

Lola Tomori

A COMPREHENSIVE HISTORY OF THE THIRD EMERGENCE OF PREMODIAL IBADAN CITY STATE AND ITS RISE TO DOMINANT STATE IN YORUBALAND



**IBADAN
1 METROPOLIS, 63 TOWNS, 3,089 VILLAGES
1 PEOPLE**

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CHAPTER ONE

THE EVOLUTION OF YORUBA CITY STATES

People that cannot boast of a generally acceptable history of its past, can neither have a settled present nor a crisis free future requisite for growth and development in highly technical world, social history should not be controversial where lever the sanctity truth is appreciated by all (Dr. (Fredric Fasoun 2009).

According to the UN-Habitat report (2008), urbanization or city creation predates colonialism in many African countries. Apart from Egypt, where **urban civilization** dates back 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 A.D**; the Mali Empire of **1500AD** and Songhai Empire of 1800AD. Those 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 inter-relationships.

Also powerful local rules enhanced the evolution of the 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 Africa include **Bamako, Gao, Timbuktu, Ouagadougou, Agades, Begho, Benin, Ibadan, Ile-Ife, Ilorin, Kumasi, and Oyo.**

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 Kano, Ibadan is however, **Nigeria's largest city in** geographical 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 Alexandra, Algiers Cairo, Cape Town, Casablanca, Durban, East Rand, Johannesburg and Lagos.** It is located in south western Nigeria, 140 kilometres inland from Lagos and constitutes a

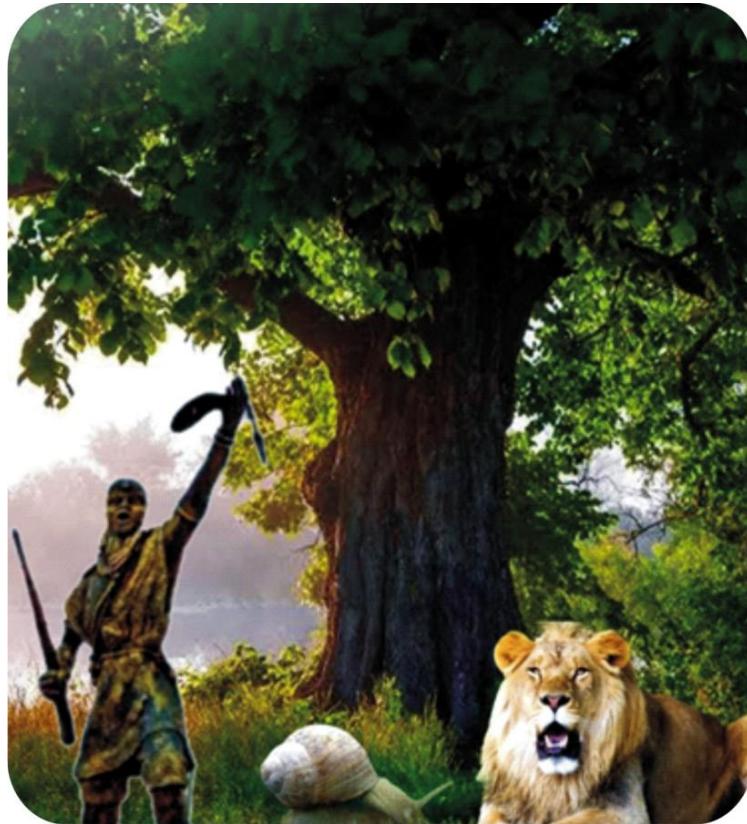
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prominent transition point between the coastal region and the Nigerian hinterland to the north.

Ibadan derived its strength and stability, according to Professor Akinwumi Isola (2007), from the fact that all the people who established and nurtured its unique characteristics came from different parts of Yorubaland. Lagelu came from Ile-Ife, Oluyedun from Ilorin, Oluyole was from Oyo-Ile, while Oyesile Olugbode came from Kuta. Ogunmola hailed from Fesu near Iwo, and Ibikunle from Ogbomoso, Orowusi came from Ogbagba and Aiyejenku Foko was from Eru (Onipepe Oyun) and so on. *“Each one brought with him unique experience in the technologies of war and administration, but they all subscribed to the idea of a free, just, egalitarian society without a hereditary system of leadership”*.

The republican nature of Ibadan, **civil and military population** partly explains why it quickly and effortlessly succeeded Oyo Empire as the military headquarters of the Yoruba Empire in the nineteenth century. It was an all-comers community which did not close the participation of a pan-Yoruba community in its military service. This singular fact remains the basis of her cosmopolitan composition.

According to Professor Bolaji Akinyemi, former External Affairs Minister, in a paper delivered on the 21st anniversary of the creation of **Jigawa state**, both the **Fulani and Yoruba Empire exhibit variants of federalism structure**. The outcome of the **Fulani Jihad** led **Othman Dan Fodio** in **1809** to the establishment of **Sokoto Caliphate/Empire** of 30 Emirates which owed allegiance to the **Sultan of Sokoto** while enjoying considerable independence. **The Yoruba Empire, owing spiritual and political allegiance of Ife**; spread from Warri to present day Togo and had a complex structure of independence kingdoms whose royalty was subject to confirmation by Ife.



The founding fathers of Yoruba kingdoms were custodian of Yoruba culture and heritage, ensured the continued promotion and uplifting of Yoruba customs and values. The traditional rulers were a symbol of unity, peace, honesty and progress, and they brought tremendous development to their domains before and after the colonial era that terminated in 1960.

However, political situation in some areas of Yorubaland prepared the ground for the establishment of British rule. Before the intervention of the British, the history of pre-colonial Nigeria is a fluid history of **independent states**, losing their independence to follow states and regaining their independence from fellow states. This continuing struggle for dominance and domination was still ongoing when the British took over. These are nationalities with very long memory, very entrenched

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traditional and culture. For instance, the British intervened in the **war between Ekiti-Parapo and Ibadan** and successfully brokered a Peace-Treaty signed in 1886. Although the **Peace Treaty** had been signed, there were conflicts and wars in other areas of the Yoruba nation. The situation remained so until **1893** when **signing of protectorate treaties** with various groups.

The disintegration of the Oyo Empire and Kingdoms 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 and patterns that would guarantee order and security. Those efforts according to Professor 'Banji Akintoye (2010) 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.

CHAPTER TWO

FOUNDATION OF THE FIRST AND SECOND IBADAN

Introduction

According to Muller and Heilbronn (1952), “There are good reasons why we should seek to expand our understanding of the past. Each of us is a product of history. Our past as individuals, as a society, and has part of world history as brought us to where we are today. The more fully we understand that past, the better we are likely to understand ourselves, who we are and where we are going”.

Yoruba societies before 1550AD were organized as city states such as Oyo, Ondo, Owu, Ile-Ife, Ijebu, Ilesa etc. they were autonomous occupied by homogenous Yoruba subgroups. Each state and territory, a government and a population which shares the same culture. Hence, it could be assumed that Yoruba cities did not emerge from the space to catch a glimpse of the cultural landscape that preceded their genesis.

From the earliest times, the invaders factor has always been prominent in Oyo affairs. Before the famous capital of Oyo-Ile was moved to Igboho from Gbere and Kusu in Ibariba Kingdom, Owu Kingdom exerted this bane. Thus, Nupe (Tapa) invasion led to the transfer of the seat of Oyo government to Gbere in an Ibariba Kingodm during the reign of Alaafin Olugbogi (1530-1542), his mother’s homeland and was succeed while in exile by his son Ofinran. It was Egungunoju who transferred the seat of government from Kusu in Ibariba area to Igboho before returning to Oyo-Ile in 1610.

The desertion of Oyo capital led to many emigrations to Egba, Egbado, Ibolo, Oke-Ogun and Ibarapa areas (see Iwe Itan Oyo by S. Ojo, page 47). The quest for imperial expansion and establishment of unique military institutions of 17th and 18th centuries was prompted mainly by hostilities of invaders from Nupe and Borgue. The first Ibadan was founded around this time in the 16th Century before the establishment of the institution of Are-Ona-Kakanfo in 1640 by Alaafin Ajaagbo

which was located in Igbo-Ipara (forest of Ipara) between the edge of the savannah and forest region called Eba-Odan. The name Eba-Odan” metamorphosed to “Ibadan”, an age long market centre of repute.

Lagelu: The Ancestral Founder of Ibadan

According to Chief Dr. J.A. Ayorinde (1983), ***“Lagelu was the first legendary traditional and crowned head of Ibadan who picked up the title of Olubadan.”*** This title was resuscitated as a result of gradual evolution in 1936 at the time of the reign of Olubadan Alesinloye who was first Bale from **1930-1936** before becoming Olubadan” According to Chief M.K.O. Adebayo (2015), the Balogun of Omi-Adio in Ibadan, Lagelu founded Ibadan shortly before the sack of the Old Oyo capital by the Nupes (Tapas) towards the end of the reign of Alaafin Oluaso and before the reign of Alaafin Onigbogi (1530-1542) when the capital was sacked and deserted.

However, Oba I.B. Akinyele in “Iwe Itan Ibadan, (1911 reprinted 1981) said that, the first Ibadan had a population of about 100,000 with 74 blacksmith industries and 16 entrances. The blacksmith industry is still thrivingat Agbede-Adodo, Bere area around Aboke House. Ibadan by then was part of the Old Oyo Empire and Lagelu was said to be one of the prominent soldiers of Alaafin at a time when there was no Aare-Ona-Kakanfo.

Akinyele went further, it took about 100 years before (150 Yoruba calendar years) before the first Ibadan was destroyed when the old Oyo capital had returned to Oyo-Ile. This was between 1689 and 1732 during the reign of Alaafin Ojigi whose esteem was very high. He was empire conscious as his response to the rising of Dahomey revealed. According to Chief M.O. Ogunmola (1977, 200, 2010), Ojigi’s military expeditions would not have lasted in the territorial effect of the forest area of the south, but the circuit marked the greatest limits of Oyo Empire. Among the town within Oyo Empire during the Golden Age – 17th and 18th centuries were: Old

Oyo, Saki, Iseyin, Ijaiye, Ilorin, Ogbomoso, Offa, Ikerun, Osogbo, Ife, Ilesa, Ondo, Ibadan, Igbomina, Borgu, Dahomey, Mahi, a rival state (1730) etc. According to legends, during the Egungun festival which was introduced during the reign of Alaafin Ofinran at Kusu by the Tapas, the Alaafin of Oyo between 1699 and 1721 raised Yoruba army to attack the first settlement of Ibadan founded by Lagelu for revealing the secret of Egungun masquerade (the spirit of the dead). This was around (1698-1721) during the reign of Alaafin Ojigi who was warlike in disposition and his reign also witness successful tenure. He waged wars against Borgu (Ibariba) and a section of Igbomina and Dahomeans and defeated them, Alafin Gberu, Amuniwaye and Onisile did not achieve much before the reign of Basorun Gaha (1754-1774).

The period between c. 1754 and 1774 was the most distressing in Oyo history. It witnessed the constitutional upheaval of great magnitude in which Basorun Gaha raised five Alaafins to the throne, but with curing and subversion, killed four of them. The victims were Alaafin Labisi (1750), Alaafin Awonbioju (1750), Alaafin Agboluaje (1760-1772) and Aaafin Majeogbe (1772-1773). Nemesis did not catch up with Gaha until 1775 during the reign of the fifth Alaafin, who outmaneuvered and outwitted him, that is Alaafin Abiodun Adegbolu who reigned between (1774-1789).

Lagelu was forced to seek refuge on Eleyele Hills at Awotan after its destruction late in the 17th century between 1698-1721 when Oyo Empire was at its zenith. There are three prominent hills on the plateau of Awotan namely: Igbo Oke'badan (Oke'badan forest), Oke Oso and Oke Odo Eleyele. It was at the peak of Igbo Oke'badan that a masquerade leading an Egba invasion, according to Baale Awotan, (2003) who is a direct descendant of the legendary Lagelu, which attacked Ibadan on the hills in the 18th century and the masquerade 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 leading Egba invasion to be swallowed inside the bowels of the mountain. When the invading forces saw what

happened, they scampered in different directions for safety. ***They left the hill and founded a new Ibadan at Oriyangi (now Oja'ba) late in the 18th century.***

With the death of Alaafin Abiodun ended the universal and despotic rule of the Alaafins of Oyo in the Yoruba country (Johnson p. 187). He was the last of the kings that held different parts of the kingdom together in one universal sway and with him ended the tranquility and prosperity of the Yoruba country. The revolution ensued, leading to tribal independence, with the loss to Yoruba the Tapa and Bariba, and Dahomey provinces, and the Popos later on, which continued till the 19th century. In other words, with Abiodun ended the unity of the Yoruba country.

The Egbas under Lisabi of Itoku (Agbein) revolted and killed the Ilaris of the Alaafins; Amosu of Ikija, in Oke-Ona; Arinokotu of Ojoo and Akila of Ido joined Lisabi in the revolt. Assembled at Abeokuta in about 1830, they competed with Ibadan and Ijaiye for hegemony.

All these Egba towns surrounded Ibadan at Awotan and Oriyangi which made Johnson to described Ibadan at page 13 of “The History of the Yorubas” as an original Egba village, then the military station of the confederate army which destroyed the city of Owu and the Egba villages, and afterwards a settled Oyo town, and by means of its military force assumed the lead not only even in the Epo district, but also over a large area of the country as well.

There are three prominent hills on the plateau of Awotan. These are

- i) Igbo Oke'badan
- ii) Oke Oso
- iii) Oke Odo Eleyele

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The Grove of Lagelu at Eleyele Hill



Eleyele Reservoir surrounded by 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 18th 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.

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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 (otenu) running through ti an 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.

CHAPTER THREE

THE SPIRITUAL POWER OF YORUBA OBAS:

The various ethnic groups of Nigeria estimated at over 700, had their **traditional civilization on which the rudiments of the modern forms of government were based before the arrival of the British**. The modern forms of government have such trappings of governance as a democratically enacted constitution, the political party system, a robust judiciary grounded on the rule of law, and a parliament, among others.

There were a number of important kingdoms which had established their own forms of government which has no links whatsoever with what came to be known as **European civilization**. These disparate kingdoms and territories with their multiplicity of languages and dialects, posed serious problems of effective governance to the British in their bid to administer the country as a homogenous entity. This was the spatial explanation for the use of the indirect rule system by the British for governing the natives.

The Yoruba Oba's authority carries the spiritual powers of the Orisa (gods) and must be obeyed. Every major act of power, like declaration of war, execution of culprit etc., must be done with the spiritual sanction of the Orisa. When an Oba dies, he himself joins the pantheon of Orisa and therefore one of the law givers, who joins the ancestors. Thus, **when Lagelu died he was buried on the hills at Awotan**. Truly, the aspect of spiritual power of Yoruba Oba was the testimony of the law and measure designed to increase healthy environment in Ibadan in **1855**, according to a book “ILE-IFE: The Source of Yoruba Civilization” written by Prince Adelegan Adegbola in 2009. **This was during the reign of Baale Ajayi Oyesile Olugbode (1851 – 1864) when Aboke Oyewole was recalled to Ibadan from Abeokuta**

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The law had to be promulgated in the form of revelation from (gods) Orisa that “**rearing of pigs in streets was not allowed.**” Once the populace heard this, they obeyed automatically, since the law was from the Oba and gods.

As the late Chief Okunola has pointed out, the founding **Odu** or **Ifa** sign for the city of Ibadan (each and every legitimate Yoruba town always has its founding **Odu**) is **Ose Meji**, a uniform, binary accreditation which predicted that like **totemic snail**, the emerging city of Ibadan would unfold should but progressively until it subsumes its own ramifying suburbs. This prediction and facts is represented on the traditional staff of the city’s rulers. This is analogous to its Coat of Arms.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF OKE-BADAN SHRINE

The word **Okebadan** is derived from the contraction of the words **Oke** (hill or mountain) and **Ibadan**. Hence, Okebadan means **Ibadan till or the tutelary deity of Ibadan hill**. *The hill of Ibadan is believed to harbour a supernatural or spiritual being which protected the early settler from the wrath of their enemies and attackers*. It is widely believed among its worshippers that this deity is a goddess who loves the people and usually offers them, children and material things they need. Thus, the people refer to this goddess as **Atage-Olomu-Oru** (huge mother with immense breasts). Infact, historically, Atage was the daughter of Lagelu whose mother was the princess of Agura of Gbagura Kingdom whose headquarter was at Ido before they were driven out of Ibadan camp to found Abeokuta in **1830A.D.** Lagelu was said to have been buried on the hill.



Okebadan Shrine – Here the ceremonies for Installation and the putting of the beaded crown on the head of Olubadan takes place

4.1 The Significance of Okebadan (Ibadan Hill) at Awotan

This hill (or the tutelary deity of Ibadan hill) is believed to harbor a supernatural or spiritual being which protected the early settlers from the wrath of their enemies and attackers.

Okebadan (Ibadan Hill) is significant in the religious and sociocultural lives of the people of Ibadan, and this accounts for why the **Okebadan festival** is celebrated annually with pomp and pageantry. **The people believe in the sacredness and sanctity of Okebadan.** Consequently, sacrifices are made to the **goddess** periodically and annually. This belief of the people, according to O.O. Adekola (2015) writing on “**Trends in Traditional Religious Worship in Ibadan, 1951-2010**”, was attested to by Theophilus Kerfer, a Swabian pastor who visited the shrine in 1853. He submitted that:

“We saw the sacred grove (sic) at a short distance, where, as it is said among the people, supernatural beings, little men in white garments, could be seen in large numbers. But bad people went out with guns to shoot them, therefore, they have disappeared and come only in extra ordinary times”.

When the allied army of Ife, Oyo, Ijebu and friendly Egbas took over Ibadan in **1825** from the descendants of Lagelu (the founder), the worship of Okebadan and the title of Aboke was abolished under the leadership of Okunade Maye (1825-1833). The worshipper of Okebadan descendants was brought back from Abeokuta during the reign of Baale Olugbode Oyesile between (1851-1864) when there were various **groans and sighs** heard from the heart of the hill and that these brought some chaotic happenings.

According to David Hindererr in 1859, Okebadan demanded a series of sacrifices, which were then offered and, soon afterwards, a number of laws were promulgated from the deity for the better or during the life of the community.

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When Baale Oyesile did not have a male child, he divined and he was advised to make sacrifice to Okebadan. After making the sacrifice with the help of Aboke family, he subsequently had a male child named Aderibigbe, who died at the Kiriji war in 1882 (Dr. Jide Fatokun, 2012).

Up till today, **Ifa** (the oracle deity) is consulted to find out what the goddess would take as a sacrifice from chaos. Whenever an unfavourable incident happens or when there is draught, Okebadan is usually appeased.



Note: Oke'badan Hill in Awotan town

The **second Ibadan** was surrounded by the following settlements namely: Owu-Ogbere, Oje, Ojoo, Ika, Ikeye, Ijaye, Erunmu, Ikija, Ido, Ilugun, and many Egba settlements.

Rev. Samuel Johnson (1921) at page 244 of History of the Yorubas described Ibadan, after take over 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 (Oja'ba Central Mosque now stands).

According to Chief M.K.O. Adebayo (2015) **Labosinde was living at Olubadan's compound at Oriyangi** with Olubadan Adesola, the first son of Oluole Olukiran, who was also the first son of Lagelu. He was succeeded as Olubadan by Rodoso. It was during the reign of Olubadan Sotuyole that the allied army squeezed out the original inhabitants and took possession of the second Ibadan in 1825. The title of Aboke, Olubadan were abolished. Aboke and Sotuyole migrated to Abeokuta with the Owus to live among the Egbas.



CHAPTER FIVE

CULTURAL SETTLEMENT AND DEVELOPMENT OF IBADAN

It was reported that **Ifa** divination performed when some traditional religious leaders arrived to sanctify Ibadan with sacrifices on the **Ibadan** Hills (not Oluyole Hills). The resulting **odu** was “**Ose Meji**”. This sign became the guardian **Odu** of the new city. The **city patriarch, Lagelu, and six diviner-priests** were present on that first occasion. The same **odu** sign then appeared again on three critical occasions in the life of the city. According to Bolaji Idowu in “**Religion in Ibadan: Traditional Religion and Christianity**” in Bolanle Awe, et al, p. 235-247

- The populace sought divine blessings on the now settlement for prosperity. Then the **Oke Ibadan** (or the spirit of Ibadan) 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. **Ose Meji** (meaning double victory) appeared again to reassure the inhabitants of a slow but steady and persistent growth, as in the movement of snails.

It seems, this why the **snail** or its **shell** became the **mascot of the city's coat of arms**. A close study of **Ose Meji** reveals that under the major thematic and metrical divisions, the sign is concerned with (a) survival (b) wealth (c) fertility and (d) victory. **These are consistent with the preoccupations identified with the city patriarch, Lagelu, the founders of the city in its early stages.** The cultural importance of this point is that Ibadan, in spite of the pure serendipity connected with its location and founding, is still a traditional and spiritual home to its inhabitants. It shows that all care was taken as to its inhabitant and, contrary to the manner of settlement, nothing was given up to chance. Any Yoruba settlement, thus inaugurated by **solid tradition, is often assured of its safety and stability.**

CHAPTER SIX

DESCRIPTION OF OKE-BADAN HILLS AT AWOTAN

The site of the tomb of Lagelu on Awotan Hills with the adjourning 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.

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 Ancient Mapo Hall

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. 2: Oke'badan Hill from Awotan:



Fig 3: The Proposed Mausoleum of Lagelu Grove on Awotan/Eleyele Hills in 2003 by C.C.I.I

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It is very important to revive the acquisition of about 2 Hectares on to of Oke'badan at Awotan where you have the Lagelu Grove because of its historical and spiritual/cultural significance. The Hill of Ibadan or Oke'badan is a link between the first Ibadan which was destroyed in the eighteenth century and the present day (mordent) history.

Building **Mausoleum** on the grove of Lagelu, the ancestral founder of Ibadan in the sixteenth century would enhance the history and development of Ibadanland and also become a tourist centres for visitor and international community and historians. The Oke'badan shrine was replicated at Oja'ba where Baales and later Olubadans are crowned.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE CULTURAL AND COMMERCIAL SIGNIFICANT OF OJA'BA

The creation of a king's market place or (Oja-ba) was one of the most important developments in every new **royal city**. Trade was very took seriously the provision of facilities for its proper running. As soon as the building of the palace commenced, therefore, an area in its foreground, a short distance beyond the palace gate, was cleared and measured out for the king's market place. A market place close to the palace, usually located just outside its front walls, became an alterable attribute of the Yoruba royalty or town.

The king's marketplace was a special and symbolic banner of royal sovereignty, therefore, whenever it was time for the authorities to announce the death of a king, they would order the symbolic act of having the tops of the shade trees of the king's market place trimmed. According to Professor S. Adebanji Akintoye (2010), in fact, the creation of the king's market place was a major item in his establishment of sovereignty over his kingdom

When Lagelu descendants finally establish the **second Ibadan** in the eighteenth (18th) century, the palace and the market were located at one of the five quarters referred to as "Oke-Igede". The king, Olubadan, was the grand patron of the market place, although one of the chiefs traditionally stool in for him as master in charge. **Palace messengers** laid out the market place in the satisfaction of the traders themselves, ensuring that vendors of each particular article of merchandise had one are (called iso) allocated to them.

While the traders constructed their sheds and the facilities for spreading out their wares **palace messengers planted shade trees**, needed to prevent excessive heat in the market place and also to provide some decoration. When the market place became functional, senior palace messenger did patrol duties in it as **peace officers and also collected tools authorized by the king's government**. The sellers of each

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article usually formed a **market commodity associations**, of which the king was usually patron. In short, then, the influence of the king pervaded the market place, the market place in Ibadan (king's market) was named after Labosinde after the allied army of Oyo, Ife, Ijebu and Egba took over the second Ibadan because he had been leaving in the palace with the descendants of Lagelu before Owu war started in 1810 A.D. and ended in 1825 A.D. Labosinde was an Ife war-chief.

CHAPTER EIGHT

THE STRUCTURE OF IBADAN AT ORIYANGI

After abandoning the hills at Awotan, they came down to establish a new settlement at **Oriyangi** between 1775 and 1789 during the reign of Alaafin Abiodun because they were attacked by the Egbas but did not succeed 1785 A.D. according to Aboke (Chief Ifamapowa). **Awotan** and **Apete** towns still remain till today under Ibadan Authority. **The Ibadan at Oriyangi consisted of the central market and about half a mile of houses around. The town wall was where the principal mosque now stands as at 1825A.D. (Rev. Samuel Johnson, 1921 page 244).** It was surrounded by Ikija, Ido, Ojoo, Erunmu, and Owu settlements (I.B. Akinyele, 1911).

1.1 The Structure of Second Ibadan Settlement

1. Itun Elemo	-	Aboke's Quarters, Bere Ibadan
2. Oke Igede	-	Oba (the King's Quarters)
3. Itun Lisa	-	Crown Prince of Olowu Akinjobi's Quarters at Idi-Ogungun
4. Itun Akaasi	-	The descendants of Akaasi (Lagelu's Nephew Quarters)
5. Ilaro	-	The descendants of the Prince of Iseri. The first man that built Iseri and settled there in or about the year (1425 - 1505) he was called, 1699 was Ogunfunminire from Ile-Ife
6. Oke ati Isale Atan	-	Communal land or Igboro Ilu.

Division of Yoruba towns by Lagelu descendants, originated from Oduduwa when he formed a central authority after thirteen aboriginal communities were merged to form the original five Quarters in Ile-Ife known as: Moore, Ilode, Irewo, Okerewe, and Ilare the practice which Lagelu replicated in Ibadan. Within each quarter there were compounds. Within each compound there were family lineages. Land belongs to the family lineages. To own land in Ife, one must belong to a family (Chief M.O. Fabunmi 1985 pg. 119)

As the Hebrews were so grateful to their hills which according to their belief, had given them protection, so the children of Lagelu started expressing their gratitude to the hill that protected and fed them during the early periods on Eleyele Hills at Awotan. **Ogundowo**, one of the children of Lagelu became the **first ‘Aboke’ (the Chief Priest) of Oke-Ibadan**. He was succeeded by his son **Okewale** who was recalled from Abeokuta during the reign of Baale Oyesile Olugbode (1851-1864) when Oke-badan festival was resuscitated by the new ruling class.

The above founding and establishment of the second Ibadan was in line with the Yoruba tradition. **Oke-Igede was where the Olubadan of the second Ibadan palace was built at Oja’ba (originally ORIYANGI)**. Historically, development of major towns are centred around the Oba’s palace and market place. The old palace is where **Labosinde the Oluwo** of Ibadan lives today at Oja’ba opposite **Okebadan shrine** where the Baale and Olubadans ceremonies for installation and crowning are performed. The town was surrounded by defence wall and ditches behind for security reasons. Surrounding this centrally located Oja’ba market in all directions were the earliest compounds of the immigrant settlers built at the base and brow of Mapo Hall in the eighteenth century up to the time of occupation in **1825** by the allied army of Ife Oyo, Ijebu and Egba who had earlier destroyed Owu-Ogbere in 1825 and Owu-Ipole between **1814 and 1820**

Rev. Samuel Johnson in the book “**The History of the Yorubas**” published in 1921 said among other things after Erunmu (Gbanamu war) war of **1833** that “**Ibadan then consisted of the central market and about half a mile of houses around. The town wall was where the principal mosque now stands at Oja’ba**. The first mosque was demolished by Basorun Oluyole Iyanda (1835-1849), however, Baale Opeagbe (1850) donated the land where the present central mosque was built referred to above by Rev. Samuel Johnson (1921). That by implication there was a mosque when the allied army took over the second Ibadan in 1825 when Maye Okunade became the first Baale succeeded by Aare Oluyedun in 1833.

CHAPTER NINE

OWU RELATIONSHIP WITH LAGELU DESCENDANTS

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 ELEMO - 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)
- (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 during the Fulani wars’ in the northern part of Yorubaland. Around 1806 when the war was still going on the Baale of Ogbomosho who also was and the Deputy Aare Ona-Kakanfo to Afonja of Ilorn, Toyeye 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 1814-1819. 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 fortifiesd 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.D. 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 to Oba I.B. Akinyele (1955-1964) in Iwe Itan Ibadan (1911), there was an agreement between the two on oath made with new hoe “Oko 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 “Ahoro Owu” on which Government House is now built spreading from Lisa quarters

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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.

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. The historic Ogungun Tree has been destroyed by Officers of Ibadan North Local Government in 2017

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.

CHAPTER TEN

PRE-COLONIAL IBADAN SOCIETY

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

There are many types of political organizations, depending on the principles on which the society is based. Modern societies are organized as states. The state always includes a territory, a government, and a population which shares the same culture. One aspect of political organization which is of great importance to modern civilizations is the role of leadership in government. Law is vital to government and it requires some form of leadership who is the decision maker. It is the authority of the leader that commands the obedience of others.

In all the traditional Yoruba societies, the leaders of the town (Ilu) is the Oba, the leader of smaller village is Baale, while the leaders of compounds are called Olori Ile (or Bale). Each quarter (adugbo) in a town is composed of numerous family lineages living in different compounds (agbo-ile).

The kingship is the basis of political organization in the ancient societies. It is recognition by the members of a group that a relationship exists among them. The political and administrative organization of the society was headed by the king and divided into towns and regions with each major town and settlement headed by a king-in-council with other administrators. Therefore, traditional society could be said to be monarchical, yet the monarch does not enjoy a sole authority of society. While the king occupied the highest seat of the society, there existed an elaborate organization of palace officials and or chiefs. Hence, the affairs of society were transacted by the king in full consultation with the chiefs and other palace officials which can conveniently be classified as the council of society (or Council of State).

This, in most cases, included civil chiefs, the military chiefs, the ward chiefs and heads of compounds and extended families. And for administrative case, a town, apart from the central society, power can be divided into wards, which comprise several households and extended families.

Apart from the central administration of traditional Yoruba society by the Oba-in-council, there is the local governance by the ward chiefs, with heads of the military chiefs and family heads responsible for the administration of parts of the society and within the territories of the society who performed judicial or executive functions with their territories echoing traditional Yoruba social organization as it is replicated at the ward and compound levels with activities of the Oba-in-Council (Fadipe 1970:207).

The choice of an Oba is mostly based on age and prominence in the ancestral tree of the town (i.e. family of the founder), and each has a number of royal families among which the Oba is chosen. The number of families entitled to kingship is fixed by tradition. In Ibadan, there are co-founders, and there is no single family that can claim to be the founder of the third and present Ibadan. Hence, all established precolonial family lineages are entitled to become the Olubadan of Ibadanland.

The present Ibadan which is regarded as the “THIRD” Ibadan had no “ancestral father” or founder, it only maintained an indirect link with Ile-Ife which was regarded by most of the older states as the orirun (“original home”) from which their princess obtained the “ade ileke” (beaded crown) that symbolized their right to rule, and from which they also developed a spirit of brotherhood that bound a number of Yoruba rulers together.

Origin of Ibadan Traditional Republican System

From its inception in the early 1830s, the new town 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 comity of the competing states, the new town had to respond effectively and quickly to the demands of war and insecurity, which called for an economic base strong enough to produce foodstuffs, and manufactured goods. Therefore, the military leaders had to reject the Old Oyo system

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of a hereditary monarchial government. Circumstances prevailing at that time called for the involvement and intervention 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.** Whereas, in other traditional Yoruba societies, when there is a vacant stool, candidates for Obaship would emerge from the royal families, and when they emerged they were all treated as equal candidates to the stool hence subject to the same rules and treatment with the final choice of an Oba been done by the king makers in consultation with the Ifa oracle.

The structure of government in Ibadan reflected the dominance of the military initially. By 1851 three military and two civil lines had emerged. These were Balogun, Seriki and Sarumi lines in the military category, then Baale and Iyalode lines in the civic category. The most important and permanent members were the High Chiefs as they are now called namely; the Baale (now Olubadan), Balogun, Seriki, Iyalode and the most senior five chiefs in the Otun line and six in the Balogun lines.

In Ibadan warrior tradition, the founding fathers such as Lagelu, Maye Okunade, Oluyedun, Lakanle, Oluyole, Oderinlo, Opeagbe, Oyesile Olugbode, Ogunmola, Ibikunle, Akere, Latosa and Orowusi, who came from different parts of Yorubaland developed a none-hereditary system of governance where ability rather than accident of birth dictated upward movement to the stool of Olubadan.

During the reign of Basorun Oluyole (1834-1847), there were eight (8) members of the ruling military oligarchy (militocracy) who governed Ibadan, they were not restricted to any quarter within the city unlike in most Yoruba towns or kingdoms. The next person to him was Balogun who had other six subordinate chiefs under him.

It was Baale Oyesile Olugbode (1851-1864) who rose from Abese Balogun under Oluyole that fully-implemented the new reform in the Chieftaincy System by introducing the Civil Line (Egbe-Agba) and Balogun Line – the military Line. For the first time in Yorubaland, women folk participated in city governance through Iyalode Chieftaincy System. His military chiefs were: Balogun Ibikunle, Otun Balogun Ogunmola, Osi Balogun Osundina, Ashipa Balogun Akere etc.

Promotion was an integral aspect of the system. Thus enabled title-holders who were still keen on mobility to give their best in the service 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.

The Chiefs, together with the lineage head (Bale or Mogaji), carried out civil administration. The lineage was 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 Bale or Mogaji, who, together with the other elders, administered the compound.

According to the "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 strict rotation between the Olubadan Line and Balogun Line
- (ii) The order of rotation in which the respective Chieftaincy Lines are entitled to provide candidates to fill successive vacancies in the Chieftaincies shall be (a) the Olubadan Line (b) The Balogun Line (Present ruling Chieftaincy Line).

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The person who may be proposed as 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 the Law.

MEMBERS OF OLUBADAN-IN-COUNCIL

**OLUBADAN OF IBADANLAND
PRESIDENT**

1. OTUN OLUBADAN	1. BALOGUN IBADANLAND
2. OSI OLUBADAN	2. OTUN BALOGUN
3. ASHIPA OLUBADAN	3. OSI BALOGUN
4. EKERIN OLUBADAN	4. ASHIPA BALOGUN
5. EKARUN OLUBADAN	5. EKERIN BALOGUN
	6. EKARUN BALOGUN

IYALODE IBADANLAND

Members of Olubadan-in-Council are also the kingmakers.

In Ibadan at the apex of traditional institution is the Olubadan of Ibadanland who is chosen by the Ibadan kingmakers including the Iyalode through a promotional process from two main chieftaincy lines: The Otun Olubadan Line, which is the Civil Line and the Balogun Line which is military, as the Supreme Council ruler. Olubadan much have risen from mogaji which is the base of the traditional Chieftaincy System in Ibadanland. In every recognized compound in Ibadan Metropolis (city), a mogaji is chosen and this is within the indigenous area of Ibadan City.

THE NEW RUNGS OF THE LADDER TO OLUBADAN STOOL

OTUN OLUBADAN	BALOGUN
CHIEFTAINCY LINE	CHIEFTAINCY LINE
1. Otun Olubadan	1. Balogun Ibadanland
2. Osi Olubadan	2. Otun Balogun
3. Ashipa Olubadan	3. Osi Balogun
4. Ekerin Olubadan	4. Ashipa Balogun
5. Ekarun Olubadan	5. Ekerin Balogun
6. Abese Olubadan	6. Ekarun Balogun
7. Maye Olubadan	7. Abese Balogun
8. Ekefa Olubadan	8. Maye Balogun
9. Agbaakin Olubadan	9. Ekefa Balogun
10. Aare-Alasa Olubadan	10. Agbaakin Balogun
11. Ikolaba Olubadan	11. Aare-alasa Balogun
	12. Ikolaba Balogun

Mogaji System

The Mogaji system was introduced to resolve the problem of heterogeneity which was as a result of influx of people into the city. The conferment of the Mogaji was 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. The lineage head (Baale or Mogaji) in Ibadan administer the compound with elders in the compound. The lineage is very important for every Ibadan indigene. Being a member of a lineage provides you access to land holding and exercise of civil rights and a residence in the village.

The Baale Chieftaincy Title

The development of villages and towns in Ibadan territory was based on military tactics, which implies that Ibadan people are planted in various strategic locations around the town for protection from their enemies. These villages are now town and villages. The second reason which is essentially prominent was the search for food for survival. Those who went to the villages and towns became farmers but their allegiance was to Ibadan town, their base. That is why an Ibadan person is credited as having a dual place, Ibadan as home town and the village for farming as the settlement or as is commonly said Ile-Ibadan and Oko Ibadan”.

The processes of selecting Baales in the villages and town take the same format as that of the city. Baales are chosen on the basis on their historical recognition in a particular place, usually on a first come basis. However, some towns voluntarily settled in Ibadan or subdued during Yoruba Civil wars that have no Mogaji in the city e.g. Erunmu and Lalupon.

The Civil Chiefs (Veteran or Egbe-Agba) were Veteran Sunmola Alao Laamo, the first Otun Baale from Ikoyi and Tubosun, the Aare-Ago Baale. The political authority was exercised not by Baale (later Olubadan) alone, but assisted by council of senior chiefs known as Igbimo Ilu (State Council). The membership varies by various names in different kingdoms. They also constitute the king-makers and advisers to Baale (or Olubadan) or kings in Oyo, Ijebu, Ondo and Ife.

Baale Olugbode’s thirteen years of reign (1851-1864) are well-remembered in the annals of Ibadan history as a period when there was security of life and an absence of discord or serious internal dissension 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 and Ijesa country where four of the six wars of his reign were

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fought. It was through diplomatic means that in 1854, Ibadan incorporated Ife, kingdom into the empire through their mediation in Ife-Modakeke war.

Baale Oyesile Olugbode initiated Yoruba peace meeting called Alabaja peace conference of 1855 which came up with a code of conduct to regulate relations among the different sub-ethnic Yoruba groups in Yorubaland. In fact, it was with the peace initiative of Ibadan leaders that their other major businesses, apart from war, thrived.

Daniel May, a European Missionary reported in 1958 of the existence of some farmsteads far away from the city during the reign of Baale Oyesile Olugbode. The Hinderers in the middle of the nineteenth century also observed that agriculture was widely practiced by the Ibadan, and the Ibadan leaders encouraged agriculture in all parts of the empire. This made the administration of the provinces self-supporting.

Ibadan itself grew in size and population as many people flocked into it, both freemen and slaves. It was also in Olugbode's reign that the first missionaries from Europe came into Ibadan. Inspite of his pre-eminence in Ibadan, Olugbode did not forget his Owu ancestry and especially his connection with Kuta.

It was Baale Oyesile Olugbode (1851-1864) who rose from Abese Balogun under Oluyole that fully-implemented the new reform in the Chieftaincy System by introducing the Civil Line (Egbe-Agba) and Balogun Line – the military Line. For the first time in Yorubaland, women folk participated in city governance through Iyalode Chieftaincy System.

BAALE OYESILE OLUGBODE AND THE GROWTH OF IBADAN CHIEFTAINCY SYSTEM

The grounds for the imperial exploits of Ibadan were laid in the first two decades of its existence as a city-state in 1833 after the elimination of Ife group. By 1851 when Baale Oyesile Olugbode was installed, the internal political organ of the state has been stabilized with meritocracy as the guiding principle for the exercise of authority as explained earlier. Ibadan was by the last quarter of the 19th century an

impressive imperial framework covering an area of Yorubaland more expansive than the old Oyo Empire.

The city grew to become what Professor Bolanle Awe rightly calls “a republic of warriors”. In this “republic of warriors”, the warriors shaped the colouration and character of politics; they controlled how politics functioned procedurally; calculated and fought its wars and created an agricultural military complex to produce an energetic and over-expanding economy.

Ibadan used its efficiently organized army for six different purposes:

- In the first place, it served as a police force to keep law and order within Ibadan itself.
- Second, it served as a deterrent to prevent other Yoruba states from using their armies against Ibadan.
- Third, it was used for defence, in case deterrence failed, against enemies, against enemies-real, imagined or contrived.
- Fourth, it was widely employed for coercion, which is the real application of force, show of force and the exercise of political authority over other peoples’ territory.
- Fifth, the army served as a backdrop for negotiation; a state with a weak army had little chance of success in diplomatic bargaining; and
- Sixth, the army gave Ibadan considerable prestige during the 19th century and acted as the major shield behind other instruments of policy.

Oyesile Olugbode hailed from Kuta and came as a warrior to Ibadan. The social system which he formalized during his thirteen (13) years reign (1851-1864) was nonhereditary and meritocracy brought a large number of adventurous youth to the town. This formed a propelling force to fight. This meant constant search for new areas to conquer.

Unlike the single line chieftaincy structure being introduced from inception, a more stable political organization was put in place by Baale Oyesile Olugbode and the city gained prominence in his time and it was feared and revered by its neighbours, most of which were subdued under his rule. Among his powerful warrior chiefs were:

- (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 Jegede - Seriki (nicknamed later as Ogboriefon)

There were also civil chiefs (Egbe Agba) who were veterans that administered the city when the Baloguns went on war expeditions. The Otun Baale was the head by name Veteran Sunmola Alao Laamo from Ikoyi near Ogbomoso and the first to occupy that post. Tubosun was the Areago Baale and others not documented.

This was the beginning of the erstwhile Republican Two-sided Chieftaincy System comprising the civil line and the military line. Ibadan being founded on revolutionary new values and constitutional structures produced a socio-political environment that allowed astute, enterprising, wealthy women to assume roles of power and authority hitherto reserved for male titles hierarchies and military rulers.

The Iyalode line constitutes the fourth line in the Ibadan Chieftaincy System, following the civil (Otun or Egbe Agba), 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. Although the Iyalode is one of the kingmakers, she is specifically excluded from eligibility to the office of Olubadan.

Subuola was the first appointed Iyalode of Ibadan by Baale Oyesile Olugbode (1851-1867). Bale Oyesile 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 dissension among the city's population. Rather, it was a period when Ibadans's external relations were immensely enhanced. The territory subject to the authority of Ibadan was considerably enlarged, especially in the Ekiti country where four out of six wars of his reign were fought (A.L. Mabogunje and J. Omer Cooper, 1971).

Thus, by 1855, according to Adeniran Abiodun an Associate Professor at the Obafemi Awolowo, University, Ile-Ife (2000), the Ibadan had become undisputed masters of Ekiti, between then and 1860, practically every Ekiti town or village had been conquered by Ibadan whose empire at the time composed "most of Ekiti, most of Ijesa, almost all of Akoko and much of Igbomina in addition to the vast Osun territories and the Ife Kingdom". The post-Ijaye war campaigns in eastern Yorubaland were therefore to consolidate her territorial gains in this area.

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, for instance, that in the 1850s, Ibadan incorporated the Ife Kingdom into their empire through their mediation in Ife-Modakeke affairs. By the 1870s, they had extended their influence eastwards to the Ondo kingdoms through and interference in Ondo-Oko-Igbo affairs

The Ibadan leaders actually had a vision of restoring peace and tranquility at least within their area of Yorubaland as they guarantee peace in the middle of the 19th century. To this end, the Ibadan were not just destroying towns by as early as 1850s, under Baale Oyesile Olugbode, Balogun Ibikunle also made serious and committed attempts to rebuild and have resettled towns that were destroyed in the cause of military campaigns. In 1855, this culminated in the Alabaja peace conference

which came up with a code of conduct to regulate relations among the different sub-groups of the Yoruba.

As with the selection of chiefs in the metropolis, ability and loyalty were the major criteria for the choice of an Ajele. Consequently, a large proportion of the Ajele were trusted servants or slaves recruited from outside Ibadan. Ajele system, according to Professor Bolanle Awe, was the main pivot on which the Ibadan imperial administration rotated. They were resident commissioners known as Ajele.

In spite of the incorporation of IFE within the Ibadan empire, the town was accorded the honour and respect which, if not commensurate with its traditional status as the sacred city of the Yoruba, was high enough to assuage the feelings of the rulers of that city and all traditionalists (Abiodun Adeniran, 2000).

It should be remembered as pointed out earlier that, in the 1950s during the reign of Baale Oyesile Olugbode (1851-1864), it was the Ibadan that brought the Ife back home in 1854 following its sack by the Modakeke in 1849. When again the Ife-Modakeke relations turned sourer in the 1870s, the Ibadan were involved in a series of negotiations to ensure that the cradle of Yoruba race was not deserted. Throughout the 19th century, the Ooni continued to be treated by Ibadan with respect and circumspect. As Professor Bolanle Awe pointed out, respect for traditional rulers was cardinal in Ibadan imperial policy. This was extended to those taken captive and sent to Ibadan such as the captured Owa of Ijesa (who) was said to have been treated that befitted a King; skin mat was spread for him to sit on and the Ibadan Chiefs prostrated before him.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

THE RISE OF IBADAN TO A DOMINANT STATE IN YORUBALAND

The power politics and political intrigues in metropolitan Òyó; the increasing demand for human cargo in the waters of the Bight of Benin; and the unsustainability of the merchant capital that underwrote power, wealth, and social inequality pushed the Yorùbá region to reach its sociopolitical breaking point between 1790 and 1837. During that long night of confusion, the underclass revolt in Òyó and the Ifè-Ìjèbú siege of Òwu were particularly momentous. Both events launched the Yorùbá world into its worst region-wide crisis since the second half of the fifteenth century.

The aftermath culminated in the collapse of the Òyó Empire in 1837. The competition to fall the vacuum of hegemony created by Òyó's fall fueled more wars. Ìbàdàn emerged as the dominant state in the region in 1840 following its defeat of Ilorin jihadists. The young state had proved to be the most resilient avenger of Òyó humiliation during the Eléduwe. War three years earlier, but its own draconian style of imperialism led to provincial revolts and a sixteen-year war (the Èkìtìparapo War) that pitted a regional alliance against Ìbàdàn between 1877 and 1893.

With the defeat of Olíewu-led forces, the jihadists of Ilorin and their allies were intoxicated by the fermented fruit of victory and were determined to take over the entire Yorùbá region. They, therefore, shifted their focus toward those new Òyó towns already planted in the upper reaches of the rain forest. **Their goal was to “dip the Koran in the sea,” a metaphor for subjugating the Yorùbá world to the control of the Sokoto Caliphate via the emirate of Ilorin.** For what this implied, no existential crisis that enormous had ever confronted the Yorùbá, not even the Nupe crisis of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Displaced and demoralized, most of the Yorùbá region, especially in the old territory of the Òyó Empire, was still licking its wounds. The only Yorùbá polity brave enough to confront the jihadist

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threat was Ìbàdàn. It was a new kid on the block of regional politics, but it was a rising military power in the aftermath of the fall of Òyó Empire. *While the Ìlorin army was advancing southward, Olúyolé, the second ruler of Ìbàdàn and a grandson of Aláàfin Abíódún, rallied to confront the enemy. He presided over the military plans to stop the advancing Ìlorin army. He mobilized other scattered Òyó elements to the cause of saving their ancestral land from what he rightfully considered a foreign invasion, although there were high-ranking Yorùbá soldiers in the Ìlorin contingent. There was nothing in his favor to assure victory, but his foresight, audacity to act, and timely intervention paid off. Under the command and leadership of his war commander Balógun Odérinlo, the advance of Ìlorin's ambition was halted on the outskirts of Òsogbo in 1840. The Ìlorin army was thoroughly beaten. The victory put to rest the threat of the jihadist agenda in the Yorùbá world. With this, Olúyolé achieved what had eluded Olúewu and five other Aláàfin. This military victory was the most consequential event in Yorùbá history during the nineteenth century.* According to the patriarch of Yorùbá historiography, Samuel Johnson, the outcome of the war marked “a turning point in Yorùbá history. It saved the Yorùbá country from total absorption by the Fulanis.” If not for Olúyolé and his military superstars, many beaded crown kings and potentates of Yorùbá kingdoms would have since been replaced by turban-wearing emirs. Ìbàdàn’s victory over Ìlorin saved the House of Odùduwà (Ilé-Ifè), the House of Sàngó (Òyó), the House of Obòkun (Ilésà), the House of Òràngún (Ìlá), the House of Obánta (Ìjèbú-Òde), and others from becoming emirates. The victory was not only over Ìlo. rin. It was also a defeat of its patron, the Gwandum emirate, and of the Sokoto Caliphate as a whole.

Olúyolé must have felt a sense of pride and satisfaction that he had avenged the desecration of his ancestral home by preventing the Ìlorin jihadists from overrunning the Yorùbá region and dipping the Koran in the ocean. The victory

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energized Ìbàdàn to embark on an ambitious expansionist program across central and eastern Yorùbá region, a process that kicked off its short-lived empire, 1840-93. Nevertheless, that victory did not lead to peace and stability for the Yorùbá world. It was only the beginning of more than fifty years of wars defined by;

- (1) the competition for supremacy among the newly emerged states;
- (2) conflict over the control of trade routes, especially the ones leading to the coast;
- (3) the aggressive expansionist agenda of the Ìbàdàn Empire; and
- (4) the counteroffensive, revolt, resistance, and liberation movement of the eastern half of the empire against Ìbàdàn, between 1877 and 1893.

These topics have received much scholarly attention, and their full treatment is outside the purview of this book. Suffice it here to say that those wars ended with the intervention of the British government, who brokered peace among the exhausted warring parties in 1893 and immediately maneuvered to bring the Yorùbá warlords and their political dominions under the British colonial rule.

Altogether, about three-quarters of the Yorùbá region experienced war, dislocation, and demographic reshuffling during the nineteenth century. *The southeast region, comprising the Ondó, Ìjèbú, Ilàjé, and Òwo, was less affected by the demographic shifts and massive dislocations, but they did not live in the splendid isolation of the turbulence that surrounded them.* The Ondó, for example, who did not suffer much from

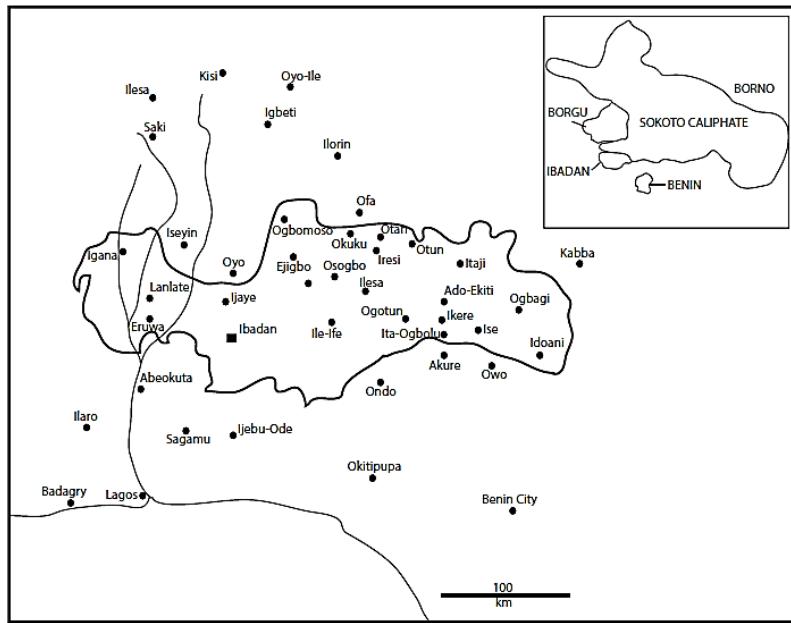


Figure 9.3: Ibadan Empire

external aggression, nevertheless succumbed to “a disastrous civil war that [reportedly] destroyed 127 of their settlements” in 1830. In contrast, most of the Ȉjèbú territory did not suffer from internal displacement despite the fact that the Ȉjèbú merchant-warriors were principal instigators of the regional conflicts of 1817-30 in central and southern Yorùbá. However, they were drawn into the regional conflict that followed the ascendance of Ȉbàdàn expansionist power in 1840 and other conflicts associated with the struggle to control the commercial traffic linking the coast to the mainland. Moreover, there were frequent disputes between the traditional civil authorities, especially the king and chieftains of Ȉjèbú Ȑde, on one hand, and the merchant-warrior class on the other, over the kingdom’s policy on external relations and trade.

8.1 EKITU ORIGIN AND MIGRATION HISTORY:

Ekiti is a compact country. As you come into it, you normally feel that you are part of it. **The aborigines of Ekiti** came from different parts in search of hunting grounds and for farming. But as of the 16th century **Oduduwa groups** began to come as rulers of the land.

The Ekiti Obas arrived in Ekiti one by after the other. The coming covered a long period of time. To fix 15th century for their coming meant that their coming covered a period of about one hundred years or more. **At one stage of Ekiti development, a beaded crown was so invaluable** as to engage the attention of those who were atrocious for it. To retain it later on, the wearer had to prove that he was a descendant of Oduduwa, that he came from Ife and that he was invited to govern. Many historians maintain that after the death of Oduduwa; has children scattered all over the country. Those of them who came to Ekiti whether directly from Ife or indirectly from other places **asserted themselves over the aboriginal inhabitants of Ekiti as Olojas**. They wore Crowns similar to what they saw in Ife. They were not good farmers. But they had plenty of ambition and they were greedy for power. They were sophisticated and easily absorbed the inhabitants especially those in the central places. They got the people to build their palaces and established kingdoms.

i) Political Organization:

Ekiti village a town heads were called **Oloja** and **Owa** respectively. A town head (owa) claimed to be descendant of **Oduduwa**.

Under British rule, the indigenous term “**Oba**” was used for a “**King**” to distinguish the relatively numerous kings of this part of the world from the British monarch. At Ado, the term “**Oba**” is the family designation of the male children of the **Ewi** and others. The females are called “**Oja**” except at **Igbemo** where “Oja” is used for both male and female.

The term “**Baale**” was introduced by Ibadan and was used by the British for district heads who normally preferred to be known as “**Oba**”. They saw a lowering of status in the term **Baale**.

ii) The Sixteen Ekiti Kingdoms;

The Sixteen Ekiti Kingdoms occupy an area of **2,100 square miles** in the north-eastern corner of Yoruba country. Each Ekiti Kingdom was quite independent of the others, and there was no time when the Ekiti acknowledged a common ruler. **An attempt by the British Government to create an Ekiti paramount chief was failed by gain seekers.** (Msjr A. Oguntuyi, 1979).

All Ekiti Obas except the **Oore** claimed to be descendants of Oduduwa “**Olofin**”. **The Oore traced his descent to the sea-god “Olokun”**. He claimed to have met Oduduwa at the shore and cured him of his blindness. He gave water to the sons of Oduduwa. Hence, he was called “**Oloore**” contracted to **Oore** (Benefactor). **Rev Samuel Johnson (1921) did not mention any of the Ekiti Obas as being of the sons or grandsons of Oduduwa. This is not surprising at the material time Ekiti was looked upon as a vassal of Oyo**

LIST OF EXITI KINGDOM GIVEN BY VARIOUS AUTHORS

	(A) GOVERNMENT SERVICE LIST 1909	(B) REV.S.A. JOHN. SON 1 ST PUBLICATION 1921	(C) DR. S.A. AKIN AKINTOYE 1 ST PUBLICATION 1971	(D) MSGR. A. OGUNTUYI'S ENUMERATION HAS
	KINGDOM THE OBA	KINGDOM THE OBA	KINGDOM THE OBA	KINGDOM THE OBA
Ado under Ewi	Otun under Owore	Otun under Owore	Ado under Ewi	Ijero under Ajero
Ijero " Ajero	Ijero " Ajero	Ikole " Elekole	Ijero " Ajero	Ikole " Elekole
Ikere " Ogoga	Ado " Ewi	Ado " Ewi	Ikere " Ogoga	Otun " Oore
Ido " Olojido	Ikole " Elekole	Oye " Oloye	Akure " Deji	Ara " Alara
Effon " Alaaye	Ara " Alara	Ijero " Ajero	Ara " Alara	Ido " Olojido
Ise " Arinjale	Efon " Alaaye	Ido " Olojido	Ise " Arinjale	Ikere " Ogoga
Okemesi " Olojaake	Akure " Ajapada	Ikere " Ogoga	Ido " Olojido	Oye " Oloye
Ara " Alara	Ogotun " Alagotun	Akure " Deji	Ikere " Ogoga	Ise " Arinjale
Oye " Oloye	Ido " Olojido	Ise " Arinjale	Oye " Oloye	Emure " Elemure
Ogotun " Ologotun	Ayede " Ata	Emure " Elemure	Ise " Arinjale	Emure " Elemure
Ayede " Ata	Imesi " Oloja	Efon " Alaaye	Emure " Elemure	Efon " Alaaye
Itaji " Onitaji	Oye " Olomuo	Imesi " Olojaake	Efon " Alaaye	Itaji " Onitaji
Isan " Onisan	Ire " Onire	Ara " Alara	Itaji " Onitaji	Okemesi " Olojaake
	Ise " Arinjale	Isan " Onisan Itaji	Isan " Onisan	Isan " Onisan
	Itaji " Onitaji	" Onitaji	Obo " Oloba	Ogotun " Ologotun
			Ogotun " Ologotun	Ire under the Onire

Ekiti tradition recognized sixteen kingdoms although different numbers were given later, some less, others more, as you see above

iii) The Tradition of Kingdom Founders:

The Obas (Olojas) displaced the **aboriginal Ekiti rulers**, in most cases by force of arms carried out strategically and means of further conquest established themselves firmly on the throne. Some having settled peacefully began to control weaken neighbours and gradually extended their protection over them and displaced their former rulers. Others simply aided the enemies against the weaker towns and settlements and weakened them to the extent of annexation without further difficulty. A classic example of this was **Aye which was Subdued by Oove through the aid of Ibadan and Ilorin**. When each Oba had settled down, he set up his own government without interfering with the government of the aboriginal inhabitants.

After the Obas had settled and had consolidated their position, other came to Ekiti claiming to be **Olojas**. They succeeded in getting a second place to the Obas. They became **Minor Olojas**. After the Ibadan wars, the **minor Olojas were described as Baales**.

iv) Ekitiparapo against Igbajo in 1878:

On the 19th day of August, 1878, news reached Ibadan 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, according to Kemi Morgan.

When the **Arighajo, the ruler of Igbajo**, saw that his town was under siege by the Ekitis and their allies, he hastily sent an 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 Chief Maye Balogun of Ibadan**, to Igbajo to relieve the town.

All the Ibadan and Igbajo troops were unable to defend Igbajo town against the strong Ekiti troops and they had to retreat to Ikirun. Several of the people of Igbajo also fled from the town to Ikirun, which was about forty (40) miles north east of Ibadan. Ignajo fell into the hands of the Ekitis. The Ekitis pursued the fleeing Igbajo and Ibadan troops to Ikirun and then lay siege to the town of Ikirun.

Why the Ilorins Joined the Ekitis:

When the Fulanis overran the northern parts of Oyo Empire, the Ekitis came under Ilorin. But when Ibadan rose power, the Ekitis transferred their allegiance to Ibadan. The Ilorins now joined in retaliation against Ibadan's sovereignty over their (Ilorin's) former subjects (Dr. Jide Fatokun).

At Ikirun town, the Ilorin troops under the command of Ajia joined the Ekiti troops in the siege of Ikirun. Like the Ekitis, the intention of the Ilorins was to conquer all Oyo towns' right on the River Oba. And those Oyo towns included Ikirun Itself, **Osogbo, Ede, and Iwo.**

Several battles were fought at Ikirun. The Ibadan, Igbajo and Ikirun troops suffered heavy losses. When it reached the stage when the inhabitants of Ikirun dared not denture near their town walls, Osuntoki, the Maye Balogun of Ibadan troops at Ikirun, sent urgent appeal to Are Latosisa at Ibadan asking him for more reinforcement. This time Are Latosisa realized that the situation for the Ibadan troops at Ikirun must be desperate and he ordered Balogun Ajayi Iegede Ogoruafon to lead the Ibadan army to Ikirun to relieve the town.

v) The Ikirun on the Jalumi War:

On the 31st day of October 1878, Balogun Ajayi Ogbonefon arrived at Ikirun with the rest of the Ibadan army. The Akirun (ruler of Ikirun) was so happy to see Ibadan troops led by the Balogun of Ibadan army

- The Ekiti and Ila troops, were under the command of **Fabunmi** of Oke-Imes, and **Prince Adeyala** of Ila.

- The Ijesa troops, under the command of **Arimora** and Ogunmodede.

The Ibadan army under the command of Ajayi Ogboriefon had to march to Ikirun during the raining season when the rivers were flooded. Several battles were fought. 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 the Ekitiparapo and Ilorin troops, the fleeun troops rushed headlong into the swollen river, both horses and men were drowned there. In describing this incident, the Rev. Samuel Johnson (1921) 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 horses that some fugitives who came later were to escape by walking over corpses”

This mad plunge of the Ilorin troops into the swollen River Otin gave 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 (8) miles from **Ofa**. They captured several Ilorin men of note as prisoners and set them to Ibadan. Hewer, Ajia the commander of the Ilorin troops escaped.

The Balogun Ajayi Ogboriefon 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 the Ekitis. They attacked and captured **Ila, Omu, Iresi, Ekan**, Erin mope and Igbajo which had earlier in the war been captured by the Ekitis. The Basogur’s plan was to complete the subjugation of the Ekiti country and appoint new Ajeles for those tows. But treachery prevented him from completing the task. Ali Laluwoye was the Otun Balogun while Ilori, the son of

Ogunmola, who died in Ilorin camp, was the Osi Balogun. Ajayi Jegede died at home in Ibadan in January **1880**.

vi) Ekitiparapo or Kiriji War (1880 – 1893)

“The motive which drove the Ekitiparapos 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 regain their independence from Ibadan and to take back from Ibadan, the lands and possession which belonged to their ancestors. And for freedom and independence, men throughout all ages had fought and are still fighting, even in this twenty-first century and for a parcel of land fertile or infertile, men still shed blood“. (Kemi Morgan).

It was for those reasons that men from Ilesa, Ekiti, Efon, Yagba and Akoko came forward to join Ogedengbe's troops. The Elekole, the Alara, the Alaaye and the Ajero personally led their own contingents to **Oke-Imesi** to join Ogedengbe. The Orangun of Ilia's troops was led by a Balogun; and so were the Oore of Otun's troops led by a Balogun. The Deji of Akure's troops were led by the Ajarna, Odowo. Imi and Olusogan. **Altogether, sixteen Ekiti kings** sent contingents to Oke-Imesi to fight under the leadership of Ogedengbe.

It was also for these reasons that the Ekitiparapos fought with grim determination which made it impossible for the mighty Ibadan army to defeat them. **During the engagements at Kiriji, the Ilorins became the ally of Ekitiparapos.** The Egbas and the Ijebus also closed their trade routes to the coast against the Ibadans so that the Ibadan troops might not be able to obtain arms and ammunition from the traders on the coast.

vii) Intrigues in Ibadan War Campout

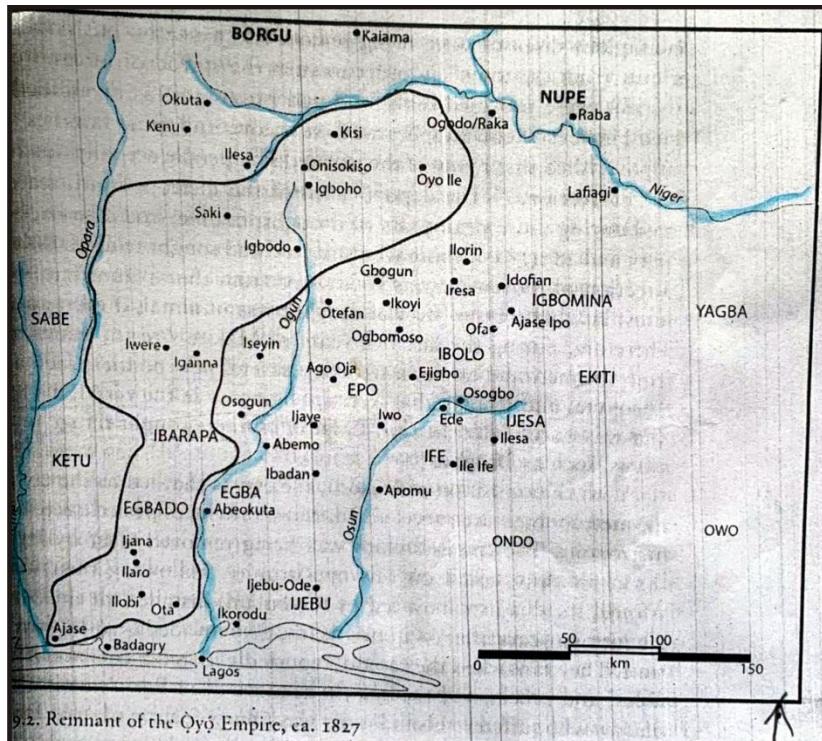
At Kiriji, the **war chiefs** entered into a secret pact never to achieve a conquest or capture a town while he (Latoosa) was living. Their resolve was to humble the Aare and avenge the death of **seriki Iyapo**. The following two incidents from Kemi Murgan (pp. 78-79) are relevant:

(a) Mogaji Akintola (Omo Ibikunle) Captured Ogedengbe Twice:

To strengthen the Ibadan troops on the war front, Latosisa also recalled **Ali Laluwoye, the Otun Balogun, and Mogaji Akintola** from ofa and sent them with troops to Ibadan-war-camp at Imesi Kiriji. **Mogaji Akintola** and his troops were the first to arrive at the Ibadan war-camp. Not long after his arrival there, he and his troops marched to the battlefield to prove their valour. In this **encounter with Ogedengbe**, Mogaji Akintola proved that he was a worthy son of his father, the late Balogun Ibikunle. He made a sudden and furious charge on Ogedengbe and his troops and **captured Ogedengbe**. But he allowed him to go free because the chiefs had decided not to help Aare Latoosa win the war.

(b) Second Capture of Ogedengbe by Mogaji Akintolas

While the battle was still raging, Ogedengbe again fell into the hands of **Akintola's soldiers**. But instead of taking Ogedengbe prisoner the soldier said to him "**Warrior Chief, get away quickly, the Oyos are coming**". But Akintola's men captured the **hide on which Ogedengbe usually sat**, his **charms and amulets**, as well as his **kegs of gun-powder** and they drove his troops away from the battle field. They themselves withdrew from the battlefield without making any attempt to candidate their victory.



viii) British Influence on Yoruba Obaship Institution:

The current hierarchies, distinguishing between the **so-called primary and secondary** Yoruba Kingdoms are usually treated as sacrosanct in both academic literature and popular imagination, according to Akinwumi Ogundiran (2020). *However, these hierarchies are products of the regional political reorganization that followed the collapse of the Oyo Empire, the instability of the nineteenth century, and the imposition of the British colonial rule.*

These gazette and standardized official template of hierarchies among the Yoruba kings during the early twentieth century was created at the instigation of the colonial officers, who policy of indirect rule. And the hierarchy are being revised several times since independence to accommodate the changing political configurations in post-colonial Nigeria politics.

The increased number of “kings: has resulted from the granting to some two chiefs who were **Oluyas** in Ekiti and **Baales** the right to wear beaded crowns since the onset of the 19th century civil wars for various reasons. In 1917, the Governor Macgregor, arrogated to himself the right to confer the title of “kings: and the wearing of beaded crowns on people.

In 1902, William MacGregor, invited the Ooni of Ife, Olubuse Adenekan I to Lagos, he conducted several interviews with the kings, with the intention of compiling a list of **Yoruba kings who the authority to wear the beaded** crown. The goal of the exercise was to establish the hierarchy of kingship in Yorubaland.

This was needed to implement the British policy of indirect rule, a administrative system that governed through indigenous political intuitions. In this configuration to be the direct descendants of Oduduwa and the pristine kings in Yorubaland. Ooni Olubuse Adenekan I supplied Macgregor with the names of twenty king & dynasties (excluding himself) with the rights and privileges to wear the beaded crown.

ix) Distortion of Yoruba History:

In the publication of the Nigerian Tribune of Friday 22 October, 2021 titled “REAFFIRMING THE ALAAFINS ASSERTION ON YORUBA CHIEFTAINCY MATTER” which Iku baba yeje the Alafin of Oyo, Oba Lamidi Olayiwola Adeyemi personally signed has this to say;

I deliberately made the above reference with a view to affirming the Alaafin’s. Consistency in his proclamation of his status as political head of Yoruba; who administered Oyo Empire with efficiency which enthralled the British Colonial Officials to have preserved the status quo before and after the amalgamation of the Northern Protectorate with the Southern Protectorate with the Southern

Protectorate in January 1914 by the Governor-General, Sir Lord Fedrick Lugard”

It was in honour of the hegemonic structure by the British that the Alaafin was the only Yoruba traditional ruler who was signatory to the historic amalgamation agreement, which gave birth to Nigeria other royal fathers, who appended their signatories, were the Sultan of Sokoto, the Sheu of Borno, the Emir of Kano. It was also in recognition of that rank that no other first class traditional ruler earned as the Alaafin in the colonial salary scale. Suffice here is list of the first class and second class traditional rulers according to the British salary scale as contained in the report of 1938;

THE BRITISH INFLUENCE ON TRADITIONAL INSTITUTION IN YORUBALAND

Extent of the Old Oyo Empire

According to Dr. J.A. Atanda in the book “The New Oyo Empire (1979)”, Johnson’s neat definition of the Old Oyo Empire Implies that the whole of Yorubaland and Dahomey were included in the empire. This erroneous idea about the extent of the Old Oyo Empire was also shared by British Officials, probably through the influence of men like of **Samuel Ajayi Crowther** and **Johnson** who were from Oyo town. While, therefore, the Alafin’s appellation ‘**Head of Yorubaland**’ might originally mean ‘**Head of the Yoruba people**’, it soon acquired the wider connotation of “Head of all Yoruba-speaking peoples”. And it was in this sense that the British Officials used it from the early nineteenth century onwards.

Inspite of this, Atanda went further, **the fact was that Old Oyo Empire of which the Alafin was the head, never embraced the whole of Yorubaland**. Some parts of Yorubaland were tributary to the kingdom of Benin and were never controlled by Oyo, as Benin itself was not. For example, Benin tradition shows that

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Ekiti, Owo, Ondo areas were for a long time under the rule or influence of the kingdom of Benin including Ado-Ekiti

Ilesa, Ile-Ife and Ilia were kingdoms, each with a considerable area of influence and independent of Old Oyo. With respect to Ilesa, it will be recalled that the attempt which Old Oyo made in the seventeenth (17th) century, during the reign of **Obalokun**, to reduce, Ilesa to submission resulted in heavy losses for Oyo. Since that time, no further attempt was made by Oyo to control Ilesa. **Not until when Balogun Akere I, led Ibadan army to subdue Ilesa between 1869 and 1871 (I.B. Akinyele, 1991).**

The Origin of Consenting Authority

According to Dr. J.A. Atanda 91979), 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 Fulani 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 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 Iadan 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.

In keeping with the principle that the jurisdiction of a Native Authority must be based on the consent of the people, Ward-price Ross's successor as the Resident of Oyo Province created in January, 1914, had to press that the Power of the Alaafin as the **sole Native Authority over Oyo and Ibadan Divisions** be broken. In **April 1934**, Ibadan Division was officially recognized as an **Independent Native Authority (INA)**. At the same time, **Ife, Ilesa and Ila Independent Native Authorities were created** (Dr. J.A. Atanda 1979).

In effect, instead of a province where the Alaafin was the most powerful paramount chief, there came to be five Independent Native Authorities and five subordinate ones. And even the subordinate ones were not under the Alaafin but subordinates to the Baale of **Ibadan and Council**. **The Alaafin was left with only the Oyo Division**. This structure was also approved and implemented by Governor David Jembewon when he constituted the twelve (12) membership of the council of

Obas and Chiefs in 1977. (See the Supplement to the Nigeria Gazette Extraordinary, NO. 17 of 3 April 1934, pp. I and II).

Quoting Dr. J.A. Atanda (1979), Captain Ross (1913-1931) left Oyo and Nigeria for good on 1st September, 1931. Barely three years after his departure, the **New Oyo Empire**, which he spent a quarter of a century building up, was no more. *The doctrine that jurisdiction of a Native Authority must be based on the consent of the people over whom such authority would be exercised.*

Concerning Alaafin and Other Obas' Salaries

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 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 Ille 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 TWELVE

CHANGES AND REFORM IN TRADITIONAL STRUCTURE OF GOVERNMENT IN YORUBALAND

According to Prof. Akin Ogundiran (2020) the civil wars of the nineteenth century produced a far-reaching and **lasting modification** of the traditional government structure. There were new political experiments developed among the new and reconstituted polities, ranging from **military autocracy** to **military republicanism** and the **federation system**. Ibadan (a former war camp) rejected monarchy and adopted military republicanism as the model of its governance.

In the federation system, it was no longer possible to run the affairs of the enlarged town on the basis of the **pre-1800 A.D** structure featuring the Oba the council of the host town e.g **Oke-Iho**, **Ogbomoso**, and **Abeokuta**. The Egbas established Abeokuta in 1830 and comprised **Egba Ake**, **Oke-Ona**, **Egba Gbagura** and **Owu** that joined them in 1833. The government was based **Federation System**.

As regards other towns, ‘a **federal town council** was evolved to serve as the Central government of the enlarged town. According to Dr. J.A. Atanda (1980), it consisted of the **head chiefs** of the **agglomerating towns** plus one or two of their **senior chiefs** in each case. **The head chief of the host town** was recognized as the **overall leader** of the head chiefs, and he was therefore, chairman or president of the **federal Council**. However, the individual councils of the agglomerating towns still functioned and looked after the affairs of their respective people who now settled in different quarters in the enlarged town.

The idea of a federal council for a town was an innovation in government, but it contained anomalies which were tolerated only in a time of crisis. **The worst of these anomalies was the situation in which the head chief of the host town was an uncrowned head while some of the head chiefs of the guest towns were Obas (crowned heads).**

As the **chairman of the federal council**, the uncrowned head became superior to a crowned head. **This violated the Yoruba tradition in which an Oba was superior to Baale.** Ogbomoso, where the Baale of Ogbomoso (Soun Ajagungbade) had to lord it over the **Onipelu, Aresa and Olugbon**, was a typical example of this.

According to Dr. J.A. Atanda (1980), as the panic that compelled migration and acquiescence in this anomalous situation receded, **a crisis of seniority arose** in some of these enlarged towns with federal councils. It was a crisis that survived into the **twentieth century and mad some uncrowned heads not only to acquire kingly titles but also to become desirous of wearing crowns.** For example, Ibadan changed the title of its head chief from Baale to Olubadan in **1936** and become a beaded crown Oba in **1976**.

Consequently, **the traditional status symbols** of the Oba became highly prestigious and were healthy sought after. Thus, the seed of future political bickering in chieftaincy matters had been sown.

According to Professor Akinwumi Ogundiran (2020), the hierarchies have been revised several times since independence to accommodate the changing political configurations in postcolonial Nigerian politics. **The gazette royal hierarchies** and the intense debates they often generate in both academic and public discourses, therefore, have less to do with the **deep time Yoruba** political history and more to do with present-day politics. Ironically, many **Yoruba Oba** new reference the British colonial-era Chiefs Law, edicts, and advisories as the basis for justifying or contesting their status in the regional hierarchy of **Oba-alade**, an illustration.

12.1 BRITISH INFLUENCE ON IBADAN CITY'S GOVERNANCE SYSTEM

(a) Ibadan Under the British Rule:

Ibadan army returned home from Kiriji war on 22nd March, 1893. The Ibadan war chiefs rejected Balogun Osungbekun and **agreed to reconstitute the Traditional Council before they signed the 1893 Peace Treaty when Governor Carter visited Ibadan on 26th March, 1893.** The **Igbimo Ilu** war reconstituted and principal titles were distributed among the chiefs as follows:

(a) Civil Line (Baale Line):

1. Fijabi	-	Baale
2. Osuntoki	-	Otun Baale
3. Fajinmi	-	Osi Baale
4. Mosaderin	-	Ekerin Baale
5. Bamgbegbin	-	Areago Baale
6. Salako	-	Aare Alasa
7. Lanlatu Giwa	-	Iyalode

(b) MILITARY (BALOGUN LINE)

- Akintola - Balogun
- Babalola - Otun Balogun
- Kongi - Osi Balogun
- Sunmonu Apampa- Asipa Balogun
- Suberu - Ekerin Balogun
- Ogungbesan - Ekarun Balogun
- Akintunde - Ekefa Balogun
- Olaifa - Asaju Balogun
- Obisesan - Agbakin Balogun
- Tanpe - Maye Balogun
- Enimowu Arulogun - Abese Balogun
- Eweje - Sarumi (calvary)

(c) SERIKI TITLE

- Ogundepo - Seriki
- Mosanya - Otun Seriki
- Aina Fagbemi - Osi Seriki
- Dada Ojo - Ekerin Seriki

These men were collectively and officially responsible for the 1886 Agreement, which practically made Ibadan and the whole of Yorubaland a **British**

Protectorate. It was therefore commendable that they did not sign **the Agreement earlier brought by Governor Cater hurriedly**, though at the end of the day, they really had no choice, the British were resolute in their desire to colonize Ibadan, and they (the British) had superior military might.

The signatories or Ibadan Authorities who signed the Agreement on 15th September, 1893 were: Fijabi, the Baale, Osuntoki, the Otun Baale, Fajinmi, the Osi Baale, Akintola, the Balogun (by his representative, Oyeniyi), Babalola, the Otun Balogun, Kongi, the Osi Balogun, Sumonu Apampa, the Asipa and Ogundepo, the Seriki.

A month later, Lagos posted Captain R.L. Bower to Ibadan as the first Resident, apparently to implement the provision of the Agreement, which in effect, transferred Ibadan from an autonomous indigenous metropolis to a British Colony. The British Colonial intervention marked the end of **internecine wars** among the Yorubas.

(b) Ibadan Town Council in 1897:

Under Baale Fajinmi (1897 – 1902), precisely in 1897, Resident F.C. Fuller set up a council of chiefs, charged with the responsibility of effective administration.

Membership of Ibadan Town Council in 1897:

<i>Civil League</i>	<i>Military League</i>
Fajinmi - Baale	Akintola - Balogun
Mosaderin - Otun Baale	Babalola - Otun Balaogun
Ogungbesin - Osi Baale	Kongi - Osi Balogun
Dada Opadare - Ekerin Baale	Apampa - Asipa Balogun
Laafa - Maye Balogun	Suberu - Ekerin Balogun
	Bangbegbin - 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 some times, Olubadan-in-Council.

With the introduction of Indirect rule in Yorubaland in **1897**, the Councils created became the instrument by which the British introduced innovations into the traditional, political, economic and social systems of the area Ibadan council was the first to be created in **1897** by Captain F.C. Fuller.

The **Native Council Ordinance of 1901** provided for **provincial, district, town** and **village councils**. One significant provision of the new ordinance was that residents were no longer to preside over council meetings, the paramount chief of the **province or district** was the President of the Council.



12.2 WHY IBADAN CHANGED 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).

In **1904**, Ibadan had jurisdiction over some eighty six (86) tributary towns, where, Ibadan chiefs were overlords and gazettes 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 Cooney 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 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 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 wanted 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 gazette 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.

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 proved that Alaafin has lost control over Ibadan. 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.

12.3 REGULATING CHIEFTAINCY SUCCESSION IN IBADANLAND.

For purposes of regulating chieftaincy succession in Ibadanland, Ibadan Native Authority made a **Declaration of Native Law and Custom on 29th 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 offices** left out in the 1946 Declaration. Specifically as records other chiefs, the Declaration stated:

“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.

12.4 DECLARATION OF THE CHIEFTAINCY COMMITTEE OF IBADAN District Council in 1959:

Finally, the Chieftaincy Committee of Ibadan District Council (IDC), designated by a 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. Adegbienro on **7th October, 1959** and registered by permanent Secretary, Ministry of Local Government on **28th October, 1959**. *It has remained in force since then, despite the attempt made to subvert it in 1983 because Chief Oloyede Asanike, the rightful successor to the departed Olubadan D.T. Akinbiyi was illiterate; the laid down order was eventually upheld.*

The Declaration is as follows:

**DECLARATION MADE UNDER SECTION4 (3) OF THE CHIEFS LAW,
1957 OF THE CUSTOMARY LAW REGULATING THE SELECTION TO
THE OLUBADAN OF IBADAN CHIEFTAINCY**

Lola Tomori

- (i) Succession to the **stool of the Olubadan** shall be in **strict rotation** between the following major Chieftaincy Lines:
 - **The Olubadan Line**
 - **The Balogun Line**
- (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: Oba I.B. Akinyele, Olubadan of Ibadan

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;**
- (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.

(iv) 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

Lola Tomori

SGD. WILLIAM A. WARREN
Secretary, Chieftaincy Committee
Ibadan District Council

APPROVED this 7th day of Oct 1958

SGD. D.S. ADEGBENRO
Ministry of Local Government

REGISTERED this 28th day of Oct. 1958

SGD. J.A. Afolabi
Permanent Secretary, Ministry of
Local Government

Similar Declarations were made for **Baales of Lagun, Lalupon, Ofa-Igbo, Erunmu and Omi-Adio as well as Onido of Ido, Oniroko, Onikerekwu and Onijaye**, all in Ibadan. For the sake of completeness, these declarations are as follows:

12.5 BRITISH COLONIAL RESPONSE TO DEPOSITION OF OBAS:

According to Aare Afe Babalola, the British colonial response to the **deposition** of a traditional ruler was **Banishment**, either to avert or in response to political complications.

The advent of the British Colonial rule in Nigeria heralded a change in many of the customs and traditions erstwhile considered acceptable amongst the governed. ***The mandatory requirement for a deposed traditional ruler to die was certainly one of the many customary practices that British axed, considering it obnoxious, inequitable and repugnant.*** Under the colonial dispensation, the fate of the **deposed Oba** produced a dilemma around which revolved two contrasting viewpoints. One was the traditional demand for the death of the **deposed Oba** and the other, the colonial discontinuance of the practice. Deriving from the traditional view the adage that a new Oba could not be appointed while the holder is still alive.

Lola Tomori

In recent times, the deposition of a traditional ruler is sanctioned by the government of the day, acting on its own or prompted by the people, usually due to acts of disobedience to constituted authority, disregarding, disparaging or discretion of customs and tradition. A good example is the deposition of the **Deji of Akureland, Oba Oluwadare Adesina** in Ondo state who was deposed because he could not maintain his household, his relationship with his chiefs and his subject. He did not only maltreat his first wife, but also held his community to ransom by flouting traditional rites, grabbing people's land including those of his subjects and repeatedly trampling on the civil rights.



In conclusion, customs and cultures that are neither respected nor revered would be forgotten or metamorphosed into abusive practices. According to Professor Toyin Falola (2012), The only institutions that still give hope for the sustainability of the African and Yoruba culture are the **traditional institutions and rulership** popularly referred to as Obaship. To become a traditional leader in the Yoruba culture, you are seen as the embodiment of cultural understanding and **a stand-instead of the gods** in all ramifications. The sanctity of the stools is close to the sanctity of the gods and must not be adulterated by any contradictory conceptions.

Unfortunately, the traditional leaders are now bent on foreign religions and beliefs that are contradictory to the core of the stools they sit on. We now have obas kneeling down for **pastors** and **Imams** to pray for them and dancing gullibly to the beckons of politicians. Many of them have forgotten the core of the Yoruba tradition, and they are supposed to be the foreman of the tradition itself. They are no longer appointed by **divination** but by money.

12.6 THE CREATION OF TRADITIONAL/EMIRATE COUNCILS

The 1976 Local Government LAW exempted Obas and Emirs from political functions of the council, hence they have separate traditional council and 5% was set aside for their maintenance and that of the palace of the statutory allocation monthly paid by the Federal Government. That is why His Excellency, Governor Oluseyi Makinde directed the eleven Local Governments in Ibadanland to contribute #50 million each to complete the new Olubadan palace at Oke-Aremo and also directed further that they must contribute one million each month for the maintenance of the palace. In this situation, the new Alaafin Owoade designate would have four Local Governments Traditional Institutions. However, first class Obas are also paid by the State Government, particularly in Oyo State who are in part II of the chieftaincy Law.

12.7 REFORM IN THE HIERARCHY OF TRADITIONAL INSTITUTION

According to Dr. Lasisi Olagunju of the Nigerian Tribune on Monday, 10 July 2023, said **the ascendancy of Ibadan from war camp to city and the distinct wellness of its Olubadan Kingship are products of constant change and reforms.** All through its modern history, every major improvement or amendment or adjustments to the Ibadan Chieftaincy law has had streaks of controversies.

- (a) In 2023, the reigning Olubadan, Oba Lekan Balogun, wrote to Governor Seyi Makinde seeking approval to crown his chiefs. The Olubadan got the approval and the crowning of his chiefs himself on Friday 7, 2023. And the sea of Ibadan has been remarkably calm. The Olubadan became the Imperial Majesty (**HIM**), the eleven high chiefs that constituted the Olubadan-in-Council became His Royal Majesty (**HRM**), while the Baales became His Royal Highness (**HRH**).
- (b) Earlier on, as a precedent in Yoruba land, the late Ooni of Ife, Oba Okunade Sijuwade Olubuso II, **crowned his senior chiefs and Baales** in February 2002 in Osun State, Governor Olagunsoye Oyinlola approved the crowning of those chiefs and Baales from one of the ancient kingdoms to the other. The Ooni today, in his majesty and glory wears his crown; his top chiefs wear their own crown with the understanding **that Cat will remain cat and Tiger will remain Tiger. It was an unusual arrangement but the decision was a compromise for peace;** a key component of the package that resolved the **100-year Old Ife-Modakeke problem.** If senior chief got **beaded crowns**, ogunsua of Modakeke got his too, all on the same day and directly from the hands of the Ooni of Ife. Since then, there has been peace now and forever more.

NOTE: WE ALL NEED THE CHANGES AND REFORMS IN THE HIERARCHY OF YORUBA TRADITIONAL SYSTEM TO PRESERVE THE UNITY OF YORUBA NATION AND WORK FOR ITS PROGRESS.