business purposes. The high population density has had a negative toll on the infrastructures of the city. It is known to have bad roads and an unclean environment.

7.8 Maiduguri



Maiduguri

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- State: Borno
- Population: 802,988
- Population Density: 3964 km⁻²
- Geopolitical Zone: North-East
- Others: Dominating ethnic group is Kanuri

Maiduguri is one of the largest cities in Nigeria, and it is located in the Northeastern region. It has a population of eight hundred and two thousand, nine hundred and eighty-eight (802,988) people. The city has about one hundred and forty-four companies and not as much infrastructure as other large cities. It is known for trading and has a low standard of living. One of its known infrastructures is the Maiduguri International Airport. The city does not experience much migration of people due to the current security challenges in the northern part of Nigeria.

7.9 Zaria



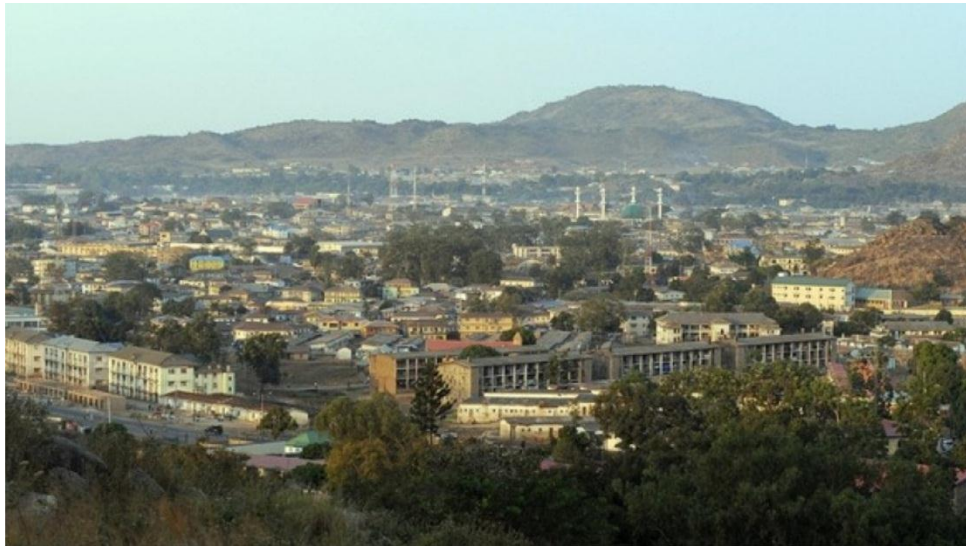
Zaria

- State: Kaduna
- Population: 736,098
- Population Density: 1234.6 km⁻²
- Geopolitical Zone: North-West
- Others: Dominating ethnic groups are Hausa and Fulani

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Zaria was formerly called Zazzau, and it is one of the seven old “Hausa City-State.” It was renamed after the popular queen Amina Zaria. The city has an estimated population of seven hundred and thirty-six thousand, ninety-eight (736,098) people. It is mainly involved in agriculture and produces groundnut, tobacco, and cotton, among other things. Though it has an estimated one hundred and sixty-eight (168) companies, there is no massive population increase due to security problems. It also has a low standard of living.

7.10 Jos



Jos

- State: Plateau
- Population: 917,289
- Population Density: 451 km⁻²
- Geopolitical Zone: North Central
- Others: It comprises several ethnic groups

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Known for its extreme weather conditions, Jos is a city in Plateau state. It has a lot of tin and columbite, making it a major mining area in the country. The city has an estimated population of nine hundred and seventeen thousand, two hundred and eighty-nine (917,289) people. It has about one thousand, seven hundred and sixty (1,760) companies that provide fair job opportunities in the city. Jos is a hill resort and center of tourist attraction. Like a few other states on this list, it has a low standard of living.

8.0 CONCLUSION

The Lagos-Ibadan expressway and the Lagos-Abeokuta expressway are the major arterial roads in the north of Lagos city and serve as inter-state highways to Oyo State and Ogun State respectively. To the west, the congested Badary Expressway serves outlying suburbs such as Festac Town, satellite Town and Ojo, as well as being an international highway. Traffic congestion is a common feature of Lagos, and it occurs across the length and breadth of the metropolis. The road network in Lagos covers no more than 650km, and whereas in Nigeria there are 11 motor vehicles./ road kilometer, in Lagos metropolis, there are 222. Add to this the fact that Lagos is the end-point of both national and international highways owing to the city's port and manufacturing functions, and the poor state of urban roads. Little wonder that increasing traffic congestion is one of the major transportation issues in the metropolis.

The importance of Lagos as a commercial centre and port and its strategic location have led to it being the end-point of three Trans-Africa Highway routes using Nigeria's national roads.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN
SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT OF URBAN TRANSPORT
INFRASTRUCTURAL SERVICE IN OYO STATE, NIGERIA.

1.0 IMPORTANCE OF TRANSPORTATION:

Transportation is a vital element in the organization of human activities and for the movement of men and material inter-regionally and intra-regionally. Adequate development of transport is indispensable. In any development effort to achieve economic and social progress. A well-knit interstate and intra-state transportation network connecting various settlements, manufacturing centres, markets and major outlets is highly essential.

Since accessibility and mobility are indispensable to every aspect of development activity, the **transportation network** is a key factor in the success or failure of the entire developmental effort. It has an important role in developmental strategy which envisages opening up of backward areas to **break down the barriers of isolation and stagnation and to develop social services** and to mobilize various economic resources. This development of transportation has a primary role to play for promoting growth over the entire Oyo state. Infact it is a major policy tool in achieving balanced development of the state.

Oyo state is traversed by two major inter-state highways. The route towards north passes through Ibadan, Oyo and Ogbomoso (A1) now upgraded to Ibadan Oyo-Ogbomoso Expressway from Ojoo. The east route links Ibadan to Ife to Benin through Akure (A122). Road building project actually started in **1897**. By **1906** Ibadan had been linked with Lagos by a road wide enough to take a car. In addition, the town and its environs had at least 26 miles of road. A year later, it had become feasible to begin a transport service between Ibadan and Oyo, and those who could afford it were extended to Ogbomoso, Iseyin and Ife.

Railway work begin in 1898, reached Abeokuta in **1900** and Ibadan in **1910**. By 1918, a total of **8,670,145 pounds** had been expended on railways, and a total of 1,110 miles had been constructed.

2.0 EXISTING CONDITION OF ROADS IN IBADAN:

Ibadan grew into an impressive and sprawling urban centres since the 20th century. Ibadan had an **Old Airport (or Aerodrom at Samonda)** but **new Alakia Airport was built** and opened during second Republic. **Old Railway Line** from Lagos to Kano with two stations at Omi-Adio and Dugbe constructed early in the 20th century is now going through modernization especially the existing **312km** standard gauge line which commenced in 2012. A completely new **Lagos – Abuja via Ibadan high speed rail line** from Lagos to Ibadan had been constructed with stations at Omi-Adio and Alabata/Olorisa-Oko near Moniya, both in Ido and Akinyele Local Governments.

In the **1980s**, the **Lagos-Ibadan Expressway** generated the great urban sprawl to the east and north of Ibadan. Since then, Ibadan city has spread further into the administrative area of neighbouring local governments. The construction of the Ibadan-Lagos expressway has encouraged Lagos and Ibadan resident to resettle along Ibadan-Lagos corridor where accommodation is cheaper.

However, since 1965 after Nigerian Independences Ibadan has witnessed unprecedented urbanization accompanied by a rapid growth of her population and special extent. In order to connect the **newer areas** with **older areas**, open up new areas, ease traffic flow and relieve traffic. Congestion, some new roads were constructed. Such roads include the **Sango-Eleyele Roads, Dugbe-Eleyele Road, Ring Road-challenge (MK Abiola Road)** and **Mokola-Onireke-Dugbe Road (Jembewom Road)**.

This, the length of roads in Ibadan, which stood at **171.1km in 1979**, increased to **422.21km in 1994**. Out of the 171.km of roads in the former Ibadan Municipal Government (IMG) in **1971**, the Federal government controlled 5.6km while Oyo state had 97 km and IMG 67km (see the data on roads).

Agency	Length of Road	
	1971	1994
Federal	5.6 km	70 km
State	97 km	128 km
Local Govts	67 km	223.61m

3.0 URBAN RENEWAL THROUGH PROVISION OF RESILIENT TRANSPORT INFRASTRUCTURE SERVICES:

The four Bus Terminal projects at Challenge, Ojoo, and Iwo Road were envisaged by Governor Oluseyi Abiodun Makinde of Oyo state to change the game in the transport sector with regards to the ongoing efforts on Road construction and rehabilitation projects in Ibadan and throughout Oyo state. The usefulness of bus stops, road signs and markings and streetlights of strategic junctions cannot be overemphasized. These also include the design construction of motorable bridges at Yanbule-General Gass along Idi-Ape Bashorun Akobo Road.

To open up rural areas of Ibadan, there was construction of **21km Alakia Airport-Ajia-New Ife Express Road** with a spur to **Amuloko** and Asphaltic rehabilitation on many roads within Ibadan Metropolitan area. Work has also standard on almost abandoned 110km Ibadan circular Road and Dualization of Alakia Airport Road and up grading of the term ere and other infrastructure with the airport complex & quarters.

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An Aerial View of the completed 65 kilometres Moniya-Iseyin Road

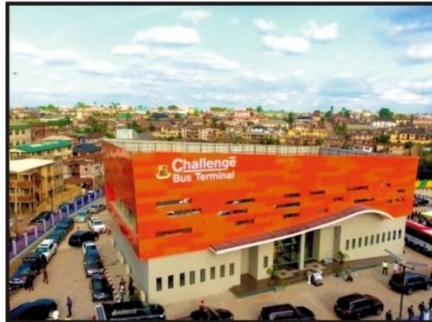
Aerial View of Road Transport Infrastructure in Ibadan in 2022



Express - Challenge Junction



Elewura - Abiola Way Junction



Bus Terminal at Challenge



Bus Terminal at Ojoo



New Airport, Alakia



Akobo-General Gas Flyover

Source: Oyo State Government Google Images (2022)

**Aerial View of Rehabilitated
Infrastructures in Ibadan in 2022**



Lagos Ibadan Rail Line



**Recreational Infrastructure
(Agodi Gardens)**



Site of Ijaye Farm Settlement



Improved Eleyele Water Dam

Source: Captured from Google Images (2022)

4.0 IMPLICATION OF FRAGMENTED URBAN MANAGEMENT SYSTEM

The institutional setting in Ibadan, the Oyo state capital has traditionally comprised a host of agencies at federal, state and Local Government levels with separate legal and administrative frameworks, and engaging in little institution coordination. This results in a fragmented management system with each agency responsible for multiple services within its own jurisdiction and in many cases with its own set of regulatory laws and frameworks. **This has far reaching and adverse consequences on city growth and development.** The resulting poor governance and regulation in Oyo State with respect to building of infrastructure affects not only the quality of city planning, infrastructure development and public and municipal services, but also impacts adversely on the country and state's economic growth and development prospects.

The fact that federal, state and local government roads exist in Ibadan presupposes that relevant tiers of government would be responsible for repairing and maintaining their roads. For instance, the rehabilitation of the Lagos-Ibadan Expressway was awarded in **2013** by the Federal Government at a total cost of **₦167billion** by the administration of former President Good luck Jonathan and was suspended the due to administration problems. The international contracting team was Julius Berger Nigeria Plc. and Reynolds Construction Company (RCC). Rehabilitation started in June 2016 and work is still ongoing in stages.

This is not only the Federal affected, the Ojoo-II-Sango-Mokola-Dugbe Road is a Federal Road, which did not receive the desired attention until recently, when the Oyo State government decided to intervene by dualizing the road. Local Government, which are responsible for maintaining most of the intra-urban roads in Ibadan Metropolitan Area (IMA), lack the technical, financial and resource capacity. Most

of the construction equipment belonging to the local government, such as graders, tar boilers, pail loaders, bulldozers, tippers, etc. have broken down.

5.0 BENEFITS OF INFRASTRUCTURAL IMPROVEMENT PROJECTS:

From serving our most basic needs to enabling our most ambitious ventures in trade or technology, infrastructure services support our well being and development. Reliable **water, sanitation, energy, transport, and telecommunication services** are universally considered to be essential for raising the quality of life of people. Access to basic infrastructure services is also a central factor in the productivity of firms, government business and thus of the entire economics, making it a key enabler of economic development.

The availability of infrastructure systems is a key factor of production that determines the competitiveness of firms and thus of entire economies and has positive effects on income growth and even distributive equity.

- (i) Electricity infrastructures has been shown to benefit both small enterprises and small industrial firms. Evidence from Indonesia and south Africa shows that electrification resulted in increased employment (especially among women), incentivized the formation of new small and medium firms, and enhanced productivity (Dinkelman 2011;kasseem2018).
- (ii) Transport Infrastructure has been found to yield similar benefits by creating employment, increasing productivity, lowering production costs and allowing firms to reduce inventory holdings.
- (iii) Information and communications technology infrastructure has also been shown to generate growth through higher productivity and innovation.

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- (iv) Water and sanitation infrastructure is particularly critical for good health. Access to in-house water and sanitation services reduces the risk of exposure to germs and the time households spend collecting water and accessing public toilets. It also reduces the incidence of diarrhea in children.
- (v) Infrastructural projects will ensure (a) capacity building of the public servant to ensure improved city planning management and provision of services (b) institutional capacities for infrastructure project identification, development, preparatory activities, implementation, and monitoring materializes in a timely manner while meeting international standards of best practice, and (iii) increased provision of infrastructure services through enhanced resources for sub-project preparation and financing of follow-on projects.
- (vi) A loan financed project will support efficient development of infrastructure services and thereby contribute to Ibadan's economic development and poverty reduction with the provision of funds through financial intermediary. In this way, it will provide additional infrastructure facilities required to meet city development needs; and benefit urban infrastructure users by enabling them to undertake current and additional economic activities efficiently. In addition, the loan will strengthen the State Government's project preparation capacity to international standards and improve governance and transparency in consultant selection and project procurement activities.

6.0 PROVIDING APPROPRIATE FUNDING AND FINANCING INFRASTRUCTURE

There is need to provide sufficient resources to meet the state and local government objectives in terms of infrastructure services and resilience, and they have to distribute these resources. Appropriately across the various needs. Even if total spending is appropriate, allocation insufficient resources for planning, designing, or maintaining assets would lead to low quality and reliability.

Where government struggle to raise finance for economically and financially variable investments in infrastructure, one option is to turn to the private sector. Private investors may raise finance on the basis of future cash flows generated by the asset itself (project finance), sheet (corporate finance).

Oyo State. Investment and public-private partnership Agency (OYSIPA) came into being on 12th of November, 2019 consequent upon the asset of the Executive. Governor to Oyo state Investment and public- private partnership Agency law, 2019. The core mandate of OYSIPA is to create an expanded economy by transforming Oyo state from an agrarian into a multi-sectorial economy.

OYSIPA is responsible for ease of doing business and issues relating with Micro, small, and Medium Enterprises in Oyo state. The Agency is also saddled with the implementation of the **Alternative Project** Funding Approach (APFA).\

6.1 Ibadan Masterplan for Transport System (2016)

Ibadan is well connected to the national road and rail networks. The Lagos-Ojo Expressway, part of the Trans- African Highway network, passes through the city as does the Lagos-Nguru railway line. The latter is to be upgraded to standard gauge, with the section from Lagos to Ibadan due to be completed within two years. This will address the current issues of low service frequencies and slow and

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unreliable journey times. A number of inter-urban bus routes also serve the city while domestic flights to Abuja and, less frequently, Lagos, operate from Ibadan Airport.

The Expressway provides a bypass to Ibadan's central area for traffic, and in particular heavy goods vehicles.

The primary road network is formed of radial routes converging at the centre of the city, together with a number of lower-order (collector) orbital links between these radials. The main road network is of a good standard, generally dual-carriageway roads with two or three lanes in each direction. Flyovers have been introduced at major junctions to increase capacity. The roads are largely in good condition, albeit with some evidence of localized surface deterioration.

Over the past 10 years, progress has been made in improving traffic management and control on the city's road network. Examples include increasing the numbers of road traffic signs, improved levels of street lighting, the introduction of one-way schemes, and the installation of public transport infrastructure such as bus shelters. Traffic signals have been installed at key 'bottleneck' locations and these are progressively being converted to be solar-powered to provide reliable power supplies and ensure continuity of operation.

High levels of localized traffic congestion can occur, most often adjacent to areas of more intensive commercial activity. Congestion is mainly caused by the encroachment of retail activities into the roads, high levels of on-street parking, and stopping/maneuvering by buses and taxis.

There are no public off-street car parks in Ibadan with most parking taking place on-street further exacerbating congestion. The Ministry of Transport and Works has identified a number of locations where on-street parking is a particular problem and where off-street car parks are required.

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The Ministry of Transport and Works has an on-going State-wide programme of road construction and rehabilitation which includes some 182 individual projects covering approximately 940 km of carriageway. The proposal for an outer Circular Road encircling the whole urban area involves the construction of 110 km of expressway-standard road.

Public transport within Ibadan is road-based and mainly privately-operated. Urban bus services are operated by Pacesetter Transport Services. Taxis, danfo, keke napep and okada also comprise significant components of the public transport provision.

The State Government has proposals for a light rail system for Ibadan. This will comprise a 24km line running from Ojoo to Mokola, passing through Ibadan and ending at the Lagos-Ojoo Expressway. The Red Line is the first phase of this and is approximately 12 km long running south to north from the Toll Gate area of the Expressway to the Dandaru area of central Ibadan. A Memorandum of Understanding has been signed for the construction of the light rail line and the project is expected to be completed over a three year period.

There are high levels of pedestrian activity across the city. Dedicated pedestrian facilities are provided in the form of footways and road crossings, including footbridges. Pedal cycle usage appears to be low and no dedicated infrastructure for cyclists is provided.

Flooding events re-occur in the city as a result of deforestation, urbanization, the construction of buildings in the flood plains and drainage channels, and inadequate waste collection, which cause an increased volume of water and a reduced drainage capability of existing soils. Added to this is the under-designed bridges and culverts, which are not built to withstand the volume of water that is experienced

during flood events. The indiscriminate disposal of waste into the river and drainage systems reduces the ability of the system to adequately handle the volume of water due to blockages.

6.2 Emerging Developments

There are a limited number of formal development projects emerging in Ibadan. Some of these date from several decades ago where development has stalled. The Table 2.1 below includes details of those emerging projects that have been identified through the Oyo State Government acquisitions.

PROJECTS	DETAILS AND COMMENTS
a) Lagos – Ibadan rail line upgrade	Lagos Ibadan railway modernisation project of the existing 312km standard gauge line was due to commence in 2012 but has been delayed.
b) Lagos – Abuja via Ibadan high speed rail line	A completely new line following a more direct route than the existing standard gauge line from Lagos to Ibadan and then on to Abuja.
c) Lagos – Ibadan Expressway	The rehabilitation of the Lagos - Ibadan Expressway was awarded in 2013 by the Federal Government at a total cost of N167 billion by the administration of former President Goodluck Jonathan and suspended due to administration problems. The international contracting team was Julius Berger Nigeria Plc. and Reynolds Construction Company (RCC). Remobilization started in June 2016 and work is still ongoing in stages.
d) Ibadan Free Trade Zones	Promoted by the Federal Government, located along the Lagos/Ibadan Highway. Anchor tenants are Proctor and Gamble, Zartech and P&G Industrial Company.
e) Legacy Housing Estate	Legacy Estates is a new housing community developed in partnership with Oyo State Government and Structuracasa. The development occupies about 250,000 sqm

	of land area off the Iwo Road on the north-eastern side of the Ibadan built-up area. Properties are mid/high scale villa units.
f) Igaro Village land for Ibadan Waste Management Authority	A site of over 55ha, for which compensation has been settled, and initiated under Notice 13, Gazette 3 Vol.27 (14th March 2002).A C of E has been issued to the Federal Ministry of the Environment.

7.0 THE IMPACTS OF UNRELIABLE INFRASTRUCTURE SYSTEM

The existing and newly developed infrastructure in Oyo State must not be allowed to fail. When infrastructure fails, it undermines business in the state, affects job creation, and economic development. With rapidly growing populations and a changing climate increasing the frequency and intensity of natural hazards, the need to adapt and invest in sustainable infrastructure should be a priority.

(i) Transportation:

The construction of railway line from Lagos across Yoruba town's in **1901** and the opening of roads networks from **1902** connecting various settlements, manufacturing centres, markets and major outlets became highly essential. Thus, development of transportation has a primary role to play for promoting growth over the entire Oyo state. In fact, it is a major policy tool in achieving balanced development of the state.

(ii) Water Supply

In many urban areas in the state, the distribution systems are not sufficiently developed to supply the community with adequate or regular amount of water. This result in water shortages sometimes throughout the day as pressure drops in the undersized mains.

When Asejire dam was built it was felt that water problem of Ibadan, the state capital, would be an issue of the past. But, in September 1980, after the great flood

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of Ogunpa and Ona Rivers (on the night of 31 August 1980) Eleyele water works that was constructed in **1942** were submerged and the pumps were under water for a long time. Asejire dam was full but the power failure at the pump house dried the taps of Ibadan and environs and there was great concern on the part of every one. There are also water Dams in different areas of Oyo state but there has been no effective management of the dams for water supply to the big towns in Oyo state, especially Ajinapa Dam in Orire Local Government Area.

(iii) Heritage Sites in Oyo State:

Heritage is defined as the objects, custom or qualities which are passed down over many years within a family, social group or nation and thought of as belonging to all its members. In this sense, historic sites and buildings are physical embodiments of Oyo State culture. Hence, they need to be conserved and preserved or modernized. For example:

- The granite Hills of Eruwa
- Hills and suspended Lakes of Ado – Awago
- Oke Badan Hills at Eleyele
- Asabari hill at Saki
- Historical area of Old Oyo
- Igbeti, Agbale Hills etc.

(iv) Tourism Resources:

Tourism resources of Oyo State are limited in number and the degradation of landscape and environment through unplanned development constitutes a permanent danger. To preserve **tourist and recreational resources** as well as to protect cultural and natural identity it is important to protect the areas of concern. Points of natural

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and cultural heritage and to some extent, the travel routes commenting them deserve special protection from negative impacts of development. e.g.

- Bower's Tower
- Mapo Hall
- Atiba Hall
- Agodi Gardens

(v) Land Use Characteristics of Yoruba Towns;

Development of Government Reservation Areas (G.R.A) and location of government offices, Quarters, Police and Army Barracks and Schools in the periphery of towns has led to urban sprawl. However, the land use pattern generally reflects this type of development. Even, Government Reservation Areas which are environmentally attractive due to low density of population are being apportioned for private developments which attract various non-conforming land uses such as petrol stations, shopping malls and private schools.

Traditionally, the management approach of these infrastructural assets was reactive. That is, rather than undertaking preventive and regular maintenance of assets repairs are only carried out when problem arises.

Table 1: Effects of Disrupted Infrastructure on Household

Sector	Direct Impacts	Coping Costs	Indirect and Health Impacts
Power	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Diminished Well-being • Lower Productivity of family firms 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Generator Investments • Generators Operation Costs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Higher mortality and morbidity (lack of assets to health care, air conditioning during heat waves or heat during cold spells)
Water	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Diminished Well-being and loss of time 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Investment in alternative water sources (reservoirs wells. Water bottles) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Higher incidence of diarrhea cholera and other diseases
Transport	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Greater congestion and loss of time • Higher fuel costs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Higher cost of alternative transport modes 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Air pollution and health impact • Constrained access to jobs, markets service • People forced to live close to jobs, possibly on bad land
Telecom medication	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Diminished well-being 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Inability to call emergency services

Source: World Bank Publication, 2019.

This has led to major disruption in service on many occasions leading to high repair costs and losses, for both government and the public in general. This has created a perception by the public and customers of most agencies being disorganized and ineffective and has left many customers dissatisfied with the reliability and quality of service received. It has led to continued losses by many state agencies and a burden on the treasury and taxpayers.

(i) Problems of Urban Financing:

Though, the decentralization process by creating Local Council Development Areas, as implemented in many states in Nigeria, has developed substantial powers to the LGAs/LCDAs but very little authority to lower levels of government. The Governors either elected or appointed has his direct representatives within their jurisdiction, enjoy much autonomy over local affairs, including control over most aspects of urban planning and management (in particular, housing, land development, property taxation and service delivery e.g. solid waste management). Governors also have significant resources at their disposal including large transfers from federal Government, in addition to having large latitude in generation local resources.

The assignment of public service responsibilities to local governments depend on the **size of the jurisdiction**. In general, larger local governments are assigned a broader range of public services, with central cities of metropolitan areas often assigned the largest number of functions such as the defunct Ibadan Municipal Government (now split into five urban local governments).

Though the role of local governments does not distinguish between large and metropolitan areas, medium-size local governments and rural local governments, this informed Nigeria to adopt a **single-tier local government system in 1976 Reform** with uniform responsibilities. Yet, it is important to make that distinction, because: “Not all local governments are equal”. There are large and small local governments, urban and rural local governments, rich and poor areas. “**A structure** that fails to distinguish between major metropolitan areas and small or rural local governments makes it difficult to clearly define the functional responsibilities of local government.

The local government in Nigeria receives funding to cover both its recurrent and development expenditures the Federal Government and 10% of IGR from the

state government budget sources. And as well as from taxes and fees from the local government level. This system of revenue allocation system:

- (a) Causes very significant vertical imbalance;
- (b) Gives states no discretion over the amount funds;
- (c) Does not permit fiscal capacity equalization to a national average standard;
- (d) Removes from federal government leverage to influence state priorities to achieve national objectives;
- (e) Uses a formula for determining state level allocations that bears little relationship to state expenditure requirements; and
- (f) Leaves states exposed to changes in federal tax bases and collection performance

The state **tax revenue base** is narrow, primarily because of the highly centralized federal tax structure with an almost exclusive preserve over all the buoyant taxes, leaving only the tenement rates and property taxes under the local governments and state government domain respectively.

8.0 RECOMMENDATION FOR INSTITUTIONAL IMPROVEMENT

(i) Institutional Development:

There is need both for rationalization of the structure of decentralized government, and clarification of the responsibilities and duties of the various developed institutions. Further reform is necessary to strengthen the local governments and towns in performing their functions under the Local Government Law.

Increased accountability of local government institutions and greater participation by civil society in developments by involving stakeholders in the

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planning, design and implementation of policies and programmes needs to be discussed and introduced. The roles and responsibilities of urban institutions need to be clarified in order to avoid the horizontal and vertical overlap which currently exists.

(ii) Human Resources Management Functions:

Administrative devolution has only been partial as staff transferred to the local governments continue to be under the control of the state controlled local government service commission who carry out appointment transfers postings, promotions and appraisals of local staffs. There is a need to provide mechanism to develop human resources and improve human resources management. Equally, there is need to examine how the accountability of departmental staff can be improved, the opportunities for reward and section, and a system of staff engagements which encourages team building and loyalty, and facilitates a productive and motivated workforce within the local governments in Ibadan.

(i) Ibadan City Development Framework:

Thus Ibadan city development framework should be initiated by the Oyo State Government placing particular emphasis on Ibadan City Master plan. The framework will:

- (a) Support the development of long term strategies and sectorial policies, strategies and plans for Ibadan's development.
- (b) Adopts an entrepreneurial approach to city development, including support for **private-public-sector** partnerships, and
- (c) Supports capacity building of Ibadan Metropolitan Area and town agencies to better equip them to perform against their mandate.

(iii) Introduction of Improved City Governance and Management:

For the city of Ibadan to maintain its position as a state capital and regional industrial and commercial centre require:

- (i) The introduction of improved city governance and management to enhance responsibilities, predictability, accountability and transparency of government and provide a coherent and supportive framework for efficient **urban management and planned development**.
- (ii) Enhanced land use and development efficiently through the facilitation of operation of an effective urban land market. Also the preparation, enhancements and **implementation of city structure plan/master plan** and its use as a tool to resolve planning and jurisdictional conflict and enhance urban efficiency.
- (iii) Preparation of crucial infrastructure and service **master plans** to support city plan particularly in water supply, waste water management, solid waste management and transportation.
- (iv) Upgrading and **extension of city infrastructure** and services to support **economic development**, particularly in the sectors of water supply, electricity transport, wastewater disposal and solid waste management.
- (v) Enhancing the resources available to support large-scale infrastructure development through attracting private sector resources in a variety of public-private sector partnership arrangements.
- (vi) Increased sustainability of infrastructure and services through improved cost recovery for services leading to better- founded and improved management, operation and maintenance.

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- (vii) Enhanced tax collection efficiency (especially property tax) at the local government level to provide resources for the use of Ibadan Metropolitan Area in infrastructure and service provision, rehabilitation and operation.

(iv) Improvement in Local Government Revenue System:

A **sound fiscal transfer system** is a key element of sound local government finance system. Growth in prices, population, and economic activity in rapidly urbanizing countries like Nigeria, imposes demands for public expenditure that can only be met by both substantial and buoyant resources. The challenge is to identify resources that combine these characteristics with an equitable incidence and the encouragement of efficient use.

Both the yield and buoyancy of a specific **revenue base** depend to some extent on its inherent qualities, such as the volume of activity **charged** or **taxed**, and its responsibilities to growth in prices; population, and so forth. Revenue administration is much easier, not necessarily more equitable, if the **object of a tax or charge** and the extent of its liability are automatically identified and do not be set out.

The adequacy and equity of revenue source are also interconnected, because there is a link between the **perceived relationship of tax to liability to pay** and its political acceptability. If the distribution a **tax burden** is not seen as related to the **taxpayer's capacity**, the will only be **acceptable at a low rate of incidence**
Taxation.

Taxation is still the correct way to fund services of **collective benefit**, and the relative ability to pay is the right basis for its distribution. A variety of channels through which **tax revenues** support urban services include:

- Local taxes, loved by local authorities:
- Local surcharges on national and state taxes:
- Transfer of national and state tax revenue to local authorities or parasternal agencies through grants, subsidies, or percentage revenue shares.
- National and state taxes sport directly by central department.

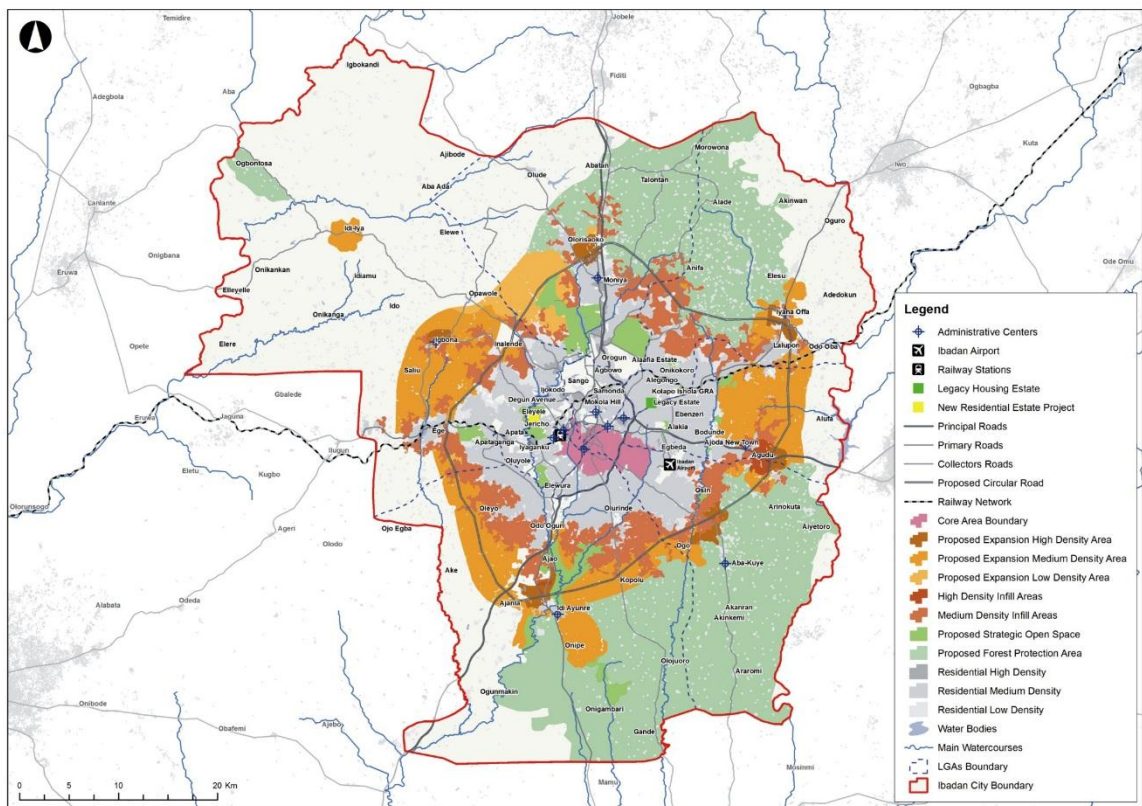
(v) **Institutional Coordination Mechanism:**

Lack of coordination among actors/stakeholders is a challenge. Coordination is needed to ensure that actions by stakeholders are consistent and synergetic. For instance, a public private insurance scheme regulated by the Federal Ministry of Finance at the national level cannot be designed without considering risk reduction measures such as **land-use plans** and building norms at the local level task often by local authorities).

Power outages can have secondary effects on telecommunications, **water treatment**, and **urban transit systems**, and power **generation utilities**, especially **coal power plants**, can be dependent on the transport system dependent on the transport system for supplies Kunreuther and Heal (2003) explore this dependence theoretically, showing that, in the absence of cooperation mechanisms, individual actors may prefer not to invest in resilience of critical infrastructure.

There is a consensus among experts that governments have a key role to play in ensuring the resilience of critical infrastructure and that they should adopt a whole of government approach. This approach involves the **sectorial ministries and agencies** overseeing infrastructure services delivery and regulation in multiple critical sectors, as well as those responsible for supplying drinking water and managing urban transit and transportation.

The most common solution for improving the coordination of risk management is to place an existing multi-ministry body (or, if necessary, a new body) in charge of the exchange of information, coordination, and perhaps the **implementation of risk management measure**, many countries have agencies in charge of coordinating disaster risk management or national security issues and these agencies can also tackle issues related to infrastructure relicense.



8.1 POPULATION 2016 AND 2036

This section examines the existing population trends and presents the population projection for Ibadan in 2036.

Ibadan Population 2016

Given that 10 years has passed since the previous census, it was decided, in discussion with the Client, that the Consultants should produce an up to date estimate of Ibadan's current population. The Consultants therefore undertook a programme of house counts (to estimate the number of houses) and interview surveys (to obtain the average number of occupants per house) across Ibadan. The house counts were carried out in 89 areas covering around a third of the residential areas of the city. In total, 936 hectares of residential areas containing over 14,000 houses were counted. For the house occupancy surveys, over 800 houses were target ted covering over 2,400 households and more than 10,000 people. These represent large samples for a city-wide survey.

The existing population of Ibadan resulting from the above survey was estimated to be 6 million.

Ibadan Population 2036

The population of Ibadan is projected by the Consultant to be nearly 11.3 million by 2036. This is based on the maximum capacity that the city can accommodate. The following spatial parameters have been taken into consideration for calculation:

- All developable land,
- Environmentally and physically constrained land,
- Existing and planned development land,
- Land located in close proximity to transport hubs and networks.

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Based on the above parameters, the population capacity study was conducted to estimate population per LGA along with their respective land area requirements. Refer to Table 2.4.

Optimum densities of development were calculated to estimate the future population split by each LGA. The densities were categorized into a series of high, medium, low density bands and development land was then distributed into the different density bands.

The methodology adopted is explained below:

- Using the results of the detailed household survey described in the Diagnostics Report, a plot per hectare density value for each residential typology was calculated. This data was split by LGA.
- Based on the average number of households per plot and average number of people per household, a population density was calculated for each residential typology and classified by LGA.
- The densities were then factored into the total area for each of the residential types taking into consideration the gross to net buildable area to account for circulatory spaces, roads and other land uses.

LGA	GROSS AREA (HA)	2016 POPULATION	2036 POPULATION
IBADAN NORTH	1,476	347,143	347,143
IBADAN NORTH EAST	868	339,410	339,410
IBADAN NORTH WEST	587	155,239	155,239
IBADAN SOUTH EAST	997	296,827	296,827
IBADAN SOUTH WEST	1,590	368,141	368,141
LAGELU	9,187	588,533	1,166,655
AKINYELE	10,260	625,542	1,288,548
IDO	18,052	843,540	2,197,136
OLUYOLE	23,063	880,215	2,497,991
ONA ARA	8,018	818,017	1,111,646
EGBEDA	11,766	755,102	1,546,289
TOTAL	85,864	6,017,709	11,315,025

8.2 CONSTRAINTS AND OPPORTUNITIES

Constraints

There are a number of constraints and challenges that the masterplan must seek to address.

- Unchecked urban sprawl with inadequate infrastructure provision has resulted in increasing environmental degradation, particularly with waste disposal into the river corridors.
- Ibadan experiences high levels of localized traffic congestion, most often adjacent to areas of intensive commercial activity. Congestion is mainly caused by the encroachment of retail activities onto the roads, high levels of on-street parking, and stopping/maneuvering by danfos and taxis. Hence there is a need to define a road hierarchy that provides adequate rights of way to cater for high traffic volumes and adequate space for commercial street activities.

- There are vast areas of forest or dense vegetation at risk of deforestation and encroachment which must be retained to allow the soil to absorb storm water.
- Ibadan's proximity to Lagos is a potential threat because it is relatively easy to commute to jobs in Lagos. The fact that Ibadan airport has not been more successful is largely due to the proximity of Muritala Mohammed International Airport.
- The continuous and rapid population growth with inadequate provision of jobs has had a negative impact on the city's finances and there is a need to promote and diversify the local economy.
- The informal sector is increasingly becoming dominant and there is a big challenge facing Ibadan on how to support and regulate it in order to promote employment, productivity, and income for the poor, whilst ensuring a safe, healthy and socially acceptable environment.
- Housing is the predominant land use within the city and with a rapidly growing population, overcrowding and the poor quality of the existing housing stock has become a major problem. The provision of sufficient land for residential development is therefore one of the key considerations of the Ibadan Masterplan.
- Ibadan has poor east-west connectivity resulting in poor accessibility to the city's rural periphery. This has also led to unplanned development with people living in isolated pockets having no access to basic services and amenities including education and health facilities. The existing informally developed urban areas have grown without adequate social or transport infrastructure. There are significant disparities across the city in

terms of distances and therefore to health and educational facilities.

- Flooding is the most serious threat and encroachment on flood plains, poor maintenance of the drainage system and blockages in the watercourses has increased flood risk. There is a need to mitigate the flooding impact and identify the flood prone areas where no development should be permitted. Providing a proper drainage system is critical.

Opportunities

Based on the results of the diagnostics report and stakeholder engagement, a number of opportunities and constraints have been identified in Ibadan as illustrated in Figure 2.3. These have informed the overall vision for Ibadan as well as the aims and objectives that will inform the masterplan.

- Ibadan is strategically located on major road and rail routes. The proposed high speed line from Lagos is an opportunity to open up the city for further investment and increase trade and commercial activity between the two cities. In addition, the proposed Circular Road will help to reduce congestion in the inner areas of the city thereby providing an opportunity to expand outwards. The Lagos-Ibadan expressway is also a key route currently being upgraded and will function as the main entry into the city.
- Other emerging transport developments such as the LRT proposal, offer the potential to improve the connectivity within the city and help make it more attractive to investors while creating a greater sense of pride amongst the community.

- Topography and large reserves of forests at the periphery of the city are the most important physical features of Ibadan. They could provide opportunities for high value residential or tourism related developments with views into the city and the forest areas. Similarly, the vast agricultural land around Ibadan is a great asset to be potentially be exploited for economic gain to provide employment opportunities and sustain livelihoods of many rural communities.
- The rich culture and heritage of Ibadan is an asset that can help to attract domestic and international tourists to the city.
- Ibadan has a vibrant trade and commerce economy with a well-established micro-enterprise and SME sector (both formal and informal businesses). With the emerging middle class and a rapidly growing consumer culture, there is huge potential for Ibadan to emerge as a business hub. Education and research can be further strengthened to attract inward investment.
- There is sufficient land available in Ibadan for development but effective development control processes are required to manage development in an orderly and effective way. There is an opportunity to make efficient use of the available land to accommodate the future population and deliver a spatial development strategy with supporting policies to help promote positive investment and growth in Ibadan.
- The peripheral areas of the city are growing in an organic manner which provide opportunities for infill development to accommodate future population growth.

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- The six existing administrative centres located within the outer LGAs have the potential to be strengthened and developed into new satellite towns. The new towns will accommodate the future population and will be self-sufficient.
- The masterplan preparation process is an opportunity to initiate dialogue, build trust and start an exchange of knowledge and ideas between the MDAs and LGAs. It is also an opportunity for a wide range of stakeholders to be brought into the process so that they have a sense of ownership and support the successful implementation of the masterplan.
- Through new development prospects, Ibadan has an opportunity to define its own regional role and create its own identity as a city that is self-sufficient.

CHAPTER FIFTEEN
FOUNDATION OF ECONOMIC GROWTH AND
PHYSICAL INFRASTRUCTURE DEVELOPMENT OF
A COLONIAL SOCIETY (1893-1960)

1.0 Emergence of Economic Institutions:

Colonial economic goals, this goal inevitably included the incorporation of the local economy into that of Europa and the global. This incorporation was important for at least three reasons, which have been outlined by Walter Rodney:

- (a) to protect national interest against competition from other capitalists;
- (b) to arbitrate the conflate between their own capitalists;
- (c) to guarantee optimum conditions under which private companies could explicit Africans.

Several measures were introduced to **create a new economic system**, including concrete developments in the sectors of production and exchange. The measures were specifically aimed at **destroying the institutions and mechanism that sustained the pre-colonial economic system**, and at introducing new ones that would, within a very short time, facilitate the process of incorporation.

These measures touched on transportation, currency, labour, land, and tolls. New changes were meant to boost the development of a cash crop economy, encourage the domination of the exchange sector by interest that understood the needs of the colonial regime, and achieve an immediate trade flow to the port of Lagos.

1.1 Development of a Transport System;

In the first place, the development of a transport system that linked Ibadan production centres with the markets and firms, and the Lagos port was necessary and urgent.

A road construction project across the whole country began in **1897** which followed the existing footpaths. By October **1906**, the town had been linked with Lagos by road wide enough for a car. In addition, Ibadan and its environs had at least **twenty miles** of roads, which Governor Egerton, who rode in the first car to the town, described as “sufficiently good to support wheel traffic.

A year later **1907**, it became feasible to begin a transport service between **Ibadan** and **Oyo, State** and those who could afford it were quick in adapting to this new mode. The roads later extended to **Ogbomoso, Iseyin, and Ife**. The plan those that had previously been built.

The railways received more attention than roads, at least initially. Both European merchants and administrations were convinced of its potential. It was believed that the railways would make it possible to “bring down produce which at present was lying waste for the want of means of transports and aid in securing the effective political control of the hinterland.

Railway work began in 1898, reached Abeokuta in 1900, and Ibadan **1901**. The line continued northwards, reaching Jebba in **1910**. By **1918**, a total of [8,670,145 had been expended on railways, and a total of 1, 110miles had been constructed, out of this, the Western Railways, a three foot by six inch gauge from Lagos to Kano, **704** miles long.

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According to Sir Fredric Lord Lugard in the Rise of Our East African Empire quoted by Professor Toyin Falola (2012); “It is in order to foster the growth of the trade of this country (i.e. Britain), that our far-seeing statesmen and our commercial men advocate colonial expansion.

The physical growth and expansion of Ibadan like many other cities was influenced by its transport networks. **In 1901**, the railway from Lagos was constructed, and in **1912** extended northwards to Kano, ensuring the economic significance of Ibadan while the first three roads in Ibadan were constructed in **1902**. One from the Residence at Agodi to Isale-Ijebu, another from Oja-Iba to Bode, and Oke-Ado and the third from Oja-Iba to Ido Gate during the time of Captain R.J.B. Ross (1901-1902). Thus further contributing to the city becoming a major trading centre with the building of Ibadan Railway Station, and Jericho Nursing Home in **1905**

The Ibadan-Lagos Expressway commissioned in **1976** further led to the rapid part of the city, followed by the Eleyele Expressway in the west of the city now extended to Dugbe, Alesinoye Market and Onireke GRA back to Dugbe CBD. The building of Ibadan-Lagos expressway has encouraged Lagos and Ibadan Residents to resettle along Ibadan-Lagos corridor where accommodation is cheaper. Moreover, the new Lagos-Ibadan Railway with its terminus at Olorisa-Oko new Moniya in Akinyele Local Government has engendered the construction of New Dry-Port in that area thus promoting commercial and industrial growth along Moniya-Iseyin axis in Oke-Ogun Area (2019-2021).

The major spatial growth of Ibadan urban area occurred in the periods from **1964 to 1984** and **2000 to 2016** of the total land area of the city convening **3, 145. sq.km**, only **546sq. km** (17.4 percent) is urbanized whereas **164.78sq km** of built development lies within the villages and the peripheral areas of the city. The undeveloped area comprising agricultural land, forest, and open spaces totals 2,435sq km (74.5per cent) according to (Ibadan Master Plan, March, 2017) see Summary below:

- Total Land Area of Ibadan = **3,145.96sq. km**
- Urban Area = **546sq. km**. (17.4%)
- Built Area in Villages = **164. 78sq. km**
- Agricultural Area and Forest/Open Spaces = **2,435sq. km** (74.5%).

1.2 Geographic Location of Ibadan:

As the capital of Oyo State, Ibadan occupies a strategic regional position within Nigeria. Ibadan is the **third most populous city in Nigeria after Lagos and Kano and the largest metropolitan city in Nigeria** with eleven (II) independent Local Governments and with an area of 3, 145. 56 sq. km. Located in the south eastern part of Oyo State. It is approximately 118 kilometers north- cast of Lagos about 120 kilometers east of the border with Republic of Benin. It is the most prominent transit point with trading routes between the coastal regions and the neighboring state and contains major transport arteries linking Lagos with federal capital, Abuja, the norther metropolis of Kano and other important cities such as, Oyo Ogbomoso, Ilorin along the Northern urban corridor, and Ile-Ife, Ilesa and Akare along the eastern urban corridor

Ibadan lies within the tropical forest zone but close to the boundary between the forest and savannah. It is characterized by rugged terrain with hills prescribed as seven running from Mapo to Oke-Aremo where the Bower's Tower is located at the higher point about 275metres.

1.2.1 Drainage System of Ibadan City:

The city is naturally drained by five rivers with many tributaries. **River Ona** on the east including **River Omi** which took off from Olodo area and flows southward through Egbeda and Ona-Ara, **River Ogunpa** flowing through the city and **River Kudeti** in the central part of the city.

Lake Eleyele is located in the north western part of the city, and the east is bounded by **Osun River** and **Asejire Lake**. These rivers are the main drainage channels that can cause flooding when not properly maintain. There is an extensive network rivers and streams throughout the city as a result of a combination of the geology of the area and the tropical monsoon climate.

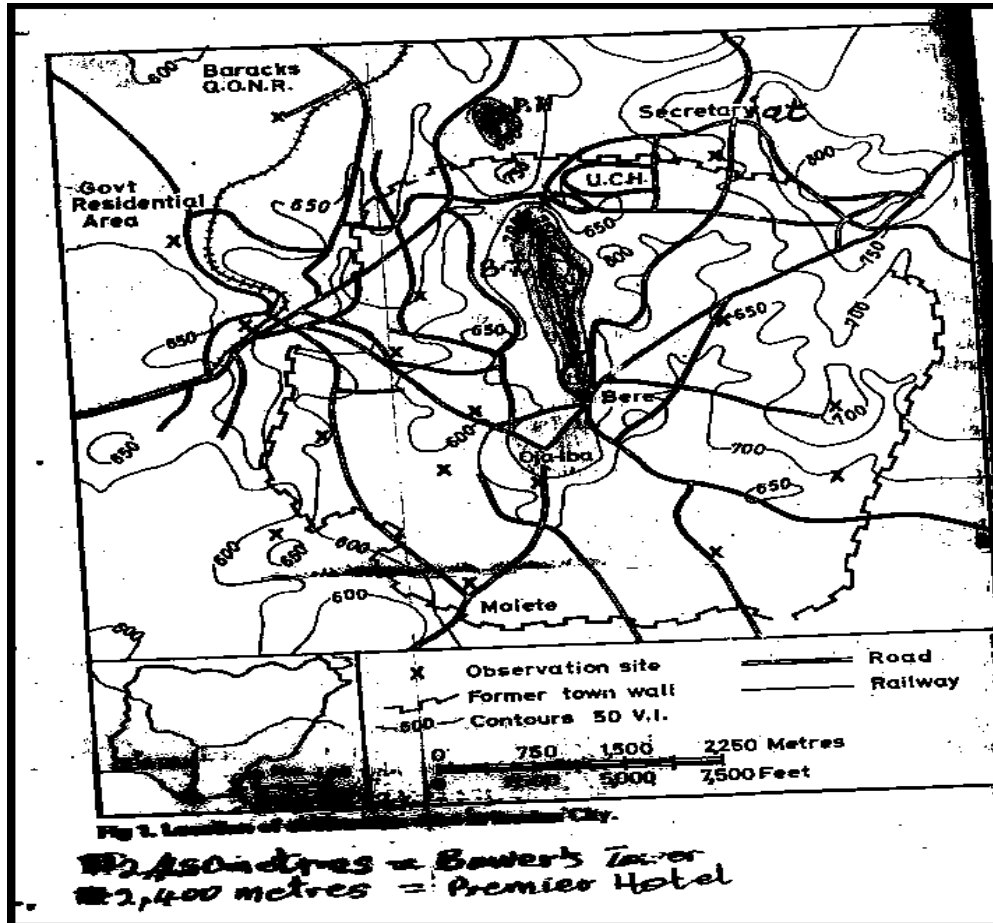


Fig. 1: The Range of Hills Dividing Ibadan City

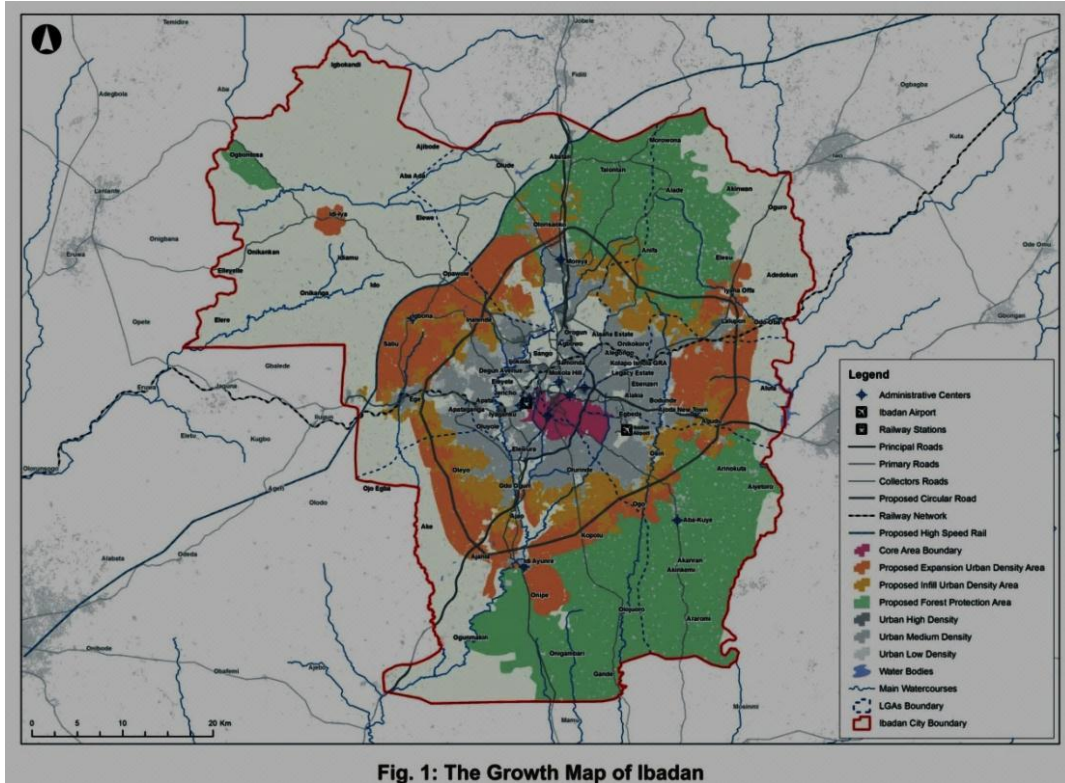


Fig. 1: The Growth Map of Ibadan

1.2.2 Transportation System:

A road building project began 1897. As much as possible, the new roads followed existing footpaths, and were not too wide. A minor difficulty was experienced in expanding those within the town because it was hard not to hurt the susceptibility of the people by passing over the **graves** of their ancestors. Their complaints were just ignored because administrators and engineers did not appreciate why graves should be respected. By October 1906, the town had been linked with Lagos by a road wide enough to take a car. In addition, Ibadan and its environs had at least 20 miles of roads which Governor Egerton, who rode in the first car to the town described as sufficiently good to support service between Ibadan and Oyo, and those who could afford it were quick in adapting to this new mode (Toyin Falola, 1989).

The roads later extended to Ogbomoso, Iseyin and Ife. The plan was to link all major centres and maintain those that had been built. Administrators were encouraged to devote time and attention to these roads because of their potentials to generate rapid commercial transactions.

1.2.3 Health Facilities:

In 1902 when Ibadan Native Authority was established, the N.A. built a Dispensary of Oranyan near the swamp. This was followed by a massive vaccination handled by the Health Unit of the N. A. due to outbreak of Small –pox epidemic in 1903. In 1905, a standard Health Institution, the Jericho General Hospital was built by the Government. Another General Hospital at Adeoyo was built in 1927.

Eleven years later in 1938, the First Private Hospital, Known as, Alafia Hospital is was built at Adamasingba, Ibadan by Dr Anthony Saka Agbaje. In 195, Health delivery services in Ibadan were further enhanced by building the University College Hospital (UCH) which was opened in 1957.

1.2.4 Water Supply Scheme:

In 1930, a new Service Reservoir with a capacity of **44,000gallons** was constructed Ogunpa Hill to serve the commercial area of the township outside the indigenous area. The plan for the larger town did not come up until 1928 when a proposal was made for a water pipe from Government Hill at Agodi through Oje, Adeoyo and Oja’ba. This was to supply the prison, the hospital at Adeoyo and council office at Mapo.

The construction of the Eleyele Reservoir on River Ona was completed in **1942**. The reservoir has a **catchment area** of 323.8km², an impoundment area of 156.2ha and a storage capacity of 29.5 million litres of water. The water is fully treated and pumped at the rate of about 13.6 million litres per day.

This water scheme served Ibadan until **1972**, when the Asejire Water Supply Scheme was commissioned. This new scheme became necessary because the population of Ibadan rapidly between **1940**. For instance, Ibadan had a population of **496, 196**, according to 1952 census. This increased to **627, 379** in 1963, and **783, 511** in 1972. Thus, water supply per head in 1952 was 26.6 million litres per day.

1.3 Educational System in Ibadanland

In 1927, there were seventy (70) Mission Schools in Ibadan Division, and a new one for girls, Yejide Girls' School, was about to be opened. First, not all these schools were located in Ibadan town; the division, included other large towns such as Osogbo, Ogbomosho and Ede. Also, not all the students in schools located in Ibadan were indigenes, according to Toyin Falola (1989). In fact, evidence relating to the late 1920s unanimously concluded that not many people were aware of the value of Western education. However, **the objectives of education were to reinforce colonial economic ideology, inculcate Western values and expose the students to Christianity** (Toyin Falola, 1989)

1.3.1 Muslim Schools and Education

Islam was introduced to Ibadanland in the early 1800s. By 1877, several alfas had set up Quranic schools in their homes. In 1839, Imam Igun Olorun Ahmed Quifu and Uthman Basunu (1839-1871) became the first Quranic scholars in Ibadan. Both of them had been Usman Dan Fodio's students. In 1831, Quasim Omo Alfa Alaga, who came from Ilorin, established an Islamic School at Oke-Are.

Islamic education and some Muslim Schools had started to flourish in Lagos. However, Muslim education progressed tremendous in Ibadan through the establishment of several Muslims organizations such as Ahmadiyyah Movement in Islam 1916, Nawar-Ud-deen Society 1957; Hisbullai Al Ghalib (1954) and Islamic Mission Society (1920). These organizations established several Western educational

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institutions combining Quranic education. Among the schools established by these societies are:

- (i) Islamic Primary Schoolm Agugu, 1870
- (ii) Islamic Primary School, Ode Aje, 1870
- (iii) Islamic Mission School, Odoye, 1935
- (iv) Islamic Primary School, Bode, 1955
- (v) Islamic High School, Basorun, 1957
- (vi) Isabatudeen Grammar School, General Gas, Orita Basorun - 1958

In 1958, according to Professor Emmanuel Remi Akintunde (2017), Ibadan welcomed the establishment of Ma'had Araab at Elekuro. it infused Western education into its curriculum this was notable occurrence in the history of Islamic education in Ibadan. Similarly, in 1959, Shamsu Sudu Islamiyyah was established. It was to teach mathematics, English Language and Literature and a subject in addition to Arabic and Islamic Studies. In 1974, the Islamic preaching School (Dawa'ar) was founded in Ibadan.

Finally, The University of Ibadan established in 1948, now has a Department of Arabic and Islamic Studies. This department has continuously turned out graduates and several distinguished scholars in Arabic and Islamic Studies

1.3.2 Christian Education in Ibadan

The missionaries started Ibadan's First Western Education Schools in their house. Their residence (the mission house) was the first two-storey building in Ibadan. The building still stands at St. David's School compound at Kudeti, since around 1855.

The first pupils to attend an elementary school in Ibadan were Yejide Olunloyo (female) and her brother, Francis Lowetoft Akinyele Olunloyo (male). The two were children of an Ibadan High Chief, Chief Olunloyo. The school was founded by Reverend David Hinderer and his wife, Anna, Both were workers of CMS of England St. David's Church Kudeti, the first Anglican Church built in Ibadan, was named after him while St. Anne's School Molete was named after his wife.

Between 1853 and 1899, CMS established six major Anglican and churches in different parts of Ibadan. These were:

- (i) St. David's Church at Kudeti in 1854;
- (ii) St. Peter's Church, Aremo, 1865;
- (iii) St. James' Church, Ogunpa, 1869;
- (iv) St. Paul's Church, Yemetu, 1894;
- (v) St. Stephen's Church, Inalende in 1897; and
- (vi) Christ's Church, Mapo, 1899.

Each of these churches has schools attached to them. These early Anglican Schools bore the names of the churches. They placed great importance on Christian religious instructor. In addition, other Christian dominations followed suit. For instance, the Catholic Church established St. Augustine Boys Primary School, 1895. Other such schools include Baptist School, Idikan 1906 and Methodist School Elekuro, 1898.

Table 1: Public Primary Schools Status in Ibadan, 2010

S/No.	Local Govt. Area	No. of Schools	Pupils Enrolment	Teachers Available	Pupils/ Teachers
1.	Akinyele	123	42,097	1,203	1.38
2.	Egbeda	73	26,102	1,079	1.24
3.	Ibadan North	74	50,842	1,380	1.37
4.	Ibadan North East	73	47,058	1,750	1.27
5.	Ibadan North West	45	22,222	1,002	1.22
6.	Ibadan South East	62	33,082	1,614	1.21
7.	Ibadan South West	85	30,503	1,615	1.19
8.	Ido	75	24,931	714	1.35
9.	Lagelu	82	31,001	976	1.32
10.	Oluyole	110	40,477	763	1.53
11.	Ona-Ara	94	24,791	896	1.28
	TOTAL	896	373,102	12,899	-

Source: SUBEB Records, 2010

Ogunsesan PHD. IDU UI/ The Polytechnic 26/2/2011 within the first six decades of 20th century, several primary and secondary schools were established. Many private entrepreneurs also established both primary and secondary schools between 1940 and 1948 namely: Alhaja Humuani Alaga (1903-1993), Chief T.L. Oyesina (1904-1975).

1.3.3 Private Schools in Ibadan

- Alhaja Humuani Alaga (1903-1993) Instrumental to founding of Isabatudeen Girls Grammar School, Orita Bashorun in 1958.
- Chief T.L. Oyesina (1904-1975): established the first private (an all-boys) secondary school, Ibadan Boys High School (IBHS) at Oke-Bola in 1938 and later Ibadan City Academy in 1946. Some primary schools at Kobomoje area, Ibadan
- Chief (Mrs.) Wuraola Esan (1909-1985): She established peoples' Girls School, Molete in 1945, in order to boost the educational advancement of girls in Ibadan.

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- Chief Nathaniel Olabiyi Idowu (OFR); established and financed Olorunda Abaa Community Grammar School, in appreciation of his commitment to and promotion of education in Oyo State, the school was renamed N.O. Idowu comprehensive High School by the Oyo State Government.

Other secondary schools and post primary institutions established in Ibadan were: Methodist founded 'Wesley College in 1905 for training of teachers, Iwo Road Teacher Training College, later moved to Iyana ofa, Ibadan Grammar School, 1913, Government College, APata, 1929, Loyola College, Old Ife Road, 1954, Igbo Elerin Grammar School, 1957 Lagelu Grammar School, Agugu, 1958, and Our Lady of Apostles, Oluyoro, 1958.

In 2001, a private University was established, Lead City University. The Polytechnic Ibadan was established in 1970. A few polyphonic (privately owned) have since been established.

At the Nursery & Primary school levels, there are hundreds of private institutions in Ibadan metropolitan Area (Ibadanland) they are owned either by religious bodies or by private individuals and societies. Among such schools are Alafia Nursery and Primary Schools, Mokola (1955) which had both day and night facilities, and Omolewa Nursery and Primary school (1962).

Table 2: Public Secondary Schools' Status, Ibadan

S/No.	Local Govt. Area	No. of Schools	Pupils Enrolment	Teachers Available
1.	Akintola	43	19,475	634
2.	Egbeda	42	19,420	812
3.	Ibadan North	86	43,390	1,703
4.	Ibadan North West	54	32,395	1,264
5.	Ibadan North West	26	10,786	413
6.	Ibadan South East	66	37,671	1,261
7.	Ibadan South West	61	28,310	1,184
8.	Ido	24	8,533	242
9.	Lagelu	34	15,770	675
10.	Oluyole	46	20,270	474
11.	Ona-Ara	43	22,136	545
	TOTAL	525	258,066	10,411

Source: *TESCOM and NUT Records, 2011*

Other noteworthy institutions in the city include the University of College Hospital (UCH), which is the first teaching hospital in Nigeria; International Institute of Agriculture (IITA); Nigeria Institute of Social and Economic Research NNISER), NIHORT, FRIN etc.

1.4 Strategic Housing Delivery Situation in Ibadan Oyo State Nigeria:

Ibadan has been the centre of administration of Nigeria's old Western Region since the days of **British** colonial rule when Ibadan grew into an impressive and sprawling urban centre. It is the capital of Oyo state and the largest city in Nigeria by population after Lagos and Kano. Ibadan is, however, Nigeria largest city in geographical area with eleven (11) administratively separate Local Government Areas (UN Habitat 2008).

In 1960, Ibadan was the second– most populous city in Nigeria and the tenth largest in Africa after Alexandra, Algiers, Cairo, Cape Town, Casablanca, Durban, East Rand, Johannesburg and Lagos. It is located in South- western Nigeria. 140Kilometres inland from Lagos and constitutes a prominent transit

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point between the coastal region and the Nigerian inter land to the North. Its population was 2.55 million according to the Nigeria 200 census and 2.7 million in 2007 (based on extrapolation of data in World Urbanization Prospects. The 2007 Revision)

As one of the three oldest capitals of the former Regional governments before independence, it became the commercial hub and administrative seat of the government. The city hosts **70% of Oyo State modern markets**, contributes substantially to the manufacturing sector, and almost **90% of the head offices of the banks, financial institutions** and multinational companies, police, army and other para-military headquarters.

Consequently, the institutional setting in Ibadan has traditionally comprised a host of agencies at federal, state and local government levels with separate land areas, separate legal and administrative framework before the **Land Use Act of 1978**, and engaging in little institutional condition, this result in a fragmented management system with each agency responsible for multiple services within its own jurisdiction and in many cases with its own set of regulatory laws and frameworks, particularly with respect to section 49 of the Land Use Act, 1978 and Urban and Regional Planning Laws of 1992.

1.4.1 Strategic Housing Stock in the Public-Sector

The resultant **housing stock** in Ibadan in the organized or **planned housing estates** mainly of public corporations and agencies namely:

1. Oyo State Housing Corporation Estates occupying **7, 275.079** hectares of land.
2. Oyo State Government Reservation Areas of Agodi, Onireke, Jericho, Iyaganku, Samonda, Alalubosa, Idishin, Kolapo, Isula, GRA ect.

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3. Ibadan Local Government Property Company Estates at 7 locations covering about **1,355.973 hectares** of land.
4. Institutional Housing Facilities held by University of Ibadan, Polytechnic, UCH and Federal Housing Estates of Moniya, Idi-Ayunre, Bieta village and Apata occupying about 199.241 hectares. Practically all centres where Europeans **reside**. Only **Lagos was a first-class out of the eighteen second-class townships**.

1.4.2 Effects of Urban Segregation and Fragmentation on Living Standards

Urban fragmentation typically creates two cities within the city, as clearly illustrated with the satellite image of Maputo, Mozambique, on the cover of the present report (UN- Habitat, 2008). Even the image of panoramic view of Ibadan from Oke Aremo hills. And Bowers Tower (see satellite image of Olubadan palace and the settlement scheme).

The urban poor live in **high urban densities**, with unplanned urban spatial layout and mostly deprived of access to adequate housing, residential land, municipal service and other urban benefits. The better off or higher class tends to reside in the GRA better planned Bodija Estates that enjoy infrastructural services.

It is, however, sad to note that many years after the introduction of modern planning practice in Nigeria and the general efforts of the governments to prepare physical development plans to control and guide the growth of cities and regions, Oyo state has not adopted master plan or any other physical development plan. The last physical development plan for the old Oyo state was in 1990 before the splitting of the two states while the master plan was prepared for Ibadan in 2017. In the absence of this **city-wide** physical development plan Town Planning Authorities have relied heavily on what could be referred to as a detailed **city map** or **land-use map** to guide development. The approved layouts were also very useful in guiding city growth.

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Even the so called Government Reservation Areas (GRAS) in places like Lagos, Ibadan, Port Harcourt and Kano have become a shadow of what they used to be in the past;

- Indiscriminate development of imposing structures without regards to drainage and other factors of importance, to the build environment in a modern concept have become the order of the day e.g. the new Housing Estates at **Agodi, Jericho and Onireke GRAs**, where Government had either demolished or become part of the new development in form of public private partnership ventures with the State Government at Agodi, Onireke and Jericho GRAs.

The supposed residential government quarters for senior stuffy Firmament secretaries and commission overnight to commercial buildings such as Hotels, company office complex, Event centres, Government Agencies such as NECO, Private Companies, particularly the Quarters known as American Quarters and Abiyade House.

All these new structures have reduced the aesthetic values and plot densities of the GRA, particularly at Iyaganku, Agodi and Jericho and American Quarters opposite Muslim praying Ground. It also increased volume of traffic leading to traffic congestion.

Whereas, land and dwellings (real property) are the primary components of most people's wealth. With the introduction of free land markets, the need to access information on **market value**, for housing finance and to monitor and support real property market increases. Therefore, market based and a systematic property valuation is used for various financial transactions, such as **mortgages** and **insurances**, and is the basis for property taxation.

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1.4.3 Odua's Investments Company Involvement in Property Development

In 2017 around September, **Odua Investment Company** announced its re-entry into property development with the commissioning of 7-duplex **ACE Estate** at No. 1. Akinola Maja Street, Jericho, Ibadan. The estate consists of luxury units of **three**. 5-bedroom duplexes and **four** 4-bedroom duplexes.

The ACE Estate was sprouted from 4,400 square metres of land, hitherto occupied by a derelict colonial building (Government Residential Quarters), before the development began in 2016. Construction was done at a cost of ₦500million.



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Similarity, the 3.8 hectares of land on which the **Westlink Iconic Villa buildings** will sit was acquired from the Oyo State government 40years ago and is managed by the Oyo State Property Development Corporation.

Westlink Iconic Villa, the new luxury residential estate valued at over ~~₦~~4billion, will consist of **104** mixed luxury residential buildings and **21** units of commercial outlets. It is being delivered by Odua's Investment Company Limited, in partnership with UK based Iconic/ Chapter of land within Olubadan Estate, Opposite the Nigeria Breweries Plc. New Ife Road Ibadan.

The breakdown of the Estate is as follows;

- Eight 5-bedroom fully detached duplexes.
- Ten 5-bedrom semi-detached duplexes.
- Six 4-bedroom semi-detached duplexes
- Forty 4-bedroom terraced duplexes
- Sixty 3-bedroom apartments
- Twenty One (21) unit of commercial outlets.

A Multi-purpose community centre and utility centre that will provide 24 hours electricity and centralized treated water.

Legacy Estates

Legacy Estates is a new housing community developed in partnership by the Oyo State Government and Structural metre of land area at Iwo Road near Kolapo Isola Estate, Old Dairy Farm. Properties are mid/high Scale Villa units through public- private arrangement by releasing land and government quarters at an agreed sharing formula.

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The risks of large projects can be better managed through partnerships between private land developers, construction contractors and government agencies. Teaming up creates mutual benefits for public agencies and developers. The possible benefits to the public sector include:

- (a) Urban redevelopers of an decayed neighbourhoods considered too “risky” for the developers to tackle on their own
- (b) Increased economic activity and taxes (e.g. property taxes, consent fees etc) as under-utilized and surplus lands become developed
- (c) Financial gains from **ground lease income** and participation in ongoing cash flow from joint development projects;
- (d) Private developers provide public spaces and amenities such as open parks, recreation centres, and
- (e) Developer subsidies for new public facilities.

Joint development can be an efficient mechanism for Oyo State government. To get the private sector to implement its urban land development goals without wasting scarce resources. the government can act as a catalyst to promote desirable development.

This should be extended to Oyo GRA that has been almost abandoned Since the colonial days while the government Quarters are not Effectively occupied or developed for modern uses to generate money for the government.

1.5 The Establishment of Industrial Estates

1.5.1 Introduction:

Industrial estates are important tool for stimulating industrial growth, providing cost-effective infrastructure and communal services. Through industrial estates, firms benefit from economies of scale in terms of land development, construction, and common facilities. Estates offer managed serviced workspace: workshops (or plots on which to build these) with collective access to utilities, roads and telecommunications.

Other common facilities which may be available include waste collection and effluent treatment; tool rooms; testing, quality control and heat treatment, and security services. Some estates have technical libraries, reiteration areas and housing for workers. Such facilities are particularly effective if firms are engaged in similar activities, estates, however, usually, have a mixture of industries e.g. **Oluyole industrial Estate** in Ibadan, Oyo State, Nigeria and **Lagelu Industrial Estate** at Ibadan-Lagos Expressway, Toll-Gate, Ibadan, Eleyele Light Industrial Estate and Cashew Nuts processing factory at Eleyele.

Close proximity may encourage cooperation among firms on an estate. Good management is vital for the success of an estate. The agency responsible for the estate should not limit itself to maintenance of the facilities and supervision of activities, but play a dynamic role, promoting the services offered by the estate among local entrepreneurs. Depending on the development objectives, an estate's services may also be marketed elsewhere in the country, an possibly abroad. **If an estate is run by a public-sector agency**, it is essential that staff with private sector experience is employed for this purpose

1.5.2 Categories of Industrial Estates;

(a) Definition of an Industrial Estate:

An industrial estate can be defined as attract of land developed and subdivided into plots according to a comprehensive plan with provision for roads, transport and public utilities with or without built-up (advance) factories, sometimes with common facilities and sometimes without them, for the use of a group of industries.

(b) An Industrial Zone:

An industrial zone is merely an area of raw land set aside for industry. In general, it is created by a municipal by-law and is part of an urban renewal or development programme. Any promotional effect it may have is dependent on its location in relation to transport and distribution facilities, and the price of land within the zone.

(c) An Industrial Area:

An industrial area is a parcel of improved land subdivided into plots for the accommodation of industrial establishments and offered for sale or for lease. Its size may allow advantage to be taken of economics of scale in providing the infrastructure, which may be passed on to the occupants, an attraction for a prospective occupier is the time saved in finding a site and in preparing the land. **The industrial area is essentially a piece of real estate promotion.** An industrial area may approximate an **industrial estate**, but the essential differences are that in the former there is no unified and continuous management and that, beyond land utilities, it provides no additional incentive to industry.

1.5.3 Types of Industrial Estates:

i) LOCATION: An industrial estate as “**urban**”, “**semi-urban**” or “**rural**”.

In the present context, an **urban estate** is defined as one located in, or within easy commuting distance of the metropolitan area or a city of say, 500,000 inhabitants. See the Nigeria Breweries Plc. location on Ife/Ibadan Expressway.

(a) Semi-Urban and rural refer more to the region in which the estate is situated than to its actual site.

(b) A Semi-Urban estate is one located in the principal town of a mixed urban and rural area. The population of the centre should not be less than 50,000.

(c) A Rural Estate is not built in the open country, as the name might imply, but in the central town, the population of which should be at least 25,000, of a predominantly rural region.

The lower limits of population given above should be treated with caution. For an estate to be viable, the city or town in which it is established must be able to provide the utilities and services required by tenant enterprises. These usually are not to be found in small towns and villages.

ii) FUNCTIONS OF INDUSTRIAL ESTATE:

The classification of an estate by the function it performs, or is expected to perform, tends to be focusing since normally there is more than one function. To some extent this may be resolved by separating function into activity and motivation.

(a) Composite: containing establishments engaged in a variety of unrelated industries;

(b) **Ancillary:** containing enterprises, usually small in various fields, but all serving one large establishment and frequently supervised by parent enterprises;

(c) **Single trade:** often called “**functional**”, accommodating either establishments engaged in the same trade (e.g. woodworking, repair of motor vehicles) or producing the same class of articles.

iii) MOTIVATION:

Motivation is related to objectives. From the perspective, can be classified as **developmental** or **promotional dispersal**. In most cases these descriptions refer to composite estates.

(a) **Development:** A developmental estate is one intended to advance, improve, or increase the level of industrial activity in the area in which it is located. This will usually be a semi-rural or rural area. If to achieve this goal, it is necessary to stimulate entrepreneurial talent among selected artisans, a variant, a nursery estate, is established.

(b) **Promotional:** In a sense, all estates are promotional, but the term has come to mean the introduction of new industries into, and the improvement of existing industries in, economically backward regions. **Rural estates** fall into these category e.g. Brick Industry at Odo-Oba in Ibadan.

(c) **Disposal:** These estates are intended to accommodate enterprises that on account of lack of space for expansion, or for environmental reasons, are required to move from urban areas

iv) SPONSORSHIP/OWNERSHIP:

The sponsor is the agency initiating the estate and providing all or part of the necessary funds. There are three types of sponsorship:

- (a) Governmental:** central, state or municipality
- (b) Private:** Co-operative society, limited company or an association of industrialists
- (c) Private assisted:** cooperative society, limited company or an association of industrialists with assistance from the government through the grant of a long-term loan.

Government sponsorship and ownership predominated heavily in the past. Donor Agency funding has also played an important role in the establishment of estates in developing countries. In recent years, privately financed estates have become very common, and much of the donor assistance has failed to advice and the funding of various support services, which should preferably be run by industrial associations.

1.6 Preservation and Exploitation of Forest Reserves

1.6.1 Background History:

From 1897 on wave the colonial government had indicated a keen interest in both the preservation and exploitation of Forest Reserves resources. In 1901, Forestry Legislation was enacted to give extensive power to government to create and control reserves. This, a beginning was made in creating forest reserves with potentials for timber and other products. Late in 1899, the first Forest Reserve was established at **Mamu** in the Southern extreme of Ibadan.

Forest reserves are ecological sites set aside primarily for the conservation of **flora** and fauna. They are used to protect genetic diversity and enlance the production

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of forest products such as poles, saw logs, pulp and paper, timber, leaves and herbs and others (Isichel, 1995, Adesina, 2001).

The objectives of **forest management** are embodied in the **National Forest Policy** of the country which states that Nigeria's natural resources and environment is to be conserved and used for the collective benefit of the people and to be replenished for the benefit of future generation for management is the branch of forestry concerned with the overall **administrative economic, Legal, and social aspects** and essentially with the scientific and technical aspects, especially silviculture, protection, and forest regulation.

The forest reserves in Ibadan are in two zones:

Zone 1: Protective Forest Reserves such as

- Odo-Ona- Called Alalubosa Forest Reserve which extends to Odo-Ona Area in the city
- Upper Ogunpa Forest Reserve
- Oke- Aremo Forest Reserve, and
- Eleyele Forest Reserve

Zone2: These are Forest Reserves purposely established to generate income to the state government e.g.

- Ijaye Forest Reserves - 26,491 hectares
- Gambari Forest Reserve - 11, 431 hectares
- Osho Forest Reserve - 3,704 hectare
- Olokemeji Forest Reserve - 76.11 hectare

1.6.2 Condition of Protective Forest Reserves:

Alalubosa Forest Reserve: This was earliest of the forest reserves. Located in the inner area of the city, the reserve was bounded to the north by Works Road and Alesinloye Market, to the east by Dick Road, and to the south by the railway line. Its land acquired by the British Colonial Government from the Ibadan District Council and legally constituted a forest reserve on May 4, 1916. Its relief is an undulating plain characterized by low hills and ridges whose highest point is 31.2 metres (725feet) above sea-level.

Alalubosa Stream, after which the forest reserve was named, was an eastern tributary of the Ona River. It was dammed in 1910 by the Nigeria Railway Corporation to provide water for cooling railway locomotive engines on the extension of the railway from Lagos to Ibadan in 1911. The lake and its adjoining swamp pump house initially covered 5.8 hectares. The three tributaries of the Alalubosa Stream were Asomagbo, Araromi and Amunifona Stream. The forest reserve was established for the primary purpose of protecting the lake from intense evaporation, soil erosion from the adjoining hill slopes and its silting from there and upstream. **Its vegetation was open forest of cassia siamea and teak. Its planting, which started in 1916, was completed in 1947.** It is unfortunate that the forest reserve no longer exists. Its life was terminated in 1988 when its land was subdivided for residential use and constituted as a State Government Reservation Area. This was during the military governorship of the Late Col. Sasaenia Oresanya. The two reasons give for its destruction were the underutilization of the forest reserve and the demand for housing land. The reason was that the political and administrative elite in the government wanted choice residential land in the inner area of the city. As a result of the destruction of the forest reserve, Alalubosa Lake and Stream with its three tributaries have dried up disappeared forever.

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Ogunpa Forest Reserve covers the top and eastern slope of Mokola and Premier Hotel Hills and has an area of 82.2 hectares. Mokola and Premier Hotel Hills are elements of the central ridge of Ibadan. The eastern part of the forest reserve is drained north-south by Ogunpa Stream which has tributaries the Oniyere from the west and Onireke from the east, Ogunpa Stream was dammed to produce Ogunpa Lake whose area was initially 24.6 hectares. The lake was established to supply water for Ibadan prior to the creation of Eleiyele Lake in 1941. The lake is today managed by the Fisheries Department of the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development. The primary purpose of establishing Ogunpa Forest Reserve was to protect the lake from intense evaporation, soil erosion from the hill slopes and its sedimentation from there and upstream. In 1965, 53 hectares of the forest reserve land was excised to create Agodi Gardens which was commissioned in December 1967. The land-water environment of the gardens (park) whose topography is varied and ecologically fragile makes it ideal for a recreation park. Its central location in the further enhances its value.

Oke-Aremo Forest Reserve covers the top and steep slopes of Aremo Hill. The hill is also an element of the central ridge of Ibadan. The spatial extent of the forest reserve is 58.4 hectares. Lying within the reserve is the Bower Memorial Tower.

Eleiyele Forest Reserve in the northwest outskirts of Ibadan, surrounds Eleiyele Lake which was established in 1941. The reserve covers 360.9 hectares while the lake initially covered 165.1 hectare. The reserve was established to protect the lake from intense evaporation, soil erosion from the abutting slopes of Eleiyele Hill and its sedimentation from there and upstream. River Ona was dammed at the eastern foot of the hill to produce the lake which initially had a length of 4,146 meters. Its width varied from 46 meters to 924 meters along its longest western tributary.

1.6.3 Forest Reserve Management Strategies:

Forests reserve management strategies should provide comprehensive forest working plan for each Forest Reserve, consolidate the existing forest reserves, carry out periodic National Forest Resources inventory, involve communities in the management of forest reserves with clearly defined roles and responsibilities, promote equitable benefit sharing and designate roles and responsibilities amongst stakeholders, protect the Forest from Fire and encroachment, encourage multiple – use concepts in the management of forest reserves (Agbi T.T. Alamu L.O. and Oladiti A.A. September 25, 2018 all of Ladoke Akintola University of Technology, Ogbomosho).

Public concern regarding forest management has shifted from the extraction of timber to the preservation of additional forest reserves, including wildlife and old growth forests, protecting biodiversity, watershed management, and recreation, protecting areas with fragile ecosystems, maintaining the diversity of life and developing new natural products for medicines (FAO, 2001).

Deforestation contributes to flash flooding by increasing water runoff. It also results in the loss of habitat for various species. Within Ibadan Metropolitan Area there are three major existing forest reserves, the Gambaro Forest Reserve in the South, Oso Forest Reserve in the west and Ijaiye Forest Reserve in the north-west. These areas have lost a substantial amount of tree cover over recent decades due to increased pressure for agricultural land and quarrying.

These natural reserves can be profitable and sustainable if managed correctly. Revenue Streams may include, sustainable logging and could also have an **educational** and **tourism** component, with opportunities for bird watching and safari experiences.

1.6.4 Potential Revenue Sources from Forest Reserves in Nigeria

Due to the dual ownership of natural forests (local authorities and state governments), State forest services have the task of and responsibilities for deciding the level and type of **logging activities** that may be allowed within and outside the forest reserves. They also decide how much **forestland** should be set aside for other activities, such as:

- Recreation
- Wildlife preservation;
- Hunting;
- Grazing and
- Mining.

However, these decisions are **rarely based on the value of different activities**, or even how much wood is readily available more often than not, they are based on political pressures.

The powers set out in forest Laws empowering the executive to **set charges** general, there are no clear formulae used to fix or calculate forest charges and they are not up dated in line with inflationary trends.

In recent times however, most states in the **high forest zone** have achieved more than their **targets**, because of extensive exploitation of **Teak Plantations**. These achievements in Ondo, Ogun, Ekiti, Edo and Oyo States since **1995** might not haven actually resulted from administrative ingenuity through, but rather from **uncontrolled logging** operations caused by **arbitrary target setting** and unmitigated drive for revenue generation.

For example, a fixed rate is charged for a classified area or zone in Oyo State, **Forest Reserves are simply classified into two zones** for the purpose of

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administering the **unit area charge**. Such classification simply says whether the forest is rich or poor. For the **rich forest areas**, the charge is **₦ 600 per hectare** and for the **poor forest areas**, the charge is **₦ 200 per hectares**.

The **unit area charge**, through based on subjective assessment appears to have eliminated some of the problem of the **OTV (Out-Turn Volume)** method which is common in many of the **high forest reserves** states, where there are large commercial trees in the forest.

The OTV system allows **timber merchants** to pay only for the actual volume of wood taken from the forest. This requires the measurement and calculation (by estimation) of the volume of each **log** that is removed. Based on the estimation volume, the monetary value of each **log** is calculated in accordance with the approved **state tariff**.

(a) Other Sources of Revenue:

Revenue is also generated from charges made on **non-tumber forest products**. In Ogun and Oyo states, licenses are issued on annual basis to people **plucking leaves** and **hunting** in side forest reserves. Payments under the **unit area charge method** have the advantage that payments must be made in advance before the commencement of **logging**. In contrast, OTV charges are paid in arrears in cash.

(b) Socio-Economic Importance of Fuel wood Products

Fuel wood apart from meeting domestic energy need of the people around forest areas provide a means of livelihood as a source of income. The socio-economic analysis of **fuel wood collectors** in Oyo State, Nigeria, was investigated by Larinde, S.L., and O.O. Olasupo as contained in the Journal of Agriculture and Social Research (JASR) Vol. ii, No.1, 2011, with a view to determine its potentials and impact on the income of the rural community in **Gambari Forest Reserve** area.

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Cash analyses were made to determine the profitability of the enterprise. Multiple regressions were also employed by the authors to find out the relationship between income generated from fuel wood and some selected socio-economic factors (independence variables). Result showed that the industry is profitable with an average Gross margin of ₦82,130.00 and Net return of ₦81,055.00

(c) Fuel wood as Sources of Livelihood

Result of the study indicate that out of the **119** respondent, **84.9%** which is 101 respondent are **full time fuel wood collector**, **7.6%** use it to **supplement their income**, **3.4%** taken it as **business**, **2.5%** are involved because of unemployment, while **1.7%** are involved in it as **hobby**. **53.8%** are resident within the **forest community** while 46.2% are from adjoining communities, according to Larinde S.L. and O.O. Olasupo, 2011.

This indicates that **fuel wood** contribute positively to the livelihood of the community, there is strong evidence in **fuel wood extraction** because it is **less capital intensive**. Farm implement such as cutlass can easily be adapted as a working tool. Firewood could be seen being displayed at Ibadan-Ijebu-Ode road sides along with farm products.

CHAPTER SIXTEEN
THE PATTERN OF GROWTH OF IBADAN CITY FROM
THE 19TH CENTURY TO THE END OF COLONIZATION

ABSTRACT:

Early urban development has been recorded during the **Sudanese Empire of 800 A.D.**, the **Mali Empire of 15000 A.D.** and **Songhai Empire of 1800 A.D.** These important historical artefacts, the cities, flourished as a result of their location along the Trans-Saharan Trade routes emphasizing their importance as catalysts in socio-economic interrelations. However, there are powerful local rulers who has also enhanced the evolution of these early cities into effective nodes of human employment and as engine of economic and social growth. Some of the **prominent ancient pre-colonial cities**, according to UN-habitat, 2008, include **Bamako, Gao, Timbuktu, Ouagadougou, Adages, Begho, Benin, Ibadan, Ile-Ife, Ilorin, Kumasi** and Oyo.

The author examines the pattern of both pre-European and “modern” urbanization in Nigeria with more emphasis on Ibadan which grew during the nineteenth century before western European influence the introduction of western culture has brought an economic revolution as well as new ideas, the interplay of contrasting cultures has had a striking effect on the structure which Professor Akinlawon Ladipo Mabogunje referred to in his book *“Yoruba Towns”* as the interplay of two cultures in the morphology of the town.

Cities can stimulate industrialization and economic development and these process impact on the environment. Cities can also stimulate regional development, and trigger rural-urban migration, an important population dynamics.

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Professor Akinlawon Ladipo Mabogunje in his book “Urbanization in Nigeria, published in 1968, acknowledged that there is no formal theory of urbanization as regards both **pre-Europeans and “Modern urbanization”** in Nigeria. The concept of functional specialization provides useful insights into the origin of cities and then argues that for functional specialization to give rise to urban centres there must be a surplus of food production with which to feed the class of specialists whose activities are now withdrawn from agriculture. He also lists other conditions, including a ruling class able to guarantee peace and stability and a class of traders and merchants into facilitate the work.

1.0 FOUNDING HISTORY OF IBADAN:

Historically, **Lagelu Adio** was the ancestor and founder of Ibadan who migrated from **Degelu Compound, Ajamapo** area in Ile-Ife as confirmed by the **HRM, the Oni of Ife, Oba Adeyeye Enitan Ogunwusi, Ojaja II** in 2016 during, the visit of Ibadan cultural week committee to the palace of Ooni of Ile-Ife.

The **mother of Lagelu** was the first **daughter** of **Ooni Luwo Gbagida**, the only female Ooni in Ife history and the **18th Ooni who ruled in the 15th century**. Her husband was **Chief Obaloran** (now an Oba) and one of the Council members of Ooni of Ife (**Ihare or Alagba –Ife**). The daughter married the **son of Obalufe**, the head of Ooni state council member. The product of the marriage was **Prince Adio Lagelu** who derived his crown from his grandmother just like **Prince Adekola Telu, the ancestor of Oluwo of Iwo**, who was the **first son** of Ooni Luwo Gbagida. Lagelu with his wives and children migrated from Ile-Ife to found **Eba-Odan** and later **Ibadan** in the middle of the 16th century around **1580 A.D**

Lagelu and his successors wore beaded crowns and adopted the title of Olubadan according to Dr. Jide Fatokun in “IBADAN: Facts and Figures (2011)”. But when Ibadan was occupied by the army of Ife, Ijebu, Oyo, and friendly

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Egbas after displacing Lagelu descendants who invited them to avenge the death of **NKANLOLA the granddaughter of Lagelu sacrificed by Olowu Akinjobi**, they set aside **Lagelu's hereditary traditional system** and all its perquisites, including the **beaded crown**. The **Aboke** family still keeps the original **beaded crown**. The claim was confirmed by Aboke Ifasola Ifamapowa, the reigning Aboke and Chief T.A. Akinyele (2011) and ever Sir Dr. Jide Fatokun.

The introduction to the historical background of Lagelu in Ile-Ife before he migrated to found the city of Ibadan conferred the royal city status on Ibadan with the roles played by his children in building the second Ibadan late in the eighteenth and nineteenth century. Thus is contrary to the opinion of Professor Akinlawon Ladipo Mabogunje who has written extensively on urbanization in Nigeria has this to say *“As far as Nigerian cities are concerned, Ibadan is a city of relatively of recent origin. Its claims to city status carry none of the customary sanctions of a Crowned head, a palace or a hereditary line of chiefs”*.

But according to Aboke Ifasola Ifamapowa, Olubadan Sotuyele was on the throne as Olubadan of the second Ibadan between **(1820-1826)**, who allocated land through **Akaasi**, Lagelu's cousin, to **Olowu Akinjobi** for the settlement of Owu refugees after the destruction of **Owu Ipole** between **(1814-1820)**. His predecessors were; Olubadan Oluole, Olukiran, Olubadan Adesola, Olubadan Rodoso, Olubadan Akinlolu Agbogunmagbin and Olubadan Dawoolu.

- Olubadan Adesola was buried at Labosinde's compound but formerly the palace of these Obas at Oriyangi.
- During the reign of Olubadan Akinlolu Agbogunmogbin, the Children of Lagelu made important sacrifice that involved a hunchback man who was the Ifa Priest (Babalawo) and Osemeji oracle came out for the third time. (Chief M.K.O Adebayo, 2015).

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- Labosinde lived in the second Ibadan before he went back to Ife to join Ife army against Owu in 1812A.D. He also took part in Ibadan war against Owu Ogbere (1824-1825).

But the titles of Olubadan, Aro, Lisa and Akaasi were abolished after **Owu-Ogbere war** in 1825 when the allied army of Ife, Oyo, Ijebu friendly Egba occupied Ibadan after the destruction of Egba villages aftermath of **Owu-Ogbere** war and converted it to a war camp in **1825A.D.** Maye Okunade and his colleagues abolished the titles of Aboke, Olubadan and others. Subsequently, Maye Okunade, Labosinde and Lakanle became the rulers of the **third Ibadan.**

It was in the time of Baale Oyesile Olugbode (1851-1867) that **Ogundowo**, a descendant of Lagelu, was sent to Abeokuta to appeal to his son, **Okewale** to make the prescribed appeasement to **Okebadan** at Awotan. This explains the reinstatement of the Okebadan festival and the fact that the Aboke, the first in the present Ibadan, Chief **Okewale** returned to Ibadan from Abeokuta, as a result of the appeal made to him by his father, Ogundowo through **Awanibaku**, Baale Akintayo's father (1910-1912). He was by the Balogun of Ogunmola private army and Okewale close friend (Sir (Dr.) Jide Fatokun, 2011).

2.0 THE MORPHOLOGY OF IBADAN TRADITIONAL AREA:

According to Professor Akin L. Mabogunje (1968), the idea of an ordered system of goods and services leads naturally to the conception of an ordered system among the urban centres which provides them. Urban systems in northern and western Nigeria were not substantially different from a **central place theory**, because they were based on trade. By the beginning of the colonial period, these urban systems had evolved some other of importance among themselves. Such an order was based on the favorable location for international and interregional trade or levels of political eminence or both. The various kingdoms in those parts of the country had their **metropolitan centres** and **subsidiary towns** which were organized in descending order of importance.

According to Justin Labinjo (2000), people usually take pride in and usually mention about Ibadan that Ibadan started as a war camp or military settlement. Again this is historical fact, but that fact has not helped Ibadan in its development, rather, it may have impeded Ibadan progress.

He went further, the significance of cities being ancient is that they would have had time to evolve complex civilizations with the attendant sophisticated political, economic, religious and other social institutions. Ibadan which he claimed was founded only in the **1820s** has not had the chance to do this, and the incursion of colonialism into its natural growth processes denied it the opportunity to become a well development city.

There are no great mosques, no international centres, of learning, no famed architectural edifices, no internationally acclaimed Koranic teachers, none of the central traits of a renowned city.

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Contrary to the narrative of Justin Labinjo (2000) on Ibadan being an ancient city. By **1851**, Ibadan had growth into a huge centre with an estimated population figure of between 60,000 and 100,000. New areas, notably in the north east, had to be occupied, and the town covered an estimated area of twenty six (26) square kilometers in the **1850s**. The **city wall** enclosing the built up section was sixteen (16) Kilometers in circumference, with four (4) major gates leading to Abeokuta, Oyo, Iwo, and Ijebu, and several minor ones to various forms and village. **Within the wall were hundreds of compounds, churches: Kudeti in the South, Ogunpa in the north-west and Aremo in the north-east**, all belonging to the **Church Missionaries Society** and also **mosques**, with another **large praying ground at Agodi in the north-east**. Thus, within a short time, Ibadan grew to become **the largest city state** in nineteenth century Yorubaland. The map shows the panoramic view of Ibadan from Mapo Hill to show the morphology of Ibadan.

2.1 Images of Ancient Architectural Edifice in Ibadan



OJA'BA CENTRAL MOSQUE



ST. PETERS AREMO SHOP



MAPO HALL, IBADAN CENTRAL



BOWER'S TOWER



ALESINLOYE ABASS PALACE
ISALE-JEBU



ADEBISI GIWA PALACE
IDI-KAN

Professor Toyin Fatola (2012) described the **present and third Ibadan** in the nineteenth century as a town built on an extensive land reserved for expansion because of the people's farming system of shifting cultivation. The **new town was small; it was not more than a kilometer** in all directions followed the pattern of the older towns. It had a **market** centrally located at Mapo. Surrounding this market in all directions were the earliest compounds of the military chiefs and other notable warriors. These compounds were built at the base and brow of Oke-Mapo (Mapo Hill) for security reasons. Throughout the century the century, this central areas at Oke-Mapo remained the most heavily populated. Anna hinder observed this early in the 1850s (London: Seeley, Jackson and Hall, day, 1872).

The most populous part of the town is situated on part of a **range of hills running northwest-southwesterly** whilst the more widely built and more clearly parts of it occupy extensive portions of the plains below the hills on every side (see image of Ibadan built around Mapo Hill).

2.2 Topography and Drainage System:

Ibadan lies within the **tropical forest zone** and close to the boundary between the forest and the Savanna. It is characterized **rugged terrain with steep slopes** creating a very dense network of streams with wide valley plains. The city ranges in deviation from **150 metres** in the valley area, to **275 metres** above sea level on the major north-south ridge which crosses the central part of the city (Ire from Mapo, Oke-Are, Sapati and Bower's Tower which is the highest point of city ranges up to Mokola Hill).

The city is naturally drained by four (4) rivers with many tributaries; **River Ona** on the north and west. **River Ogbere** towards the east. **River Ogunpa** flowing through the city and **River Kudeti** in the central part of the city. **Lake Eleyele** is located in the north-western part of the city, and the east is bounded by **Osun River**

and **Asejire Lake**. These rivers are the **main drainage channels** that can cause flooding when not properly maintained. There is an extensive network of rivers and streams throughout the city as a result of a combination of the geology of the area and the tropical monsoon climate.

2.3 Culture, Heritage and Tourism

Heritage is defined as the objects, custom or qualities which are passed down over many years within a family, social group or nation and thought of as belonging to all its members. In this sense, **historic sites and buildings are physical embodiments of Ibadan culture**. They are fundamental to a “sense of place” and engender a feeling of connection to the city. The act of protecting and enhancing heritage buildings is known as conservation.

Ibadan contains many buildings of historic and cultural value. The history of the city can be read through the **built environment**, including **traditional Nigerian structures**, colonial **British architecture** and **modernist buildings** but in the mid-20th century.

The act of designing particular buildings and areas as **heritage assets** is to acknowledge their contribution to the urban environment and culture of the city. The actions and regulations that accompany heritage designation will vary depending on individual buildings and areas.

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Important Heritage Buildings:

(a) Mapo Hall

Mapo Hall was constructed between 1925 and 1929 and Taffy Jones. It is located in the centre of the city, on Mapo hill, making it a prominent landmark. Architecturally, **Mapo Hall** has classical European features, indicating that it was built in the era of British rule (rule fig1). The building was refurbished in **2006** and is used regularly for conferences and wedding **Mapo hall** is a **significant heritage structure** due to its unique architectural design and connection to a particular historical period. As the hall is generally in good use, conservation activities may be limited to regular maintenance.



(b) Bower's Tower:

Bower's Tower was erected in 1936 as a memorial to **Captain Robert Lister**, who was the first British resident in the city in 2893 (see Fig 2). It is located on the highest hill at Oke-Aremo in the city. The tower measures 60 feet (about 18 metres) high and provides unique views across the city of Ibadan. The structure is a prominent landmark in the city. It sits within large ground which provide an attractive setting.



(c) Irefin Palace:

Irefin palace is an example of **traditional Nigerian** architecture, dating from early 20th century, precisely built and occupied by the Baale of Ibadan, Irefin Ogundeyi between **1912** and **1914**. It is constructed from timber, mud and a corrugated iron roof which is typical of Ibadan. **The palace is a heritage building** due to its significance as one of the oldest structures in the city and **as a link to Yoruba culture**. (See fig 3).



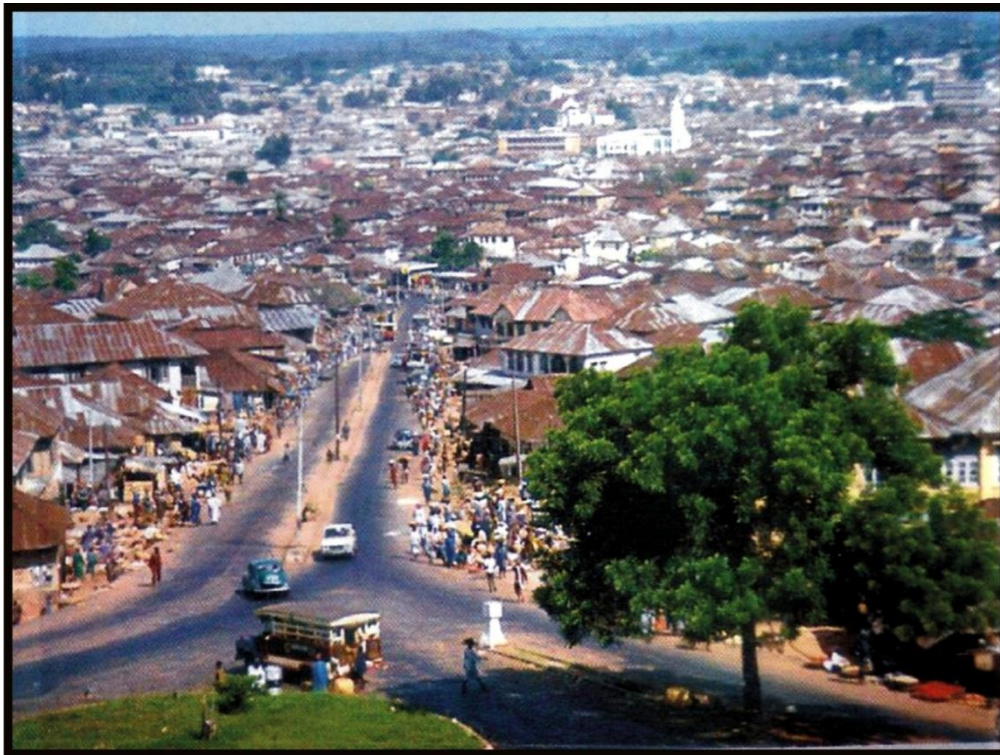
2.4 The Fortification of the City

The elements of the fortification system of Yoruba cities were defence walls, tranches and green belts. The number of defence walls surrounding Yoruba cities during the 19th century civil wars varied between one and three depending on:

- (a) The growth rates of the cities, and
- (b) The scale of their exposure and susceptibility to attacks such centres, according to Oluremi I. Obateru (2006), included Ife, new Oyo, Ibadan, Ilesha, Osogbo, Owo, Ikirun, Kishi and Koso which had two walls. Rev. S. Johnson (1921) described the second Ibadan during the occupation the allied army that-“it consisted of the control market and **about half a mile** of house around. The town wall was where the **principal mosque** now stands (that is Oja’ba Central Mosque).

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According to Clapperton, the **Old Oyo** (Oyo-Ile) was surrounded by about **24.1km (15miles)** while Millson's estimate of the outer **Ibikunle wall of Ibadan** constructed in **1856** was **29km (18miles)**. But according to Ojo, that of Old Oyo measured **40km (25miles)** and that of Ibadan **38.6km (25miles)** in circumference. Nasser estimated of the wall of Abeokuta to be **17.7km (11miles)** long. The most spectacular and monumental of the fortifications was the fortifications was the **earth rampart of Ijebu-Ode** which was 1229km (80 miles) long.



According to Emeritus Professor Bolanle Awe in her praise for IBADAN :Foundation, Growth, and change (2012); she said Ibadan, the largest indigenous African town south of the Sahara, had grown from its humble beginning as refugee settlement in the nineteenth century into a sprawling cosmopolitan city that now home to many millions and serves as the intellectual capital in Nigeria. A city of contrasts of tradition struggling with modernity.

3.0 TRANSFORMATIONAL GOVERNANCE SYSTEM AND CHANGE OF TITLE FROM BAALE TO OLUBADAN

(a) New Political Arrangement

With the victory of Oyo-Yoruba ethnic group over Maye Okuande led army at Ibadan Camp, the eight members of Oluyedun. **Military oligarchy** governed Ibadan, though they did not represent any quarter within Ibadan, unlike what obtained in most other Yoruba towns.

Oluyole, who succeeded Oluyedun in the mid-1830s (1835-1849), firmly established the **military system**. Military titles were given specific military-cum-administrative functions. Oluyole himself assumed the title of Baale but was later honoured with title of Basorun by Alaafin Atiba in 1839.

The civil group of chiefs was created in 1851 during the reign of Baale Oyesile Olugbode (1851-1864) when it had become necessary to relieve the leading warriors of the duty of governing the town as well as fighting the wars of expansion. Power was divided and exercised by two major chieftaincy groups, **one civil** and **one military**. The civil group of chiefs was made up of two categories, the Baale who were males and the Iyalode who were females.

This development confirmed the decision of the first warriors that established the third and present Ibadan to choose leaders only on merit and proven ability can be seen as a revolt against **the traditional Yoruba kingship system**. In their new resolve would never live under kings provided by dynasties, and Ibadan would not create a dynasty, according Professor Akinwumi, Isola in “Governance in the Republic of Warriors (2007).

Therefore, in establishing the **republican constitution** of the town, the cosmopolitan characteristic of the town were preserved so that although

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the chieftaincy titles adopted were traditional ones the system itself was quite different from the normal pattern. The titles were not hereditary but were given in accordance with the effective position of the holder in society and it was possible to progress from one title to another in the hierarchy even to the very top.

The reform started with the new policy of the colonial government as explained by Dr J.A Atanda and quoted by Toyin Falola (1989 p. 242) that: the doctrine that the jurisdiction of any Native Authority must be based on the consent of the people over whom such authority would be exercised. The administration (of Oyo province) was considered by Lagos to be too centralized.... (with an) Alaafin who would not readily be persuaded to change the status quo.

In 1934, during the time of Resident Ward-Price, a new Ibadan Native Authority, independent of Oyo, was constituted. While Oyo was opposed to this, Ibadan welcomed the change with the deepest satisfaction. In the same year, the headquarters of Oyo province was transferred to Ibadan from Oyo where it remained until **1938** as headquarters of the Chief Commissioner, Western Provinces. The title **changed from Baale to Olubadan, in 1936.**

Ibadan Chiefs responded to the **1934 reform** as Oliver Twist would do, they wanted other changes. What became their second major grievance was the title of **Baale** which they now wanted to change to the Olubadan which carried with it **the aura of an Oba and not that of Village head. To them, the Baale title had become a derogatory one for the status of their ruler** and too common, because it was borne by the heads of tiny villages, palm wine sellers, and farmers guilds. In making a request for a change in **July 1936**, they indicated a preference for the **OLUBADAN, and alluded to other related issues in order to obtain the consent of government.** (Toyin Falola 1989 p.244).

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The request was granted in October and gazatted on the 29th of the same month in 1936 by the Colonial Government in Lagos. The notice in the gazette did not fail to recognize the opposition to the change by the Alaafin Ladigbolu 1, while it also emphasized the fact that it was a mere cosmetic – that is, the title of “Olubadan” does not confer upon the holder the right to wear beaded crown, and that it is hoped that no holder of it either in the future shall have such aspiration. This clause was part of the issues alluded to in their application in order to obtain the approval of the government in Lagos headed by Governor Burdillion through Gazette Notice No. 1424.

Baale Okunola Abass Alesinloye became the first Olubadan in 1936 after reigning for six years as Baale of Ibadan 1930-1936. In 1946 For purpose of **regulating chieftaincy succession** in the land, Ibadan Native Authority made a Declaration of Native Law and custom on 19th August,1946, based on the appeal made by the then reigning Olubadan Oyetunde I. The Declaration was amended on 16th January, 1950 to cater for succession to other traditional officers left out in the 1946 declaration. Specifically as regards other chiefs, the Declaration stated:

“APPOINTMENT Of Chiefs other than Olubadan, shall be effected by automatic promotion of the chiefs next in seniority in either the Olubadan or Balogun line Chiefs”

4.0 THE GROWTH OF SATELLITE URBAN CENTRES:

City Concept:

A **town** is an urban settlement which is more or less freely located in a space. The **city is an extended form of a town**. The extension takes either of two forms by **accretion** (peripheral expansion) or by **merger** (agglomeration). Since the emergence of the early cities of the **Middle East**, these have been the processes of urban growth; giving rise to the **city region** as an extended structure of one or more large centres (towns or agglomerations) with surrounding smaller centres, which on account of their many mutual relationships form a **single functional unit**.

4.1 Metropolitan Area:

According to James Heilbrum (1974), that for many types of social and economic analysis, it is necessary to consider **as a unit** the entire population and around the city whose activities form an integrated social and economic system. Hence, the UN-Habitat in 2008 described Ibadan as the **third largest city in Nigeria by population** after Lagos and Kano. Ibadan is, however, **Nigeria's largest city in geographical area** with eleven administratively separate local Government areas. The land area is 3,149.98sq. km, which is larger than Lagos state. **In 1960, Ibadan was the second-most populous city in Nigeria and the truth largest city in Africa** after Alexandra, Algiers, Cairo, Cape Town, Casablanca, Durban, east Rand, Johannesburg and Lagos. In 2010, Ibadan has dropped to 19th of the largest cities in Africa by population. In U.S the Bureau of census regarded metropolitan area as a **Statistical Metropolitan Unit** for social and economic analysis.

The Growth of Satellite Urban Centres City:

The concept of satellite towns and cities entails the **creation of new urban communities outside the present built-up area but within the urban region.** It is to these new urban centres that a considerable, if not the greater proportion of the region's proportion increase is channeled as evidence in the population of the less-city local Governments in Ibadan in 2006. The development of satellite towns takes either of **two forms or both (a) expanding existing small towns or (b) establishing new ones ab initio.**

No satellite town was established in IBADAN as an independent city: is either **conquered, established voluntarily with the consent of the rulers in the city** like **Lalupon, Ogburo, Odo-Oba, Apatere** etc. or established as the **farm/village of the rulers in the city.** The **satellite towns and urban centres were grouped into six district councils in 1961 with Olubadan as the president of both Ibadan city council and the six less-city District Councils.** Though Olubadan has the power and prerogative to assign any of the members Olubadan-in-council to be the **acting president** of the council as explained below:

S/NO	DISTRICT COUNCIL	SATELLITE TOWNS	BAALE
1.0	Ibadan North (Hqts:- Moniya)	Ijaiye-Orile Irko Ikereku Akinyele Ika Agbagi Arulogun Ojoo Ajibade	Onijaiye of Ijaiye Oniroko of Iroko Onikereku of Ikereku Baale of Akinyele Oluka of Ika Baale of Agbagi Baale of Arulogun Baale of Ojoo Baale of Ajibade
2.0	Ibadan East (Hqts: Iyana-Offa)	Erunmu Lalupon Offa Igbo Lagun	Baale of Erunmu Baale of Lalupon Olofa of offa-Igbo Baale of Lagun

3.0	Ibadan South East (Hqts: Akanran)	Akanran Odi-Odeyale Ogo Araromi Ajia Gbadaefon Ojoku Olasunde	Baale of Akanran Baale of Odi-Odeyale Baale of Ogo Baale of Araromi Baale of Ajia Baale of Gbadaefon Baale of Ojoku Baale of Olasunde
4.0	Ibadan south (Hqts: Olode)	Olode Olojuoro Lafikun Latunde Apadi Oyedun	Baale of Odede Baale of Olojuoro Baale of Lafikun Baale of Latunde Baale of Apadi Baale of Oyedun
5.0	Ibadan South West (Hqts: Idi-Ayunre)	Abanda Sanusi Orisunbare Onipe Olubi Alata Olonde	Baale of Abanla Baale of Sanusi Baale of Orisunbare Baale of Onipe Baale of Olubi Baale of Alata Baale of Olonde
6.0	Ibadan West (Hqts: Ido)	Omi Ido Akufo Apete	Baale of Omi Baale of Ido Baale of Akufo Baale of Apete

NOTE: apart from these 30 satellite towns, many villages have grown into towns such as Apatere, Awotan, Alabata, Olorisa-Oko, Monatan, Olodo, Kute, Egbeda, Alakia, Isebo Ogungbade, Ajibode, Sasa and Akinbile, Adegbayi, Olode, Idiose, Olorunda-Aba, Alegongo etc.

4.2 Advantages of the Satellite Urban Communities:

- (i) their land would be used and developed more efficiently through the encouragement of higher development densities consequent upon the elimination of the problem of scatteration and leapfrogging in suburban areas.
- (ii) a wider spectrum of suitable housing for the residents could be found within a reasonable distance of their jobs.
- (iii) higher density housing could be concentrated near transport stations and large employment and shopping centres;
- (iv) there would be a greater variety of alternative job opportunities within easy reach of the home;

- (v) they would offer a much greater range of recreational, social and cultural facilities than today's outer suburbs;
- (vi) the commercial areas would provide goods and services and be more pleasant to visit than most of the one's outer suburbs;
- (vii) the journeys to employment, shopping, recreation and socio-cultural centres would be much shorter;
- (viii) it would be easier to provide outdoor recreation areas and to reserve land for future needs than in a large **single urban mass**; and
- (ix) finally, **well defined satellite communities** containing most of the economic, recreation, social and cultural facilities of a large city may encourage considerable, if not extensive, citizen participation in planning as well as in political and civic affairs.

5.0 THE GROWTH OF SATELLITE URBAN CENTRES CITY:

(a) Structures:

According to Professor Akin Mabogunje, the growth of Ibadan has been by **fission and fusion**. He explained that:

- i) Growth by fission** is the breaking of single but large compounds into smaller units to meet the desire for individual ownership of dwelling units.
- ii) Growth by fusion** was said to be outward shift in city boundary through the annexation of surrounding village of Ibadan in order to accommodate more people.

5.1 Urbanization:

The establishment of institutions, commercial centres, industrial developments coupled with road construction and governmental policies and programmes helped the growth of Ibadan, hence the **multiple nuclei** setting of the city. One peculiar growth characteristic of Ibadan is the fact that growth has been accompanying the establishment of certain institutions and construction of roads or rail line including establishment of Government House on Agodi hill in 1893.

Over time, Ibadan has witnessed rapid development and physical expansion. By **1935**, the estimated urban land use in Ibadan covered about **38.85sq.kms**. The **urban land area** increased to approximately **77.7sq.kms**. By **1965**; by **1977** it increased to **152sq.kms**; and **323.3sq.kms** by **1990**, increasing rapidly from a moderate **growth rate** of **1.0%** p.a. in **1955** to **6.7%** in **1965**, **8.6%** in **1990**.

The extension of rail of rail line from Lagos to Ibadan in **1901** coupled with the convergence of Ijebu-Ode and Abeokuta routes in Ibadan further facilitated its growth and rapid physical expansion. The establishment of **Dugbe market in 1903** and **Gbagi Layout in 1909** marked the major upturn in the development of Ibadan with the influx of many European firms which had established their branches by **1918** in Ibadan to take advantage of the rail line extension, further heightened the pace of physical development.

5.2 Physical Planning-Related Factors:

The late introduction of modern **Town Planning** into spatially of the traditional core areas. Within the technological limits of the early settlers, the layout of the initial settlement was a simple one with access provided for pedestrian traffic, while there was a virtual absence of any motorized traffic. New residential additions simply followed this earlier set pattern, with no regular layout. This initial spatial pattern now has some backfiring effects on modern development in the core areas.

5.3 Internal Structure of Nigerian Cities:

The multiple nuclei theory explains the fundamental in understanding the nature of Nigerian cities. In the book written by Professor Akin L. Mabogunje, uses **central place theory** to analyze the patterns of urbanization in Nigeria, with particular emphasis on the concepts of range and threshold.

- (ii) **IBADAN:** Two cities of a totally different character, **Ibadan and Lagos**, were selected for the study. **Ibadan is a pre-colonial city.** The key factors affecting Ibadan's growth during the colonial were the introduction of railways and the expansions of cocoa cultivations. The latter (that is, Lagos in particular, led to increase in rural incomes and commercial activities in the city. **Ibadan traditional and** modern character was also highlighted.

The **traditional urban form**, characterized by high density, poor sanitation, and poor environmental quality, continues to expand into **new areas of the** metropolis. Professor Akin L. Mabogunje blames this on the weakness of the city's administrative machinery and the concentration of political power in the hands of **traditional urbanities** that are resistant to change.

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Concerning **Ibadan's internet structure**, the idea of twin central business districts (CBDs) fits well with then needs of Ibadan and other traditional cities. In Ibadan, **Iba market, formerly Labosinde market, and Old Gbagi market were the traditional and modern CBDs** respectively. Professor Akin Ladipo Mabogunje (1968).

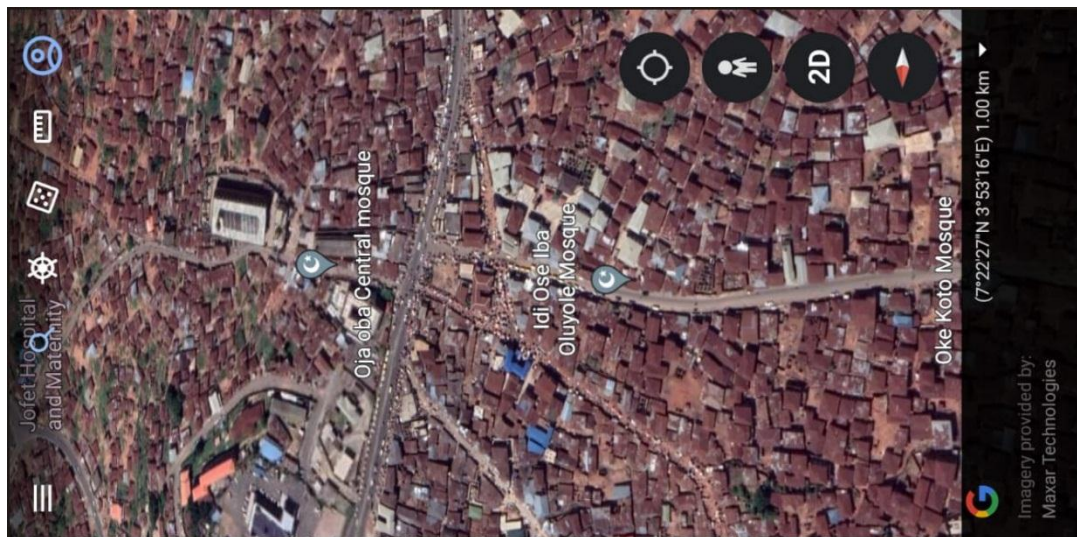


Fig. 2: Oja'ba Market



Fig. 3: Old Gbagi Complex

Professor Mabogunje identified two problems stemming from the cities **internal structure**. These are the problems of its **slims areas** and **lack of easy circulation** within the city. The former affect the comfort, ascetic pleasure and convenience of living in the city, the latter of the efficiency with which the city performs its functions as a business and a future industrial centre.

(iii) LAGOS;

Concerning Lagos, although there was a **small town on the site of present day Lagos in pre-colonial times, it was not a traditional city** in the sense of Ibadan (Prof. Akin L. Mabogunje, 1968). Lagos is essentially a product of the Europeans. Its growth is the result of its central location and political status as the seat of the colonial administration in **1861**. It became a centre of commerce and industry, and the economic nerve centre of the country.

5.4 Urban Management Practice in Nigeria:

Urban management issue in the country, according to professor Akin L. Mabogunje (1968) is evident in his emphasis on the lack of administrative and revenue-raising capacity in Nigerian cities. He regarded this is the single most important problem, which continues today. City officials lack the knowledge to efficiently manage. Most Nigerian cities do not **tap properly rating**, an important source of revenue. This is linked to over-urbanization and housing problems.

Over-urbanization occurs when cities grew faster than jobs, urban infrastructure, including housing and water supply and social services, such as health care and education. This failure to create new employment opportunities fast enough to keep pace with the influx of immigration has had a deleterious effect on the environmental and physical conditions of these cities. **Concerning housing**

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problems, Lagos spectacular growth is linked the instable demand for housing finance. The result is over-crowding and rapid rate of property deterioration in most parts of Lagos.

The presidential committee on Urban Development and housing also observed that the present state of affairs in Nigeria's **urban centres** has been occasioned by the fact that for most Nigerian cities, there is hardly any **management information system (MIS)** on which decisions for planning the **scope, the rate of growth and the revenue receivable** for any services or infrastructural facilities can be based. The absence of such an information system has given rise to some problems in the development of Nigerian cities. The problems are the continued uncontrolled pattern of growth, the persistent shortages of services and infrastructural facilities and the inability of Local Governments to raise adequate internal revenue.

6.0 THE GROWTH OF NEW RESIDENTIAL AREA:

In the first case, the arrival of the railway in **1901** bringing European goods and personnel for trade and administration marked the beginning of large scale immigration. Ethnic groups such as the Ibos, Urobos, Nupes, Igbira, Hausas and Fulanis began to flood the city. **Mokola** became occupied mostly by the Nupes and the Igbiras. **Sabo** became occupied predominantly by the Hausas and Fulanis with expansive cola-nut trade, while using their heavy presence to influence politics. **Oke-Ado and Oke-Bola were then laid out for occupation by Yoruba ethnic groups such as the Ijebus and the Egbas.**

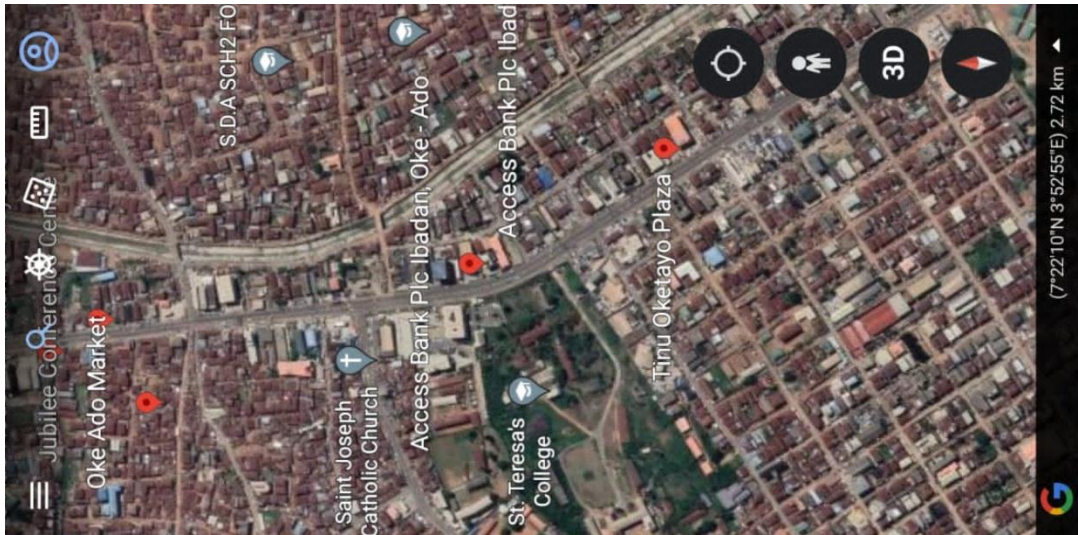


Fig. 5: Foko- Oke Ado Area

The growth of Ibadan became more rapid from **1946** when it was made the head-quarters of the then western region of Nigeria. It then began to attract more European as administrators and businessmen, Yorubas mostly as civil servants but also as traders, and other ethnic groups who came into various un-skilled occupations. The settlement pattern continued to follow the old triangular form which had been established instead of the normal concentric form.

And **Jericho** with other New Reservations Area (GRAs) for Europeans were established at **Onireke** and **Iyaganku**, while Agodi Government Reservation Area was built in **1893** had become inadequate but larger and more rapid expansion were taking place in the indigenous areas such as Oke-Padi, Oriyanrin, Oke-Aremo, Oke-Offa, Ode-Aje, Agugu, elekuro, Kudet, / yejide area and Ogunpa areas. According to Professor Bola Ayeni, “**The metropolitan Area of Ibadan has** one of the highest population densities in the country and the densely settled areas remain the central and indigenous core of the city.

6.1 Effect of Urban Fragmentation:

The phenomenon of the fragmented city of Ibadan since **1917** by the township ordinance typically creates two cities within the city is clearly evident till today. The urban poor live in high urban densities, with unplanned urban spatial layout and mostly deprived of access to adequate **housing, residential land, municipal services** and other **urban benefits**.

The better off tend to reside in the ordered, formally planned and structured higher-income areas that enjoy municipal services. To correct this precarious situation faced by cities in Nigeria, there us need for politicians and city mangers to look inward, towards improving affordable and adequate housing and basic facilities and services delivery (*See Agodi GRA Google Map*).



Agodi GRA

6.2 Decentralization of Metropolitan Areas:

The growth and decentralization of the metropolitan areas when we examine the metropolitan population of Ibadan in 2006 Population and Housing census as a whole and at the profoundly important changes that have been taking place within metropolitan areas during the twenty first century.

The overflow effect is easily described. If central city with fixed boundaries enjoys continuous growth of numbers, vacant land will eventually be used up, and, even though growth continues in the form of higher density, additional metropolitan population will tend increasingly to spill over into the suburbs. (see the table of 2006 population).

Table 3: Population Analysis of Ibadan Metropolitan Area:

Year / Period	Population	Urban Population	Growth Rate	Rural Population	Growth Rate
1856	70,000	70,000	-	-	-
1860	150,000	150,000	-	-	-
1890	150,000	150,000	-	-	-
1911	175,000	175,000	0.79%	-	-
1921	238,094	238,094	3.60%	-	-
1931	287,133	287,133	3.60%	-	-
1952	745,488	459,196	0.89%	286,252	-
1963	1,141,677	627,376	2.80%	514,298	5.70%
1991	1,829,300	1,222,663	2.43%	606,639	0.50%
2006	2,550,593	1,338,659	0.47%	1,211,034	2.22%

*Sources: Census Ordinance of October 25, 1917.
National Population Commission, 1991 and
Federal office of statics, 1963.*

Before the outward reaches the central city boundaries, suburban ring development will be relatively slight, based upon the growth of scattered suburbs and satellite cities such as Moniya, Lalupon, Olodo, etc. after the margin of development passes those boundaries, however, suburban population will rise at an incomparably faster pace than before the certainly outstrip the growth rate of the central city as it occurred during 2006 Housing and Population Census in Nigeria with respect to Ibadan Metropolitan Area.

7.0 MARKETS AND COMMERCIAL ACTIVITIES IN IBADAN

The role of local governments in the promotion of development at the local level is clearly recognized as one of the underlying bases of the 1976 Local Government Reforms which emphasized that one of the principal objectives of local governments is to mobilize human and material resources through the involvement of members of the public in the promotion of development at the local level. Among the statutory functions of the local governments according to the 1999 constitution, is the provision of markets, motor parks, health centres, primary schools and slaughter houses.

7.1 Urban Traditional Markets

1. Oje Market - noted for weaved cloths controlled by Delesolu dynasty
2. Oja'Iba Market - first traditional market in Ibadan at Oriyangi was named Oja-Iba after Basorun Oluyole in 1893. It was formally named after Labosinde
3. Onisiniyan market
4. Gege market
5. Bode market
6. Ode-Olo market
7. Oritamerin market
8. Oranyan goat market
9. Oja-Igbo market - established by Chief Ogidi, and Ifa Chief
10. Elekuro market - noted for palm kernel products
11. Ayeye market
12. Agugu market
13. Oke-ado market

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Market plays a role which is more than economic because they add values to traditional and political elements which are not easy to destroy. This is why they dominated the city centre where they were controlled by the Oba or Baale in those days where, even in some cases, the installation of an Oba was performed. Similarly, markets were found elsewhere within the town closely associated with the residence of minor chiefs to whom they also constituted veritable means of livelihood. The spaces provided by the markets were also used as parade or dancing grounds during important festivals. These traditional markets are found in the metropolis and the rural areas of Ibadan.

Traditional markets do not have basic facilities such as toilets, car parks, water supply which are usually provided in the conventional markets and they are usually built with temporary structures such as could be found in periodic and daily markets described below.

Markets in Ibadan can be examined from two perspectives namely: those in the rural areas and those within Ibadan metropolis. While periodically marketing business is prevalent in the rural areas, buying and selling activities take place every day of the week in nearly all the markets within the metropolis.

(a) Oje Market

Oje market is nowadays a much specialized indigenous cloth market. Up to 1930s, Oje was rather dominantly a collecting and distributing centre for food crops and the products of craft industries from the surrounding districts. In the late 1930s, however, people from Iseyin, Osogbo and Oyo came to settle nearby and introduced into Oje market, the products of their traditional weaving industry and, from the beginning, the trade in Yoruba cloths became the dominant aspect of marketing.

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In the 1940s, a wide tarred road from Mapo to Agodi in the town was constructed and passed within a few yards of Oje market. This road greatly facilitated the contact by motor Lorries between Oje and the weaving centres of northern and north-eastern Yorubaland. Today, Oje market is even more functional and receives greater patronage than Oja Iba that has been partly leased back to some indigenes to build shopping complex and a Cold Room.



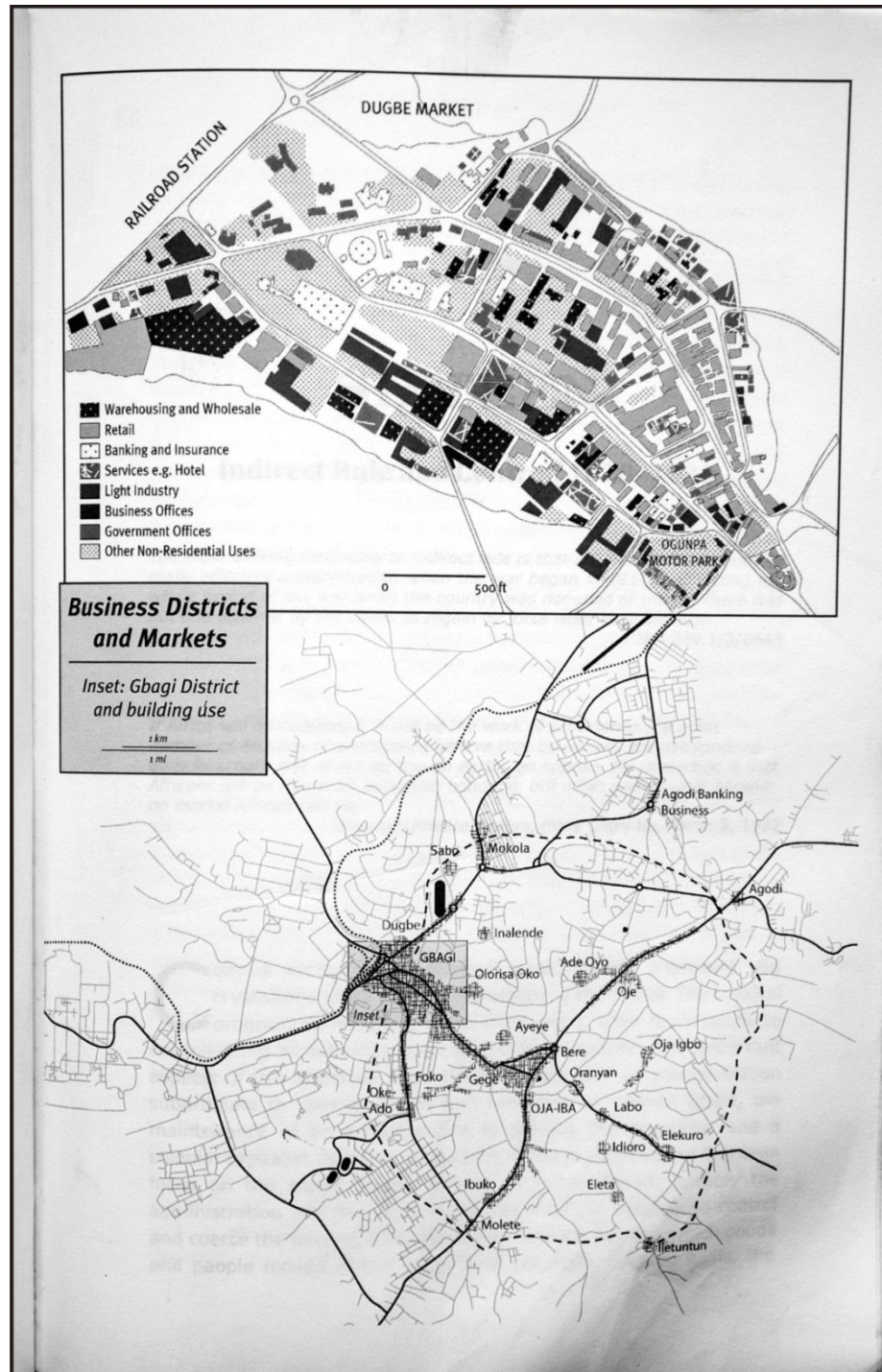
***Fig. 6: Ibadan Business Districts and Markets
in the Traditional Area***

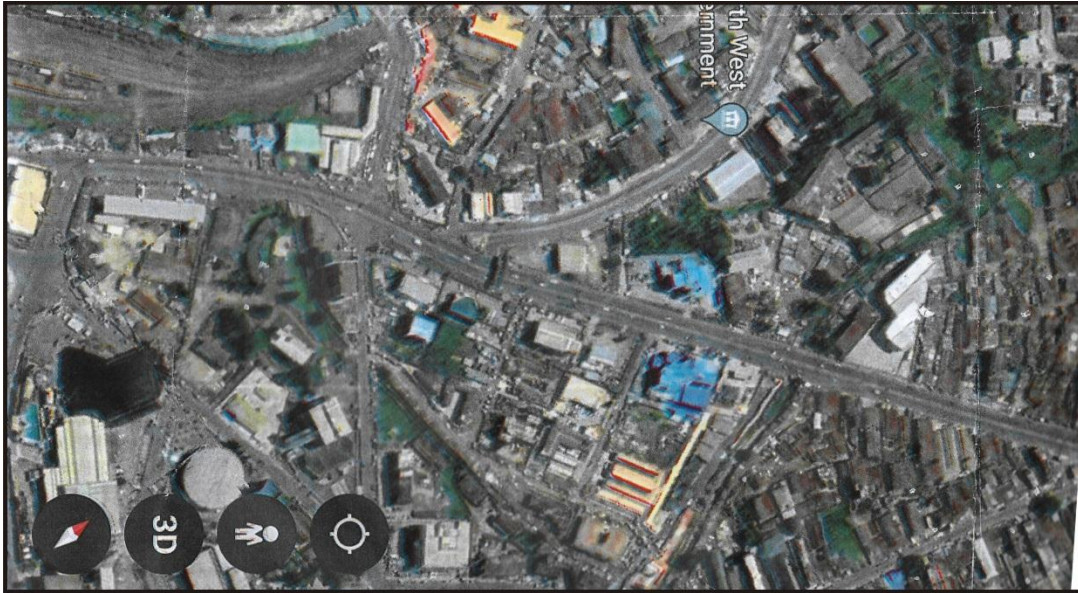
(b) Oja Iba (Iba Market)

Like all Yoruba markets, Iba market is held in the open, through a few stalls provide shade and shelter for those traders who are to sell their wares throughout the day. The market area used to be about **10 acres of hardened lateritic soil**. Around **1928**, the market was cut across by two roads, one running north to south and passing by Mapo Hall, the other running west to east from the Gbagi/Agbeni area. This invasion of the market area by roads has encouraged considerable encroachment by residential and commercial buildings (Cold Room) and shopping complex. The effect today is that while the area of the market has been reduced to less than three acres, marketing activities spill out along all the roads that enter the market, especially Onisiniyan area leading to Gege junction with the road leading to Gbagi.

As the centre of traditional urbanism, Iba market serves not only an economic but also a social and political function. As a social centre, it is a point of meeting on such occasions as the outing ceremony of youth societies in the 1960s, the burial ceremony of an aged parent or grandparent, or the festivities pertaining to individual families or sections of the city. Politically this is where much news of local events is determined and, in particular, where the ceremony of installing the titular head (Baale and later Olubadan) at the Osemeji shrine take place.

Of all the markets in Ibadan in the middle of 19th century, Oja-Iba was the largest and the most famous. It combined all the features of day, night and periodic markets. Oja-Iba was 'national' as it attracted traders and goods from different parts of Yorubaland. It also served as a redistribution centre, making it possible for other Yoruba towns and villages to have access to a wide variety of goods.





(d) Old Dugbe (Jubilee) Market and Onireke

The Iddo Gate entrance, just opposite the Railway Station, was virtually taken over. Dugbe, north of Iddo Gate, had also been colonized by strangers, especially the railway staff, clerks, labourers and traders. A market grew up at Dugbe, to serve the needs of these people. By 1905, according to Dr. Toyin Falola (1989), Dugbe had become notorious as a slum, an abode for “**ruffians**” and “an assortment of people bearing a very bad character.

In 1909, the first major step was taken to acquire the Jubilee market from the Native Administration so as to incorporate it into the township. In October, 315 pounds (£315) was paid into the Native Authority funds and the control of the market changed hands. In the same year, plans were completed to mark out the area between Government Land (i.e the neighbourhood of the Railway station) and the Ogunpa stream into trading plots with suitable dividing roads to conform with existing sanitary roads and in such a way that firms could acquire more than a plot, if desired. *Dugbe*

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was one of the largest daily markets in Ibadan before it was relocated to New Alesinloye market built by the Ibadan Municipal Government.

The defunct Ibadan Municipal Government effected some changes in the marketing procedure and activities within the metropolis. These resulted in the expansion, closure and modifications of some markets within the city with the backing of the state Government. The most remarkable of such undertakings was the movement of some traders to New Gbagi or Bola Ige International market along the New Ibadan-Ile-Ife Expressway after the 1980 Flood Disaster and the demolition of Dugbe market while the traders were forced to move to Alesinloye (New Dugbe) market in Jericho Reservation Forest Area. The same effort to rid Ibadan of street trading resulted in forcing the traders at Oritamerin to relocate to Oba Akinbiyi (Bodija) market.

8.0 CHALLENGES OF DECENTRALIZATION AND SERVICE DELIVERY IN IBADAN METROPOLIS

(ii) Effect of Increasing Urbanization:

It is recognized that the continued and increasing urbanization of Ibadan is an evitable part of the process of economic development, and that urban-based economic growth will continue to increase in this 21st century. The **challenge is to ensure this urban growth is sustainable, efficient and equitable.**

The rapid and uncontrolled growth of the city which has resulted in **unregulated development** and **inappropriate land-use changes** has also resulted in an estimated 70% of the population living in unplanned, poorly serviced and heavily populated informal settlements. The lack of a effective and efficient **mass transmit system** means rapidly increasing numbers of vehicles on ever-more congested roads leading to overcrowding, increased air pollution, stress and

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increasing accidents. Responsibility for the major road, transport and traffic management is shared between the state and federal government and their agencies.

(iii) Urban Institutions and Fragmented Management System:

The institutional setting in Ibadan, the capital of Oyo State, has traditionally comprised a host of agencies at federal, state, and local government levels with separate land areas, separate legal and administrative frameworks, and engaging in little **institutional coordination**. This result in a **fragmented management system (FMS)** with each agency responsible for multiple services within its own jurisdiction and many cases with its own set of regulatory laws and frameworks. This has far reaching and adverse consequences on **Ibadan city growth development**. The resulting **poor governance** and regulation in **Ibadan** affects not only the **quality of city planning, infrastructure development** and **public and municipal services**, but also impacts adversely on the country's economic growth development prospects.

(iv) Urban planning and urban development control:

Within Ibadan Metropolitan area with eleven Local Government areas and fourteen Local council development areas with an area of 3,149.94sq.km, the largest in Nigeria; planning and development controls remain weak. This is as a result of the state control of planning as against what obtained in the days of Ibadan Metropolitan Planning Authority and fragmentation of authority over land between the various government agencies particularly Federal Government agencies which have significant land holdings. Even approval of buildings on local Government Estates must pass through the state Minister of Lands and physical planning. The **major planning and** development control issues include;

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- (a) Absence of effective coordination of planning process between land-holding and controlling agencies
- (b) The distribution and development of **public land** which takes place is not guided by development policies and strategies for implementation;
- (c) Building and construction provisions for leasing out of public land are not enforced;
- (d) Control system for land development by private developers are ineffective; and
- (e) Conditions in building permits are seldom followed.

(v) Land Market and Assess to Land:

One result of the absence of land available for development is the demise of Ibadan Metropolitan Authority (MPA) now replaced with Ibadan Local Governments Development Company which now opens layouts in remote areas of the Metropolitan Area. The state government and its agency, Property Development Corporation for a long time abandoned AJODA NEW TOWN for its incivility to pay compensation. This has led to overdevelopment of GRAs and squatter settlement within Ajoda GRA.

Where government has failed, the **informal private sector** has stepped in and organized private developers both illegally and with government approval obtain access to public and private land, sub-divide it, and sells plots at relatively low prices to new comers. Serviced plots which can be offered are outside the affordability range of most low-income dwellers.

(vi) Infrastructure and Service Provision

Infrastructure services support our well-being and development. Reliable water, sanitation, energy, transport, and telecommunication services are universally considered to be essential for raising the quality of life of people **Access to basic infrastructure services** is also a central factor in the productivity of firms and the entire economies, making it a key enabler of economic development. According to the World Bank (2019), this time of rapid climate change and intensifying natural disasters, infrastructure system are under pressure to deliver resilient and reliable services.

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN
PRESERVATION OF HISTORICAL HERITAGE AND
CULTURAL SITES IN IBADAN METROPOLITAN AREA

1.0 INTRODUCTION

Heritage is defined by the World Bank in Ibadan City Master Plan (2019) as the objects, custom or qualities which are passed down over many years within a family, social group or nation and thought of belonging to all its members. In this sense, **historic sites** and buildings are physically embodiment of Ibadan culture and Yoruba generally. They are fundamental to a “**sense of place**” and engender a feeling of connection to the city. The act of protecting and enhancing heritage buildings is known as conservation.

Historic sites are increasingly recognized as important **economic resources** in both developed and developing countries. Improving the conservation and management of the heritage is not only important for preserving historic significance, but also for its potential to increase income – earning opportunities, and community competitiveness.

The location, conservation and preservation of cultural and natural heritage sites is of paramount importance to the level of success for a given area in attracting heritage tourism. Aside posterity, heritage has been viewed as an avenue for attracting investment and tourism.

The concern, therefore, is that the inability of heritage sites in Ibadan Metropolitan Area to contribute to the rich **national and world heritage lists** is due to some surmountable challenges. These include environmental degradation, development and modernization impact, lack of political will, **inadequate inventory and** documentation, **non categorization of** heritage sites; lack of heritage specified legislation, **official neglect** and low awareness and community participation.

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The historic cover areas in of cities in Oyo State have been allowed to decay and largely abandoned. **The absence of conservation plans and documentation** procedures for most of the heritage sites in the state make them to be physically disrupted by **insensitive to modern development.**

Finally, heritage consecration is a cost-effective method of regenerating urban areas by brining value back to existing buildings; new business and residents are attracted without the need for large scale construction, it has been observed throughout the world that buildings in historic, areas have higher property values and appreciate at greater rates them the local market overall. Heritage tourism can result in huge direct and in direct revenue for the local economy (e.g. Mapo Hall; Bower's Tower; and Oke'badan at Eleyele).

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Ibadan has a rich history which is evident in the urban form, it is vital that historic structures be recognized as tourist sites and as part a tourism strategy. Promoting heritage in the city will attract tourists in the cities culture and history.

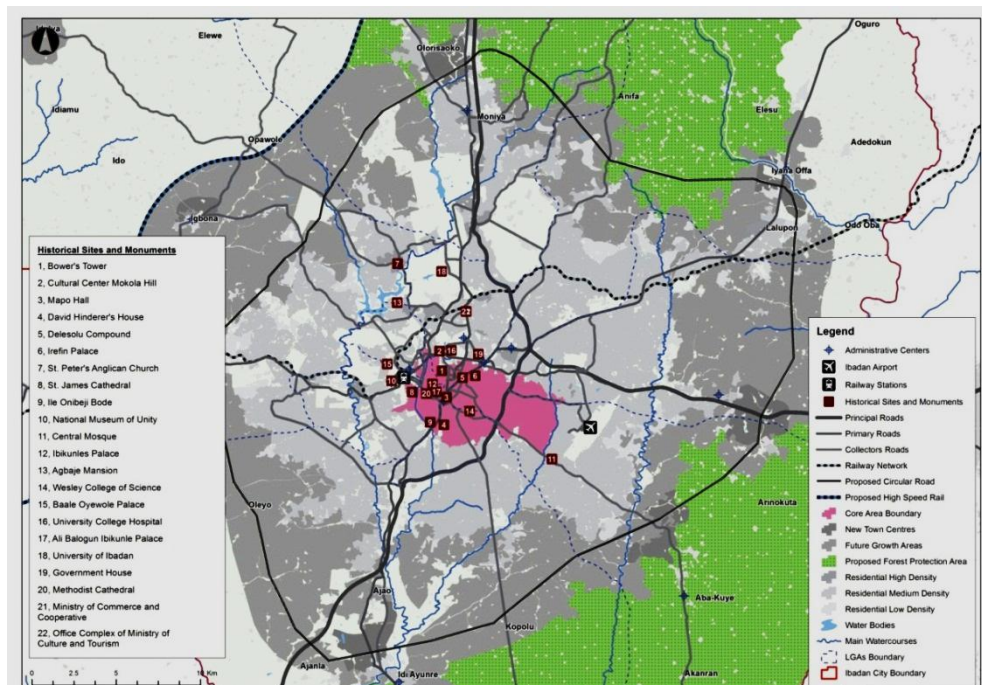
(i) Mapo Hall

Mapo Hall was constructed during the colonial era in 1925 and designed by Tafy Jones. It was commissioned in 1929 by Captain W. Ross in 1929. It is located on Mapo Hill at the centre of the city being the first Administrative Local Government building in Nigeria. The building was refurbished in **2008** and is used regularly for conferences

and weddings. Mapo Hall is a **significant heritage structure** due to its unique architectural design and connection to a particular historical period. As the Mapo Hall is generally in good use, **conservation activities** may be limited to regular maintenance

(ii) Bower’s Tower

Bower’s Tower was erected in **1936** as a memorial to captain Robert Lister Bower (1893-1987) who was the first British resident in the city. It is located on the highest hill at Oke-Aremo in the city, the **tower** measures **60 feet** (18 metre) high and provides unique views across Ibadan. the structure is a prominent landmark in the city. It sits within large ground which provides an attractive setting. **Conservation** of the tower may include improvement of its setting- details will be explained later



Source: Ibadan City Heritage Map

(i) Irefin Palace

Irefin Ogundeyi was the Baale of Ibadan between 1912 and 1914. Irefin Palace is an example of **traditional Nigeria Architecture**, dating from the early 19th century during the colonial era. It is constructed from timber, mud and corrugated iron roof which is typical of Ibadan.

The **palace is a heritage building** due to its significance as one of the oldest structures in the city and as a link to Yoruba culture. **Conservation of the tower** may include improvements to this appurtenance and enhancement of its setting (Ibadan Masterplan, March 2017). Descriptive features of the palaces will be presented later in this report.

Optimization of Resources Management

The purpose of these investigations in Ibadan Metropolitan Area is to advise the State Government and the eleven (11) Local Governments in Ibadan on how to improve the utilization of heritage assets and natural resources. Hence, a resource planning in critical task of management. Effective resource management increased profitability of optimum utilization of resources in and around government asset and heritage management including land administration and even in governance system.

In organizational studies, resources management is the efficient and effective deployment of organization's resources when they are needed, according to the Economic Development Institute of **"The World Bank (EDI) Policy Seminar Report"**. Number 20, published in **1989**, concerning Optimum Resource Utilization.

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- There must be technology to gather data on resource stocks and utilization.
- Valuation of resources that reflects not only monetary value but also non-quantifiable and intangible value resources.
- Comprehensive and integrated development programme.
- Willingness of users to cooperate with government in programme implementation.
- Follow-up is necessary to support efforts to redistribute access to resources and encourage efficient resource utilization.

There is need to effectively manage these heritage assets with historic importance to the community and the annual celebration of Oke-badan festivals which reveals the founders of Ibadan the neglected natural Forest Reserves.

2.0 The Symbolic Mapo Hall: The First Local Government Headquarters in Nigeria Background History

The present Ibadan was the third one and was established in 1825A.D. when it was occupied by the allied army of Ife, Oyo, Ijebu and friendly Egbas after the **Owu-Ogbere** war. After the prolonged Yoruba Civil War (1793-1893), the Yoruba came under the British Rule. In 1897A.D, resident F.C. Fuller constituted Ibadan City Council, the first in Yorubaland.

From **1897 to 1925** the Ibadan Chiefs had no fixed place of regular Council meeting. The judicial and all other Council meetings were held in the verandah of the Baale's House, and there were strong objections to this arrangement by the British Authority. A council Hall could solve this problem.

When the council Hall was proposed in 1920 the chief ejected the idea because it would enable Captain Ross, who was perceived to be enemy of Ibadan to

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watch over the Ibadan Chiefs deliberation, providing him with the opportunity to curb their intrigues.

In 1914, with the amalgamation of the Southern and Northern Protectorates of Nigeria, the headquarter was transferred from Ibadan where it has been since 1893. Oyo Town, even, according to Dr. J.A. Atanda (1973), it was clear that the location of the former made it a more suitable place. Consequently, the province called Ibadan Province assumed the new name of Oyo Province.

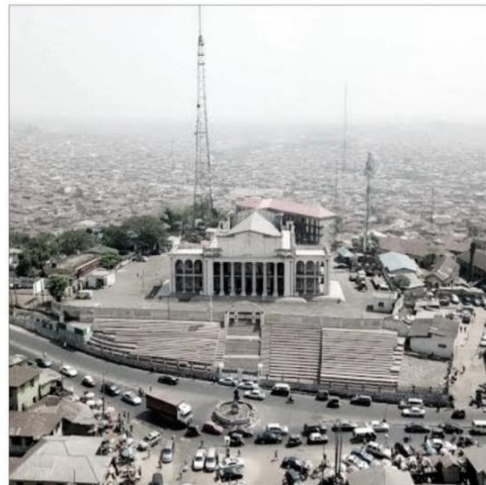
However, Dr. J.A. Atanda went further, there was no need to change the structure of government in the 1920s because the two tiers:- The Province with the headquarters at Oyo and Ibadan Native Authority with the headquarters at Ibadan, were adequate to for the needs of the colonial regime, primarily a law and order oriented system.

2.1.1 Building of Mapo Hall

The foundation was laid in July 1925, ten days after the installation of Baale Oyewole who succeeded Baale Shittu (the son of Aare Latosisa) in exile (1914-1925). The site occupied by Mapo Hall had eleven houses that occupied the Hall site demolished on the order of Captain Ross.

According to Ruth Watson of Oriel College, Oxford (2000), the names of three men figured prominently in the early history of Mapo Hall; namely, Captain W.A. Ross, Robert Taffy Hones and Mr. H.L. Ward Price.

MAPO HALL



The project of building Mapo Hall was started and completed under Captain Ross, the Resident of Oyo Province from 1914 until 1931. Taffy Jones was responsible for the design and as the Provincial Engineer, he supervised its construction. But in Ibadan today, it is Captain Ross successor, Resident Ward Price, who is generally associated with the Building (Ruth Watson, 2000).

2.1.2 The Construction Details

Thus Mapo Hall was built as the first main administrative and civic centre during the colonial days (125-1929) on a piece of land measuring **5.29 acres** surrounded by road. It has an oval chamber specifically designed for Council meetings. The building is **48.9m long** and **44 metre wide** and **11.5 metre high** while the capacity of the Hall is about 700 people with a raised platform and gallery that could be converted to offices. About **eleven (11) houses** occupying the Hall site were demolished on the order of Captain Ross, the Senior British Resident in 1925 and compensation was paid to the families affected.

The Hall was designed by Taffy Jones the provincial Engineer with the idea of putting up a structure, which would reflect the history and culture of the people of Ibadan as “Omo Opo- Mule- Ro” – (chief (Mrs) kemi Morgan. It was opened in October **5, 1929** by his Excellency, Sir Creamer Thompson, the then Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Nigeria. In addition, representatives of Oba of Lagos, the Alake of Abeokuta, the Ooni of Ife, the Awajale of Ijebu-Ode, and the Owa of Ilesa all attended. A prominent merchant in the city, Chief Salami Agbaje, offered to arrange the firework display satisfactorily.

The building was completed at a cost of **₦24000** (twenty for thousand pounds). The original cost was **₦ 18, 000** (eighteen thousand pounds) which was raised because of the need to have a deeper foundation to **₦ 23, 914** (twenty three thousand nine hundred and fourteen pounds). In **1936** a special cupboard for the Newspaper “Ijoba Ibile Marun referring to the splitting of Oyo Province in 1934 into **Oyo, Ibadan, Ife, Ilesa** and **Ila** Divisions, along with Law Reports and Government Gazettes was constructed in Mapo Hall to enable easy reference for the public.

2.1.3 Management of Mapo Hall

The monumental structure was renovated in 2006 by the government of Oyo State at a cost of about ₦ 200million (Two hundred million naira) with modern ceramic tiles replacing the wooden tiles and the roof replaced with transparent corrugated sheets. The Hall is now fully air- conditioned for events and conferences managed by the Agency of the eleven (II) Local Governments in Ibadan land. The agency was registered as Ibadan Local Governments Properties Company Ltd. The arcade facing Taffy High way (Oritamerin market) is used for political rallies and Olubadan Coronation ceremonies.

There is a consensus among experts that governments at the federal or state levels have a key role to play in ensuring the resilience of critical infrastructure and that they should adopt a whole-of- government approach. This approach involves the sectoral ministries and agencies overseeing infrastructure service delivery and regulation in multiple critical sectors, as well as those responsible for resilience to hazards and threats.

It also involves local authorities especially municipalities that in many countries, are responsible for supplying drinking water and managing urban transit and transportation.

Finally, in a document prepared by the World Bank with Nigerian Collaboration in 1995 on “Restoration of urban Infrastructure and services”- it was suggested that Local Governments that are part of larger cities to form joint boards to manage services requiring efficiencies of scale and wide geographical coverage e.g. Lagos Waste Management Authority and Ibadan Local Governments Properties Company Limited.

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2.2 The Historic and Tourism Potential of Bower's Tower

2.2.1 Introduction

On the top of the highest hill in the centre of Ibadan- the Oke-Are Hill is conspicuously located a historical monument called the Bower's Tower. The tower, also known as **Layipo** is sited in a government reserved forest called **Igbo-Agala**, near Sapati area. That monument was crested to immortalize the first Resident and Travelling commissioner for the interior of Yorubaland, Captain Robert Lister Bower, who served between 1893 and 1897.



Bower's Tower

2.2.2 Bower the Resident and Travelling Commissioner

With his headquarter at Ibadan, Bower's area of operation in the Yoruba country covered "all Ibadan, Awyaw (Oyo), Ife, Igbomina, Ijesha and Ikiti (Ekiti) territory". This was the which, excluding Ekiti, was later constituted into Oyo Province."

Bower's Tower is 60 feet high and 11 feet square, with two entrances it has 45 double spiral staircases and was designed by Teffy Jones' who as Provincial Engineer equally supervised its construction.

The monumental project was executed by the then Ibadan Native Authority. It was unveiled on Tuesday 15, December, 1936 amidst pomp and pageantry by Commander Bower accompanied by his daughter, both of whom came from England for the occasion the historic ceremony was witnessed by about 3,000 spectators, including important dignitaries like the Olubadan of Ibadanland and other high ranking chiefs in Yorubaland." Written on the tower are the following words.

To the memory of Sir Roberi Lister Bower, K.B.E, C.M.E. First Resident of Ibadan, 1893-1897 whose fine character, courage and administrative ability won the universal and lasting esteem of the Yorubas and firmly established the loyalty of the people to the imperial crown.

This chapter analyses the career of the man who, as Resident, represented the might of the British in Ibadan in particular and Yorubaland in general, between 1893 and 1897 besides, the events culmination to Captain Bower's name being immortalized, as the significance of the historical tower through the ages, are given a degree of attention.

The appointment of Captain Robert Lister Bower as the first Resident and Travelling Commissioner in the hinterland of the Yoruba country Obisesan, an area

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that later constituted the Oyo Province, was sequent to an “Agreement’ signed between the British Colonial Government in Lagos, with Ibadan on 15 August 1893. That treaty which succeeded in making the rules of Ibadan, one time terror of Yorubaland, accept the stationing of a British Resident among them, ushered in a new era of British administration in the town. And as shall be shown presently not only did they lose their own independence but Oyo and other parts of Yorubaland also lost their sovereignty as well.

(a) Significance of Idi-Ogungun:

Bower assumed duties at Ibadan in the middle of December 1893 on arrival; he chose to reside outside the town wall, near the ancient **city of owu**. That area, called **Idi-Orgungun, is (where the present Government House is sited at Agodi in Ibadan**. As has been rightly pointed out Bower, on arrival in Ibadan, was not completely new to Yorubaland. For, following his earlier appointment to the Constabulary Department of the Lagos Government in September 1892, he had served on the encourage of Sir Gilbert Thomas Carter, the then Governor of Lagos, on a peace mission to Yorubaland. Bower had equally taken part in various military expeditions and campaigns among a number of Yoruba groups including the Ijebu, the Egba, Ilorin, Ife, Ijesa and the Ekiti, among others between 1892 and 1893. He had thus travelled far and wide within the Yoruba country before finally settling in Ibadan. As a matter of fact, was this initial acquaintance with the Yoruba country that partly informed Governor Carter’s choice of Captain Bower for his new assignment as Resident and Travelling Commissioner.

(b) The Significance of the Memorial Tower:

cance not only for Ibadan but the defunct Oyo province and the entire Yoruba race. The man-Robert Lister Bower - has been described as man “Whose fine character, courage, and administrative ability won the universal and lasting esteem of the Yoruba.. As the tower was erected when Nigeria was still under colonial rule, the above description of Bower, for which a monument was erected in his memory, could, to an extent, be said to have represented colonial official assessment of the Resident. For at least, on one occasion during the colonial era Bower had received official commendation for the “many distinguished services he has performed since he has been connected with this (Lagos) Government” It is significant to stress that such commendations, no doubt, demonstrate that even if the monument serves no other significance for the Yoruba people, it reminds them of the man who firmly established the loyalty of the people to the imperial crown.

And, for the various Yoruba groups, the historical monument symbolized a plethora of meanings. Among other things, it serves the purpose of reminding the people of the day when a Yoruba traditional ruler the Aseyin of Iseyin-was slapped, after which he was ordered to be whipped. In Oyo, it serves as a reminder to the day when the Alaafin was asked to come and prostrate to a white man in the public, and when the town was totally burnt down by the white officials. For the Ibadan people among whom the pillar is situated, it is a remembrance of the period of humiliation of their chiefs- a periods when an Ibadan ruler and the authorities had to get permission from a white man before instructing their people on anything relating to their own town. That a memorial structure was erected in memory of the high handedness and disrespect to African tradition is, as Akinlolu Aje rightly demonstrates, pointer to such anachronism as were bred by the British colonial Masters. In a nutshell, if at all the pillar serves no other purpose; it can still be

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remembered by the Ibadan people in particular and the Yoruba in general, as a monument to humiliation.

If from different angles Captain R.L. Bower has been viewed as man of great virtues and as a man who symbolized tyranny and oppression, the erection of a monument in his memory, by implication, seriously conforms with a Yoruba saying. Oba to je ti ilu roju to tooro, Ati eyi to je ti ilu daru, Oruko won o ni pare laelae.

(The king whose reign ushered in peace and progress will always be remembered for his good works and king whose reign spelt doom and ruin for the people, will all be remembered forever)

(c) The Meaning of Layipo:

As indicated elsewhere above, the spiral nature of the Tower's 39 steps explain why it is also known as **Layipo** which literally means Hon- our turned around but metaphorically or allegorically implying Diplomatic maneuvering. Its design is said to depict the Cadbury of England's package of chocolate bars sent to Nigeria To this day, there is a saying in Yorubaland thus: "Ibadan lo mo, o om Layipo meaning", (Know-indigenes as a town is one thing, knowledge of the cunningness or diplomacy of its indigenes is a different matter altogether.

The spiral steps of the tower which normally turns anyone climbing the monument round (is said to remind people of the diplomatic maneuvering of Ibadan people –an attitude believed to have been developed right from the time of the establishment of the town and which the people were known to have displayed successfully to their own advantage during the 19th century Yoruba civil wars. The implication of the quotation above, therefore, is that unless one really studies very well the traditional Ibadan man, it might be difficult to know or guess which particular side he is taking in a matter.

(d) Establishment Agala Forest

Following the erection of the monument, a large portion of land was acquired in the vicinity and made a “Government Reserved Forest” (also known by the inhabitants of Ibadan as **Igbo Agala**). Trees were planted round the tower, which, apart from beautifying the monument’s surrounding, also served as a source of income to the government.

The 60 feet high tower also provided and still provides, a good opportunity for a panoramic view of the city of Ibadan at a glance. From the **top of this monument, it is possible to see the large size of Ibadan** city, covered with a sea of rusty corrugated iron roofs and the occasional shining of the roof tops in the newly built or renovated houses. Standing from any point of the square shaped gallery therefore, it is possible to view the large expanse of the city of Ibadan at a glance.

The site of the tower was for several years after commissioning centre of tourist attraction in Ibadan. Until the recent past, people from within and outside the town used to swarm the site to see the tower and its double spiral steps, while some utilized the advantage offered by the tower to visit Ibadan for the first time. And, with its serene environment decorated with beautiful flowers, it served as a conducive environment for picnic, excursion and other get together programmes. Such visits often enhanced the social and commercial life of the people living in the vicinity of the tower.

6.3.2 The Period of Neglect and Disuse

No sooner after the attainment of independence, especially after the civil war of 1967-70, that the once attractive and ever bubbling site of the Bower’s Tower entered into a period of neglect and disuse. Patronage declined steadily while the popularity with which it was greeted from inception to the immediate post-

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independence era waned as the attitude of people changed towards the monument. This was a trend that continued until 1994 when the acute shortage of fuel specialty kerosene and electricity forced people to the once-dreaded **Agala** forest to fell many of the big trees in the site for use as firewood. This was what opened up the tower once again for public attention, until the present renovation and modernization exercises by agencies of the federal and Oyo State Government.

Meanwhile the poor patronage of the pre- 1994 period was due to number of factors. The **Igbo Agala** remained for long unkept and uncared for by both the state and local Government. Most indigenous inhabitants of the area therefore held tenaciously to their age long belief that such an unusually quiet location in the centre of an ever busy city like Ibadan must have been accommodating certain evil spirit.

The original motive of the architects of the monument for which tree were planted in the vicinity of the tower –to add to its aesthetic values as well as preserve such trees for future economic uses-were later subjected to abuses and diabolical uses. Men of the underworld did turn the area into hiding spots where they camped themselves. The menace of these men of dubious characters was so frightening that prior to the present renovation and modernization being carried out on the site, people stopped passing through such routes like Oniyanrin-Adeoyo, and others linking the reserved forest with other parts of the city.

MAINTENANCE OF BOWER'S TOWER

As mentioned elsewhere above, the lack of serious attention to the tower and its site, by the state and local government was a contributing factor to the poor state of the monument. *The tower, as earlier stated, was erected by the Native Authority who financed, supervised, and maintained it. These responsibilities were later transferred to the then Ibadan City Council (I.C.C.) and thereafter, Ibadan Municipal Government (I.M.G).* All these successive supervising agencies did not

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show adequate commitments to the proper maintenance of the monument. Apart from the access roads which became poor, the renovation of the Tower's fence the started in 1983 by members of the National Youth service Corps (NYSC) scheme, lingered on for years, while the floodlights meant to illuminate the Tower remained for a longtime, non-functional. Worse still, the spiral steps which earned the monument the name **Layipo** was left in a state of disrepair. Moreover, the metallic balcony of the Tower got rusted making it unsafe to stand on the top of the 60 feet structure.

The result of the various supervising agencies non-challenge culminated in the abuse of the facilities of the site. The laterite soil of the tower site was constantly excavated by certain members of the public for their own personal uses. The beautiful tress planted around the monument, apart from harbouring vagabonds, were constantly subjected to felling by members of the public despite the incessant campaign on forestation by governments, the climax of this constant deforestation as the 1994 episode earlier referred to above and this was what appeared to have opened the eyes of government to resuscitate the historical monument.

6.3.3 Conclusion

After decades of neglect and disuse, it is noteworthy that today, sixty years old historical monument is currently being renovated and modernized by the Federal Government of Nigeria through the Nigeria purism Development Corporation. To this end, a sum of Twenty Milton Naira (₦20,000,000,00) has been committed towards the resuscitation of the monument, after which it is expected to be contracted out to private individuals and corporate bodies to manage. On completion, the proposed multi-purpose Amusement Park being constructed as part of the modernization exercise on the site of the Bower's Tower, is expected to have a number of ultra-modern facilities and conveniences such as a Restaurant of international standard, an Amphitheatre, Kiosks, a borehole to ensure uninterrupted

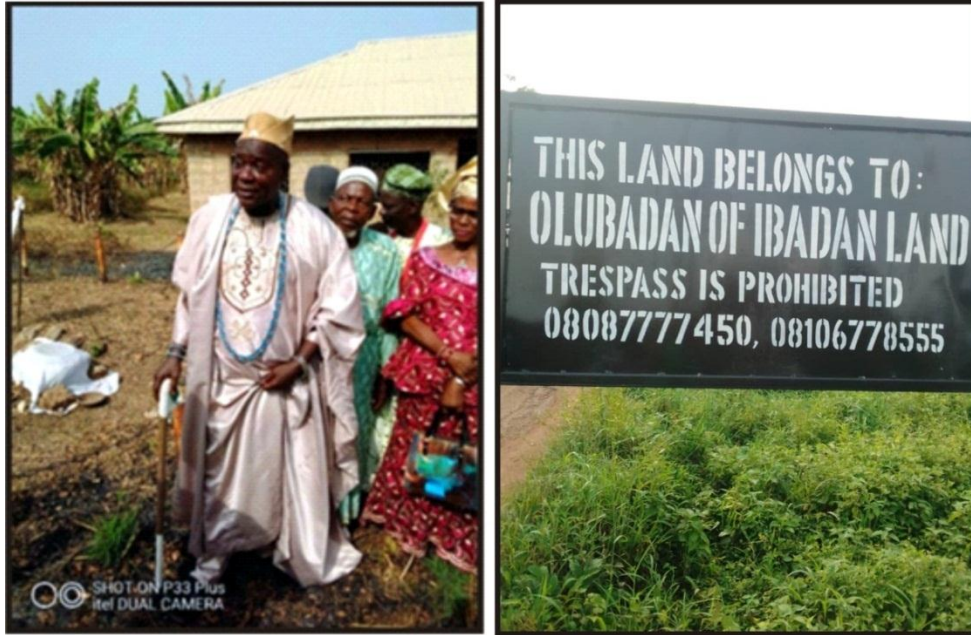
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water supply, Toilet facilities, Children's playing ground, indoor games room and a car park Besides, a binocular is to be installed by the balcony on top of the tower to enable tourists have a clearer panoramic view of Ibadan. With all these facilities being put in place, coupled with a proposal by the Olubadan Traditional Council to construct a new and ultra-modern Olubadan Palace at a site adjacent to the monument, it is hoped that the Bower's Tower will not only bounce back to its own glory but become an international centre of tourist attraction which its fading architects envisaged.

2.3 The Cultural And Tourist Potential of Oke-Badan Hill and Eleyele Lake

The 'Oke'badan' an annual communal festival, for fertility rites and prosperity, was dedicated to the spirit of the hill, as a thanksgiving in the refuge which it provided in period of danger, and also to Lagelu, the mythical founder of Ibadan. The Okebadan festival provided an opportunity not only for merriment but also for criticism as songs were composed to condemn or praise rulers and their policies.

The word "Oke'badan" is derived from the contraction of the words **Oke** (hill or mountain) and Ibadan. Okebadan means Ibadan hill or the **tutelary deity** of Ibadan hill. The **hill of Ibadan** is believed to harbour a supernatural or spiritual being which protected the early settlers from the wrath of their enemies and attackers.



The Alawotan of Awotan and the Traditional Chiefs at the Grove of Lagelu on Top of Ibadan Hill in January 2020

(a) Lagelu Sacred Grove on Eleyele Hills:

The site of the tomb of Lagelu on Awotan Hills with the adjoining surrounding remains a sacred ground. Two hundred meters square from the tomb, all shoes must be removed. It is assumed that anyone with shoes on is trampling on the remains of Lagelu.

The present site is embarrassing; a hut with palm thatched roof, shelters the remains of the great man. No one would have imagined that there lies the famous Lagelu, Oro Apata Maja, the founder of the largest city in Africa South of the Sahara. It is embarrassing that the situation has remained as it is for years after the exit of the great warrior and further of Ibadan.

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There are three prominent hills on the plateau of Awotan. These are

- i.*** Igbo Oke’badan
- ii.*** Oke Oso
- iii.*** Oke Odo Eleyele

Each of this hill has distinctive historical significance. It was at the peak of Igbo Oke’badan that a masquerade leading an Egba invasion of Ibadan in the 18th century as eternally destroyed. Legend has it that Lagelu, was forbidden from setting eyes on any masquerade. From the valley where he stood, he commanded the masquerade to be swallowed inside the bowels of the mountain. When the invading forces saw what happened, they scampered in different directions for safety.

The second hill Oke Oso, constantly emitted smoke, suggesting the presence of volcanic activities. But today the hill has remained dormant but the traces and signs of its past antecedents are still present.

The third hill, Oke Odo Eleyele, offered sanctuary to a number of creatures, particularly birds of different species as the doves, the goose and pigeons which swamp the foot of the hill with a perennial stream (Otenru) running through it and which empties its waters into the Eleyele dam.

Today, the stream is still running but strangely the beautiful birds no longer patronize the site. The source of Otenru stream is close to a village called Oriogbo Ojuabere.



The Proposed Mausoleum of Lagelu Grove on Awotan/Eleyele Hills in 2003 by C.C.I.I

(b) The Significance of Okebadan Festival

Okebadan is significant in the religious and socio-cultural lives of the people of Ibadan, and this account for why the Okebadan festival is celebrated annually with pomp and pageantry. However, this is not peculiar to Ibadan people, as there are others hills and mountains of scared significance or deities of similar nature worshipped in several Yoruba communities. Examples of such deities are the **Asaberi** in Saki, **Iyamapo** in Igbeti and **Olumo** in Abeokuta. These are often associated with hill settlements. The people believed in the sacredness and sanctity of Okebadan (Ibadan Hill). Consequently, sacrifices are made to the goddess periodically and annually in Ibadanland.

When Baale Oyesile Olugbode (1851-64) did not have a male child, he divined and he was advised to make sacrifice to **Okebadan** which the new rulers in Ibadan from (1825 to 1851) knew nothing about. Oyesile then arranged for the Aboke family to return from Abeokuta and make the necessary sacrifice as he was advised. He subsequently had a male child named Aderigbe, who died in the Kiriji War in 1882 (Dr. Jide Fatokun, 2011 page 54).

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This belief of the people was attested to by Theophilus Kerfer, a Swabian pastor who visited the same shrine on Okebadan Hill in 1853, according to O.O. Adekola; former Senior Research Fellow, Institute of African Studies, University of Ibadan, Ibadan (2015). Theophilus Kerfer submitted that:

“We saw the sacred grave (sic) at a short distance, where, as it said among the people, supernatural beings, little men in white garments, could be seen in large numbers. But bad people went out with only guns to shoot them, therefore they have disappeared and come only in extra-ordinary times”

The above account seems to corroborate the people’s faith in the sanctity of Okebadan (Ibadan Hill at Awotan in Ido Local Government Area); precisely on Akufo-Apete Road, and the belief that supernatural beings inhabited the sacred place and could be seen physically even by non-believers.

Historic sites are increasingly recognized as important economic resources in both developed and developing countries.

2.3.1 History and Data Analysis of Eleyele Lake:

Eleyele is situated in North West of Ibadan City, Oyo State, Nigeria at an altitude of 125metre above sea level and between 7⁰25’00’ and 7⁰26’30’N latitude and 3⁰51’00¹ and 3⁰52’23E longitudes. The **lake** is man-made and was formed in **1939** by damming of the **Ona River** (part of dense network of inland waterways that flow southwards in the Lagos Lagoon); and the **Otaru, Awba, Yemeja** and **Alapo** streams also empty into the **lake**.

- (i) Construction of Eleyele Reservoir was in **1942**
- (ii) The catchment area is **323.8sq.metre**

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- (iii) Impoundment of 156.2 hectares and storage capacity of 29.5 million litres of water and pumped at the rate of about 13.6 million litres per day

ELEYELE LAKE GEOGRAPHIC MAPS

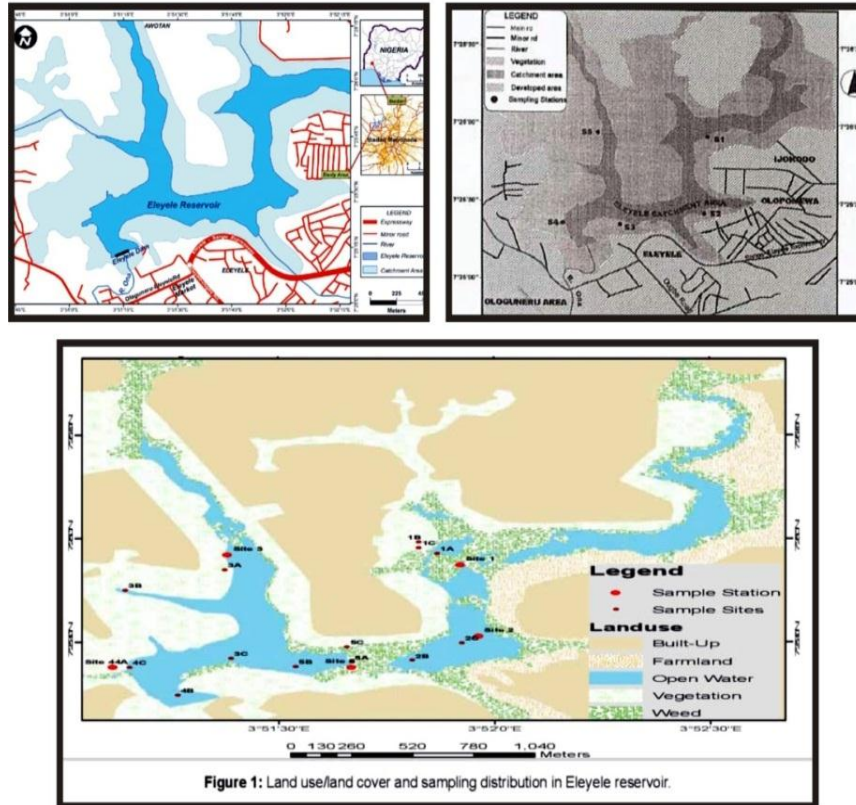


Figure 1: Land use/land cover and sampling distribution in Eleyele reservoir.

ELEYELE LAKE



Eleyele Dam and Eleyele hill at the Background

2.3.2 Water Front Adventure Park at Eleyele Lake:

Tourism is one of the fastest growing industries in the world and although Nigeria is reaping some the benefits of this trend, the sector still remains a minor player in the national economy. In terms of absolute figures, international tourist arrivals rose marginally in 2001 from **850,000** to **1,550,000** in **2010** and fell to **486,000** in 2012 (Fig1). This reduction was attributed to the **Boko Haram** insurgency in the northern part of Nigeria. However tourism activities picked up in **2013** with **23** per cent increase over the previous year arrivals.

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For instance, a private public partnership (PPP) between the Oyo state governments, and Geo Meridian International Limited and Consortium partners will construct a **Waterfront Adventure Park** along the Ona River at Eleyele Dam in Ibadan. *It will boost the touristic capabilities and also the Internally Generated Revenue (IGR) of the State in general.*



Note: Boats on Eleyele Lake and the Surrounding Forest Reserve

2.3.3 Features at the Water Front Park:

- Boat Cruise
- Jungle Areola
- Artificial Beach
- Canopy Walkway
- Cable Cars
- Animal Planet Areas
- Outdoor Cinema
- Forest Hotels
- River View Lodges
- Wooden Chalets
- Floating Restaurants, and
- Eco-village and Many other offerings.

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Note: Satellite Image Map of Eleyele Lake and the surrounding Hills, called “Okebadan” – Ibadan Hills

The Water Front Adventure and Eco-Park will be the first and biggest in Nigeria. It is expected to be the alternate ultimate destination for international Tourist, a location for events, school trips, individuals, families, friends churches and corporate team building. it will be a place where people come to relax, rejuvenate, and have fun-filled day out and also lodge in the hotel, and other various unique accommodation provided.

The Awotan community in Ibadan in collaboration with the Ministry of Information and Culture of Oyo State should preserve and protect the two historical sites of Ayoku Cave and Okebadan/Lagelu Grove at Awotan which is being encroached upon now.

2.4 The Cultural and Architectural Significance of Baale Irefin Ogundeyi Palace

2.4.1 Origin of Yoruba Palace:

Information has it that sacred kingship was traditional to the Yoruba aborigines. According to Daryll Forde (1953) and Rev. Samuel Johnson (1921), Yoruba country was not altogether unpeopled when Oduduwa and his party entered it from the East; the probability is that the aboriginal inhabitants were conquered and absorbed, at least at the central if not at the remote provinces of the Yoruba kingdoms.

Apparently according to Oluremi I. Obateru (2006), the institution was more elaborately or highly developed among the newcomers who ruled Yorubaland during the Oduduwa era. The higher status of their institutions coupled with the elevated socio-political plane on which the newcomers were placed by the aborigines as a result of the former's superior culture, higher intelligence and greater military prowess almost certainly aided the rise of Yoruba cities.

On account of the charismatic personality of the new kings, their great palaces became poles of attraction for the inhabitants of the neighbouring aboriginal villages and hamlets to the royal capital of the new rulers.

2.4.2 Shape and Size of Yoruba Palaces

Like their Near Eastern procurers, according to Tpl. Oluremi I. Obateru (in the Yoruba City in History: 11th Century to the present, published in 2006) Yoruba places were walled rectangular enclosures with one main gate in front. The rectangular plan was rarely regular however. While the sides might be unequal, the corners could deviate from right angles due either to obstacles or the imperfect methods of survey employed.

In terms of size and magnificence, the classic Yoruba palace was the grandest residential unit in both the royal capital and its kingdom. The palace was a highly elaborate complex of the contemporary courtyard compounds (see the table)

Palace	Total Palace Area in (Hectares)	Built Up Area		Royal Park	
		Hectares	% of Palace Area	Hectares	% of Palace
Owo	43.9	3.8	8.8	40.1	91.2
Ilesa	20.6	2.4	11.8	18.2	88.2
Ondo	17.4	2.0	11.6	15.4	88.4
Ado-Ekiti	10.9	5.3	48.1	5.7	51.9
Ile-Ife	8.1	1.8	22.0	6.3	78.0
Ijebu-Ode	7.7	2.8	36.8	4.9	63.2
Akure (a)	8.3	1.5	17.6	6.8	82.4
Oyo	6.9	6.9	100.0	-	-
Ila (b)	5.8	4.7	81.0	1.1	19.0
Abeokuta (Ake)	2.5	2.5	100.0	-	-

Source: Ojo, Yoruba Palace, 1996. P. 27

(a) Ige: the Royal Palace of AKure, p. 24 (b) Oyelade: The Royal Palace of Ila, P. 34

2.5 Geographic Location of Yoruba Palaces:

In traditional Yoruba History, Oba's Royal Palace was the most important in terms of locutions and functions. The position of the palace was invariably the city's geographical centre or as far as possible if there were physical constraints. As the embodiment of the city and the fountain of city life, all the radial arteries of communication converge on it.

The choice of a hilltop at Oke-Ofa by Irefin Ogundeyi was in line with the standard practice not only in Yorubaland but also in urban history of cities like: Mesopotamia which reveals that the palace and the great temple have almost everywhere been associated with low hills, natural or artificial. The sitting of palaces and temples on eminences was also characteristics of Minoan and Mycenaean

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cultures as well as of Imperial China, Cambodia and Central America (Tpl. Oluremi, I. Obateru, 2006).

The choice of a hill-top for palace erection may be explained also by its environmental qualities:

- (i) Firstly, a hilltop was a lookout, a place from which the surrounding urban space and countryside beyond could be viewed.
- (ii) Secondly, a building erected on a hilltop was an eye-target for people as it was rapidly seen.
- (iii) Thirdly, eminences afford their occupiers visual privacy, protection against over-looking the neighbouring resident.
- (iv) Lastly, elevated grounds were well drained contrasting with low ground and valleys which might be plagued by flooding, river pollution and diseases, particularly, malaria.

The royal palace is a public edifice built and maintained by the entire population of the kingdom. It is therefore not the private property of the incumbent king (Oba).

Like its ancient Middle East precursor, Baale Irefin Palace exhibited the characteristic of the Yoruba palace with its functionally multi-purpose, the most notable being residential, religious, governmental, industrial, recreational, governmental, industrial, socio-cultural, and recreational and storage. The palace is one of the cultural heritage assets Ibadan people are proud of in the 21st Century.

Irefin Ogundeyi was installed Baale of Ibadan between (1912-1914). His palace was built on a rectangular land of about 5 acres bounded in the north by Agodi

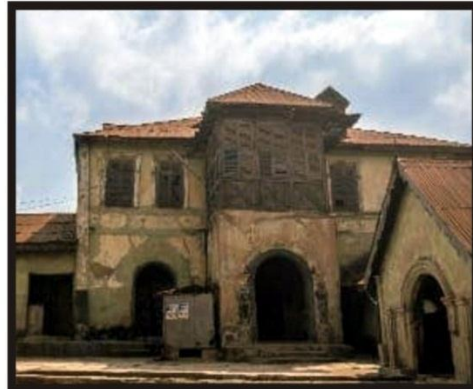
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Oke-Adu Road. The access road links Oke-Adu with Oje-Agodi Highway from bere roundabout.

The palace is fenced round with a mud wall. The entrance arcade has five (KOBIS), that is gabled roofed structure, one of which served as the entrance while the rest covered the verandah open to the road where buying and selling take place. (see picture below). According to Chief M.O. Ogunmola (2010 page 56), the Otun of Oyo, noted that Alaafin Aganju (1357) was a lover of palatial structures, particularly “Kobi” – building with steep gradient gables. His palace was reputed to contain one hundred and twenty high rise gables.

The inner courtyard faces the main a storey building palace. The extensions of the entrance arcade on both sides are residential areas for palace officials and other family members. Directly behind the entrance arcade are offices and drummers apartment. The Obas’s residence is adjacent to the palace. (see the picture below).

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The building shows the beauty of Yoruba architectural science and technology. It was built of mud bricks of clay dried for some days. The gabled projections are entrances to leading to the corridor serving the rooms of the extended families. All the buildings are covered with corrugated iron sheets.

The backyard served as the royal park or Oba's forest for the outdoor recreation of Baale Ireferin. It also served as the botanical garden as the botanical garden where rare and special medicinal plants were cultivated and conserved. It was a mausoleum, a place deceased Baale and family members were buried.

6.6 Ayoku Cave (Ojutaye Rock) Heritage

Tourism is a major force in any economy in the world; it is one sector of the economy that has a global importance. In this world of globalization where change is constant, **tourism** tends to improve the economy of the third world countries and also have an impact upon the host community. **Tourism** is the largest and fastest growing industry in the world. International organizations support tourism for its contribution to world peace, poverty alleviation and also intermingling of people and culture.

Africa, which is classified as a third world continent and is blessed with great heritage and tourism potentials, ranging from different countries and their resources. Africa is truly blessed with nature and this can benefit the host country and improve the standard of living of the population. Tourism creates jobs and sources of internal revenue for host communities through money generated from games reserves, and inflow of tourists from abroad.

6.6.1 Location, Size and Building

Ayoku Cave or Ojutaye Rock is geographically located between latitude 7840000MN and 7940000MN and longitude 6010000ME and 6060000ME. It is bounded in the South by Gambari Forest Reserve, in the East by River Omi, in the West by Idi Ayunre, the Headquarters of Oluyole Local Government and in the North by Odo-Ona along Old Lagos-Ibadan Road. The Ayoku Cave is accessed through Odo-Ona Ijebu-Ode Road and Olunde on Academy-Olunde-Olojuoro-Ijebu-Igbo Road. The rock stretches to about 14 kilometres northwards, and there are also untarred motorable roads.

6.6.2 Historical and Tourism Importance of Ayoku Cave:

Ayuku Cave (or Apata Orile) is located between Lamolo and Orile Coker Villages off Ijebu-Ode Road and close to Omi River to the East of the Rock in Oluyole Local Government Area, Ibadan. (see map of neighbouring villages).

Apata Orile was named Ojutaye Rock (Apata Ojutaye) by the hunters who were mandated to keep vigil on the Ijebus at Mamu and the Egbas at Ogunmakin, now along the New Ibadan-Lagos Express Way where Omi River crosses the road at Ogunmakin between Ogun and Oyo States boundary where “Fejeboju” war was fought between the Egba and the Ibadan. Thus, “**Apata Orile**” or “**Ojutaye Rock**” served as the **vantage point** from where Ibadan warriors monitored their enemies as well as the strategic point for launching a counter-attack against the invading forces during the Yoruba civil wars in the nineteenth century

On the summit of the rock, the tourists and adventurers can have a panoramic view of the neighbouring villages and towns of Mamu, Onigambari, Ogunmakin, Podo and Odo-Ona Nla etc. there are also interesting features which could be developed into auditorium, a gallery of art, and gardens for recreation.

The hill became very prominent during the Iperu war on the 19th of June 1862 also known as Kutuje war between the Egbas and Ijaye refugees at Ibadan. The Egbas and the Ijaye refugees at Abeokuta went to take revenge on the Remo towns that were friendly to the Ibadan during the siege of Ijaye.

According Rev. Samuel Johnson at page 235 of “The History of the Yorubas” – at Fidiwo, the Egba pursuers overtook Balogun Ibikunle and his guards another battle ensued after the retreat which followed Alaafin of Oyo, Oba Adelu (1858-1876) in 1864 where the **venerable Sunmola Alao Laamo, the Otun Bale** who would have been made the Bale of Ibadan on their return home was caught and killed.

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Rev. Samuel Johnson went further; *“But the Egbas were pressing closely endeavoring to take the Balogun alive. When they reached the river Omi the Balogun ordered his carriers to put him down and that the Egbas be driven back from that place. Akere the Ashipa Blaogun was the only war-chief who waited to protect the Balogun besides his own men and bodyguards. Here, when they had rallied and arranged themselves in order of battle, they made a furious charge on the Egba pursuers and drove them clean away with a heavy loss”*.

Consequently, **Apata Orile**” became a **watch-post** guarded by hunters. In addition, to check the Ijebu and Egba kidnappers, Ibadan war-chiefs evolved a scheme of a complete organization for home defence during the Ekitiparapo war in the southern part of Ibadan at three main points from which the attack may be expected.

- (a) The farms contiguous to those of the Egbas;
- (b) The route leading to Ijebu Igbo (i.e. Akanran Rd.)
- (c) At the point of divergence of the roads at Iid-Ayunre leading to Ijebu Ode and Ijebu Remo.

Arrangements were perfected by building forts in a central; point in each of these main routes for the better protection of farmers by principal hunters and cavalymen namely: Ajiya, Obisesan, Odeyale (hunters) and Solaja and Sonikan, sons of Soderinde the Balogun Valvary who guarded Idi-Ayunre Fort against Ijebu-Ode invaders while Apata Orile (or Ojutaye Rock) became the watch-post with cave as resting place where it derived the name **“Ayuku Cave”**.

The Ayuku cave was identified by Adeniyi E. Adeyeye in the publication for Oyo State Government titled “Compendium of Economic, Tourism And Natural Resources Potentials of Oyo State at its 33 Local Government Areas. Tourism

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resources of Oyo State limited in number and the degradation of the landscape and environment through unplanned development constitutes a permanent danger. To preserve Tourist and recreational resources of **Ayoku Cave** (Orile Rock) as well as to protect **cultural and natural identity**, it is important to protect the environment and neighbourhood of Ayoku Cave. Points of natural and **cultural heritage** and to some extent, the travel routes (road network) connecting Ayoku Cave (Orile Rock) and the neighbouring villages and towns deserve special protection from negative impacts of development by the Council/LCDA and the community.

6.6.3 Activities around the Sacred Ayoku Cave:

The Orowusi dynasty claimed the over lordship of the Ayoku Cave (or Orile Rock) between Lamolo, Orile and Latunde group of villages. On Friday, 31st January, 2020, some members of Orowusi family of Kobomoje Quarters in Ibadan South East Local Government Area was led by Mr. Kamorudeen Orowusi, who is also the Secretary of the Association of Ancient Ibadan Warlords families and two prominent members of the family to the site. The findings are as follow:

Scene 1:

The pictures show the site of Ayoku Cave neighbourhood where blasting is being carried out by a Foreign Company. The quarry was exploited to produce granite, stone and various products for construction industries in Ibadan. This is a source of revenue for individuals, LGA & LCDAs in Oluyole and the State Government.

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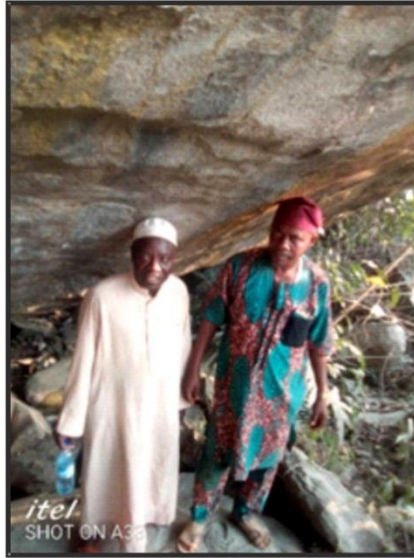
Note: Blasting Equipment at various locations within AYOKU neighborhood

Scene 2:

Mr. Kamorudeen Orowusi and two prominent members of the family at various locations on **Ayoku Cave** (or Orile Rock) also called Ojutaye Rock which had been abandoned since the end of Yoruba Civil War in **1893**. Baale Orowusi (Awarun) was the Baale of Ibadan between **1869 and 1871**

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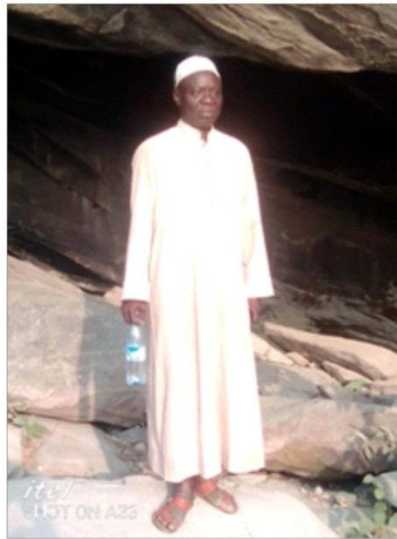
Photo Speaks



Orowusi & Osungbekun on the Rock



Orowusi & Osungbekun at the cave



Mr. Kamorudeen Orowusi and his brother at the entrance of the cave

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Scene 3:

The extent of the Rocks and other holes in the Ayoku Cave for human activities; the plateau and beautiful scenery of the Rocks in the neighbourhood where you can relax and have panoramic view of Gambari Forest Reserves and the surrounding villages and towns which make Ayoku Cave a Tourist centre.



CHAPTER EIGHTEEN
UNDERSTANDING SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC IMPACTS OF
URBAN RENEWAL ON IBADAN METROPOLITAN AREA

1.0 INTRODUCTION

Nigeria is characterized by dual system of statutory (or formal tenure) as codified by Law and Customary (or traditional) tenure. Despite internal and international pressures to liberalize urban land markets, government institutions retain full control over land allocation and restrict delivery of freehold titles. Vested interests and inappropriate land administration practices have colluded to produce low levels of formal title issuance.

Despite enormous land reserves, as the land mainly belongs to the state governments, most of them are reluctant to release land on any large scale, as scarcity benefits vested interests while increasing opportunities for predatory practices.

When the Land Use Act was promulgated in 1978, one of its main objectives as enunciated then, was to make land cheaper and easier to acquire for both public and private projects. While indeed land has become easier and cheaper for public use, access become even more difficult than ever before

How a government uses its land resources is extremely important because arable land is limited and urban development of prime farmland threatens self-sufficiency in food production. In other cases, countries have limited supplies of land for economic development. The urban and economic development of Singapore and Hong Kong are examples of the importance of carefully planning future urban land development to maximize economic productivity

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Singapore and Hong Kong embarked on ambitious programmes of Housing development to improve living conditions and labour productivity and to free-up land for industrial estates (Castells, Goh, Kwok and lee, 1988).

However, in West Africa, as elsewhere in the developing world, cities have been largely unable to accommodate rapid demographic expansion and to provide new residents with jobs, land, housing as well as basic and other services (the urban advantage; compared with rural areas). This inability keeps millions excluded from the socio-economic benefits of urban life and this exclusion finds its tangible expression in extensive urban slums that are hosts to millions of extremely poor households who are effectively deprived of their fair shares in national prosperity (UN-Habitat, 2010).

Therefore, with the growing rate of urban population requiring thousands of hectares of land to be converted to urban use annually, accommodating the growth is critical. Cities and towns would need a planning and development framework that ensures orderly spatial development. Given tremendous population pressures, a new policy environment is needed for ensuring the efficient and sustainable use of land for urban activities

2.0 POPULATION AND URBANIZATION OF IBADAN

According to the census, the annual growth rates of Yoruba urban centres ranged from Ile-Ife 1.6 to ado Ekiti's population of 24,645 in 1952 incredibly skyrocketed to 157,519 in 1963. Ila's population of 25,745 in 1952 astronomically rose to 114,688 in 1963, a growth rate of 31.4 percent per year. Ogbomoso had an annual growth rate of 11.8 percent, Lagos 8.6 and Ibadan 3.3 percent.

With the exception of Lagos, it is unlikely that any other Yoruba city is growing at a faster rate than 5 percent per annum. The 1963 census-ascribed 3.3% to

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Ibadan which was then the capital of the Western State of Nigeria (now Ogun, Osun, Ekiti Ondo and Oyo states) in addition to being the most important employment centre in the Western State. (see table 1)

By 1991, some cities in Nigeria have developed into metropolitan areas such as Lagos, Ibadan and Kano with population ranging from 1 million to above 3.0million. Consequently, these cities were broken into more sizeable urban local government. For instance, Lagos metropolis had a population of about 3.98million and Ibadan, 1.84milliom, Kano 1.58 million and Abuja (FCT) with 371 thousand. But Lagos now being a mega-city has limited space for expansion having a total area of 3,345.00km while cities like Ibadan, Abeokuta and some areas in Ogun State will continue to absorb the spillover of the population from Lagos State.

Nigeria experiences serve problems association with unbalanced population distribution and increasingly rapid urbanization in the absence of well-articulated and comprehensive urban planning, development control and urban social policy. Lagos is the classic example of a developing megacity, combining haphazard, uncontrolled and unrestrained population and spatial growth with little corresponding expansion in housing, infrastructure, services and livelihood opportunities. Lagos growth did not appear among the world's 30 largest urban agglomeration until 1995 when it occupied a modest 30th position. By 2000, Lagos had risen to 26th and by 2005 it was the 24th largest. By 2010, had become 2nd largest in Africa and the world's 18th largest urban agglomeration.

Lagos exhibit exceptional character as most populous city in Sub-Saharan Africa. Lagos constitutes less than one percent of Nigeria's land area, its 2007 metropolitan agglomeration accounted for 6.5 percent of the nation's urban population while hosting about 70.0 percent of all Nigerian industries.

The development of urban areas is closely tied to the rural economy through exchanges of goods, labour, services, capital, social transactions, information, and technology that benefit residents in both locations. A well-integrated national labour market carries growth across regions and urban areas provide alternative employment for rural households even where agriculture thrives.

Thus the interdependencies between urban areas and their hinterlands provide positive synergies that can be further developed to promote national poverty reduction and growth, by making cities and towns efficient market places for the country as well as the South-Western States

The average annual growth rates of Yoruba cities have varied considerably since the end of the civil upheavals in 19th century. Lagos grew at the rate of 5.68 percent between 1931 and 1932 6.29percent between 1860 and 1890. Ogbomoso and Iwo grew at the rate of 2.90 percent and 3.57 percent respectively between 1931 and 1952.

During the period of 1893-1921, only Ibadan and Ogbomoso experienced continued growth. The reasons for the rapid growth of Ibadan are probably economic factors and being the Yoruba capital.

- Firstly, the railway from Lagos (whose construction began in 1896) was extended to Ibadan in 1901;
- Secondly, Ibadan occupies the centre of the most productive farmland of the Yoruba country, that of cocoa in particular; and
- Thirdly, on account of its central location, Ibadan has been the most important commercial and service centre of central Yorubaland. Consequently, transportation routes converge on the city from Yorubaland.

This development is an indication that the growth of cities is inextricably linked to economic development. The form of urban growth influenced and continues to influence the nature of economic change and development taking place.

Table 1: Population of Major Urban Centres of Yorubaland National Population Census:

S/N	Urban Centre	1911 Census	1921 Census	1931 Census	1952 Census	1963 Census	1991 Census
1.	Ibadan	175,000	238,094	387,133	459,196	627,379	1,835,300
2.	Lagos	73,766	99,690	126,108	271,800	665,000	3,988,700
3.	Ogbomoso	80,00	84,860	86,744	139,535	319,881	170,249
4.	Osogbo	59,821	51,418	49,599	122,728	208,966	106,386
5.	Ile-Ife	36,231	22,184	24,170	110,790	130,000	256,222
6.	Iwo	60,000	53,588	57,191	100,069	158,583	105,401
7.	Abeokuta	51,255	23,941	45,763	84,451	187,397	375,000
8.	Oyo	45,438	40,356	48,733	72,133	112,349	221,222
9.	Ilesha	-	-	21,892	72,029	165,822	139,445
10.	Iseyin	33,262	28,601	38,805	49,680	76,418	79,838
11.	Ede	26,577	48,360	52,392	44,808	134,550	142,363
12.	Ilorin	36,342	38,668	47,590	40,994	108,546	309,000
13.	Ondo	-	-	20,859	36,233	74,343	252,347
14.	Ijebu-Ode	-	-	27,909	27,588	68,543	246,687S

Source: * United Nations, Selected Indicators for African Countries, 1970-200, New York, June, 1979.

* National population Commission and Federal Office of Statistics 1996.

The growth rate of Osogbo (7.02) m Ife (17.07) and Ilesha (10.91) between 1931-52 appear incredible. During the growth rate periods, the cities experienced no significant economic boom or rural insecurity that generated a trend of rural urban migration and it was unlikely that the natural increase of their populations exceeded the .5 percent of 1952 for both Yorubaland and Nigeria.

Since the 1952 census, no clear picture of the growth rates of Yoruba cities has been gained. The controversial 19653 census returns are unreliable, at least for most of Yoruba towns and cities. As numerical strength conferred economic and political advantages, some census figures were almost certainly inflated.

In 2010, for forty-six (46) of the African continent's fifty-three (53) independent states, the primate city in the urban hierarchy is the colonial capital, primary part, or part-capital. As table 2 shows, the dominance of the largest of these urban types has actually increased on the continent since 1980, rather than decreased (UN-Habitat 2008).

Table 2: Africa's Largest Cities: Population (in millions) for the twenty largest cities on the Continent.

Rank	Cities	Population 1980	Rank	Cities	Population 2010
1	Cairo	7.349	1	Cairo	12.504
2	Lagos	2.572	2	Lagos	10.872
3	Alexandria	2.519	3	Kinshasa	9.052
4	Casablanca	2.109	4	Khartoum	5.085
5	Kinshasa	2.053	5	Luanda	4.775
6	Cape Town	1.900	6	Alexandria	4.421
7	Johannesburg	1.656	7	Abidjan	4.175
8	Algiers	1.621	8	Johannesburg	3.618
9	Abidjan	1.384	9	Algiers	3.574
10	Kano	1.350	10	Addis Ababa	3.453
11	Durban	1.214	11	Kano	3.393
12	Ibadan	1.186	12	Nairobi	3.363
13	Addis Ababa	1.175	13	Dares Salaam	3.319
14	Khartoum	1.164	14	Cape Town	3.269
15	Ekurhuleni (east rand)	1.1.07	15	Casablanca	3.267
16	Luanda	0.962	16	Ekurhuleni	3.157
17	Dakar	0.957	17	Dakar	2.856
18	Accra	0.863	18	Durban	2.839
19	Nairobi	0.862	19	Ibadan	2.835
20	Dares Salaam	0.836	20	Accra	2.332

*Notes: *Cities that served as colonial capitals, primary colonial ports, or both. Data for Johannesburg's consolidated metropolitan area in 2010 would yield a much larger populations, of more than eight million.*

Source: UN-Habitat (2008: 174-7)

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In the abstract, high prim ratios are not immediately disastrous for a country's development, but what makes the twin challenges of primacy and a thin urban hierarchy more daunting in many African countries is that the causes for rapid growth are commonly seen to be not directly attributable to economic growth and industrialization, with exceptions here and there (Becker et al. 1994; Brycesson 2006).

Twenty-two out of which thirteen (13) largest cities are in Nigeria and South Africa, pointing to another related element of the colonial legacy; most African countries other than Nigeria and South Africa have what mainstream Western geographers would consider to be poorly developed urban hierarchies, so that very high rates of primacy and the absence of significant secondary cities are still rather common.

Infrastructure connectivity between cities within countries still lags far behind what the sizes of the cities might suggest, to say nothing of the still-weak connectivity between cities in different countries even when they are near to one another (e.g., despite some fanciful current planning dreams, there is still no bridge across the Congo river between Brazzaville and Kinshasa, twin capital cities of the two Congos, ruled separately by France and Belgium until 1960; de Boeck 2010).

In terms of electricity supply in Western Africa countries, Ghanaians have the highest access (55 percent). For Nigeria, only 36 percent of the population (mostly in urban areas) are served with electric power supply albeit highly intermittent the lack of electricity supply obviously has significant impacts on nearly all the region's development goals. Frequent power outages affect the viability of existing Nigerian industries and the development of new ones. Expensive privately owned generators are the resources for meeting individual and corporate energy needs.

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Some US\$ 16 billion governmental spending went to improving the performance of the power sector, but it has recently been discovered by the National Assembly and to concerned public that a large share of these funds was diverted to private pockets.

Each of these African countries is challenged by the need to manage the opportunities and constraints arising from an accelerating in evitable transition to urban demographic predominance. As in many other developing regions, cities acts as the engines of economic growth because they create wealth, enhance social development and provide employment. However, when not properly governed or planned, as is largely the case in West Africa cities can become repositories for poverty, social ills, exclusion, environmental degradation and potential hotbeds of social unrest

There can be no enduring development unless there is sustainable urbanization. Cities provide great economic challenges, opportunities and wealth but they also concentrate environmental impacts in positive or negative terms. There can be no socio-economic development and sustainability in any situation where a majority of the urban population lives in poverty levels.

3.0 THE CONCEPT OF URBAN RENEWAL

The concept of urban renewal can be traced back to the earliest days of urban development, and often stems from an expansive style of governance. Its potential value as a process was noted by those who witnessed the overcrowded conditions of 19th century London, New York, Paris and other major cities of the revolution. From this, a reform agenda emerged using a Progressive doctrine of “**that renewal would reform its residents**”.

Urban renewal is a programme of land redevelopment in areas of moderate to high density urban land use. Renewal has had both successes and failures. The process has had impact on many urban landscapes, and has played an important role in the history and demographics of cities around the world.

Urban renewal also involves the relocation of businesses, the demolition of structures, the relocation of people, and the use of eminent domain (government purchase of property for public purpose) as a legal instrument to take private property for city-initiated development projects. In some cases, urban renewal may result in urban sprawl and less congestion when areas of cities receive freeways and expressways. However, urban renewal offers the opportunity to restore integrity and character to a depressed neighbourhood

Every **urban renewal** project assumes the provision of facilities and services for a specific population and area. Whereas, **urban management** does not need a renewal programme, but a programme for management of the city to meet what it knows lies ahead in the way of problems of the city. From the **urban planning** perspective, there is need to ask questions about.

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- (i) identification and interrelationships of the social, demographic, and physical factors that generate demand for different services and facilities;
- (ii) the probable impact of the provisions or withholding of services and facilities on land uses and population movement; and
- (iii) criteria to govern the spatial location of facilities and services, both as between renewal project areas and as between them and non-renewal areas of city.

However, the present state of affairs of Nigeria's urban centres has been occasioned by the fact that for most cities, there is hardly any **management information system (MIS)** on which decisions for planning the scope, the rate of growth and revenue receivable for any services or infrastructural facilities can be based. This has led to continued uncontrolled pattern of growth; the persistent shortages of provision of services and infrastructural facilities, and inability of Local Governments to raise adequate internal revenue. The MIS would enhance government institutions' capacity for efficient and effective management of their affairs while also promoting the effective computerization of information gathering, collection and analysis within each Local Government Area of any State.

The selection of areas for urban renewal action is not a choice, but a response to autonomously generated community pressures involving social welfare considerations as well as economic criteria. The government does not go into renewal for planning considerations, but uses renewal projects as specific responses to specific perceived deficiencies about the city.

A case study of the Brazilian Urban Renewal and Community Improvement Projects (CIP) which were designed by UN-Habitat as global best practices in 2002 should be of particular interest to all those involved in the implementation of the

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Millennium Development Goals. It provides insights into addressing the issues of sustainable urbanization, poverty reduction, and the improvement of the living conditions of the urban poor.

It demonstrates that the strategic objectives of the urban renewal agenda namely: partnerships and participation, decentralization and capacity building can be applied in a holistic manner to bring tangible and lasting benefits to people and their communities. It also demonstrates that sustainable development is increasingly dependent upon addressing the issues of the urbanization, good urban governance, and access to land, shelter and basic services by the urban poor.

4.0 THE CAUSES AND EFFECTS OF URBAN RENEWAL

The key problem areas in urbanization and growth of cities include very rapid and uncontrolled growth of urban informal settlements, prevalence of substandard and overcrowded urban housing, inadequate basic urban services and infrastructure provision, declining urban livelihood options, incessant civil unrest and infectious diseases and crime. Consequently, cities and urban agglomerations have therefore become centres of aggravated poverty, squalor and human misery.

Nigeria has also been experiencing severe problems associated with unbalanced population distribution and increasingly rapid urbanization in the absence of well-articulated and comprehensive physical planning; development control and urban social policy. The major urban centres are combining haphazard, uncontrolled and unrestrained population and spatial growth with little corresponding expansion in housing infrastructures, services and livelihood opportunities.

These problems have given rise to two types of slums;

- (a) the traditional city centre slum of decayed and dilapidated structures built with semi-durable material and lacking physical planning standards; and

(b) spontaneous and often illegal informal settlement developments at the urban periphery on squattered land.

Both are defined as ‘SLUM’ because their inhabitants suffer one or more shelter deprivations. These two generic slums types generally result from a combination of poverty, failing urban governance and inflexible formal urban land and housing markets that do not cater for the urban poor. Slum proliferation in Nigeria cities is aggravated by the cumulative effects of economic stagnation, increasing inequality and sheer rapidity of urban population growth.

4.1 Justification for Slum Clearance

The relationships between **urban economic growth and slum upgrading programmes as a trigger of relocation** is often more direct than it appears at first sight. Slums and squatter areas are sometimes located in inner city sites that, at a certain juncture, may become necessary for commercial expansion and various business purposes.

When urban economic intensifies the competition for scarce land in inner city areas, the private and public sectors become interested in forcing out the existing inhabitants, be poor middle class, or any less efficient users, and promoting alternative uses of those areas. Such alternative uses of the land turn out to serve commercial, banking, or industrial interests; sometimes, high income residential dwellings are built in the former slum area.

For example, in Venezuela, when during the 1950-1954 the military governments forcibly evicted over 100,000 families from the slums of Caracas, about 115 high-rise “**superblocks**” of 14 stories each were constructed by the government in a formidable crash programme to house the **evictees**. That shows how governments offered the alternative of hastily built social housing projects consisting of high-rise,

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high density rental estates when often they did not hesitate to resort to brutal means to evict the poor residents of the city.

The second trend was a broader approach towards urban planning and management. In which case the street traders, the slum/squatter dwellers had no rights and moreover that they occupied potentially valuable land or that their settlement blocked desired changes in the planning of the city.

A case study on relocation in Mania (Juppenplatz, 1970) provides a clear example of the shift from the first to the second trend. In the 1950s, **slum clearance** was carried out massively in Mania in a **pure eviction manner, without providing assistance or services**. Ten years later, however, in 1962, the government set up a study team that recommended that government agencies should not only “**transfer**” squatters, but also formulate and carry out programmes to assist in their socio-economic reestablishment.

During the 1970s and 1989s, the gradual move away from indiscriminate slum displacements and towards reducing the number of displaces continued with the number of displaces continued with the introduction of the so-called “**urban renewal programme**” (Zaaijer, UNCHS 1991). This meant that in some instances the policy of total relocation was abandoned in favour of urban improvement/squatter upgrading approaches, with only partial relocation in order to lower population density. Governments have therefore shifted gradually from the old system to using site-and-services approaches to support those relocated to peripheral areas, and on the other hand in using urban renewal approaches (infrastructure and social/environmental services) to support on-site improvements for the remaining dwellers.

4.2 Impoverishing Effects of Forced Displacement

Urban planning in developing countries, including Nigeria, has paid little attention to the plight of urban settlers forcibly displaced to make room from “development needs”. Settlements, in most cases, were cleared with bulldozers and their inhabitants forcibly ejected, often without any right for compensation.

Mostly, governments did not even offer an alternative place of resettlements to the evictees because they were not incorporated in a broader planning framework or related to other urban developments. It is political pressure rather than the thoughtfulness of planners that eventually brings displacement into the limelight (Drunkenly, 1983)

The displacement of households and economic units (e.g. workshops, commercial shops, food stalls, and other), as a result of road constructions, road widening, drainages and other environmental programmes, deprives those affected either dwelling, or of employment, or access to their customers, or of a combination of these losses.

The single most critical problem associated with urban displacement is not the loss of housing and workshops, but the loss of employment or site-related income sources and the uncertainty of finding new employment in the relocation areas due to distance from the original place.

Those who lacked legal title to their shelters and land are often regarded as ineligible for compensation. Tenants in rented shops, offices and residential buildings are also ineligible for compensation, even though they may be unable to find elsewhere equally affordable tenancy arrangements. For many, the standard of life deteriorates if government policies and programmes do not provide for adequate reestablishment.

4.3 Positive Impacts of Urban Renewal

Urban renewal has been seen by proponents as an economic engine and a reform mechanism and by critics as a mechanism for control. In late 1964, the British Commentator, Neil Wades, expressed the opinion that urban renewal in USA had demonstrated the tremendous advantages which flow from the **‘personal problems’** of the poor, creation or renovation of housing stock, educational and cultural opportunities.

Urban renewal can have many positive impacts. For example, replenished housing stock might be an improvement in quality, it may increase density and reduce sprawl; it might have economic benefits and improve the global economic competitiveness of a city centre. It may in some instances, improve cultural and social amenity, and it may also improve opportunities for safety and surveillance.

Melbourne Docklands urban renewal project is a transformation of a large disused dock into a new residential and commercial precinct for 25,000 people (from Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia) to increase the economic base of the city.

Pittsburg in USA was infamous around the world as one of the dirtiest and most economically depressed cities, and seemed ripe for urban renewal. A large section of downtown at the heart of the city was demolished, converted to arks office buildings, and a sports arena and renamed the **‘Golden Triangles’** in what was universally recognized as a major success.

Atlanta in USA lost over 60,000 people between 1960 and 1970 because of urban renewal and expressway construction, but a downtown building boom turned the city into the showcase of the New South in the 1970s and 1980s

The World Bank Assisted Urban Renewal Programmes at Yemetu and Agugu/Oremeji in Ibadan Metropolis in the late 1980s had improved infrastructure

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and services in the two areas, thus enhancing the social and economic activities and the living standard of the people. It also gave rise to the establishment of the new housing estates at the resettlement sites located at Oke-Aremo in Ibadan North LGA and Abonde in Ona-Ara LGA.

About 334 buildings along the popular Oyemekun and Oba-Adesiola roads in Akure, Ondo State, were demolished in 2012/2013 to pave the way for urban renewal project while the affected people have been promptly paid compensation. Similarity, in 1970s, the famous Race Course at Sabo in Ibadan, which have been turned to a slum and hide-out for criminals was re-planned to construct Lekan Salami Sports Complex at Adamasingba with peripheral shops to generate revenue and promote business activities thus increasing revenues for government in form of rents and license fees.

When relocation is unavoidable, efforts should be made to minimize it and to ensure that those relocated are assisted to at least restore their former living standards and earning capacity, and if possible to improve them. Displaced person should be;

- (a) Compensated for their losses at replacement;
- (b) Given opportunities to share in project created benefits; and
- (c) Assisted with the move and during the transition period at the relocation site.

The challenges facing governments in Nigeria in the field of urban development are: first; to make cities and towns good places for economic development and second, to provide services for urban dwellers, especially the urban poor. The essential ingredients for achieving these goals are urban infrastructure, a supportive urban policy framework, and institutional capacity.

Therefore, successful planning should seek to understand the economic and social forces which shape our environment and assist in the allocation of land uses to meet the needs in manner beneficial to the whole community.

5.0 WORLD-BANK ASSISTED URBAN PROJECTS:

The apparent shortfall between housing supply and demand has created housing shortage which have subsequently led to overcrowding and overutilization of available facilities. This problem is most glaring at the peripheral and new slum areas of Ibadan. It has attracted the attention of foreign agencies, particularly the **World Bank**. Various efforts have been made to reverse this trend and this had led the **World Bank** to assist in taking measures at improving the living conditions in Ibadan, using **three neighborhood at different degrees of deterioration as Pilots Projects**. The three neighborhoods are **Mokola, Yemetu** and **Agugu** the Ibadan Metropolitan Planning Authority (IMPA) in collaboration with the Ministry of Land, Housing and Survey (MLHS) estimated in **1984** that a total of **62000 people** were to benefit from the project.

a) Mokola:

- 2 new transformers and the upgrading of the existing ones
- 11 compartment public toilets (VIP toilets) 164 street lights
- About 9km drainage (wall blocks)
- About 9km of tarred roads
- Refuse disposal site at FESTAC area
- About 6km new water pipes

b) Yemetu:

- A total of 5km and 0.9km of tarred road at the main scheme and resettlement site, respectively.

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- A total of 12.3km and 1.6km block line drains at the main scheme and resettlement site respectively.
- 1 box culvert
- 6 VIP public toilets
- 1 converted health centre
- 164 street lights at both main scheme and the resettlement site.

c) Agugu-Oremeji

- A total of 6.2km and 1.8km tarred road at the main scheme and resettlement site at Ogbere
- A total of 13.4km block wall lined drains at the main scheme and resettlement site at Abonde
- The Fatima Usman Health Centre at Oremeji
- 1 VIP public toilets at Oremeji
- 1 police post/post office
- 80 street lights
- Ahmed Usman Primary School at Ogbere

In all, \$1.74 Million, \$1.795 Million and \$2.162 Million were allocated for the implementation of the projects in Mokola, Yemetu and Agugu/Oremeji, respectively. The variations in budget allocation were due size and the numbers of facilities provided in each of the project area.

Accessibility and environmental conditions have greatly improved in these projects sites and **property values** have increased significantly. There is, however, the urgent need to replicate the projects in other **slum and run-down areas** of Ibadan to improve the overall housing situation in the city.

6.0 POPULATION 2016 AND 2036 PROJECTION (WORLD BANK PROJECT)

According to the document produced by the consultants to the World Bank on Ibadan City Masterplan, the projected population for 2016 was 6,017,709. This was based on household survey carried out in 89 sampled areas covering around a third of the residential areas of the city. In total, 936 hectares of residential areas containing over 14,000 houses were covered. For the house occupying surveys, over 800 houses were surveyed covering over 2,400 households and more than 10,000 people. (i.e. 3 households per house).

The total area of Ibadan is 3,145.96 sq.km (314,596 hectares) the largest in the country with eleven (11) Local Government Areas according to UN-Habitats (2008).

**TABLE (A) POPULATION PER HECTARES OF
LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREAS:**

<i>S/No.</i>	<i>LGA</i>	<i>Gross Area (HA)</i>	<i>Population Census (2006)</i>	<i>Population Per (Hec.)</i>	<i>Population (2016)</i>	<i>Population Per (Hec.)</i>
1.	Ibadan North	14,556	308,119	21.17	347,143	23.85
2.	Ibadan North East	5,137	331,444	64.52	339,410	66.07
3.	Ibadan North West	3,138	154,029	30.53	155,239	49.47
4.	Ibadan South East	5,045	266,457	52.82	296,239	58.72
5.	Ibadan South West	12,455	283,098	22.73	368,141	29.56
6.	Akinyele	42,426	211,811	4.99	625,542	14.74
7.	Egbeda	13,693	283,643	20.73	755,102	55.19
8.	Ido	86,549	104,087	1.20	843,540	9.75
9.	Lagelu	28,392	148,133	5.22	588,533	20.73
10.	Oluyole	63,538	203,461	3.20	880,215	13.85
11.	Ona-Ara	42,594	205,571	4.83	818,017	19.20
	TOTAL	349,015	2,560,853	7.34	6,017,709	17.24

Sources:

- i. Land Mass from OYS Office of Surveyor General
- ii. 2006 Population from Federal Government Gazette No. 2 Vol. 96 of 2nd February, 2009 by NPC
- iii. World Bank Consultant on Ibadan City Master Plan, March, 2017

**TABLE (B) POPULATION PROJECTION OF IBADAN
FOR SELECTED YEARS**

<i>Year</i>	<i>World Bank Masterplan (2016)</i>	<i>OYOSG (2013)</i>	<i>Un-Habitat (2008)</i>	<i>Un-Habitat Growth Rate P.G</i>
2005	-	-	2,509,000	(2.30%)
2010	-	-	2,887,000	(2.88%)
2013	-	3,191,339	-	-
2015	-	-	3,376,000	(2.88%)
2016	6,017,709	-	-	-
2018	-	3,733,695	-	-
2020	-	-	3,760,000	(2.75%)
2025	-	-	4,237,000	(2.39%)
2028	-	5,118,002	-	-
2036	11,315,052	-	-	-

Note: State Growth Rate = 3.2%

**TABLE (C) POPULATION WORLD BANK PROJECTION
ON LOCAL GOVERNMENT BASIS (2013)**

<i>S/No.</i>	<i>LGA</i>	<i>NPC Census (2006)</i>	<i>Projected population (2016)</i>	<i>Projected Population (2036)</i>	<i>% increase in 20 years</i>
1.	Ibadan North	308,119	347,143	347,143	Nil
2.	Ibadan North East	331,444	339,410	339,410	Nil
3.	Ibadan North West	154,029	155,239	155,239	Nil
4.	Ibadan South East	266,457	296,827	296,827	Nil
5.	Ibadan South West	283,098	368,141	368,141	Nil
6.	Akinyele	211,811	625,542	1,128,548	49.08%
7.	Egbeda	283,643	755,102	1,546,289	51.17%
8.	Ido	104,087	843,540	2,197,136	61.61%
9.	Lagelu	148,133	588,533	1,166,655	49.55%
10.	Oluyole	203,461	880,215	2,497,991	64.76%
11.	Ona-Ara	205,571	818,017	1,111,646	26.41%
	TOTAL	2,560,853	6,017,709	11,315,052	46.48%

Sources:

- i. *National Population Commission (2009) Gazette No. 2 Vol. 96 of 2nd February, 2009.*
- ii. *World Bank Consultants on Ibadan City Master Plan March, 2017.*

From the above analysis, the basis of population of Ibadan should be checked by the World Bank consultants. It was wrong to assume that the urban centre (i.e. the Metropolis) would not grow in the next 20years. What of if the residents in the core area result to vertical development to replace the existing traditional bungalow like LAGOS ISLAND. This is a concept adopted when land areas available is a constraint in the face of population.

7.0 THE IMPORTANCE OF SUSTAINABLE GROWTH TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF IBADAN

The vision of development framework of Ibadan and its district is cast within the context of the nation and Oyo State to become a megacity. The VISION of the World Bank for Ibadan City Master Plan 2016-2036 envisages “developed, industrialized, just and prosperous Ibadan through the rapid and sustainable development ion a resource-constrained economy by employing knowledge inputs”.

In the Urban sector there is recognition that increasing urbanization is an inevitable part of the process of economic development, and that urban-based economic growth will continue to increase. The challenge is to ensure that this urban growth is sustainable, efficient and equitable

The current population of the existing urban and rural areas of Ibadan was estimated to be around 6.1 million according to the document on “Ibadan City Master Plan” of Mach 2017. There is a clear distinction between the inner and outer areas with the former having consistently low growth rates ranging from 0.2% to 1.2% annually while the outer areas having much higher rates (2.9% to 5.&% annually). This variation is a clear indicates of a trend of increasing movement of population from the densely occupied inner areas to lower density peripheral areas where land is available for residential development.

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The Spatial Development Strategy in Ibadan City Masterplan proposes growth in the form of expansion and infill. The land suitable for new expansion and infill development was identified taking into consideration socio-economic and environmental factors. There were areas identified within the masterplan where limited development is permitted along with areas where high concentration of development is promoted.

The World Bank Assisted Urban Renewal Programmes at Yemetu and Agugu/Oremeji in Ibadan Metropolis in the late 1980s had improved infrastructure and services in the two areas, thus enhancing the social and economic activities and the living standard of the people. It also gave rise to the establishment of the new housing estates at the resettlement sites located at Oke-Aremo in Ibadan North LGA and Abonde in Ona-Ara LGA.

About 334 buildings along the popular Oyemekun and Oba-Adesiola roads in Akure, Ondo State, were demolished in 2012/2013 to pave the way for urban renewal project while the affected people have been promptly paid compensation. Similarly, in 1970s, the famous Race Course at Sabo in Ibadan, which have been turned to a slum and hide-out for criminals was re-planned to construct Lekan Salami Sports Complex at Adamasingba with peripheral shops to generate revenue and promote business activities thus increasing revenues for government in form of rents and license fees.

When relocation is unavoidable, efforts should be made to minimize it and to ensure that those relocated are assisted to at least restore their former living standards and earning capacity, and if possible to improve them. Displaced person should be;

- (a) Compensated for their losses at replacement;
- (b) Given opportunities to share in project created benefits; and

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- (c) Assisted with the move and during the transition period at the relocation site.

The challenges facing governments in Nigeria in the field of urban development are: first; to make cities and towns good places for economic development and second, to provide services for urban dwellers, especially the urban poor. The essential ingredients for achieving these goals are urban infrastructure, a supportive urban policy framework, and institutional capacity.

Therefore, successful planning should seek to understand the economic and social forces which shape our environment and assist in the allocation of land uses to meet the needs in manner beneficial to the whole community.

8.0 NEW OLUBADAN PALACE COMPLEX AS A CATALYST FOR TOURISM DEVELOPMENT

The Yoruba palace is functionally multi-purpose, the most notable being residential, religious, government, industrial, socio-cultural, recreational and storage.

The present Olubadan Palace under construction is being built at OKE-AREMO on the slope of Agala Hills below Bower's Tower, an historical tourist centre on top of the highest point in the centre of Ibadan Metropolis.

The palace complex development objectives were to provide for the residence of the reigning monarch, religious activities, commercial activities with the building of a Royal Market; Socio-Cultural activities and annual festivals. Ibadan House is also an integral part of the complex for various associations and societies affiliated to the Central Council of Ibadan Indigenes (CCII) to hold their meetings while there is provision within the palace complex for dancers and masquerades entertain the Olubadan, his Chiefs and the community.

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*IBADAN HOUSE at Oke-Aremo: The Secretariat of the
Central Council of Ibadan Indigenes (C.C.I.I.).*

Recreational Functions

One of the purposes of the classic **royal park** in the palace background is recreational to meet the recreational needs of the king and the other residents of the palace. Today, not only the palace residents but also the public has direct access to the royal park. The Olubadan Palace Royal Park (OPRC) measuring 3.91 hectares is between the built-up area of the palace (5.98 hectares) and the historic Bower's Tower.

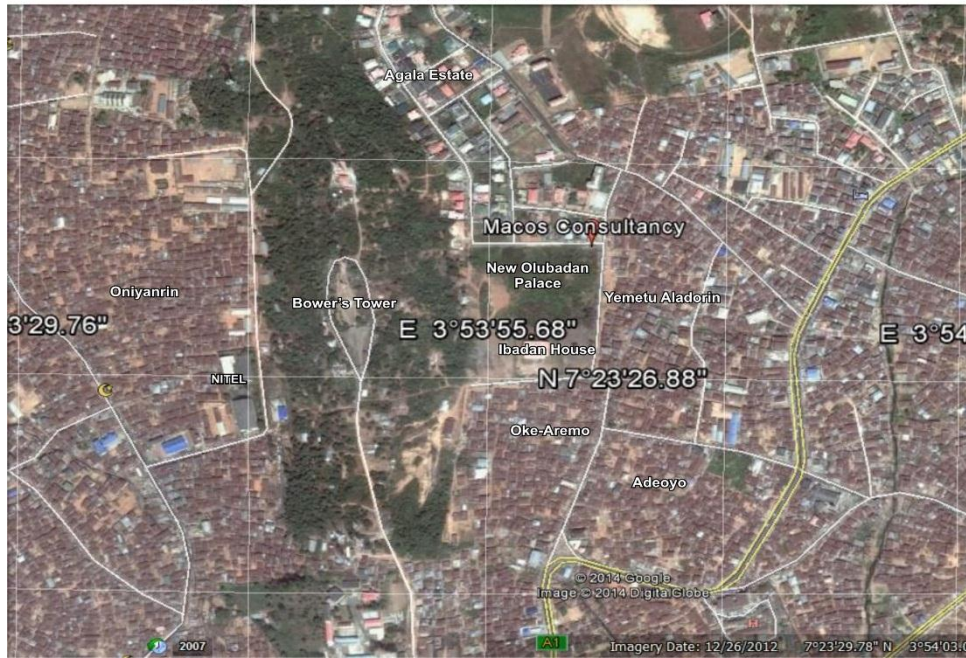
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Note: The Models of the Palace Complex Buildings

The Olubadan royal park as it exists within Ila and Ile-Ife palaces should be open to the public for picnic during public holidays. It should also serve as a **Mausoleum** for burial of deceased monarch; shrines for religious purposes; zoo where special and rare animals are conserved for medical purposes. The royal park should also serve as a **botanical garden** where rare and special medical plants are cultivated and conserved. The map shows import landmark developments within the Old Agala Forest reserve namely: Ibadan House, Olubadan Palace, Bower's Tower and Agala Housing Estate while the roads and street lights were constructed by the World Bank as part of Yemetu Community Improvement Programme (CIP) in 1990s.

Fig. 1: The New Olubadan Palace Complex Environment



9.0 CURRENT ISSUES IN URBAN POLICY AND PLANNING

The goal of urban renewal is to renew the inner areas of cities and towns in the state such that the standards of housing and urban infrastructural services are brought to an acceptable level. It is aimed to pursue programmes of upgrading shanty towns and squatter settlements and also integrate the activities of settlement upgrading with the overall development strategy of individual cities through inclusive programmes with a view to enhancing employment opportunities and the income of the urban poor [Federal Govt. White Paper on Housing and Urban Development, 2002].

Most often, national policies and environmental strategies for urban development are silent about the difficult and political sensitive problem of forced displacement and population relocation. Planners typically do not allocate adequate resource for re-establishing the livelihood and productive employment of dwellers who are forcibly displaced. Legal frameworks for patenting rights and entitlements,

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and democratic governance procedures, are often absent, rudimentary, or enforced. (Michael M. Cornea, 1993).

Moreover, political leaders tend to highlight the benefits of urban renewal, leapfrogging over their painful effects on the people compelled to yield the “right of way”. In short, the neglect of displacement caused by urban development is a lacuna in both urban thinking and urban planning.

The composite consequence of this neglect is that, displacement and relocation in urban environments are frequently underprepared, underfinanced, proceed haphazardly, and have a host of disastrous effects, many of which could otherwise either be avoided or mitigated through alternative approaches. This practice calls for correction.

10.0 CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

A good number of World Bank-financed urban and transport projects have included the displacement of some people from their habit and jobs. These projects have improved urban transportation, drinking water supply and health in major cities whose under developed infrastructure equipments and social services were slowing further economic growth and lowering living standards. Some involuntary relocation in such situations appeared to be in the interest of overall development, and unavoidable.

- (i) The solution is to improve access to land and security of tenure in order to guarantee ownership by the low-income and the urban poor in their attempt to develop their own property within well-laid-out estates.
- (ii) Government should also promote and encourage the development of “Strategic Plans” for urban renewal in every urban Local Government area, particularly for their miner city slums, not only to restructure them

and provide them with needed infrastructural facilities but also to preserve within them buildings of architectural or historical significance, while ensuring that all stakeholders are actively involved in the processes.

(iii) Finally, there is the need for a policy and planning framework addressing explicitly the complex issues of urban renewal and involuntary displacement. Relocation guidelines must be included in the overall national policies that govern urban planning and investment allocations in Nigeria.

(iv) The 6,000 hectares of land acquired in 1978 by the Military Government has to be replanned because of the degree of housing development which is turning the area into another slum while the house owners must be turned to government tenants with titles perfected to have access to mortgage finances.

(v) The access road from Bere to the Bower's Tpwere should be upgraded and tarred by the Local Government in collaboration with the State while the access road from Ibadan House should be constructed to link with the one coming from Bere. In addition, the Council must provide the street lights to attract Tourists to the city.

(vi) Finally, going by the speech of Chief Mustapha Adebayo Oyero, the National President of CCII at the foundation laying of the Palace on Wednesday 10th September, 2014, there is need for the State Government to upgrade the approach roads to the palace from Mobil Petrol Junction at Yemetu to link Queen Elizabeth Road. The Ibadan North Local Government should also assist in the environmental cleanliness of the neighbourhood of the Olubadan Palace by placing **skip-eaters** in and around Oke-Aremo area; into which the Residents can drop their wastes.

11.0 THE WAY FORWARD FOR SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

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The importance of IBADAN to the national economy and West African region as noted by UN-Habitat in the State of African Cities (2008) demands a comprehensive approach to its development which encompasses not only urban infrastructure and service requirements but also the vision to support the economic role of the city. The city development framework for the city must follow the development strategy as proposed in Ibadan City Masterplan May, 2017 and the Oyo State Government Vision placing particular emphasis on IBADAN CITY sustainable development strategy as the state capital.

According to the World Bank (2000), the most rapid growth in recent decades has occurred in large cities (1.5 million residents) and in small ones (fewer than 50,000 residents). Less than half the region is due to internal (rural to urban) migration. Most is explained by natural population increase within cities and by the structural transformation and incorporation of formerly rural areas at the urban periphery.

This urbanization creates significant opportunities for national and state development in Nigeria and West Africa, and for reducing poverty for all citizens. The Greater Ibadan-Lagos-Accra Urban Corridor (GILA) is, indeed, the engine of the regional economy and this potential is recognized by the relevant countries. This GILA corridor is also significant demographically. As of 2007, the populations of the largest GILA cities were as follows: Accra 2.12 million; Cotonou 0.76m; Ibadan 2.67million, Lagos 9.67 million and Lome 1.45 million.

However, realizing the potential gains from the urbanization depends on how well cities and towns to the urban corridor manage growth and meet the challenges of providing responsive governance and enduring services for all corporate bodies, investors and households.

The framework for future development and growth of Ibadan should take into consideration the followings:

- The vision for Ibadan by 2036, and its wider region will be a model sustainable and resilient city where development addresses the population's needs, with thriving employment, providing a high quality of life for all.
- Adopt an entrepreneurial approach to city development, including support for private-public sector partnership
- Trade and commerce form the backbone of Ibadan's economy with markets being a fundamental part of the city. It has a large and vibrant micro-enterprise and SME sector. However, there is a need for greater support to this sector to promote scaling up of enterprises both in terms of access to finance and necessary infrastructure.
- Local Governments and Local Council Development Authorities bear the basic responsibilities of government at its lowest tier for allocating resources and promoting social equity, with our constraints set by Federal and State Governments, which assign functions and fiscal authority, and for ensuring the provision of local public goods and services through partnership with the private sector and civil society.
- Therefore, there is need to support the capacity building of local governments and local Council Development Councils (LCDAs) Areas and other town agencies to better equip them to perform against their mandate.
- Increased accountability of Local Government institutions and greater participation by civil society in development by involving stakeholders in the planning, design and implementation of policies and programmes needs to be discussed and introduced.

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- There is a need to provide mechanism to develop human resources and improve human resources management. Equally, there is need to examine hoe the accountability of department staff can be improved, the opportunity for reward and saction, and a system of staff engagements which encourages team building and loyalty, and facilitates a productive and motivated workforce.
- The role that government assumes in the, for example, is absolutely critical to the physical, and economic character of urban settlements. Although cities largely are built by private investments, they are shaped substantially by public action, though state government zoning regulations, building codes, taxation, and the nature and location of direct public investment such as transport networks.

Finally, there is need to enhance land use development efficiently through facilitating the operation of urban land market and implementation of the city masterplan and its use as a tool to resolve planning and jurisdictional conflicts and enhance urban efficiency.

CHAPTER NINETEEN

SUSTAINABLE HOUSING DELIVERY AND PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

1.0 Concept of Housing:

Housing is a word that has been given many meanings because it can be viewed from different perspectives and also, it is wide in scope. Firstly, it can be viewed as an “action” or “process”. It is an action when considered from the act of provision of a house or houses so, when used as a continuous word, it becomes a process i.e. all sets of actions involved in the provision of a house or houses.

Housing is an essential item needed by man for many purposes such as shelter, security and safety, privacy, relaxation, investment, prestige, exposition, etc. Governments, individuals, groups, and management. The inadequacies were caused by many factors such as ever increasing population: economic problems; geo-socio-political factors; frequent changes in taste and fashion etc. all these would always bring about challenges which would in turn lead to qualitative and quantitative housing deficiencies.

2.0 Housing and the Physical Environment:

According to Professor A.O. Aweto (2001) the word environment refers to the surroundings of humans. In a general sense, environment embraces everything that is external in human in their immediate or remote surroundings that they immediate or remote surroundings that they interact with or that impinge on humans and their welfare. The environment includes elements of the **cultural landscape** such as: settlements, roads, and farms etc. that were made by man as well as the **natural elements** such as: rivers, lakes, mountains, plains, climate and weather, soil and natural vegetation that influence human activities. It is with the natural elements of the landscape, that is totality constitute the **physical environment**. **The physical**

environment includes the land and surface topography, the water bodies including rivers, lakes and the ocean, the plant cover of the earth or vegetation, fauna soil, rocks and the atmosphere or the gaseous layer surrounding the earth.

It is essential to recognize its main sub-divisions or realms which are relatively homogeneous. Four realms can be recognized in the physical environment namely:

- (1) The **lithosphere**, that is, the sphere or world of rocks;
- (2) The **hydrosphere** that comprises the free uncombined waters of the world in the oceans, rivers, lakes, glaciers and underground water;
- (3) The **atmosphere** which is the layer of air surrounding the earth; and
- (4) The **biosphere** or **ecosphere** which is the habitable layer of the earth comprising all living organism and their environments taken as a global entity.

Housing in its totality is more house or shelter, but includes every other thing consumed (that is natural and man-made resources) along with it to make it conducive and convenient to live in. It therefore encompasses social infrastructure which in turn incorporates social services, social facilities and public utilities including shelter itself. Natural resources are aspects or things present in the physical environment that can be used for achieving specific goals or tasks or for satisfying human want. For example, when man has access to good housing, he tends to be stable in all manners, but when denied of good housing, he may not be stable physically and emotionally.

However, in many cases, what could have been used judiciously for sustainable **housing delivery** and for the benefits of man is left unutilized due to a number of reasons which may include; culture and religious beliefs, lack of finance and appropriate technology to tap and harness the potential resources for use or even

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the presence of physical access to what would have benefited the people. For instance, the data on distribution of regular households by type of main material used for the wall of dwelling units in Nigeria provided by the by the National Population Commission in 2006 is as follow:

Type of Main Wall Materials	Number of Households	Percentage of Total
Mud / Reed	10,844,894	38.46%
Wood / Bamboo	1,909,538	6.77%
Stone	478,761	1.70%
Cement Blocks / Bricks	13,627,530	48.33%
Material Zinc / Sheets	1,064,613	3.78%
Others	271,749	0.96%
TOTAL	28,197,085	100%

*Source: National and State Population and Housing Tables
– Priority Tables Vol. II 26th august, 2009.*

3.0 Housing Conditions and Access to Land:

With limited resources, west and central nations are attempting to provide dwelling units in the shortest possible time. The process involves bringing together labour, land, finance, construction materials and governance process in partnerships that include the private sector and at times the community sector as well. According the UN-Habitat (2008), the trend is an increasing interest by the private sector in housing production.

In Nigeria, this is an outcome of the 2003 **National Housing policy** coupled with re-invigoration of **housing finance systems**, access to the **National Housing Fund** by primary mortgage institution and the advent of a new democratic system. The **marked driven housing delivery system (MDHDS)**, however, unequivocally favours the interest of **higher-income groups** in up-market neighborhoods. Few, if any of the **housing units** provided across the region are **tenement housing, the type an average Ghanaian, Nigerian or Sierra Leonean or Congo lean** would readily

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rent (UN-Habitat, 2008). The increased number of housing units produced by the private sector, therefore did little for average households.

Nigeria has higher slum proliferation rates than most African nations, while Lagos has **Urban and slum growth** rates which are about **2.5 times higher** than the Nigerian average population growth rate of **2.27 percent** for the **2005-2010** half decade. The unprecedented expansion of urban populations causes rapid increases in the demand for urban land. But urban land is **location - specific** and urban plots cannot easily be reproduced and the **demand systems largely determine the ease or difficulty and raise transfer cost to levels that are not attainable by the poor.**

4.0 Urban Land Markets in Nigeria:

The value of land is determined by the market, whether overtly in a **free and open market** or covertly as the **latent value** of a controlled commodity. Urban land markets, with their relatively fixed supply and often defective and imperfect nature of both the commodity and the market, distribute the scarce land supply among competing users. They assign land to its most profitable use according to the references of consumers and society.

But due to the strategic importance of land, the prevailing land tenure systems and the market prices within each country, land allocation is perhaps too efficient and not serving urban society's needs. The outcome is predictable and the same throughout Nigeria; land prices rise rapidly and become unaffordable to the poor urban majorities.

5.0 Strategic Housing Practice in Dutch Social Housing:

The strategic housing policy is defined as: all activities developed by a housing stock manager to achieve the aim of keeping or bringing the stock in accordance with the short and long term market development preferences and the objectives of landlords associations consider a broad range of aspects. The housings associations were asked to indicate the importance of several aspects and considerations in their housing stock management. The strategic housing stock may determine the desired quality levels of the **housing estates and complexes and / or dwelling types and building components.**

The average size of the 530 housing associations in **Netherlands** is 4,335 dwellings. In spite of the managers, the number of large associations is still modest. Only **10%** managers more than **10,000 dwellings**. Besides dwelling, housing associations also manage dwellings of third parties and **other real estates**. The most frequently mentioned types of **real estates** are **business accommodation**, shops and studios (almost 64%). This is followed by associations for **home owners** and other third parties (58%), and **parking places** and garages (60%). Only **one fourth** of the associations manage **bed of rooms in houses for the elderly** and nursing homes. Libraries, **art libraries and** schools came last (15%). Further investigation shows that larger associations more frequently many dwellings for third parties and other real estates.

Dutch housing associations are **no-far-profit organizations**, which are obliged to operate in the interest for **social housing**, in particular by providing descent, affordable housing to **lower-income** households. In the **1990s**, the national government of Netherland granted **social landlords** considerably more freedom in policy development but **diminished the financial support to social landlords**. Furthermore, **demand for social housing decreased, partly due to a booming**

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economy and changes in housing preferences towards home-ownership. As a consequence, housing associations which own nearly the entire **social rented sector** in the Netherlands, began to adopt **business-like** approaches in their housing management. They had to be more **market-driven** and **client-driven**.

Table 2: Public Secondary Schools' Status, Ibadan

S/No.	Local Govt. Area	No. of Schools	Pupils Enrolment	Teachers Available
1.	Akintola	43	19,475	634
2.	Egbeda	42	19,420	812
3.	Ibadan North	86	43,390	1,703
4.	Ibadan North West	54	32,395	1,264
5.	Ibadan North West	26	10,786	413
6.	Ibadan South East	66	37,671	1,261
7.	Ibadan South West	61	28,310	1,184
8.	Ido	24	8,533	242
9.	Lagelu	34	15,770	675
10.	Oluyole	46	20,270	474
11.	Ona-Ara	43	22,136	545
	TOTAL	525	258,066	10,411

Source: *TESCOM and NUT Records, 2011*

Other noteworthy institutions in the city include the University of College Hospital (UCH), which is the first teaching hospital in Nigeria; International Institute of Agriculture (IITA); Nigeria Institute of Social and Economic Research NNISER), NIHORT, FRIN etc.

6.0 Strategic Housing Delivery Situation in Ibadan:

Ibadan has been the centre of administration of Nigeria's old Western Region since the days of **British** colonial rule when Ibadan grew into an impressive and sprawling urban centre. It is the capital of Oyo state and the largest city in Nigeria by population after Lagos and Kano. Ibadan is, however, Nigeria largest city in geographical area with eleven (11) administratively separate Local Government Areas (UN Habitat 2008).

In 1960, Ibadan was the second– most populous city in Nigeria and the tenth largest in Africa after Alexandra, Algiers, Cairo, Cape Town, Casablanca, Durban, East Rand, Johannesburg and Lagos. It is located in South- western Nigeria. 140Kilometres inland from Lagos and constitutes a prominent transit point between the coastal region and the Nigerian inter land to the North. Its population was 2.55 million according to the Nigeria 2006 census and 2.7 million in 2007 (based on extrapolation of data in World Urbanization Prospects. The 2007 Revision)

As one of the three oldest capitals of the former Regional governments before independence, it became the commercial hub and administrative seat of the government. The city hosts *70% of Oyo State modern markets*, contributes substantially to the manufacturing sector, and almost *90% of the head offices of the banks, financial institutions* and multinational companies, police, army and other para-military headquarters.

Consequently, the institutional setting in Ibadan has traditionally comprised a host of agencies at federal, state and local government levels with separate land areas, separate legal and administrative framework before the **Land Use Act of 1978**, and engaging in little institutional condition, this result in a fragmented management system with each agency responsible for multiple services within its own jurisdiction

and in many cases with its own set of regulatory laws and frameworks, particularly with respect to section 49 of the Land Use Act, 1978 and Urban and Regional Planning Laws of 1992.

6.1 Strategic Housing Stock in the Public-Sector

The resultant **housing stock** in Ibadan in the organized or **planned housing estates** mainly of public corporations and agencies namely:

1. Oyo State Housing Corporation Estates occupying **7, 275.079** hectares of land.
2. Oyo State Government Reservation Areas of Agodi, Onireke, Jericho, Iyaganku, Samonda, Alalubosa, Idishin, Kolapo, Isula, GRA etc.
3. Ibadan Local Government Property Company Estates at 7 locations covering about **1,355.973 hectares** of land.
4. Institutional Housing Facilities held by University of Ibadan, Polytechnic, UCH and Federal Housing Estates of Moniya, Idi-Ayunre, Bieta village and Apata occupying about 199.241 hectares. Practically all centres where Europeans **reside**. Only **Lagos was a first-class out of the eighteen second-class townships**.

6.2 Effects of Urban Segregation and Fragmentation on Living Standards

Urban fragmentation typically creates two cities within the city, as clearly illustrated with the satellite image of Maputo, Mozambique, on the cover of the present report (UN- Habitat, 2008). Even the image of panoramic view of Ibadan from Oke Aremo hills, and Gbagi Layout in the neighbourhood of railway station, Ibadan.

The urban poor live in **high urban densities**, with unplanned urban spatial layout and mostly deprived of access to adequate housing, residential land, municipal

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service and other urban benefits. The better off or higher class tends to reside in the GRA better planned Bodija Estates that enjoy infrastructural services.

It is, however, sad to note that many years after the introduction of modern planning practice in Nigeria and the general efforts of the governments to prepare physical development plans to control and guide the growth of cities and regions, Oyo state has not adopted master plan or any other physical development plan. The last physical development plan for the old Oyo state was in 1990 before the splitting of the two states while the master plan was prepared for Ibadan in 2017. In the absence of this **city-wide** physical development plan Town Planning Authorities have relied heavily on what could be referred to as a detailed **city map** or **land-use map** to guide development. The approved layouts were also very useful in guiding city growth.



Old Bodija

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Even the so called Government Reservation Areas (GRAS) in places like Lagos, Ibadan, Port Harcourt and Kano have become a shadow of what they used to be in the past;

- Indiscriminate development of imposing structures without regards to drainage and other factors of importance, to the build environment in a modern concept have become the order of the day e.g. the new Housing Estates at **Agodi, Jericho and Onireke GRAs**, where Government had either demolished or become part of the new development in form of public private partnership ventures with the State Government at Agodi, Onireke and Jericho GRAs.

The supposed residential government quarters for senior stuffy Firmament secretaries and commission overnight to commercial buildings such as Hotels, company office complex, Event centres, Government Agencies such as NECO, Private Companies, particularly the Quarters known as American Quarters and Abiyade House.

All these new structures have reduced the aesthetic values and plot densities of the GRA, particularly at Iyaganku, Agodi and Jericho and American Quarters opposite Muslim praying Ground. It also increased volume of traffic leading to traffic congestion.

Whereas, land and dwellings (real property) are the primary components of most people's wealth. With the introduction of free land markets, the need to access information on **market value**, for housing finance and to monitor and support real property market increases. Therefore, market based and a systematic property valuation is used for various financial transactions, such as **mortgages** and **insurances**, and is the basis for property taxation.

6.3 Odua's Investments Company Involvement in Property Development

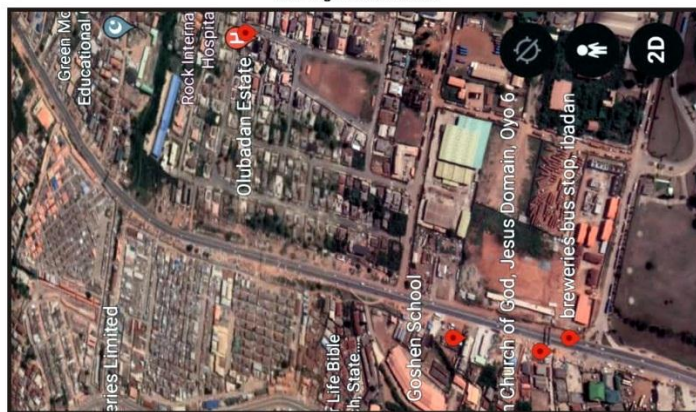
In 2017 around September, **Odua Investment Company** announced its re-entry into property development with the commissioning of 7-duplex **ACE Estate** at No. 1. Akinola Maja Street, Jericho, Ibadan. The estate consists of luxury units of **three**. 5-bedroom duplexes and **four** 4-bedroom duplexes.

The ACE Estate was sprouted from 4,400 square metres of land, hitherto occupied by a derelict colonial building (Government Residential Quarters), before the development began in 2016. Construction was done at a cost of ₦500million.

Westlink Iconic Near The Nigerian Brewery



Land-Use Analysis of Real Property Development Along New-Ife Ibadan Express Way including New Gbagi International Market, Olubadan Estate, Westlink Iconic Villa and Nigeria Breweries



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Similarity, the 3.8 hectares of land on which the **Westlink Iconic Villa buildings** will sit was acquired from the Oyo State government 40years ago and is managed by the Oyo State Property Development Corporation.

Westlink Iconic Villa, the new luxury residential estate valued at over ~~₦~~4billion, will consist of **104** mixed luxury residential buildings and **21** units of commercial outlets. It is being delivered by Odua's Investment Company Limited, in partnership with UK based Iconic/ Chapter of land within Olubadan Estate, Opposite the Nigeria Breweries Plc. New Ife Road Ibadan.

The breakdown of the Estate is as follows;

- Eight 5-bedroom fully detached duplexes.
- Ten 5-bedrom semi-detached duplexes.
- Six 4-bedroom semi-detached duplexes
- Forty 4-bedroom terraced duplexes
- Sixty 3-bedroom apartments
- Twenty One (21) unit of commercial outlets.

A Multi-purpose community centre and utility centre that will provide 24 hours electricity and centralized treated water.



Agodi GRA

Legacy Estates

Legacy Estates is a new housing community developed in partnership by the Oyo State Government and Structural metre of land area at Iwo Road near Kolapo Isola Estate, Old Dairy Farm. Properties are mid/high Scale Villa units through public- private arrangement by releasing land and government quarters at an agreed sharing formula.

The risks of large projects can be better managed through partnerships between private land developers, construction contractors and government agencies. Teaming up creates mutual benefits for public agencies and developers. The possible benefits to the public sector include:

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- (a) Urban redevelopers of an decayed neighbourhoods considered too “risky” for the developers to tackle on their own
- (b) Increased economic activity and taxes (e.g. property taxes, consent fees etc) as under-utilized and surplus lands become developed
- (c) Financial gains from **ground lease income** and participation in ongoing cash flow from joint development projects;
- (d) Private developers provide public spaces and amenities such as open parks, recreation centres, and
- (e) Developer subsidies for new public facilities.

Joint development can be an efficient mechanism for Oyo State government. To get the private sector to implement its urban land development goals without wasting scarce resources, the government can act as a catalyst to promote desirable development.

This should be extended to Oyo GRA that has been almost abandoned Since the colonial days while the government Quarters are not Effectively occupied or developed for modern uses to generate money for the government.

7.0 OPPORTUNITIES FOR INVESTING IN REAL ESTATE SECTOR:

Development is a complex process that involves the coordination of finance, materials, labour and expertise by many actors across a wide range of actors. In fact, it can be argued that the property development process, more than any other industry, demonstrates the importance of the entrepreneur.

The essential ingredient to any successful property project is the timing of a person with vision who is prepared to take the risks necessary to **bring resources together to create assets** that will form a sufficient stream of future income to

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generate profit. Indeed, relatively few **property developers** own land, capital and labour in its own right; they just bring all the factors of production together.

There are two types of developer, those of create built environment asserts for investment clients and those who develop property for their own purposes sometimes distinguished by the phrases; **investor-developer** and trader-developer. In very general times, the developer provides the entrepreneurial talent that enables property opportunities to be brought to the market place (Danny Mayers (2010)).

Market demand for Housing:

It is sufficient to understand that housing demand may be either for owner occupation or rent, or for some combination via shared equity. The U.K housing market define four sectors for housing demand:

- (a) **The owner-occupied sector:** which is made up of households that ultimately own their properties, once they have paid off a related mortgage. The demand factors for owner-occupied housing are
- i) The current price of housing
 - ii) The price of other forms of housing
 - iii) Income and expectations of change
 - iv) Cost of borrowing money and expectations of change
 - v) Government measures, such as tax benefits and stamp duty
 - vi) Demographics factors, such as the number of households
 - vii) Price of associated goods and services, such as maintenance furniture, council tax, insurance, etc.

This form of ownership is generally supported by government initiatives that encourage demand by making the process of home buying as fast, transparent and as consumer friendly as possible. In U.K, according to Danny Mayers (2010), there had

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been a long history of tax subsidy on mortgage repayments. **Mortgage interest tax relief**, however, was gradually phased out between 1990 and 2000.

The logic behind the government providing incentives and benefits to support owner occupation is that if people own the property that they occupy. They will maintain it better. The fell-good factor derived from ownership makes the **transaction costs** of choosing and funding worthwhile, especially as a house provides an investment as well as a shelter.

(b) Demand for Privately Rented Housing:

The private rented housing comprises private property that is let at a market rent, deemed “**fair**” to tenants and landlords. The demand factors for privately rented housing:

- (i) Current rent levels and expectations of change.
- (ii) The prices of owner occupation
- (iii) Income distribution, which determines affordability.
- (iv) The cost of borrowing and expectations of change
- (v) The law on rents and security of tenure
- (vi) Demographic factors, such as household formation.

(c) Demand For Social Housing:

Housing provided by **local authorities and housing associations** is referred to as social housing. The origins of social housing. The origins of social housing lie in the idea that governments should pay a subsidy towards housing to make up for the shortage of accommodation available to low income families.

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The factors that determine the demand for this type of housing are quite different from those during demand for owner-occupied and privately rented housing. The main factors of demand for social housing are as follows:

- (i) The current price (rent) of social housing
- (ii) The price level of other forms of tenure
- (iii) Assessment of need
- (iv) Availability of finance, such as income support and mortgage
- (v) Levels of government subsidy

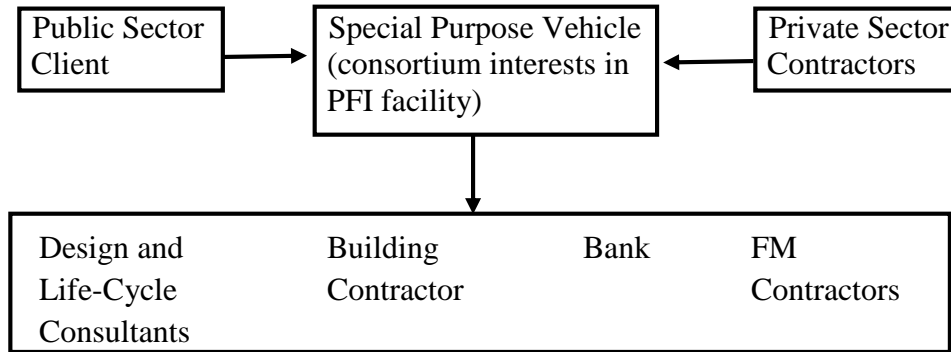
PRIVATE FINANCE INITIATIVE (PFI)

In a PFI contract, a group of private sector operators are given the contractual right to build **design, finance and manage** (BDFM) a project for a defined period of time before it is returned to the public sector.

This form of partnering has a higher profile (and web search will show there has been several articles and example adopted state governments).

It represents some of the biggest projects presently being constructed, for example, in Oyo State, Nigeria. Projects such as: highways, hospitals, infrastructural Gas Project, Prisons, schools, government offices, police stations, and courts. Similar arrangement are a growing phenomenon worldwide (Danny Myers, 2010).

Fig 1: The Private Finance Initiative Model



In other words, a project procured under the private finance initiative (PFI) is based on a new land of relationship between a **public sector client** and private sector contractors.

The General Procedure of Implement

The private firms operating in a consortium agree to design, build, finance, and manage (DBFM) and manage a facility traditionally provided by the public sector. (Finance is **italicized** to emphasize that a distinguishing characteristic of these schemes is that under **PFI arrangements** the private sector is expected to raise the finance to fund the initial construction costs).

In return, the public sector **client agrees to pay annual charges** and / or allows the private sector to reap any profits that can be made during the life of the contract, which may last up to 30 years or more. In this way, both sectors can be seen be specializing in what they do best: with the **public sector client** setting the agenda by specifying the level of service required and the private sector contractor determining the best way to deliver that service.

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These **PFI managements** have obvious advantages as the contractor no longer “**Build and disappears**” - as in Bad old days, because the contractor (as part of the consortium) is involved in managing the project once it has been built. When the private sector has money at risk in this way, there are far greater incentives to make sure everything is right, especially as the consortium must now consider the running and maintenance costs.

Property Management and Maintenance System:

The information systems are underutilized in the management of the maintenance of property. Because property is an **investment asset class** that can produce a return, it needs to be managed and maintained if it is to maintain its value and attract and retain tenants. Broadly speaking, management in the sense refers to portfolio management, asset management and basic property management (Cooke, 1998).

Specifically, **property management** includes tasks relating to **inter alia** tenant mix, lease negotiations, rent collection and payment, physical maintenance, service charges, and the enforcement of lease covenants.

Maintenance is often regarded as the least attractive aspect of property management (Seely 1987) notwithstanding this, maintenance plays a very important role in retaining and enhancing the value of the property by ensuring that it is kept in a condition that enables it to fulfil its operational legal (health and safety) and investment functions. **Maintenance is a complex task because the many different components of as a property deteriorate at different rates.** The degree of deterioration is obviously linked to the property’s ability to perform, physically and economically.

Furthermore, a cost-benefit analysis is needed to determine the economic feasibility of attaining a certain maintenance standard. As a result, **property maintenance** requires not only the systematic collation, monitoring and benchmarking of data, but also the making of strategic decisions regarding the level of maintenance required to attain the required objective (Pill 1997).

CHAPTER TWENTY
THE ROLE OF MANAGERS IN PUBLIC-PRIVATE
PARTNERSHIP (PPP) IN INFRASTRUCTURAL PROVISION

1.0 THE ROLE OF URBAN GOVERNMENT:

Historically, the term **urban government** has been synonymous with that of **municipal administration**. In Europe, **growing medieval towns** secured some degree of local self-government, partly because **urban commerce and environments** demanded interventions that rural administration was not accustomed to provide, and in part because the towns could not generate resources for civic improvement. The same process was repeated in the nineteenth century, both in the **industrial cities in Europe** and in the growing towns in the Americas and Asia. Local government institutions were also widely fostered by the colonial Powers in Africa and Asia in the **post-1945** prelude to Independence. During the **1960s** and **1970s**, *the national, state, and provincial/regional governments became for more closely involved in urban management*, either directly or through the parastatal agencies by these governments.

The role of the urban government is concerned with the policies, plans, programmes, and practices, that seek to ensure that population growth is matched by access to basic infrastructure, shelter, and employment. While such access will depend as much, if not more, on **private initiatives** and **enterprise**, these are critically affected by public sector policies and functions that only government can perform.

The performance of urban government is clearly dependent on a range of contextual factors.

- Political stability,
- Social cohesion, and
- economic buoyancy,

It also depends on the skills and motivations of its policy makers and the staff who serve them. In evaluating effectiveness of urban government arrangements, there are six criteria to be used in the evaluation:

- i) Technical competence in the choice, design, and execution of investment in infrastructure and in its operation and maintenance.
- ii) Efficiency in the use of resources, financial, human and physical, through good budgeting, project appraisal, personnel management, and programme execution.
- iii) Financial viability based on vigorous exploitation of the local revenue base and on sound financial management.
- iv) Responsiveness to the needs arising from urban growth, with the ability to plan the development of the city and its services ahead of, or at least in pace with demand.
- v) Sensitivity to the needs of the urban poor and a weighing of public interventions to promote their access to shelter, basic services, and employment.
- vi) Concern for environmental protection through public service provision and the regulation of the private sector.

Inadequate infrastructure provision and maintenance has been a bane of the Nigerian economy for several decades; and this challenge has been perennially rooted in short falls in budgetary allocations. For infrastructure financing. **Public-private partnerships (PPPs) have thus emerged as alternative models in infrastructure financing (AMIF)** to rescue the ailing stock of infrastructure in Nigeria, especially in urban centres. Various **PPP models** have been used in several sectors including housing delivery, land development, energy, roads and other transport infrastructure.

Implementing **PPP models** in Nigeria has however not been without challenges and this is linked to lack of professionalism in design and implementation procedures.

2.0 PUBLIC-PRIVATE PARTNERSHIP CONCEPT:

Public-Private Partnership has been defined as a contractual arrangement which formed between public and private sector in the development, financing, ownership and or operation of a public facility or service (Ogunsanmi, 2014). **PPP** allows for the finance and operational burden to be transferred from the public to the private sector. In return government is able to focus on strategic areas like **regulation, policy making, planning** and **demand risk**. This is important as governments have better leverage on demand through alternative policies. Governments are known to be better managers of such risk and control it more effectively (KMPG, 2007), while private sector operators are known for better efficiency in service delivery.

3.0 PUBLIC PRIVATE PARTNERSHIP MODELS:

(a) Service contract:

This involves the government and the private sector where the rights and obligation to perform a specific service within well-defined specifications and period are awarded by the government to the private sector. Government continues to take possession of and control of all facilities, capital assets and properties.

(b) Management contract:

Operational control transferred to a private party who is generally not expected to invest in the facility.

(c) Lease contract:

Where the **private partly managers** operates an existing public facility and pays a specified lease payment to the government. In **lease contract**, the private investors build the infrastructure and lease it to government under

finance or **operating lease**. The facility may return to the public sector at the end of the **contract period** or may remain under private ownership.

(d) Concessions:

Where the **private partner** has total control over the management and operation of the facilitates, often on a long-term basis, this is one of the most popular models of **PPP** operating in Nigeria.

Concession may take the form of **build-operate-transfer (BOT)**. The BOT model often has the **challenge of construction-risk, operating risk, social, and environmental risk**. In this **outsourcing model**, the private company might handle an aspect of service, such as **billing, metering, transport**, or even **clearing**.

Management contract and lease contracts involve a private entity taking over the management of a **state-owned** (SOES) for a given period through the facility continues to be owned by the public sector. The public sector retains the responsibility of financing the investments in fixed assets. In the case of **management contracts**, the public sector also finances **working capital**. In this concessionaire plan, it is 100 percent public sector owned asset. The challenge here is that of market risk, price risk and counterpart risk.

Also concessions may take the form of build-Operate-own (BOO) or **build-own-operate-transfer (BOOT)**. In the BOO/BOOT model, the private partner has 100 percent ownership. The challenge here is that of regulatory risk, project risk and creeping taxation. Other concession models include: rehabilitate, operate, and transfer (ROT), design-build-operate-transfer (DBOT), design-build, finance and operate (DBFO), build-operate-maintain (BOM), Build, rent / lease and transfer (BRT or BLT) and, build transfer and operate (BTO).

4.0 PRIVATE FINANCE INITIATIVE (PFI):

Private Finance Initiative (PFI) as a method of procuring **public assets and services** is a fundamental change to the manner in which government in the United Kingdom (U.K) procures a significant portion of its **capital expenditure**, particularly in the field of **transport, health, prisons** and schools. The choice of this procurement route has excited much opinion amongst the various stakeholders as to whether or not it provides “value for money” (vfm).

Under PFI, the performance of projects in terms of completion of work within time and budget is a considerable improvement to projects proceed in a traditional manner as shown below:

	Traditional	PFI
• Projects over budgets	73%	22%
• Projects late	70%	24%

Source: comptroller and auditor general, 2003.

It was observed that **construction companies** involved in PFI expected to make **three to ten times** as much money when compared to the money made by the on traditional contracts. This increase in profits is made because the **construction companies** are assuming the risks previously retained by the **client** and not by profiteering (The Guardian, 08/09/04). The fluctuation in margins attributed to the amount of **equity held** in the consortium completing the **PFI** by the construction company.

However the treasury’s document on PFI (2003) states that: “**The government aim in procurement decision-making is to secure the maximum improvement in public services from investment through maintaining an**

unbiased stance on which procurement route will offer value for money in each case.

5.0 DATA AND INFORMATION:

Data and information makes the infrastructure or fixed assets management world spin according to the Comedian Network of Asset Managers. One needs data about assets, the services, their performance, finances and more for effective asset management planning and decision-making.

Functions and Definitions:

One might hear people talk about **vertical and linear assets** are typically referred to as single location assets like **buildings, treatment plants**, etc. **Linear assets** are typically assets that span an area like underground pipes, roads, etc. Due to their very different nature, they can often be managed in different systems and Geographic Information Systems (GIS) are often used specially for linear assets.

In managing customer relations, the more data you have about the product, the better for the development of information that will guide decisions on your road-to-market options. Quality information about the market and appropriate responses to such information about the market and appropriate responses to such information are the things that determine the difference between the men and the boys in the market place.

Data is raw and unprocessed statistics. In gathering data, we are only guided by a need to have facts and figures concerning our operations, irrespective of the form or order in in which they come. There is no specific pattern of organization to data, neither is any guarantee that all maybe useful or used at any particular time.

Information however, is the organization of data in processed, orderly fashion that lends itself to immediate application or use. Both are interdependent and

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absolutely necessarily in customer relations. Without processing on the other hand, data may be too jumbled and unwidely to be useful.

6.0 Information Requirement, Use and management:

Data and information are the internal lifeblood of an infrastructural asset optimization project and one of the most valuable products this also include managing effectively the heritage and Tourism sites in the states and Local government areas.

Infrastructural asset optimization requires generate rich **data and information** that must provided by and available to, a broad range of providers and customers. **Data** and information provide the basic for identifying improvement opportunities that can be taken advantage of the effectiveness of improvement initiatives and assisting in vital operating and production decisions. The **information structure** includes a number of specialized applications that must communicate in order to derive and present vital information required for effective production and work management.

Information defining asset status, current performance, availability, projected lifetime and cost are needed at the outset and thought an asset optimization project or programme. At the top of the **information structure**, full information must be widely available to advise executive, managerial and supervisory decision makers of the optimum courses of action to maximize profitability and return. An effective information system must provide information, not disconnected data, to management, support and crafts personnel and when need it. This requires not only interoperable computer systems but also a reworking of the manner in which computers process equipment data and present it as information.

7.0 Sector Specific Infrastructure Deflect Challenges:

(a) Infrastructure and Services

Fundamentally, infrastructure assets exist to provide services to our communities. Managing our assets to deliver those services is **asset management**. In order to have sustainable, resilient communities that will thrive now, and for future generations, investing in our **asset management** efforts cannot be ignored.

Public infrastructure is the foundation for a healthy and vibrant community. They include all **physical infrastructure** that is necessary to support the social, economic, and environmental services provided by the organization. These asset types include, but are not solely limited to:

- (a) Tangible assets** such as **buildings, engineering structures, roads, parks, transit, IT networks, water and wastewater systems**, and (b) **intangible assets** such as **land, software, data, and intellectual property**.

The quality of infrastructure service depends on good planning to good maintenance, and each of these factors has a cost. If resources are inefficient to meet the needs for any of these factors, the quality of infrastructure services is likely to suffer. Therefore, government at all levels need to provide sufficient resources to meet their objectives in terms of infrastructure services and resilience, and they have to distribute these resources appropriately across the various needs. Even if total spending is appropriate, allocating insufficient resources for planning, designing, or maintain assets would lead to low quality and reliability.

Funding of maintenance is also often challenging. Under investment in operation and maintenance is common because it is generally easier to raise resources to finance new investment or major rehabilitation than to cover continuous operation

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and maintenance costs. Maintenance is also less visible than ne investment and can usually be delayed, which makes it an easy target for budget cuts.

(b) Lack of Access to Infrastructure Service:

Lack of access to infrastructure services have severe economic consequences. Just as bad, however can be the lack of reliability in infrastructure services; for example: being connected to the **electricity grid** is of little use if the fewer is out unreliable infrastructure system (UIS) affect firms and households directly or indirectly.

These impacts, both direct and indirect, take big toll on economy's ability to generate wealth and maintain international competitiveness. For examples; a firm relying on water to cool a machine cannot manufacture products during a draught, likewise, a restaurant with electric stove cannot cook meals without power. Therefore, infrastructure disruptions interrupt firms activities, force them to operate at less than full production capacity, reduce their sales, and cause delays in the supply and delivery of goods.

In short, infrastructure services support our well-being and development. **Reliable water, sanitation, energy, transport and telecommunication services** are universally considered to be essential for raising the quality of life of people. Access to basic information services is also a central factor in the productivity of firms and thus of entire economics, making it a key enabler of economic development.

The Managing Director, Afriland properties one advised that efficient facility management as a key enabler for the **growth of the real estate industry** in the country, pointing out that **facility managers** remained the heartbeat of corporate real estate. In other word, **facility management** is one of the **most ignored functions in real estate management**.

INFRASTRUCTURE ASSETS FINANCED THROUGH PPP AND PFI



Express-Challenge Junction



Lekan Salami Sports Complex



National Theatre, Iganmu, Lagos



New Lagos-Ibadan Rail Line



Luxury Housing Estate



Lagos Sea-Port Inland Dry-Port

Table 1: List of Public Physical Infrastructure Assets

Major Physical Assets	Components For GIS Environment
Street Assets	Benches, lights, Traffic Signals, Garbage cans, Fire Hydrant, Bus Stops Terminals, Bridges, Overpasses and Underpasses, Tunnels, Culverts and Guardrails.
Pipeline Network	Water supply system, Gas pipeline, Oil pipeline, and Steam Pipelines.
Utility Network	Electricity, Cable, Telephone, and Computer Cables.
Drainage Network	Rivers and Canals
Transport Network	Railways, Roads, Rivers, Airways and Shipping
Fleet Assets	Garbage Trucks, Ambulances, Police vehicles, Fire Renders, Transport vehicles, Construction Equipment, etc.
Building Assets	Government offices, Public Buildings, Educational Building, Public Safety Buildings, Historic Buildings and Sporting Facilities
Other Agricultural Properties	Forest reserves, Dairy Farms, Farm Settlements, dams, Wild Life, irrigated farmland, tractors, Fish Ponds.
Historic sites and Building	Olumo rock, Oke'badanor Ibadan Hills, Ado-Awaye Suspended Lake, Ikogosi water falls, Bower's Tower etc.

*Source: Using GIS for Asser Management in Trinidad and Tobago
by Bhesem Tamba, January, 2004*

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8.0 OYO STATE INVESTMENT & PUBLIC PRIVATE PARTNERSHIP AGENCY

Oyo State Investment and Public-Private Partnership Agency (OYSIPA) came into being on 12th of November 2019 consequent upon the assent of the Executive Governor to Oyo State Investment and public-private partnership agency law 2019 that established the agency. OYSIPA evolved from the erstwhile Bureau of Investment Promotion & Public-Private Partnership (BIP/PP P), with Otunba Segun Ogunwuyi as pioneer Director-General, who was elevated to the position of Chief of Staff to the Governor of Oyo State.

VISION

To make Oyo State for foremost growing economy in Nigeria.

MISSION

Promotion of Investment and Economic activities by providing bespoke solutions to investors.

FUNCTIONS/MANDATE/ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE OF THE AGENCY

The functions, mandates and administrative structure of the Agency are well outlined in the enabling law, which is downloadable from <http://www.oyispa.oy.gov.ng/wpcontent/uploads/2020/05/OYISPA-Law-2019.pdf>.

The core mandate of OYISPA, under the leadership Ms. Lolade Olutola as Director-General **is to create an expanded economy by transforming Oyo State from an agrarian into a multispectral economy**. With this mandate at hand, the global outlook of the Agency is to make Oyo State the Preferred Investors destination in Nigeria and to support the dream of His Excellency, Engr. Seyi Makinde's vision "to make Oyo State the fastest growing economy in Nigeria".

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OYISPA, serves as the entry portal for all investments/investment promotions, public-private partnerships, infrastructure concession, and strategic asset management initiatives.

Attracting the right investor and improving out attractiveness to investors globally is central to creating an expanded economy. To be an attractive investor destination, OYISPA has put processes in place to ensure that setting up a business as well as expanding business operations in Oyo State is done with ease. Our current ease of doing business rating by the National Investment Promotions Council is 3-star, but we are striving to get a 4-star rating in the next edition of the Nigerian Investment Certification Programme for State of Nigeria.

OYISPA is responsible for ease of doing business and issues relating with micro Small, and Medium Enterprises in Oyo State. The agency is also saddled with the implementation of the alternative Project Funding Approach (APFA), which a Design, Build and finance modality used by the State Government for Private Participation in infrastructure financing.

PROJECTS FOOTPRINT & PIPELINE

S/No	Project	Project Description and Location
1.	Ajoda New Town Housing Development	Construction of about 360 units of low-cost houses on 13ha at Ajoda New Town (Project Cost: over N.5B)
2.	Pacesetter-Wood Estates Project	Development of eleven (11) units of premium 5-bedroom terrace houses with all necessary infrastructure on a vacant land at No 1, Awosika Str., Bodija Estate, Ibadan on a Design, build and Finance basis . (Land Size: 2,441.097m²) (Project Cost: over N350m).

3.	Bodija Recreation Centre	Design, construction, commissioning and management of Bodija Recreation Centre (the open field around Bodija Housing roundabout) into a modern, self-sustaining, multi-purpose sports and recreational centre on the basis of build, operate and transfer. By the concession arrangement.
4.	Bodija Recreation Centre	Bodija Recreation Centre is to become the foremost sports and recreation centre for residents of Ibadan city. (Project cost: about N500m).
5.	Agbowo Shopping Complex	Rehabilitation of agbowo shopping complex into an ultra-modern multi-use retail, recreation and entertainment complex. (Project Cost: About N5.5 B).
6.	Reactivation of Pacesetter Asphalt & Quarry Ltd.	Reactivate commercial activities at Pacesetter Asphalt and Quarry Ltd, Ijaiye . The concessionaire will inject fresh funds to substantially increase the plant's operating capacities from 100MT/day to 300MT/day. (Project Cost: About 750m).
7.	Housing development at Trans Motel Jericho, Ibadan.	Development of 114 apartments with necessary estate infrastructure on the erstwhile trans model at No 1, Akinola Maja Str., Jericho Ibadan on a Design, Build and Finance basis . (Land Size: approx. 45,000m²) (Project Cost: about N5B).
8.	Remodeling of Lekan Salami Stadium, Adamsingba, Ibadan	Stadia remodeling under the Alternative Project Funding Approach (APFA) (Project Cost: about N5.5 B)

9.	Construction of 21km Airport-Ajia-New Ife Express. Road with a spur to Amuloko	Road construction under the Alternative Project Funding Approach (APFA) (Project Cost: about 8.5B).
10.	Completion of 7.52km IdiApe-Basorun-Akobo	Road construction under the Alternative Project Funding Approach (APFA) (Project Cost: about N3.28 B).
11.	Rehabilitation of 45.3km Saki-Ogbooro-Igboho road	Road construction under the Alternative Project Funding Approach (APFA) (Project Cost: about N8 B).
12.	Completion of 9.7km Saki-Township Road	Road construction under the Alternative Project Funding Approach (APFA) (Project Cost: about N4.7 B).
13.	Rehabilitation of 2.5km Gedu-Sabo-Oroki-Asipa road, Oyo	Road construction under the Alternative Project Funding Approach (APFA) (Project Cost: about N2.9 B).
14.	Construction of bridge work components of the Idi Ape Bashorun Akobo Odogbo Barracks junction dualization projects.	Design and construction of a motorable bridge (project cost: about N1.05 B).
15.	Reconstruction/rehabilitation of 34.85km Oyo-Iseyin Road Project	Road construction under the Alternative Project Funding Approach (APFA) (Project Cost: about N8.4 B).
16.	Owode Estate Project, Apata, Ibadan	Real estate development at Owode, Apata targets 300 apartments for urban families on about 14.76 hectares of land (Project Cost: about N8.8B).
17.	Pacesetter Industrial Park (Pilot Scheme on 50ha)	Development of the pilot phase (50ha) of Pacesetter Industrial Park under PPP model. (Project Cost: about N4.5B).

18.	Ibadan Airport Upgrade (Aviation Fuel Facility)	Design, construction and installation of 500,000L aviation fuel dispensing facility at Ibadan airport. (Project cost: about N1.1B).
19.	Ibadan Inland Dry Port	Ibadan Inland Dry Port, a port of destination for the attraction of maximum benefit from the Lagos-Ibadan rail.
20.	Construction of 110km Ibadan Circular Road	110km Ibadan circular road on a Build, Operate and Transfer basis.
21.	Oluyole Free Trade Zone	Declaration and Operational license covering a territorial space of about 4,000 hectares on the Lagos-Ibadan highway.
22.	Bodija Recreation Centre	Design, construction, commissioning and management of Bodija Recreation Centre (the open field around Bodija housing roundabout) into a modern, self-sustaining, multi-purpose sports and recreational centre on the basis of Build, Operate and Transfer. By the concession arrangement.

9.0 CHALLENGES OF MANAGING HERITAGE SITES AND TOURISM CENTRES IN OYO STATE, NIGERIA.

Oyo State in the Southwestern Nigeria is well endowed with heritage sites and Tourism centres such as Alaafin and Irefin Ogundeyi Palaces, Asabari hill at Saki, Agbele hill/Rock formation at Igbeti, Ado-Away suspended Lake, Old Oyo Park, Mapo Hall, Bower's Tower. The location, conservation and preservation of cultural and natural heritage sites are of paramount importance to the level of success for a given area in attracting heritage tourism. Aside posterity, heritage has been viewed as an avenue for attracting investment and tourism.

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The challenge of managing these precious and ancient heritage resources has received global attention. The need to properly manage and harness the full potential of **heritage properties** in order to contribute to sustainable development of needs informed the call by the United Nations Educational, scientific and Cultural Organizations (UNESCO) on the states parties at her 2015 General Assembly, in line with **2030 Agenda** for Sustainable Development, to strengthen efforts to protect and safeguard the world's cultural and natural Heritage in their domain. By implication, **heritage management** approaches should ensure environmental sustainability, inclusive social and economic development.

These heritage sites have the capacity to acquire local, national or international status and they are of great beauty and distinction. Apart from the fact that they are of great historic significance, they also have the potential to increase the **income-generation** of the state.

Historic cores of the state have been allowed to decay and largely abandoned. The absence of conservation plans and documentation procedures for most of the heritage sites in the state in the state make them to be physically disrupted by insensitive modern development. Also, **heritage institutions, managers, custodians and stakeholders in the state saddled with the responsibilities of managing the heritage properties are confronted with various management challenges.**

There is growing recognition that heritage properties and their sustainable management is a shared responsibility of hall. Therefore, the OYISPA should extend PPP management in managing the Heritage sites and Tourism centres in Oyo state. It is imperative to for the Agency to improve the management system through collaboration, cooperation and better coordination among the partners in the field of heritage management in Oyo state.

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APPENDIX I

PROFILE OF TRADITIONAL RULERS OF IBADAN FROM FIRST SETTLEMENT

S/NO	NAME OF RULERS AND TITLE	PLACE OF ORIGIN	NEW QUARTERS	PERIOD OF REIGN
1.	Lagelu (Founder)	Ile-Ife	Awotan	16 th Century
<p>i) Lagelu founded Ibadan probably, during the reign of Alaafin Oluaso (1359-1530) and not Alaafin Sango in the 1410 A.D. 13th Century. Ooni Olubuse II put the date at 1410 A.D.</p> <p>ii) Ibadan changed locations three times from Eba-Odan to Awotan Hills and Oja'ba</p> <p>iii) According to Rev. Samuel Johnson (1911), the destruction of Owu in 1819 A.D. was followed by the destruction of Egba towns giving rise to the rise of anarchy and political displacement. Ife soldiers led by Maye Okunade and Oyo refugees joined by friendly Egbas and Ijebus. The war-chiefs found Ibadan alone not destroyed by fire and so hastily occupied it. The war-chiefs taking possession of any compound they chose, and their men with them and thus Ibadan was again re-peopled by not the owners of the town around 1820 A.D. led by Maye and his deputy Labosinde, both from Ile-Ife while Lakanle was the Oyo leader</p>				
2.	Bale-Maye Okunade	Ile-Ife	Oriyangi/Oja'ba	1825-1832
3.	Are Oluyedun Afonja	Ilorin	Labosinde	1832-1835
4.	Baale Lakunle	Oyo-Ile	Agbeni	1835-1835
5.	Basorun Oluyole Olukuloye Iyanda	Oyo-Ile	Oja'Iba	1835-1849
<p>He was born in Oyo-Ile. His father was Olukoye Ajala, a grandson of Basorun Yamba. His mother was Agboin, the daughter of Oba Abiodun Adegolu. The transition from a war camp situation by Oyo, Ife, Owu, Egba, Ijebu etc to a city with an organized and stable constitution in 1840 was effective by him. He died at the end of Sagan war after a brief illness.</p>				
6.	Balogun Oderinlo Odeyinka	Agberi/Ife	Mapo	1849-1850
<p>His father, Tampe, was born in Iragberi. When Elepo usurped his position, Oluyole resolved the issue by sending Elepo away from Ibadan. As Balogun under Oluyole, he crushed the Fulani army in Osogbo war of 1840, supported by Chief Lateju who was executed, Ajikobi was sent to the Alaafin Atiba for capital punishment while Jimba was chivalrously released. The son of Balogun Ali, the Hausa Balogun of Ilorin was released. Balogun Oderinlo's contemporaries were Sunmola Laamo from Ikoyi who was Otun Baale Olugbode 1851; Ogunmola and Dada Opadare, a relation of Balogun Oderinlo.</p>				

7.	Baale Opeagbe Omolulu	Ogbomoso	Idi-Omo	1850-1851
This Baale fought in Batedo war 1844, Osogbo war 1840 and Sagaun war. He helped to build the Central Mosque at Oja Iba by allocating Land to the community.				
8.	Baale Olugbode Oyesile	Kuta (Owu)	Ita-Bale	1851-1864
<p>i. Passed a law and designed measures to increase healthy environment against rearing of pigs in the streets of Ibadan in 1855 as advised by Aboke Okewale, the Chief Priest of Oke'badan</p> <p>ii. Initiated "Alabaja" Peace Conference in 1854 attended by Yoruba Obas in Ibadan.</p> <p>iii. Mediated in the crisis between Ife and Modakeke in 1854 and negotiated the return of Ife people from Oke-Igbo back to Ife where they have been since 1849 when Modakeke sacked Ife town.</p> <p>iv. Iyaiye was destroy in 1862 and brought under the control of Ibadan Authority. The war-heroes were Balogun Ibikunle and Otun Balogun Ogunmola</p>				
9.	Basorun Ogunmola	Ile Alawe Fesu/ Odogbo near Ikoyi	Bere/Mapo	1864-1867
10.	Balogun Akere	Ogbomoso	Oritamerin	1867-1869
He was all the time in Ilesha war ront where he died.				
11.	Baale Orowusi	Ogbagba	Kobomoje	1869-1871
12.	Are Latosa	Ilorra	Oke-Are	1871-1885
He came from Ilora and trained under Oluyole.he easied out Oyo Aburu-Maku of Ogbomosho to assume his Kakanfo office. This was the case with Ogunmola, who seized the Basorun Office from the old Gbena of Oyo.				
13.	Balogun Ajayi Osungbekun (Omo Orowusi)	Ogbagba	Kobomoje	1885-1893
14.	Baale Fijabi (Omo Babalola)	Ogbomoso	Oritamerin	1893-1895
Ibadan came under British rule after signing an Agreement with the British Government in August, 1893. He was succeeded for the first time by Otun Baale Osuntoki (1895-1897) when Balogun Akintola declined the offer of becoming the Baale.				
15.	Baale Osuntoki Olosun	Offa	Agbeni	1895-1897
16.	Basorun Fajimi (Omo Yerombi)	Ilorra	Oranyan	1897-1902
17.	Baale Mosaderin	Oko	Oranyan	1902-1904

18.	Baale Dada Opadare	Ajagba	Oke-Dada	1904-1907
Under this Baale, the service in homage to Oyo from the Ijebu, Egba, Ijaiye Ojoo, Moniya, Iroko and other towns were lost. He located the people to police and prevents the flow of the service to the Alaafin.				
19.	Basorun Apampa (Omo Osundina)	Iware	Isale-Osi	1907-1910
He was the last Baale of Ibadan to hold the title of Basorun M.K.O Abiola and Kola Daisi held the honouy Basorun title. During his reign, the Oyo people at Modakeke were resettled at Ode Omu following an agreement signed in June 1909. By this agreement, Modakeke was evacuated and resettled at the present site of Ode-Omu. The agreement was signed by the Baale of Ibadan, Basorun Sunmonu Apampa; His Royal Majesty (HRM), Oba Aelekan Olubuse I, the Ooni of Ife; and the Ogunsua of Modakeke and other chiefs (Prince Adelegan Adegbola 2009 pg. 524). Alayegun of Ode Omu is the title of their Oba who was crowned Oba (HRM) Lamidi Olayiwola Adeyemi III, the Alaafin of Oyo in recent time.				
20.	Baale Akintayo (Awaninaku Elempe)	Ile-Ife/Ikire	Bere/Aboke	1910-1912
21.	Baale Irefin (Omo Ogundeyi)	Owu	Oke-Ofa Babasale	1912-1914
22.	Baale Shittu (Omo Are)	Ilori	Oke-Are	1914-1925
23.	Bale Oyewole Aiyejenku (Omo Foko)	Esu/(Onipepe Oyin)	Oke-Foko	1925-1930
24.	Olubadan Okunola Abass Alesinloye (Omo Bankole)	Offa	Isale-Ijebu	1930-1946
25.	Olubadan Fagbunrin Akere II	Ogbomoso	Oritamerin	1946
26.	Olubadan Oyetunde I	Ogbomoso	Eleta	1946
27.	Olubadan Akintunde Bioku	Ile-Bioku near Lanlate	Oke-Bioku	1946-1947
28.	Olubadan Fijabi II	Ogbomoso	Oritamerin	1948-1952
29.	Olubadan Memudu Alli-Iwo	Ogbomoso/Iwo	Gbenla	1952
30.	Olubadan Igbintade Apete	Ilare-Ile-Ife	Oke-Mapo	1952-1955

31.	Olubadan Isaac Babalola Akinyele	Ogbomoso	Alafara	1955-1964
32.	Olubadan Yesufu Kobiowu	Oranyan	Oranyan	1964
33.	Olubadan Salawu Akanbi Aminu	Mapo	Adeoyo	1965-1971
34.	Olubadan Shittu Akinola Oyetunde II	Ogbomoso	Eleta	1972-1976
35.	Olubadan Gbadamosi Akanbi Adebimpe (Crowned)	Oyo-Ile	Odinjo	1977-1982
36.	Olubadan Daniel Tayo Akinbiyi (Crowned)	Offa-Ile/Awe	Elekuro	1977-1982
37.	Olubadan Yusuf Oloyede Asanike (Crowned)	Oyo-Ile	Idi-Aro	1983-1993
38.	Olubadan Emmanuel Adegboyega Adeyemo Operinde I (Crowned)	Oyo-Ile	Isale-Ijebu	1993-1999
39.	Olubadan (Dr) Yinusa Bankole Ogundipe Arapasowu I (Crowned)	Oluponna	Oke-Mato (Oranyan)	1999-2007
40.	Olubadan (Dr) Samuel Odulana odugade I (Crowned)	Iresa-Adu (Offa)	Aremo	2007 – 2016

In the Oyo Empire, between 1860 and 1895, Saki, Iseyin, Oyo, Ibadan, Ogbomoso, Iwo, Ede, Osogbo, and Ikirun were firmly Muslim centres. The Ibadan “Ulama” i.e. learned men in 1876 under Alfa Abu Bakr Alaga had the mastery of both Koran and Arabic language to produce poetry. Ibadan was just second to Ilorin in the enterprise of the spread of Islam. In Lagos in 1896, the Government established government Muslim schools while similar government institutions sprang up at Epe 1898 and Badagry 1899.

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41.	Oba Saliu Adetunji Aje Ogungunniso I	Igbeti	Pop-Yemoja	2016-2022
42.	Oba (Dr.) Lekan Mohood Balogun (Alli Okunmade II)	Ogbomoso	Ali-Iwo Compound	2022 -

Sources: Iwe Itan Ibadan by I.B. Akinyele, 1911 and the Olubadan-in-Council Palace Secretary

APPENDIX II

PROFILE OF ESV. TOMORI MOSHOOD A.



Esv. Moshood Adijolola Tomori was born in Ibadan at Laamo's Compound into the Farounbi Lineage, Bere Ibadan in Ibadan South East Local Government Area of Oyo State on 4th January, 1950. His father was Late Pa. Salawu Akinlabi Tomori and Mother, late Madam Mojinyinola Abeke Tomori.

He attended Christ Church Primary School, Mapo, Ibadan, St. James Primary School, Idi-Aba, Abeokuta and St. John Primary School, Iloro, Ilesha, Lagelu Grammar School, Ibadan (1968-1972), Government College, Ibadan (1973-1974), University of Ife, now Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife (1974-1979).

He enjoyed Western State Scholarship at Lagelu Grammar School Ibadan, and Federal Government Scholarship at the University of Ife, (now Obafemi Awolowo University) Ile-Ife in Osun State, Nigeria.

PERSONAL QUALIFICATIONS

He had a Bachelor's Degree in Estate Management in 1979 and became a registered member of the Nigerian Institution of Estate Surveyor & Valuer (ANIVS), He is a Registered Member of Estate Surveyors and Valuer Registration Board (RSV). He is a member of the Nigerian Institute of Management (NIM)

WORKING EXPERIENCE

Esv. Tomori M. A. started his professional career in the Ministry of Lands Housing and Survey, Oyo State from 1980 to February, 1991 and rose to the rank of Principal Lands Officer.

He transferred his service to the Local Government Service Commission of Oyo State in 1991 from where he served in the three Local Governments before he was seconded to the Ministry of Finance & Economic Planning, and the Ministry of

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Local Government and Chieftaincy Matters as Oyo State Rating and Valuation Coordinator between 1996 and 2009.

SPECIAL PROFESSIONAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE ASSIGNMENTS

While in the public service of Oyo State, he served as member of many panel on Inquires on Chieftaincy and Land Matters as follows:

1. In December 2001, he was appointed a member of the Multi-Sectoral Preparation Team for the participation of Oyo State Government in the World Bank sponsored Local Empowerment and Environmental Management Programme (LEEMP).
2. Member of Administrative Panel of Inquiry into OLOBA OF OBA CHIEFTAINCY DISPUTE (1988) in Ibarapa Central Local Government.
3. Member of Administration Panel of Inquiry into IRAWO CHIEFTAINCY AND LAND DISPUTE (1998) in Atisbo Local Government.
4. Member of Administration Panel of Inquiry into the Activities of Local Area Government Properties Company Limited (October, 1999 to January, 2001)
5. Chairman, Panel of Enquiry to determine the appropriate person to fill vacant tool of Baale of Ajia in Ona-Ara Local Government Area, Oyo State (May, 2003).
6. Member of the Project Preparation Team for Local Economic and Empowerment Management Project LEEMP, financed by World Bank.

BOOK PUBLICATION

Esv. Tomori is an author and a prolific writer with six books to his credit

- | | |
|--|------|
| a) The Role of Local Government in the Development and Management of Real Estate | 1997 |
| b) Principles and Practice of Urban Property Taxation | 2002 |
| c) IBADAN OMO AJOROSUN: A New Perspective of Ibadan History and Physical Development | 2004 |
| d) Ibadan in the 21 st Century: "A Model of Sustainable City" | 2013 |
| e) IBADAN: A City Built by Warriors | 2016 |
| f) The Owu Factor in The History of Ibadan | 2017 |
| g) Ibadan: A Cosmopolitan African City and Imperial Legacy | 2018 |
| h) IBADAN: A City of Contrast Between Tradition | |

Lola Tomori

- | | |
|--|------|
| and Modernity | 2022 |
| i) A New Perspective of Ibadan History From Origin and Transformation from War Camp to Megapolis 1580 - 2000 | 2022 |

INTELLECTUAL RESEARCH RECOGNITION

Our levels of desire, patience, persistence, and confidence end up playing a much larger successful achievement in life. ***This has motivated and energized me to overcome my weakness, discover my task and obligation to the society! This was how I contributed to good governance and sustainable development in the PUBLIC SERVICE. This confirm the saying that “Mastery make better individuals”.***

ESV. Tomori has presented many professional papers on Property Taxation and Local Government Finance at various Seminar and Workshops. He also participated in many World Bank and UN-Habitat Workshops and Discussion Groups such as Sustainable Ibadan Project (SIP), Community Improvement Projects (CIP) including Community and Social Development Project (CSDP). He contributed a Chapter to the book published by the Estate Department, University of Lagos on “LAND MANAGEMENT AND PROPERTY TAX REFORM IN NIGERIA” in 2003. In 2022, he presented a paper at a symposium organized by the Central Council of Ibadan Indigenes titled: Ibadan Empire: THE KIRIJI WAR AND YORUBA PEACE TREATY.

Also, in 2022; he contributed to the tribute in Honour of the Late Professor Akin Mabogunje organized by the Geography Department, University of Ibadan. The Committee was headed by Professor Isaac Megbolugbe.

MEMBERSHIP OF CULTURAL ASSOCIATIONS

Esv. Lola Tomori is a member of Ibadan One Society and a former member of Lagelu Indigenes Club at the Formative Stage. He represented Ibadan One Society at the Central Council of Ibadan Indigenes (CCII) from 1989 to 2003. He was the 2nd and 1st Assistant Secretary General of CCII from 1992 to 1999. He had also served the CCII in various capacities as:

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- i. Secretary, CCII Chieftaincy Committee on OLOKO Commission of Inquiry (1993)
- ii. Secretary, New Olubadan Palace Site Selection Committee and Preparation of Site Development Plan (1992/1994)
- iii. Oyo State Stakeholder Committee Member on Creation of States in Oyo State 2013/2014.
- iv. Member – CCII Legal Committee on Boundary Dispute between Ibadan and Iwo on Ogburo
- v. A Member of CCII 5man Committee on the Olubadan Chieftaincy Review Panel on 23rd May, 2017.
- vi. Member Goinformation Society of Nigeria (GEOSON)

AWARDS & HONOURS

In appreciation of his contribution to the Estate and Valuation Profession and Community Service, he has received the following Awards:

- ★ “Professional Development and Empowerment of Members Awards” by the Nigerian Institution of Estate Surveyor & Valuer, (NIESV) Oyo State Branch in July, 2009;
- ★ An Award of “Professional Excellence” by the Conference of Local Government Lands and Estate Officers (Oyo State Branch) in recognition of Professional Excellence and dedication to the Public Service of Oyo State Government both at the State and Local Government Levels.
- ★ Central Council of Ibadan Indigene “**Merit Award**” in Recognition of his Outstanding Service to Ibadanland” on Saturday 22nd November, 2014.
- ★ Central Council of Ibadan Indigenes (CCII) Cultural Festival Week honorary award of **Grand Ambassador of Ibadan Culture** - March 2022
- ★ Pillar of Support for Oluyole Progressive Front 91’ in November 2022

Esv. Lola Tomori is happily married and blessed with children. He retired from the Public Service of Oyo State on 31st December, 2009 after a mandatory of 60 years of age.

6th January, 2022