

IBADAN HISTORY FROM LAGELU ERA AND THE IMPACT OF POLITICAL CRISIS IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

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1.1 Background History of Lagelu

Lagelu (a.k.a. Oroo Apatamaja), a war-chief (Jagun Osun) from Dalegu compound, Ajamapo area of oke Eso in Ile-Ife was the founder of Ibadan. He was the grandson of Orunto (or Obalufe), the prime minister of Ile-Ife and Head of Ooni-in-council. His mother was the daughter of Ooni Luwo Gbagida, the only female in Ife history who married Chief Obaloran, a member of the council of Ooni of Ife (Chief (Dr.) M.A. Fabunmi, 1985).

(a) Benin Army Invaded Iddo Island

When he was still in Ife, a legend had it that he led Ife army as Jagun Osin to assist the children of Olofin Ogunfunminire, the progenitor of the Awori's with the king of Gbagura referred to as Agura fought against the Benin army who invaded Iddo Island near Lagos founded by the Aworis. The children were; **Olumegbon, Oluwa, Onitona, Onitoolo, Elegusi, Aromire, Olooto and Ojora**. The Aromires later swam across the Lagoon to Lagos Island in the middle of the **16th** century for fishing and farming (Oluremi I. Obateru, 2006). They constituted the "**IDEJO**" who are the traditional land owners and **White Cap Chiefs** in Lagos. When a Portuguese expedition led by **Ruy de Sequeira** landed there, **Eko** was changed to **Lagos** in 1472A.D.

Thereafter, about the **16th century**, during the Alaafin Onigbogi (1530-1542), Lagelu "Oroo Apatamoja"; led a group of men and women and interested people out to found a new settlement, known as EBA ODAN later known as Ibadan. According to Prince Adelegan Adegbola in his book titled: "IFE: The Source of Yoruba civilization, 2009 page 136". This was at the interface of the forest and the savannah.

(b) Invasion of Oyo-Ile by Tapa

During this period Alaafin Onigbogi who reigned between (1530-1542) received the worst pressure and attack from Nupe. He was of Ibaraba's mother's. He therefore fled to Gbere in his mother's homeland for refuge, according to Chief M.O. Ogunmola (2000, 2010).

The desertion of Oyo capital led to many emigrations to **Egba, Egbado, Ibolu, Oke-Ogun, and Ibarapa** areas as contained in "Iwe Itan Oyo" by Samuel Ojo Bada, the Bada of Saki at page 47. The Nupe king by then was **Etsu Jibraila**.

Prince Adelagun Adegbola (2009) described the location of Ibadan at that time as between Remo, Ijebu and Egba on one hand and Oyo on the other hand. Therefore, Ibadan must have benefitted from emigration of Oyo refugees to Egba areas where Ibadan is situated.

(c) Lagos Came Under Benin's Influence in 1630

Lagelu as Jagun of Old Oyo Kingdom was assisted the children of Ogunfunminire when he founded Ibadan in the **16th century** by intervening in the struggle for the hegemony of Lagos between Benin Kingdom backed **Asipa** and **Ado** on one hand and Aromire and his brothers on the other in 1630A.D. **Olofin was the first Oba of Lagos**.

According to Dr. J.A Atanda (1980 pg. 17), the **Olofin dynasty** was later superseded by Asipa, an Iseri chief whose origin like those of Ogunfunminire and Olofin, is traced to the royal family of Ile-Ife where Lagelu came from.

While hosting the Awori people currently domiciled in Lagos and Ogun states by the Ooni of Ife, Oba Adeyeye Enitan Ogunwusi, Ojaja II, he said that Olofin Ogunfunminire, the progenitor of the Aworis, was a Sooko in Ile-Ife before his departure hundred years ago (TRIBUNE of Tuesday, 11 December, 2018). Ooni went further that Ooni Aribiwoaso (1528-1545) was on the throne when Olofin Ogunfunminire left Ile-Ife. He was the 27th Ooni of Ife (Chief (Dr.) M.A. Fabunmi, 1985).

This explains why chief I.B. Akinyele (1911) wrote in "Iwe Itan Ibadna: that when **prince of Iseri** from Oloto family of Ido had problem in the royal house, he came to seek refuge in the **second Ibadan** at Oriyangi, established by the descendants of Lagelu because of the relationship between Ibadan and the Awori people of Iseri. He was allocated a quarter named "**Itun Iseri**" out of the six quarters of the town

Lagelu on his way from Ile-Ife gave his sister in marriage to Elejigbo of Ejigbo as a mark of friendship, while for settling down in Ebaodan which meterphosed into Ibadan, he got married to the daughter of Agura of Gbagura, his neighbour. He also got married to the daughter of Akarigbo of Ijebu Remo. The daughter of his first son, Nkan Lola, got married to Olowu Akinjobi

History is therefore a record of current events passed down to prosperity. The nature of Yoruba history is replete with many drawbacks because a good proportion of it is traditional, handed down from elders to listening youths, some of it was legendary assuming the posture of the truth following the continual repetition to succeeding generations. *Except recorded history can be backed up with authentic documents of objective facts, figures and dates, its credibility is suspect and controversial.*

The time has come to move from the state of historical ignorance to the historical informative age. Indeed, a lack of ancestral knowledge is a potential danger to the leadership of a race, like the Yoruba. Also to tamper with the historical truth is a treason, and a crime against humanity.

The editor of the book written by Rev. Samuel Johnson in 1897 who died in 1901, but published in 1921 had made it known to the whole world that: *“the original manuscripts of the book had got lost in the hands of the publisher and they could not be found”*. Some chapters had to be rewritten, some curtailed, other amplified and new ones added where necessary (Adelegan Adegbola, 2009).

Therefore, whatever historical information we are reading from the book by Rev. Samuel Johnson does not represent the original historical facts if we compare some areas and chapters of the book with other books of Yoruba history written by other scholars.

Since the publication of “The City of Ibadan” in 1967 by P.G. Lloyd, A.L. Mabogunje and Bolanle Awe (editors), quite a number of books have emerged on the city which has now become a sub-saharan 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.

1.2 Founding of the First Ibadan

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-ja (Oro! a-pa-ota-Ibon ma-ja), a fastidious non-soldier and professional blacksmith whose main function was to wrought or manufactured bullets for use of hunters and soldiers.

Before setting out on his journey in the **16th century** (Adelegan Adegbola; 2009) 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 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 **at the interface of 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 then became “**Ibadan**” age long market centre of repute.

Chief (Dr.) M.A Fabunmi, the Odole Atobase 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”, but was later found to be born at **DEGELU** Compound to Obalufe dynasty of Ile-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, the **18th** Ooni of Ife (1363-1410), who had a beaded crown with fringe benefits sent to settle in Ibadan in the 16th century and not in **1401 A.D**". Iwo was founded by **Olumade Pariu**, the grandson of **Prince Adekola Telu** of the same mother with Lagelu. Prince Adekola Telu and his three children reigned at Igbo-Orita near Ilesa for 208 years before Iwo was established by **Olumade Pariu** the son of Jikanmu who was the third son of Adekola Telu (I.B. Akinyele, 1911 and Adelegan Adegbola 2009).

Chief 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** when Oyo-Ile was sacked during or after the reign of Alaafin Onigbogi (1530-1542), according to J.A. Atanda (1971). With the desertion of Old Oyo-Ile, Onigbogi fled to Gbere in Ibariba Kingdom, his mother's home while the inhabitants fled southward to Ibolu, Popo and Egba forest, Egbado, and Ibarapa areas.

(i) Lagelu's Relationship With His Neighbours in the 17th Century

Prince Lagelu Adio on founding the first Ibadan, known as Eba-Odan at the interface of forest and grassland which metamorphosed into Ibadan, got married to the daughter of **Oba Agura** of Gbagura Kingdom with IDO as headquarters who gave birth to **Atage Oota** (a.k.a Olomu Oru). He also got married to **Oba Akarigbo of Ijebo-Remo's** daughter who gave birth to **Efunyele**.

Atage Oota Olomu Oru and Efunyele, according to the current Aboke Ifamapowa, were the first set of Abokes who worshipped Oke-Badan hills. **Nkan-Lola**, the daughter of Olukiran Oluole, the first son of Lagelu got married to **Olowu Akinjobi** who later migrated to Ibadan and established **Owu Ogbere** which was destroyed in **1825** by the allied armies of Ife, Ijebu, Oyo and friendly Egbas after Olowu Akinjobi had sacrificed **Nkan-Lola** to Oba River.

When the second Ibadan was established, the **Prince of Iseri** in Egbado District was one of the early settlers late in the **18th century**. He was allocated a quarter in the new town called: “**Itun-Isheri/Ilaro**”. The six quarters were in conformity with the Yoruba tradition of dividing ancient cities into quarters/compounds where you have the lineages residing.

Moreover, with increasing population and the location of the first 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 **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) had population sizes that were comparable to many European cities prior to the rise of European cities to powers, while other areas were essentially devoid of large-scale urbanism.

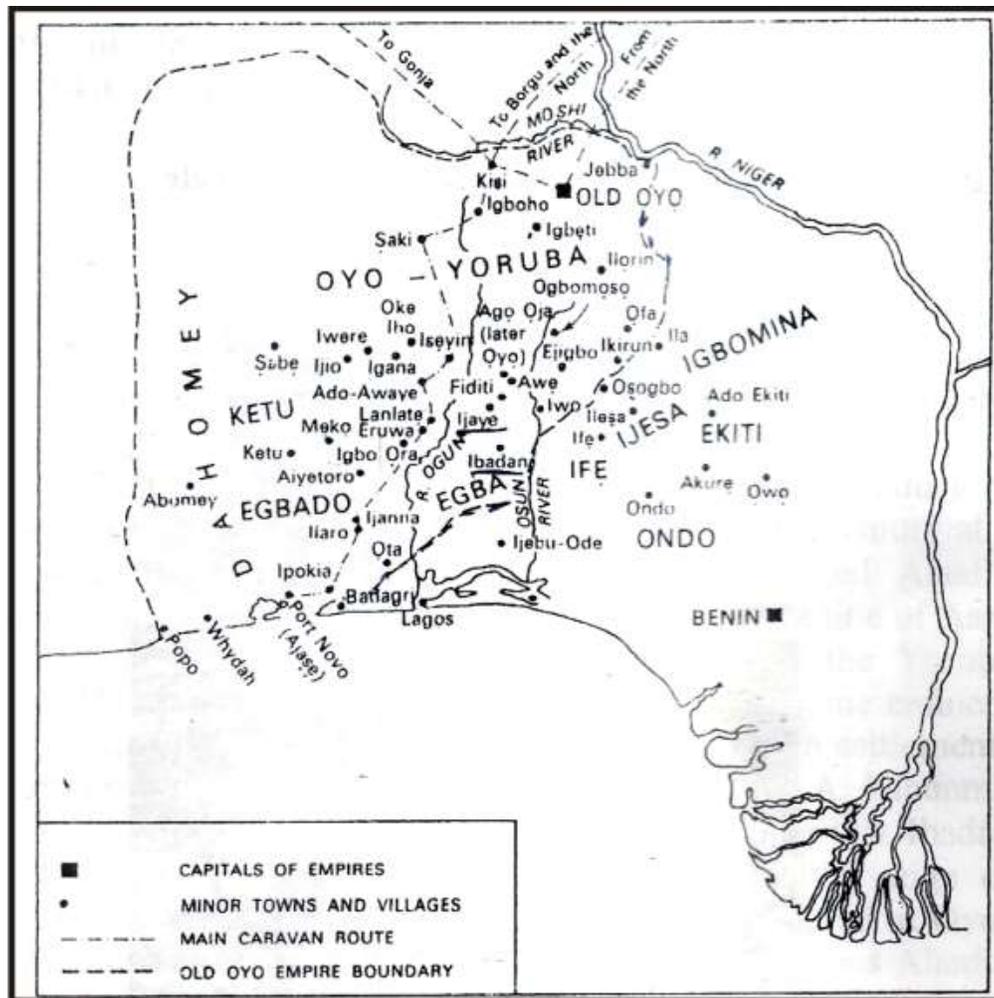


Fig. 1: The Old Oyo Empire in the 18th Century

(ii) Ibadan at the Close of the 18th Century

I.B. Akinyele (1911) in his book wrote that it took three years to subdue Lagelu army by the Oyo army including their allies from other Yoruba kingdoms because the secrete of Egungun was exposed in Ibadan. It took about twelve years to stay on the hill top after their escape from the first settlement. They suffered on the hill and later came down to settle at a low valley near **Owaala Stream** where other neighbours joined Lagelu children and relatives.

(a) Basorun Gaha's Atrocities (1754-1774)

As they are settling down for the second time, Oyo Empire entered the most distressing period in Oyo history between (1754-1774). It witnessed the constitutional upheaval of great

magnitude in which Basorun Gaha, head of the Oyomesi, raised five Alaafins to the throne, but with cunning and subversion, killed four of them except **Alaafin Abiodun (1774-1789)**.

(i) Destruction of Ijaiye (1774-1789)

During the reign of Alaafin Abiodun he avenged the alleged insult from Bale of Ijaye by ordering the destruction of Ijaiye town. Ijaye was then an Egba town and that was the first time Ijaye was taken, a town which was destined thereafter to play a notable part in Yoruba history (Rev. Samuel Johnson, 1921).

Ijaiye again was re-occupied between (1831-1833) during the reign of King Amodo, the then Alaafin of Oyo, who organized Kanla war during which Adegun (the Onikoyi and Oko Amepo were killed. On the occasion, Kurunmi and Dado, important war generals of the Alaafin, escaped from Ikoyi, first to Akese, then finally to Ijaiye (see map 1.0 next page)

(ii) Revolution of the Egbas:

Both the genesis of disintegration and revival had reared their ambivalent heads in the reigns of Alaafin Abiodun, according to Chief M.O. Ogunmola, 2009 pg. 11). The atrocities, ambition and greed of Basorun Gaha that had taken the reigns of four Alaafins to flourish met its Waterloo under Alaafin Abiodun Adegolu (1775 to 1789), but the repercussion had dented the structure and harmony of the Empire.

The Egbas under **lisabi of Itoku** (agbein revolted and **killed the Ilaris of the Alaafin** who exploited the religious fears of the people to feather their own nests in order to extort enormous tribute for the Alaafin (Prof. Saburi Biobaku, 2001). **Amosu of Ikija in Oke-Ona, Arinakoju of Ojoo and Akila of Ido, joined Lisabi in the revolt.** They later migrated to Abeokuta from the **second Ibadan** to establish Abeokuta between **1829 and 1830**, where they competed with **Ibadan** and **Ijaiye**.

With the death of Alaafin Abiodun, the revolution ensued, and the tribal independence, with the loss to Yoruba the Tapas, Bariba, and Dahomey Provinces, and the Popos later joined. In other words, with Abiodun ended the unity of the Yoruba kingdom.

(b) Lagelu Sacred Grove on Eleiyele 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 founder of Ibadan.

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 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.

(iii) Cultural Settlements and Development of Ibadan

It was reported by high Chief (Dr.) Ayorinde (1983) that an **Ifa** divination was performed when some traditional religions worshippers with sacrifices arrived to sanctify Ibadan with sacrifices when Lagelu founded the first Ibadan. Before setting out from Ile-Ife as a result of consultation with **Ifa, Osemeji**, (Ose-Meji) was **Odu Corpus** prescribed for him.

The city patriarch, prince Lagelu Adio, and six diviners priests were present on the site and appeared again on three occasions in the life of the city. According to Bolaji Idowu, these were:

- The populace sought divine blessing on the new settlements for prosperity. The Oke-Ibadan (or the Spirit of Ibadan Hill) was instituted as a **totem** of worship.
- The oracle was consulted on how to preserve the growing population and the emerging prosperity
- A siege was laid on Ibadan and its expansion and security was threatened, Osemeji (meaning double victory) appeared again to reassure the inhabitants of a slow but steady and persistent growth as in the movement of snails. The sign is concerned with (a) survival, (b) wealth (c) fertility and (d) victory. These are consistent with the occupations identified with the founders of the city in its early stages.

In a similar event, the **Odu Ifa** for Ajagunla (Ifa Corpus) with which Orangun of Ila left Ile-Ife was “**Osemeji**” meaning “oro-mi-gun”. His real name is Ifagbamila. His mother, by name Adetinrin Anasin was found by the riverside before Oduduwa made her his wife.

The **Osemeji Shrine** at Oja’ba is closely linked with the **coronation of Olubadan** of Ibadanland. A new Olubadan (formerly Baale) will not be proclaimed king or an Oba until he has visited **Oluwo LABOSINDE** and **Osemeji Shrine** at Oja’a (instead of Lagelu grave at Eleyele) the owner and founder of Ibadan.



Fig. 1: The Grove of Lagelu at Eleyele Hill



Fig. 2: Eleyele Reservoir surrounded by Awotan Hills

According to Chief Okunola (2015), the founding **Odu** or **Ifa** sign for the city (each and every legitimate Yoruba Town always has his founding **Odu**), is **Osemeji**, a uniform, binary accreditation which predicted that like the totemic snail, the emerging city of Ibadan would unfold slowly but progressively until it subsumes its own ramifying suburbs. This is analogous to its Coat of Arms (see the traditional stave).

As predicted from the Ifa ministration at the founding of the town, it would be a hospitable abode for visitors and settlers. Even vagrants might find prosperity in this liberal, conducive town. Its chieftaincy line has been liberal and generous to indigenes and settlers. **It is thus a cosmopolitan and representative Yoruba town, hospitality being its 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 cultural importance at this point is that Ibadan inspite of the pure serendipity (pleasant happening, calm and peaceful) connected with its location and founding, is still a traditional and spiritual home to its inhabitants. Any Yoruba settlement, thus inaugurated by solid traditional is often assured of its safety and stability.

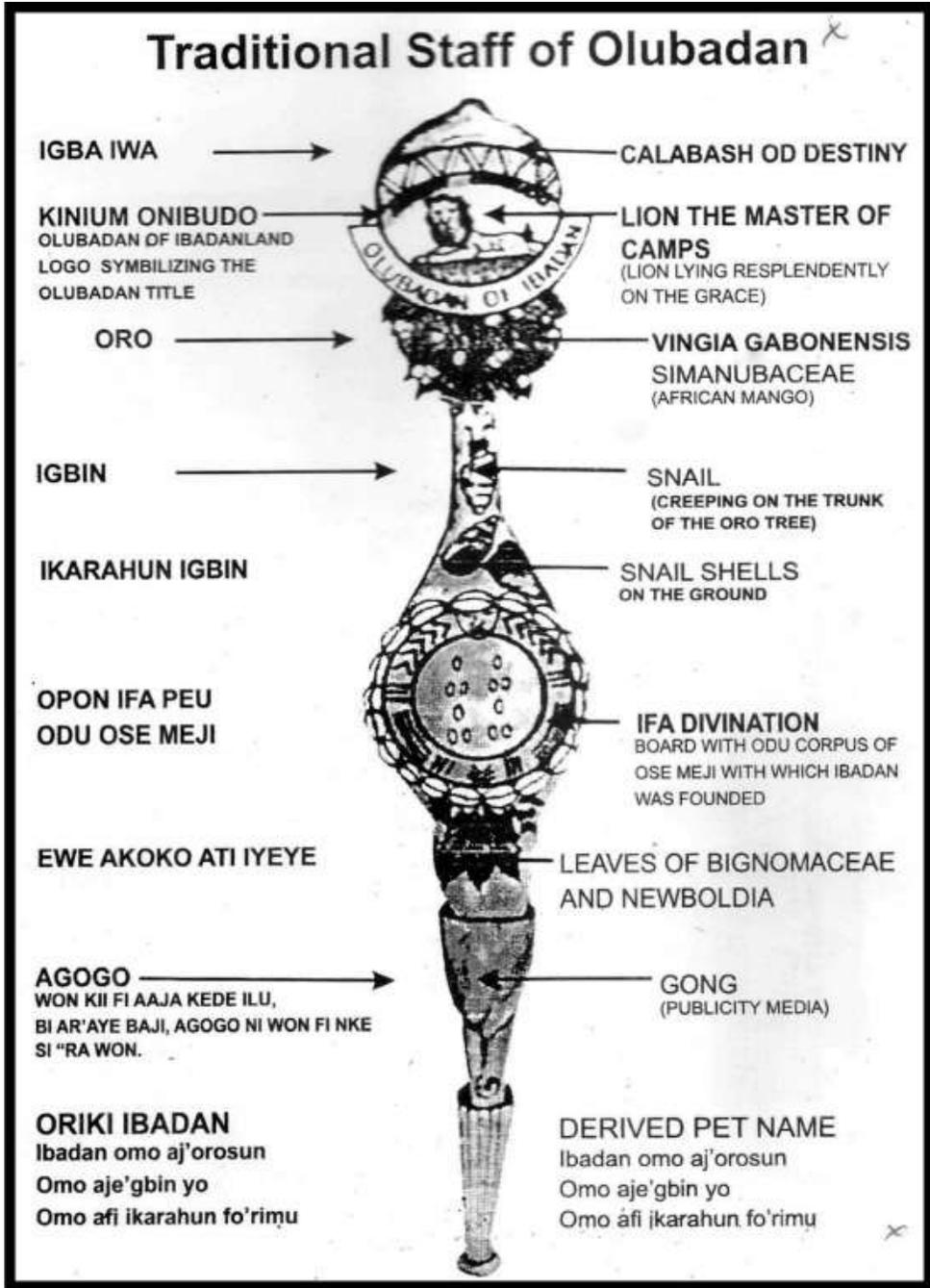


Fig. 3: Picture of Olubadan Staff of Office

1.3 Foundation of the Second Ibadan

“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”. R.G. Collingwood. So history 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.

The “**Second Ibadan**” was described as Egba settlement by many authors and scholars including Rev. Samuel Johnson (1921), and Professor Toyin Falola at page 2 of his book: *Ibadan: Foundation, Growth and Change - 1830 – 1960* published in 2012. However, according to I.B. Akinyele in “*Iwe Itan Ibadan (1911)*” described “**second Ibadan**” as one established by Lagelu and his children at “Oriyangi” now called “**Oja-Iba**” at the foot of **Mapo hill**.

The praise poem of Lagelu and his descendants at the “**Second Ibadan settlement**” called “Oriyangi” according to I.B. Akinyele (1911) was:

Ibadan, Omo ajorosun

Omo a je gbin yo;

Omo a fikarahun fori mu;

Ibadan maja bi ojo kini;

Ti o ja aladugbo gbogbo logun

Translation

Ibadan, the one whose supper is oro fruit;

The descendants of the who fed on snails;

The descendants of the one who use snail

Shell as bowl to serve his maize porridge;

Ibadan, don't fight, as you did before;

As you fight all neighbours at war.

According P.C. Lloyd, Nigerian Historian at University College, Ibadan: “A knowledge of the Yoruba past must be gleaned from myths, legends, folk-tales, praise-songs and the like, all of which are rapidly being forgotten by all the younger generation”.

Thus, in an attempt to write about the founding of the Ancient City of Ibadan, it appears pertinent to recent such knowledge as well as what some ancient and contemporary historians have written about IBADAN.

(a) The Effects of Owu Wars on Second Ibadan

According to the address by the Olowu of Abeokuta, Oba Adegboyega Dosumu at the 8th Owu Day Celebration in 2007, all the Owu Settlements in the northern part of Yorubaland (below River Niger) are older settlements than the southern forest region.

Owu and Ife War

The Onikoyi of Ikoyi and Toyeye, the Baale of Ogbomosho and second in command to Aare Afonja in 1810 A.D. instigated Owu at Ipole, whose king (Olowu) by then was Olowu Amororo, to attack Ile-Ife because of slave trade at Apomu. In carrying out the orders, Owu attacked and destroyed Ikoyi Igbo, Apomu, Ikire, Itahakun, Iseyin-Odo, Iwata, Gbangan, Akinboto, Jagun etc.

(b) Ife, Ijebu and Owu War

As Ife was about to revenge, the Ife army led by Balogun Singunsin was halted at Adubieye near Iwo by Oluwo of Iwo because he felt they were not strong enough to face Owu. The Ife army had to stay at Adubieye for five (5) years between **(1811-1814)** before Ife formed alliance with Ijebu army and jointly declared war on Owu Ipole for five **(1814-1820)** (Osife-Kunde) and **six years** according to Rev. Samuel Johnson (1921 page 2009).

The Owus at Owu Ipole ran out of their heavily fortified city in about **1820**. They thereafter escaped through their southern gate led by Olowu Akinjobi 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 Owu that escaped went towards Ibadan (i.e. Second Ibadan) and not Erunmu as claimed by Rev. Samuel Johnson in “The History of Yorubas (1921)”. Considering the Southward movement of Owu people, the earliest record showed their encounter

with the **pre-1820 first Ibadan settlement** (see “Iwe Itan Ibadan by Oba I.B. Akinyele, Olubadan of Ibadan, 1954-1964).

According to Olowu, Oba Adegboyega Dosunmu at the 8th Owu Day Celebration in 2007; “although every movement was as a result of war, Owu did not fight Ibadan but instead entered peacefully. This is because Ibadan leaders had earlier sent them an **Olive branch**”. According to Oba I.B. Akinyele, there was an agreement between Ibadan (i.e. Second Ibadan) and Olowu made with new hoe referred to as “**Oko titun adeun Olowu**”.

Oba Dosumu confirmed in his address that Ibadan even offered them (the Owus) a place to settle, spreading from Itun-Lisa (Quarters allocated to Olowu Akinjobi’s son) in Ibadan to Basorun and Iwo Road including the place now known as Owu Orile near Ikire. Owu in Ibadan is known as **Owu Ogbere** in Owu history.

The second settlement of Ibadan had six quarters, according to I.B. Akinyele in “Iwe Itan Ibadan 1921” as follows:

1. Itun Elemo - Aboke’s Quarters
2. Oke Igbede - Oba (the King’s Quarters)
3. Itun Lisa - Crown Prince of Olowu Akinjobi’s Quarters
4. Itun Akaasi - The descendants of Akaasi (Lagelu’s Nephew Quarters)
5. Ilaroo - The descendants of the Prince of Iseri. The first man that built Iseri and settled was Ogunfunminire from Ile-Ife
6. Oke at Isale Atan - Communal Land or Town Forest

1.4 Occupation of the Second Ibadan (1821-1825)

Soon after the Owu established Owu Ogbere in Ibadan, another war broke out between the host and Olowu Akinjobi because on one of his raiding expeditions, he was alleged to have sacrificed his wife, NKAN-LOLA (name), the daughter of the Olubadan, to the goddess of Oba River. This led to another war which destroyed Owu-Ogbere (I.B. Akinyele, 1911)

This war dragged on until **c.1825** when the allied forces of Ife, Ijebu, Oyo and friendly Egbas succeeded in defeating and destroying the new Owu settlement (Professor Toyin Falola in Ibadan: Foundation, Growth and Change, 1830-1960 (2012 page 2). The war was hardly concluded when the allied armies, encouraged partly by their success over this very powerful state and the lucrativeness of war, attacked the neighbouring Egba settlements. Of all towns attacked, *second Ibadan (not Egba town) was not destroyed, but the inhabitants deserted it almost completely.*

According to Rev. Samuel Johnson in “The History of the Yorubas (1921)” at page (224-225) – 1976 edition: of all the towns overrun the previous might such as Ojokodo, Iwohala, Ojoo, Ikerekuiwere, Ijaiye-maja etc. 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-people but nor by the owners of the town**, but by a composite band of marauders, consisting of Oyos, Ifes, Ijebus, and some friendly Egbas.

Maye Okunade, a bold and brave Ife Chieftain being their leader. Next to him was Labosinde, also an Ife, but through his mother, Oyo descent. At the head of Oyos was Lakanle, a bold and brave leader. Ibadan now became the **headquarters** of these allied army of Ifes, Oyos, Ijebus and friendly Egbas.

Ibadan then consisted of the **central market** and about half a mile of houses around. The town. (Johnson, 1921 pg. 244). The central market at Ibadan known as “**Oja Iba**” was so named after Oluyole when he became Ibasorun; formally it was Oja Labosinde after the baba Isale of the early settlers (Johnson, 1921 page 307).

1.5 Effect of the Political Crisis of the Nineteenth Century

The quest for imperial expansion and establishment of unique military institution of the 17th and 18th centuries were prompted mainly by hostilities of invaders from the neighbouring Nupe and Borgu countries. Between (1660-1658), Alaafin Ajagbo, the son of Alaafin Obalokun (1590-1600) established the military institutions of the 17th century in most advanced forms. The disgrace of removal and evacuation of the Oyo capital to Igboho from Gbere in Ibaraiba country, during the reign of Alaafin Onigbogi (1530-1542), had driven all the subsequent Alaafins into heavy investment in military training and imperial expansion. (Chief M.O. Ogumola, 2000).

Oba Ajagbo established the institution of the **Aare Ona Kakanfo** in 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).

1.6 Constitutional Breakdown in Oyo Empire

At the down of the eighteen century, all the Yoruba had established and maintained 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).

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 from 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, ...). Alaafin Abiodun Adegolu died in 1789.

1.7 The Transformation of Ilorin to an Emirate:

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).

Afonja's family had contributed to the many great events in the Oyo Nation. **Pasin**, his grandfather, died in the attempt to remove Basorun Gaha (Chief M.O. Ogunmola, 1997). Even in 1774, his **Alagbin** participated in the eventual removal of Gaha.

Crisis between Aole and Afonja

Of the 14 Kakanfos so far, the tenures of three of them who were military commanders considerably impacted the history of first, the Old Oyo Empire, and by extension, the rest of Yorubaland. The three Kakanfos are Afonja of Ilorin, Kurunmi of Ijaiye, and Obadoke Latoosa of Ibadan. The last two of the 14, who were civilian and honorary holders of the title, nevertheless impacted the history of Yorubaland, and also the entire Nigerian nation.

Afonja was appointed Aare Ona-Kakanfo shortly before the death of Alaafin Abiodun Adegolu because of his maternal connection with Abiodun. Chief M.O. Ogunmola, 1997). **Alaafin Aole** who succeeded Abiodun had an old dispute with Afonja

when he punished him (Awole) while in Ilorin for a misdeed before his ascending to the thrones.

To punish Afonja, Awole dispatched him to attack **Iwere**, a very strong town. Then, the Aare Ona-Kakanfo canvassed among his commanders while on the expedition the wisdom of attacking **Iwere**, Alaafin Abiodun's maternal town, the Oba though then dead, had elevated many of them as Chiefs. (Ogunmola 1997). This was resolved in favour of rebellion.

Consequently, the King's servants were beheaded and Oyo town itself was besieged. But while this event assisted the Jihadist, Afonja also moved closer to the Muslims, even while he was not of that faith.

Wars to Save Ilorin from the Fulani Invasion

The Yorubas in Ilorin fought so many wars and failed because having studied the organizational weakness of the Yoruba army on the battlefield, the Ilorin army concentrated on the use of Calvary. This inflicted heavy human losses of the Yoruba army. A good number of Yoruba towns in the **Ibolo areas** were destroyed and some others were fully captured (Johnson, 1976).

The destruction of most of the Yoruba towns and villages by the victorious army of the Ilorin Fulani Jihadists turned a good number of Yoruba who lived in them refugees. They were scattered all over Yorubaland and this continues to be a source of worry for cities that had not been touched by war.

As a result of successive Ilorin Victories over the Oyo forces, the powers and influence of the Alaafin of Oyo continued to dwindle to the point of their being limited to the capital. More and more of old Oyo Empire's provinces declared their independence from Oyo's authority and tributes were no longer paid to the Alaafin.

Rivalry and Treachery in the Oyo Camp:

Two major forces were responsible for the success of the Ilorin army: (a) superior use of the Calvary and effective use of diplomacy. They penetrated the ranks of the Yoruba leader to cause disaffection and personality clash amongst them.

(b) For Instance, there was intense rivalry between Toyese, the Kakanfo of Oyo, and the Baale of Ogbomoso and Adegun, the Onikoyi. The alliance of Ilorin with the Onikoyi eventually led to a war between the two where Timi of Ede, who supported Ogbomoso, was killed in **Pamo war**.

Adegun then proclaimed Edun, the Baale of Gbongun, as his Aare Ona-Kakanfo to rival Toyeye of Ogbomoso. In succession, and sometimes during the life of the incumbent. Edun of Gbangun, Ojo Amepo and Oluyedun claimed the title of Aare Ona-Kakanfo of Oyo Kingdom. Aare Oluyedun ended up coming to Ibadan and became Baale of the town between (1833-1835).

In a situation in which **three different men** were claiming the nation's highest office simultaneously, and with the enemies occupying Ilorin, the nation's northern outpost, coupled with the squabbles of the king's vassals, the prospect of preventing the disintegration of the nation could not but become very difficult.

Dispersal of Oyo Military Generals

Alaafin **Amado's reign** between (1831-1833) witnessed unprecedented upheavals. The rule of the Fulanis was spread over most of the kingdom of Oyo. Ilorin and the town of Ogodo on River Niger besieged Oyo and plundered the city. **Islam was forced on the populace** (Chief M.O. Ogunmola 1997 and 2000)

The rivalry between Edun of Gbongun and Adegun, the Onikoyi continued; thus when Oba Amado organized Kanla war, **Edun betrayed** the alliance and **Adegun and Ojo Amepo** were killed. On the occasion, **Kurunmi** and **Dado**, important war generals of the Alaafin, escaped from Ikoyi, first to **Akese**, then finally to **Ijaiye**. **Edun** fled to Gbodo where he

was killed by the people. Prince Atiba and Elebu of Oja fled to Oja from where they prepared for the failed Eleduwe war.

Already informed of the treachery in the Oyo Camp, the Ilorin forces, merely mounted defenses on the other fronts as they veraciously attacked from the Onikoyi's front (Johnson, 1976). The Onikoyi was rounded up and killed. Ilorin quickly seized the opportunity to penetrate the Yoruba lines and drive the soldiers out of the battle field.

How Ibadan Checkmated the Fulanis in 1840:

After the Fulani systematically captured and made Ilorin their territory, they sacked the old Oyo Empire between 1835 and 1836. They were still not satisfied with their victory; they wished to extend their rule deep into the heart of Yorubaland. Thus in **1840**, they set to capture Osogbo, a Yoruba town. The Fulanis, under the **Balogun Ali**, the Hausa Balogun of Ilorin, laid siege on Osogbo.

When the king of Osogbo realized that the Ilorins were too strong for the Osogbo army, he summoned Ibadan for help. Ibadan immediately sent some auxiliaries to Osogbo under the command of **Obele alias Mobitan**, and **Alade Abunpagun**. As this force could not stop the Ilorins, another contingent was sent to Osogbo under a more experienced leader. But still the Ilorins won every battle and gained more ground.

After two unsuccessful attempts, **Balogun Oderinlo himself decided to deal a decisive blow on the Ilorins once and for all to prevent the Fulanis of Ilorin from becoming "masters of the whole Yoruba country"**. Elepo had earlier been rejected by Ibadan war-leaders for serious offences hence, he could not join the Ibadan army.

After holding several war-councils' meetings to decide where and when to attack the Ilorin camp, they attacked the camp from all sides at about midnight. **Chiefs Abitiko**, and **Lajubu** commanded the right wing, **Balogun Oderinlo** with the rest of Ibadan war-chiefs commanded the left wing. The Ilorin army was then attacked in the mid-night.

The attack was a success for Ibadan army. Some Ilorin war-chiefs were captured in the attack. Prominent ones were; the head slave of the Emir, One of the sons of Ali, the Commander-in-Chief of Ilorin army, Chief Lateju and Ajikobo, the Yoruba Balogun of Ilorin. The first two

were released while the later two, being Yoruba by birth, were regarded as **traitors and were executed.**

This victory of the Ibadans at Osogbo was a very important one as it constituted a turning point in Yoruba history it stemmed the aggression of the Fulanis in their determination to make Yorubaland a **Tributary State**. Their aggressive warfare was thus forever broken and the Ibadans gained ascendancy. Ibadan army went further to liberate the northern parts of Osun and Ekiti territory.

Consequences of Fulani Wars on Ilorin

As a philosopher says that changes is the permanent phenomenon in life, so, conflict has been identified as the propelling agent. The proclamation of Ilorin as an emirate by the **Abdul-Salami** and **Shitta**, both of whom were children of **Sheu Alimi**, the Fulani cleric invited to Ilorin by **Aare Afonja** to provide him spiritual support, **to sustain Ilorin as an independent state from Oyo Empire**, could be taken for a declaration of war on the entire Yoruba people,. Because Ilorin became an entity and known in history as a province of the old Oyo Empire.

The new political leader in Ilorin, Abdulsalami who had conferred on himself the title of Emir adopted an all-**inclusive administrative system** to meet the new challenges. At the internal level, the **newly proclaimed leaders of Ilorin as an emirate**, sought the support and cooperation of leaders of the three main linguistic groups of **Hausa, Fulani** and the **Yoruba** in Ilorin by making them members of the **Emirate Council** and awarding each of them the title of Balogun (Banmole 1980). The adoption of the title of Balogun for the linguistic leaders of the diverse linguistic groups in Ilorin was indeed a diplomatic concession to ensure the full support of the local population in Ilorin (Omoiya S.Y. 1988).

1.8 The Building of Ibadan Empire

The nineteenth century was important to the Yoruba in many ways. Because of the many wars, there was a shift in the demographic pattern from the north to the south. The major Yoruba wars during the period fell into four categories: the wars were brought about by the fall of the Old Oyo Empire, the Owu wars, the Ibadan wars of expansion, and the Ekitiparapo or Kiriji wars of independence.

The emergence of warlords owed much to wars and political chaos created by the fall of Oyo and the inter-state competition for political dominance and territories. The numerous wars of the 19th century called not for amateurs but highly trained soldiers competent in the art of warfare. Leadership in war passed to the Warlords rather than the civil authorities.

When the great empire of Oyo collapsed, and new ones were created, heroes emerged as state founders, warriors in defence of territories, and warlords extracting tributes from their colonies. The state with the most developed military machines had more warrior-heroes than others. Thus, Ibadan, which built an empire had a long list, comprising such generals as Maye Okunade, Lakanle, Oluyedun, Oluyole, Oderinlo, Ibikunle, Akere, Ogunmola and Latoosa.

Oyo's victory after the expulsion of Ife sub-groups in 1830a marked a new period of Ibadan history. The soldiers who led their people as listed above (except Maye Okunade, an Ife leader) to victory decided to transform Ibadan camp into a permanent home and from then on Ibadan ceased be a camp. Consequently, a new political arrangement was called for in order to administer the town, hence, they organized an inclusive government that embraced Oyo-Yoruba sub-ethnic groups.

Two main factors were responsible for the emergence of military rule in Ibadan. The first was Ibadan's origin as a war camp (i.e. the third and present Ibadan occupied by the allied armies of Ife, Ijebu, Oyo and friendly Egbas) and the influx of soldiers to the settlement in its early years. In the circumstances, the soldiers had to govern themselves.

Second, the unsettled political crisis in Yorubaland early in the nineteenth century called for **“a state of military preparedness”**, which enabled Ibadan to develop a **“military propensity”**. To survive among the competing Yoruba states and withstand the Fulani attack,

Ibadan needed soldiers who were endowed with the qualities of bravery, youthful vigour, and leadership skills.

The earliest leaders after the exist of Egba and Ife groups from Ibadan, the succeeding leaders of Oyo-Ibadan such as Oluyedun, Lakanle and Oluyole tried to make Ibadan a secure place for hundreds of other migrants who joined the new town in the 1830s. Initial attempts at external relations were to prevent any attack by neighbouring towns.

The new social system in Ibadan, the non-hereditary chieftaincy system, a transformation of Yoruba traditional monarchial hereditary system based on merit brought a large number of adventurous youths to Ibadan, formed a propelling force to fight. This means a constant area to conquer.

The grounds for the imperial exploits of Ibadan were thus laid in the first two decades of its existence as a **city-state** from c.1830s. By 1851 when Bale Oyesile Olugbode was the ruler, the internal political organs of the state had stabilized with **meritocracy as the guiding principle for the exercise of authority**. The continued weakening of the Alaafinate inspite of its relocation to New Oyo and the effective opposition posed by the Ibadan army to the Fulani Jihadist forces based in Ilorin-ensured the loyalty of the major settlements in the eastern half of the Oyo empire.

These had major economic implications particularly for individual Ibadan war leaders and inadvertently for the state. The cumulative effect was a remarkable increase in the significance of Ibadan in the economy of the Yoruba hinterland for which it becomes a major commercial hub of Yorubaland.

Ibadan army, according to Toyin Falola (1898), was used to serve the interest of an aggressive foreign policy and a pro-war diplomacy. In the 1830s, Ibadan assumed the difficult responsibility of defending southern Yorubaland from the Fulani menace.

Similarly, the displaced Egba who had settled at Abeokuta were ambitious to build their own empire, which would expand at least to incorporate the Egbado territory formerly dominates new states want political power, they also wanted to control the economy, particularly the trade

routes to the coast. Apart from these, Ilorin and Dahomey wanted to annex as much as possible of Yorubaland.

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 wars, 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).

The Oyo and Yoruba refugees who were displaced founded new towns anew to augmented them by large numbers of populations. These new towns which grew out of the events of Yoruba civil wars were later to dominate the history of the Yoruba country, as well to rival one another for the hegemony of the country.

Ibadan Wars of Expansion (1855-1886)

From its inception, the present and third Ibadan had to evolve a strong political organization capable of controlling its large and diverse population, capable of providing adequate answers to the urgent problem of insecurity, and capable of protecting its economy. To exist among the committee of the competing states, the new town had to respond effectively and quickly to meet the demands of war and insecurity, which called for an economic base strong enough to produce foodstuffs and manufactured goods.\

Hence, it was clear that would not be much room for traditional, civil office holders who might not be able to face the challenges and threats posed by the wars and insecurity of the period. Circumstances called for the intervention and involvement of the military in politics. A **military aristocracy** was therefore set up where most of the notable warriors of the 1830s controlled the reins of government.

(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 and 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. In 1847, it responded to the invitation of OTUN against Ilorin to Ekitiland, conquering in the process Ikoro, Ijero, Ara and later Effon Oro, Iyapa (now Aiyetoro), Isan and Itaji. Ajeles were posted to these places as soon as the conquest were over.

(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 and 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 settlers 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. 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 Igbajo 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 levelled 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, 1862. 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 led 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) **War and Diplomacy**

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 an interference in Ondo-Akoko-Igbo affairs.

(f) **The Kiriji War**

The **Ekiti-parapo** people comprised of war leaders from Ilesa, Ekiti, Efon, Yagba, and Akoko led by Ogedengbe's 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 Ekitiparapo 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 drowned 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 Balogun, Chief Ilori; the son of Ogunmola, was slain, the war was not lost.

(b) ILA WAR

A prince of Ila Orangun, Adeyalo, and two prominent citizens of Oke-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, Ifewara and Osu 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 sons of 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 was able to direct the conduct of war on the fronts: Offa, Kiriji and Modakeke. The Ijebus under Ogunsiun were assisted by ex-Awujale's men from Epe, but the whole of Ekitiparapo 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 with combatants in Kiriji war.

He reached out to the new warlord of Ibadan called Oluyole and made him the Basorun, the first Basorun of Oyo outside the Oyo kingdom. The charismatic leader of Ijaiye, Kurunmi, a native of Ikoyi, driven by Fulani war to occupy Ijaiye, was made the generalissimo, the **Aare-Ona-Kakanfo**. Both of them participated in Eleduwe war against the Fulanis with prince Atiba, when Alaafin Odunewu was killed in the battle between 1836 and 1837. The battle marked the complete collapse of Old Oyo Empire. Both Oluyole and Kurunmi had instructions to defend the territory Kurunmi had instructions to defend the territory of the dying Old Oyo Kingdom.

According to Professor Dele Layiwola in the book; "The City State of Ibadan" texts ad Contexts, 2015" the Chiefs were grateful from the honour ad recognition, **but they were quasi-independent because of their military capabilities. It was clear hat in place one monolithic**

and influential kingdom, there were several in its stead. Though Ijaiye quickly emerged as a military power, Ibadan soon overtook there military power, Ibadan soon overtook there to become the most dominant of the three states. Oyo became a cultural headquarters and a rallying point for all the fragmented bits of once a formidable empire.

At the close of the 19th century, Ibadan had succeeded in replacing Oyo as the imperial power of the Yoruba country (Professor Dele Layiwola, 2015 page 291). The influence of Ibadan had been responsible for the continual migration and influx of peoples of diverse backgrounds into the metropolis in recent times. Ibadan has become the largest metropolitan area in Nigeria with elven Local Government areas, according to the UN-Habitat, 2008 report.