

Lola Tomori

**FOUNDATION AND GROWTH OF IBADAN TRADITIONAL
SOCIETY TO A DOMINANT STATE IN
YORUBALAND FROM SIXTEENTH CENTURY
TO 21ST CENTURY**



**Celebrating HIM, OBA RASHEED
ADEWOLU LADOJA, ARUSA I,
The Olubadan of Ibadanland**

By:
ESV. TOMORI MOSHOOD ADIJOLOLA
anivs, rsv, mnim, arva
Grand Ambassador of Ibadan Culture

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(ESV) Tomori Moshood A. anivs, rsv, mnim, arva
Grand Ambassador of Ibadan Culture
Central Council of Ibadan Indigenes Merit Awardee
GEOSON Leadership Impact Awardee
Email: lolatomori1@gmail.com
Website: www.macosconsultancy.com

1.0 INTRODUCTION

In African society, *each tribal unit, large, medium or small, in its pristine form, is ruled by a chief or paramount Oba, elected or hereditary, and each component group headed by a sub-chief owing allegiance to the Oba.* Notwithstanding his “paramount” the Oba is himself a man under authority. At all times, he must act in conformity with the custom of his people, living and dead. For failure to do so, he can be censured, fined and in cases of serious deviation, deposed.

The Oba is a much more than a symbol and a receptacle of powers. He is also its embodiment. One of his most important functions, in conjunction with his councilors and deputies is to administer the law, to see that injuries to person and property are compensated for; that the tribe is kept free from the taint of those who do not hallow that custom, if need be, by the passing of new decrees.

Moreover, *the great cultural value of chieftainship is that it is a powerful instrument for forging political unit, an apt tool for the shaping of public opinion, a ready-made channel for directing community enterprise, and unfailing reservoir for the nurture of religious sentiment. And in most parts of Africa, it has provided the bridgehead from which men of alien ways are striven to establish a wider social and political order.*

The situation is not different in Yorubaland. According to Professor I.A. Akinjogbin (2000). Yoruba history could be divided into four periods:

- (a) The **first period** was the “**Era of Oduduwa and Ife Hegemony** which lasted from about the 9th century A.D till about the end of the 15th century A.D”
- (b) The **second period** was the “**Era of Oyo Hegemony** which lasted from the 16th century to the end of the 18th century. This was the period usually referred to as the “**Era of Oyo Empire**”
- (c) The **third period** was the 19th century and the “**Era of Ibadan Hegemony** when Ibadan became the dominant power in Yorubaland.
- (d) The **fourth period** was the **colonial period and thereafter** the dominant political authority in each of these periods of hegemony affected all Yorubaland in permanent ways which have become our total history.

2.0 THE ERA OF ODUDUWA AND THE RISE OF IFE EMPIRE:

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

....the greater part of the forest belt of West Africa over a distance of a thousand miles from central Liberia to beyond the lower Niger in Nigeria is occupied by people speaking a series of related languages to which the general name **Kwa**, the common root for “**people**”, has been given. Although the actual forms of speech differ greatly over this area and distinct tongues, unintelligible to outsiders may be confined in places to a few thousand people, there are underlying similarities in vocabulary and structure that indicate their derivation from a common ancient speech and point to an early cultural continuum over much of the forest belt, it suggests the proliferation through it of communities derived from a single stock at an early but unknown date.

The above finding of Daryll Fordo confirms the claim of Samuel Johnson that the Yoruba country was not altogether un peopled when Oduduwa and his party entered it from the East; the probability is, that the aboriginal inhabitants were conquered and absorbed, at least at the central if not at the remote provinces of the Yoruba Kingdom.

Ile-Ife in Yoruba history is referred to as the **Cradle of Yoruba Civilization** was made up of semi-autonomous lineage-settlements, thirteen of which was identified within Ife region and some at Oba-Ife near Akure and other parts of Yoruba nation. **The leadership of the autonomous settlements was in rotation among the most elderly people.**

With the advent of Oduduwa, (AD 1000 - 1420), the new political organization and structure of Yoruba evolved which resembled that of Kanem in every detail. In the words of Basil Davidson. "The rulers of Kanem were not dictators. They were not all powerful. They had to listen to the advice and opinion of their lesser kings, chiefs and councilors".

With Kanem itself, they generally drew their power from a great council of elders of Safuwa family. The council consisted of about a dozen principal chiefs who reigned over different parts of the Kanem Empire. These big men had titles which were used for many centuries.

Yoruba Obas (Kings) adopted similar political organization and structures before the crisis of 1800A.D. the key political unit on which government in Yorubaland was based in all the kingdoms was the town (Ilu). Each kingdom consisted of many towns. While the government of the capital served as the central government of the Kingdoms such as **Ile-Ife, Oyo-Ile, Ilesha, Ila-Orangun and Benin.**

Just like the practice in Kanem Kingdom. Yoruba Obas did not rule the town or kingdom alone. He did so together with a Council known as “IGBIMO”. In some places, the Igbimo had specific name. They were called **Oyo-Mesi** in Oyo, the **Osugbo** in Ijebu-Ode the **Ogboni** in Egba towns, the **Iwarefa** in Ile-Ife Ijesha, Ekiti and Ondo towns and in Ibadan, the **Olubadan Advisory Council** of Senior Chiefs from Civil and Military Lines.

The Igbimo of each town usually consisted of the most senior chiefs who were themselves are usually representatives of certain lineage, that is, descent groups in the town bound together by strong family of kingship ties.

Oduduwa was on the throne of Ile-Ife between **1086 and 1150A.D.** The expulsion of Oduduwa and his followers emanated from the advent of Islam from the Middle East in **1086**.

Yoruba cities evolved in a stable political environment created by the Oduduwa group. The new comers established in the Golden Age (1086-1793) one of the most ingenious political systems ever found in pre- industrial societies. The classic Yoruba governmental system was not only hierarchical but also representatively democratic by any pre-industrial society standard.

Information has it that sacred kingship was traditional to the **Yoruba aborigines**. Apparently, the institution was more elaborately or highly developed among the newcomers who ruled Yorubaland during the Golden Age. The higher status of their institutions coupled with the elevated sociopolitical plane on which the Oduduwa group were placed by the aborigines as a result of the former’s **superior cultures**, higher intelligence and greater military prowess almost certainly aided the rise of Yoruba cities on account of the charismatic personality of the new langs, their great palaces became poles of attraction for the inhabitants of the neighboring aboriginal villages and hamlets.

The most probable theory or the origin of Ile-Ife is advanced by Omotoso Eluyemi, a **historian** and **archeologist**, who asserts that Ile –Ife is the aggregate of the **thirteen (13)** neighboring Neolithic (3,000 BC. 1006A.D) settlements (clans) set out in the Table below:

Table 1: - List of Pre-Oduduwa Traditional Aborigines Rulers:

S/NO	Name of Community	Head of Community
1.	Iddo	Onipetu
2.	Iloromu	Obaluru
3.	Idita	Obalesun/Obalale
4.	Iloran	Obaloran
5.	Odin	Lakore
6.	Oke-Oja	Obajio
7.	Imojubi	Apata
8.	Iraye	Obalaye
9.	Ijugbe	Obalegugbe
10.	Oke-Awo	Owa Fagun
11.	Iwinrin	Obawinrin
12.	Parakin	Obalufe
13.	Omologun	Obadio

Sources: (a) Omotoso Eluyemi, "This is Ile – Ife", 1986, P. 17.

(b) Omotoso Eleyemi, Oba Adesoji Aderemi; 50 years in the History of Ile – Ife, 1980, PP 21 – 22

2.1 Descendants of Oluoje/Onipetu In Ibadan:

In the Nigerian Tribune of Tuesday, 14 September, 2021, the Descendants of Olu-Oje claimed that the origin of Onpetu kingdom dates back to time immemorial, even before the arrival of Oduduwa. **Olu-Oje dynasty** is a traditional stool that dates back a long way in history.

Corroborating he claim, Oba Oyediran, the Onpetu of Ijeru in Ogbomoso, stated that: “we had Onpetu of Ife before it was changed to **Olujudo** of Ife and Onpetu of Ijebuland. We migrated from **Ile-Onpetu** in Ife to establish **Oje-kingdom** near Ogbomoso area and uptil now the **Onpetu is head of Ido Community in Ife** which has also produced Oonis. The **Olu-Oje** comprises of **Onpetu, Olujudo in Ile-Ife, Olu-Oje of Abeokuta** and **Gbogan** in Osun State.

He explained that **Oje Market in Ibadan** is synonymous with Onpetu and also as old as Ibadan itself.

However, after the occupation of Ibadan by the allied armies of Ife, Ijebu, Oyo and friendly Egbas in 1825 A.D. as a result of **Owu war**, **Delesolu**, the head of **Oje community in Ibadan** became Aare Agoro (Aareago) during the reign of Basorun Oluyole (1833-1849).

Onpetu of Ijeruland as the head of the Olu-Oje kingdom settled on a vast portion of land between Igbon, Aresa etc. **Olojudo** is the title of **Oba of Ido Osun** in Osun State

2.2 Foundation of The First Ibadan in the 16th Century

Ibadan was founded in the **sixteen (16th) century**, probably during the crisis in the Old Oyo, according to Prince Adelegan Adegbola in the book; **IFE: The Source of Yoruba Civilization, 2009**, while Chief Isaac B. Akinyele in **Iwe Itan Ibadan (1911)** said the time of founding Ibadan by Lagelu from Ile-Ife was before the institution of the office of Aare Ona-Kakanfo which was established in **1640A.D** by **Alaafin Ajagbo** (and not **Alaafin Sango** who reigned in the 13th century).

On his way from Ile-Ife, the advance party first stayed for some days near Erunmu before lagelu and his men finally chose **Ipara Forest** not far from the present Akufo. It was surrounded by **Olorisa-Oko** near Ijaiye-Orile, **Ojoo**, **Owe** all were **Gbagura towns** including **Iddo**. The headquarters of Gbagura Kingdom headed by **Akila** at the time of destruction of the first Ibadan while **Arinakotu** was the king of **Ojoo**, and Owu town (Johnson 1921; Chief M.K.O Adebayo 2015)

Dr. Jide Fatokun in the book “**Harbart Marcaulay: a Unique Indigene of Ibadan**” published in 2018 wrote as follow” ‘The first two attempts of establishing **Ibadan I (1590/1600)** and second Ibadan, **Ibadan II** between **(1700-1806)**, were both established by Lagelu, Oro-Apata-Maja and so referred to as **Ibadan Lagelu or Lagelu’s Ibadan**. **Ibadan Maye**, emerged as a result of **Owu war II** which devastated the second Ibadan between **(1820 and 1824)** by the allied army of Ife, Ijebu, Oyo and friendly Egbas.

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

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

The land on which Lagelu (a.k.a Oroo-Apata-Maja) settled, according to Prince Adelegan Adegbola (2009), was free not owned by anyone of the principal and criminals used to settle there. The forestland between Remo, Ijebu and Egba on the one hand and Oyo on the other hand which is situated in the savannah belt.

Chief I.B. Akinyele (1911) described the first Ibadan as a nodal town with 16 gates about 2 hours trek from Awotan market and a population of about 100,000 people having access to the neighbouring towns of Oyo, Egba, Ijebu and Ife. ***Thus, Ibadan was demographically important to the old Oyo Empire and must have contributed to the transformation of the society in the 16th century when Oyo-Ile was sacked during or after the reign of Alaafin Onigbogi (1530-1542), according to Dr. J.A. Atanda (1980) and later a Professor of History at the University of Ibadan.*** With the desertion of Old Oyo-Ile, Onigbogi fled to Gbere in Ibariba Kingdom, his mother’s home while the inhabitants fled southward to Ibolo, Popo and Egba forest, Egbado, and Ibarapa areas.

3.0 THE KINGDOMS AND CITY-STATES THAT OCCUPIED YORUBALAND BETWEEN 1570 – 1700

The source of Nupe Brigade declined after 1550-70, but the crisis that the brigands had taken advantage of was still there. According to Professor Akinwumi Ogundiran (2020), the fast political vacuum created by the collapse of Ife Empire in the early fifteenth century was yet to be filled, especially in the central and northern areas of Yorubaland. Therefore, the immediate task confronting the forces who downgraded and eventually expelled the Nupe brigands were to fill the vacuum.

Although warrior-kings were the major actors during 1570AD and 1960, others with less dramatic powers also mobilized their agentive resources from below and made indelible marks on the Yoruba political topography. Traders, hunters and professional warriors including frontier migrants were among these latter agents of change.

It was a period of renewal and regeneration marked by rebuilding of old kingdoms and foundation of new ones; political landscape was transferred by warrior-kings and militaristic states such as Ilesa, Oyo, Benin and Ibadan.

Prince Adegbola Adelegann in IFE: The Source of Yoruba Civilization wrote that Ibadan was founded in the 16th Century at the interface between the Forest and Savannah by Lagelu from Ile-Ife.

During this time, Alaafin Onigbogi (~ 1530-1542) received the worst pressure and attack from Nupe. He therefore fled to Gbere in his mother's homeland for refuge. Between **1530 and 1542**, the children of Onigbogi migrated to **Igboho**, (e.g. Ofinraan, Egungunoju, Orompoto, Ajiboyede between 1542 and 1600 including Sopasan and Abipa a.k.a. Oba Moro **all reigned in the uneasy metropolis of Igboho**, according to Otun of Oyo, Chief M.O. Ogunmola, (1999, 2000, 2010).

According to S. Ojo, the Bada of Saki at page 47 of *Iwe Itan Oyo*, the desertion of Old Oyo Capital led to many emigrations to Egba, Egbado, Ibolo, Oke-Ogun and Ibarapa areas I.B. Akinyele (1911) in “*Iwe Itan Ibadan*” described Ibadan during the crisis as having a population of about 100,000 people with sixteen (16) gates and located at “**Igbo-Ipara**”. This means, Ibadan must have been founded before the Oyos relocated to Igboho from exile.

Alaafin Obalokun (1590-1600) was the fourth and last king to reign at Igboho before returning to the Old Oyo Capital in 1600A.D according to S. Ojo in *Iwe Itan Oyo* (n.d). He was succeeded by Alafin Ajagbo (1600-1658). Alaafin Ajagbo who introduced the institution of Aare Ona-Kakanfo in **1640A.D.**

While Oyo was returning from exile at Gbere in Ibariba country after the reign of Alaafin Onigbogi (1530-1542) and before they settled at Igboho, **Lagelu, the JAGUN OSIN and Agura of Gbagura Kingdom** from Ile-Ife and their people fought on the side of **Olofin Ogunfunminire’s** for the children for the control of the hegemony of Lagos Island against the Benin army during the reign of **King of Benin**, called **Egbua Orhoghua** according to Chief M.K.O. Adebayo (2015). **Oba Orhoghua** reigned between (1505-1578) as recorded by Oluremi I. Obateru, 2006. Thereafter, Lagelu Migrated from Ile-Ife to establish the first Ibadan between **(1580-1590)**.

According to Dr. J.A. Atanda (1980), Lagos was founded by a small group of **Awori-Yoruba** who first settled at **Iseri** under the leadership of one **Ogunfunminire** (1425-1505) whose origin is traced to the royal house known as (Sooko) Ile-Ife. From **Iseri** these migrants spread to **Ebute metta**, then to **Iddo** and finally to the **Island of Lagos** in the middle of the 15th century. Here they were subjected to the authority of one **Olofin**, whose origin, like that of **Ogunfunminire**, is traced to the royal house of Ife. **Eko was changed to Lagos in 1472A.D.** during the reign of King of Benin

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between c. **1418** and **1504**, Oba Orhoghua, the conqueror when a Portuguese expedition led by Ruy de Sequeira landed there.

It was this new settlement (Lagos) founded by AROMIRE, one of the children of Ogunfunminire that eventually became the nucleus of the settlement of **ISALE-EKO** area of Lagos and also the official palace of the Oba of Lagos known and called “**Igan Odunganran**”. AROMIRE who owned Lagos heart-land was soon joined by some of his brothers and they became collectively known as “**IDEJO CHIEFS**” having the distinction of wearing “**White Caps**”.

Dr. J.A. Atanda (1980) at page 17 of “An Introduction to Yoruba History” wrote that the **Olofin dynasty** was later superseded by **Asipa, an Iseri Chief** whose origin like those of Ogunfunminire and Olofin, is traced to the royal family at Ile-Ife. The **Asipa dynasty** came under Benin Influence, and Benin imperialism over Lagos, while Lagos tradition claims that it was through peaceful contact. In either case, Benin influence is not denied and is evident in the royal house of Lagos. **Ado** succeeded **Asipa** as the next Oba of Lagos.

However, the relationship between Ibadan and **descendants Iseri Olofin** was **re-established** when the **second Ibadan** was founded at **Oriyangi** now called **Oja-Iba** by the descendants of Lagelu late in the 18th century after the destruction of the first Ibadan (I.B. Akinyele 1911 and Dr. Jide Fatokun, 2011).

3.1 Destruction of the First Ibadan in the 18th Century

In spite of its growth, Oyo Kingdom throughout its history had challenges to face from its northern neighbours, the Nupe (or Tapa) and Borgu (or Ibariba) from the days of Alaafin Sango. However, during the reign of Alaafin Onigbogi (1530-1542), the Nupe made a successful incursion into the Oyo Kingdom and the Alaafin was forced to take refuge at Gbere with the Ibariba ruler (Dr. J.A. Atanda 1971).

When the Oyos were leaving the exile, **Ofinran, the son and successor of Onigbogi** at Kusu accepted **Egungun mysteries** that were hitherto unknown to the Yoruba's through imposition by the Nupes (Rev. Samuel Johnson, 1921, page 176, 1976 edition). **Egungun ancestral masquerades** which are the most tangible manifestation of ancestor worship. According to oral evidence and tradition, **Egungun was introduced to Ibadan through the "backyard" of Oyo (Adedeji 1969; 171, Babalola, 1960; 156-7)**. It is worth remembering that the site on which Ibadan is situated was an **Egba Gbagura Land** according to Prof. Saburi Biobaku but I.B. Akinyele (1911) described the location as **Igbo Ipara** or land between the forest and the Savannah, a neutral location confirmed by prince Adegbola, the author of **"ILE-IFE: The Sources of Yoruba Civilization" 2009)**.

The first Ibadan was destroyed by the Oyo army during the **Golden Age of Oyo Empire (1698-1750)** when the secret of the mysteries of Egungun ancestral masquerade was exposed at an open market in Ibadan. Those who survived the war took refuge at Eleyele Hills with Lagelu and his children.

In the book; **"Owu in Yoruba History"** at page 17, Professors Akin Mabogunje and J. Omer-Cooper (1971) said, Alaafins position as representative of Sango was exploited to the full as a means of supporting his authority. The **Sango cult** was spread to every town under Oyo influence and organized in a hierarchy centred in the palace at Oyo. The Alaafin's Ajeles were often themselves Sango Priests.

The Ilaris, at times, were employed to carry the Alaafin's message and some of them were appointed as **Ajele** to watch the Alaafin's interest in vassal towns.

After the reign of Alaafin Onisile (1742-1750), Gaha, an oppressive autocrat, became Basorun of Oyo, the head of Oyomesi. The period (1754-1774) witnessed the constitutional upheaval in which Basorun Gaha raised **five** Alaafins to the throne; but with cunning and subversion, killed **four** of them. He met his waterloo under Alaafin Abiodun Adegolu (1775-1789) but the repercussion had dented the structure and harmony of the Empire.

The atrocities and lifestyle of the functionaries of government as well as external factors of aggression and subversion prompted **Lisabi** led Egba revolution. The Egbas under Lisabi of Itoku (Agbein) revolted and killed the Ilaris of the Alaafin; **Amosu** of Ikija, in Oke-Ona, **Arinokotu** of Ojoo and **Akila** of Ido joined Lisabi in the revolt.

Also between 1775 and 1789 when Alaafin Abiodun reigned, Adesina was installed as Crown Prince. **Ijaiye, an Egba town**, was over-run at the behest of Alaafin Abiodun, a revenge encounter that tarnished the king's reputation. (Chief M.O. Ogunmola, 2010 page 12).

According to Rev. Samuel Johnson (1921 page 187) in "The History of the Yorubas"; *"with the death of Alaafin Abiodun Adegolu in 1789 ended the universal and despotic rule of ALAAFINS of Oyo in the Yoruba country. He was the last of the kings that held the different parts of the kingdom together in one universal sway and with him ended the tranquility and prosperity of the Yoruba country. In other word with Alaafin Abiodun ended the unity of the Yoruba kingdom"*.

I.B. Akinyele (1911) in his book wrote that it took three years to subdue Lagelu army by the Oyo army including their allies from other Yoruba kingdoms because the secrete of Egungun was exposed in Ibadan. This was during the reign of Basorun Gaha. It took about twelve years to stay on the hill top after their escape

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from the first settlement. They suffered on the hill and later came down to settle at a low valley near **Owaala Stream** where other neighbours joined Lagelu children and relatives.

3.2 Lagelu Sacred Grove on Okebadan Forest at Awotan

The site of the tomb of Lagelu on Awotan Hills with the adjoining surrounding remains a sacred ground. Two hundred meters square from the tomb, all shoes must be removed. It is assumed that anyone with shoes on is trampling on the remains of Lagelu.

The present site is embarrassing; a hut with palm thatched roof, shelters the remains of the great man. No one would have imagined that there lies the famous Lagelu, Oro Apata Maja, the founder of the largest city in Africa South of the Sahara. It is embarrassing that the situation has remained as it is for years after the exit of the great warrior and further of Ibadan.

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

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

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

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

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

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

4.0 THE SIGNIFICANCE OF OKEBADAN (IBADAN HILL)

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 shot 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.

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.

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.

4.1 Lagelu and His Children at Awotan Hills:

During the period on Eleyele Hill, the Egbas also attacked Ibadan seeking refuge on the hills but according to Aboke family, the Egbas were defeated. In 2003, during Ibadan Week Festival, High Chief Jenriyin – the Osi Balogun of Ibadanland who led the Central Council of Ibadan Indigenes (CCII) team showed the spot where Lagelu was buried on the hill, the three distant poles marking where the Masquerades brought to the hill were swallowed alive and **the ruins of Adeosun building** where Aboke (Chief Priest of Oke’badan) used to emerge before performing the annual sacrifice. Adeosun was the son of Oluole the first son of Lagelu (Chief M.K.O Adebayo, 215). The Lagelu descendants thereafter, moved to a flat terrain at **Oriyangi** to settle down late in the 18th century where they established a central market and descendant of Lagelu also bearing the title of Olubadan headed the new settlement.

After the destruction of the first Ibadan settlement at the interface of the savannah and the forest belt, the survivors of the war that escaped to Awotan/Eleyele hills were Lagelu, the children and some other relatives including some other neighbours. They spent 15 years on the hills (1769-1784)

These children included the first born were;

- (i) **Olukiran Oluole:** Who became the first Olubadan when he succeeded his father, Lagelu. He worked together with Akaasi, Lagelu's nephew and son of Elejigbo through Lagelu's sister.
- (ii) **Adesola** who succeeded Olubadan Olukiran Oluole
- (iii) **Olalupo Akintola Agbogunmogbin:** He succeeded Olubadan Adesola when he died, that is the second Olubadan of Ibadan.
- (iv) **Ifepade:** An old daughter of Lagelu through his wife called Omoje-Iyi-Ola. She was with Lagelu and others on the Awotan hills.
- (v) **Fadeya or Yade:** She was the one who tore the crown found in the loots brought to her father, Lagelu, after the raids of the neighbouring towns. But the current Aboke; Ifasola Ifasowapo denied the claim that she tore the crown; she only removed the beads that decorated the crown.
- (vi) **Ogundowo:** He was one of the Lagelu children from Omoje-Iyiola, the same mother of Ifepade.
- (vii) **Lagunna:** He was from the same mother with Ogundowo. He was a brave and courageous man who took part in the first Owu war between the Ifes and Ijebus between 1814-1820.
- (viii) **Atage Oota:** She was the daughter of Lagelu through the wife giving to Lagelu by **king Agura of Gbagura** living in Ido, a neighbouring town and capital of Gbagura kingdom. She acted as Iyalode when they were on the hills at Awotan. During the short reign of Oluole Olukiran,

the first Olubadan and she was the first Aboke which earned her nickname “**Atage Olomu Oru**”. She was also instrumental to the marriage between NKAN-LOLA, the daughter of **Olubadan Oluole**, and the Olowu Akinjobi who sacrificed her to the goddess of Oba river when he relocated to Ibadan after the first Owu war and destruction of Owu Ipole.

- (ix) **Efunyele**: She was also the daughter of Lagelu through the woman given to Lagelu by **Oba Akarigbo** of Ijebu Remo. She was the second Aboke after the death of Atage Oota referred to as Abore.

There was **intermarriage** between an **Aboke’s son** and an **Akike’s princess** resulting in the birth of a son named **Sotuyole**. It was through this relationship that the Aboke family got closely associated with the Egbas which encouraged Okewale to go to Abeokuta after the Gbanamu war of 1833. The Aboke family could be found in Osiele in Abeokuta. ***Sotuyole was the last Lagelu’s descendants to become the Olubadan of the second Ibadan at Oriyangi when land was allocated to Owu under olowu Akinjobi in 1820 after the destruction of Owu Ipole and also invited the allied army of Ife; Oyo, Ijebu and friendly Egbas led by Maye Okunade, Labosinde and Lakanle from their base at Iperu to destroy Owu Ogbere in 1824.*** The war ended in 1825 and the army took over Ibadan (see Owu in History by Professors A.L. Mabogunje and J. Omer-Cooper (1971) and Iwe Itan Ibadan by I.B. Akinyele (1911) and Samuel Johnson (1921).

Other relations that accompanied Lagelu from Ile-Ife were Lalowo, the son of Gboleru, a brother to Olubadan Oluole Olukiran and Ikolaba, the junior brother of Olubadan Oluole Olukiran and Ikolaba, the junior brother of Akaasi, Lagelu’s nephew.

It is also important to note that Olubadan Oluole was succeeded by his son called Adesola. They left Awotan to establish Ibadan at Oriyangi, His palace at the new settlement was opposite the market where Labosinde has his compound and was buried there according to Aboke, the chief priest of Oke'badan. The remains of Adesola's building was also sited on Oke'badan Hill very close to Lagelu's grove as at 2003 when the CCII team lead by Chief Bode Amoo, the National President were led to the plateau of Awotan Hills by Aboke and High Chief Jenriyin.

5.0 THE FOUNDATION THE SECOND IBADAN IN THE 18TH CENTURY

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 Mosque 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).

The Structure of Second Ibadan Settlement

- | | | |
|----------------------|---|---|
| 1. Itun Elemo | - | Aboke's Quarters |
| 2. Oke Igbede | - | Oba (the King's Quarters) |
| 3. Itun Lisa | - | Crown Prince of Olowu Akinjobi's Quarters |
| 4. Itun Akaasi | - | The descendants of Akaasi (Lagelu's Nephew Quarters) |
| 5. Ilaroo | - | The descendants of the Prince of Iseri. The first man That built Iseri and settled there in or about the year 1699 was Ogunfunminire from Ile-Ife |
| 6. Oke at 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, Ireemo,

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.

5.1 The Roles of Lagelu’s Descendants in Building the Second Ibadan

The new structure of the second Ibadan was put in place during the reign of Olubadan Adesola around the existing market which they established while Lagelu was alive and lived on the plateau of Awotan/Eleyele hills. **He was succeeded by Rodoso, another grandson of Lagelu, although his reign was short.** It was during his reign that the Prince of Isheri came to Ibadan after he lost the contest for the Obaship of Isheri. Olubadan Rodoso conferred on him the Chieftaincy title of Aro. He was allocated a quarter in the new settlement.

According to the documented history by Chief M.K.O. Adebayo (2015), **Olubadan Akinlolu succeeded Rodoso after his demise.** Olubadan Akinlolu Agbogunmogbin with the collective decision of other Lagelu descendants decided to offer sacrifice for Ibadan to grow and be more prosperous. ***It was during Olubadan Akinlolu’s reign that a man with hunch back and an Ifa Worshipper (Babalawo) was offered for sacrifice after prescribing the ingredient for the sacrifice. This was the third time Osemeji definition approved for Ibadan.***

Lagelu, an Ife General, was acclaimed to have been the founder of the first and second Ibadan and was said to have come with a beaded crown acquired from the Ooni of Ife, Luwo Gbagida, the only female Ooni of Ife and his Grandmother.

89He did not wear it, but his children adopted the title of Olubadan like other Yoruba Obas such as, Olowu of Owu, Oluwo of Iwo, Olugbon of Igbon. Olu of Warri, Alaketu of Ketu, Onisabe of Sabe, Onipopo of Popo and Olowo of Owo, Agura of Gbagura, Aresa of Ireasa Adu, Aseyin of Iseyin.

During the reign of Olubadan Adesola in the second settlement at Oriyangi (now Oja-Iba), the town was divided into six quarters namely. **Elemo** controlled by Aboke, **Igbede** Hill by Olubadan, **Lisa** by Olowu's eldest son. **Akasi** by Lagelu's nephew and **Iaro** by the Prince of Isheri who came from Iaro and community Land.

It was the last Olubadan **Sotuyole** who allocated a portion of Ibadanland to Olowu Akinjobi after escaping from Owu – Orile which was destroyed by the Allied Army of Ijebu Ife and Oyo. Olowu in one of his war expeditions sacrificed the only daughter of Olubadan named “Nkan-Omo-Olubadan” to Odo-Oba. This led to another Owu war and the eventual occupation of Ibadan by the Allied Army led by another Ife-General, named Maye Okunade who was installed the first Bale of the third Ibadan by the Council of Military Leaders of the allied army comprising the Ifes, Ijebus, Oyos and the Egbas.

By this singular act, the system of government by the Lagelu Dynasty was completely abolished and a Military command structure was introduced. However, the title of Olubadan was elucidated in 1936 as a result of gradual evolution during the reign of Olubadan Abasi Alesinloye, a descendant of the first Balogun of Ibadan by name, Balogun Bankole Alesinloye (1835).

5.2 The Position of ABOKE:

The tradition is that when a stronger sub-tribe or group conquered a weaker one, the weaker group is reduced to spiritual head or absorbed into the chieftaincy structure of the town put in place by the conqueror.

With the elimination of the Egbas in 1830 and the Ifes in 1833 during the GBANAMU WAR, the Oyos took over the government of Ibadan with the representative of **Lagelu family becoming the Aboke or Spiritual Leader that worship “Oke-Ibadan” or the Hill of Refuge at Awotan**, the first settlement of Lagule before he established the second Ibadan at Oriyangi now Oja-Iba in the centre of Ibadan.

The position of Aboke is similar to that of Chief Isekhure of Benin who represent Ogiso dynasty that had been relegated to spiritual head with the introduction of divine kingship by Oranmiyan, the son Odudiwa, to Benin. Thus the Ogiso Lineage cannot contest for the position of Oba of Benin neither the Aboke could contest for the stool of Olubadan of Ibadanland



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The praise poem of Lagelu and his descendants at the second settlement called ORIYANGI was;

*Ibadan, Omo ajorosun
Omo a je gbin yo;
Omo a fikarahun fori mu;
Ibadan maja bi ojo kini;
Ti o ja aladugbo gbogbo logun*

Translation

*Ibadan, the one whose supper is oro fruit;
The descendants of the who fed on snails;
The descendants of the one who use snail
Shell as bowl to serve his maize porridge;
Ibadan, don't fight, as you did before;
As you fight all neighbours at war.*

P.C. Lloyd, Nigerian Historian University College, Ibadan, once wrote as follows;

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

5.3 Importance of Okebadan Festival:

In line with what professor P.C. Lylord said; **Okebadan** (IBADAN HILL) became an annual communal festival held for fertility rites and prosperity. The **Okebadan**, was dedicated both to the spirit of the hill, as a thanks giving for the refuge that is provided in periods of danger, and also to Lagelu, the mythical founder of the town. The **Okebadan festival** provided an opportunity not only for merriment but also for criticisms, as songs were composed to condemn or praise rulers and their policies. The chief priest of Okebadan is called ABOKE

Atage olomu oru (huge mother with immense breast) was daughter of Lagelu who first worshiped the spirit of the hill before the second Ibadan was founded at ‘Oriyangi’.

Okebadan is not peculiar to Ibadan people, as there are other hills and mountains of sacred significance or deities of similar nature worshipped in several other Yoruba communities. Example of such deities are the **Asabari** in Saki, **Iyamapo** in **Igbeti** and **Olumo** in Abeokuta. These are often associated with hill settlements. The belief in the goddess periodically and sanctity of Okebadan. Consequently, sacrifices are made to the goddess periodically annually around March.

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.

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.

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.

On the Hills were found Oro trees, snails, and corn, they were found eating oro, and snails and used the shell to drink hot pap, all these earned them the praise poem:

Ibadan Omo A-jorosun

Omo Ajegbin yo

Omo a fikarahun fo ri mu

It took about twelve years to stay on the hill after their escape from the first settlement which I.B. Akinyele in "Iwe Itan Ibadan" said it is about two (2) hours walk from Awotan market. They later came down to settle at a low valley near **Owala Stream** where other neighbours joined Lagelu and children.

6.0 CULTURAL SETTLEMENT OF SECOND IBADAN AND THE IMPACT OF OWU WAR

According to Bolaji Idowu, it was reported that an Ifa **divination** was performed when some traditional religious leaders arrived to sanctify Ibadan with sacrifices on the Eleyele hills (not Oluyole hills). The resulting **odu** was **Ose Meji**". The 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.*

These were when:

- The populace sought divine blessings on the new 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 as slow but steady and persistent growth, as in the movement of snails.

It means, this is 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 pre-occupations identified with the founders of the city in the 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 inhabitants. It shows that all care was taken as to its establishment and contrary to the manner of settlement, nothing was given up to chance. **Any Yoruba**

settlement thus inaugurated by solid tradition, according to Professor Dele Layiwola (2015), is often assured of its safety and stability.

6.1 The Occupation of Ibadan By the Ife Allied Army In 1820 A.D

The occupation of Ibadan by the allied army and existing compounds, according to Rev. Samuel Johnson (1921) and Professor Toyin Falola (2012) was a confirmation that **the second Ibadan was not destroyed, it was only abandoned by the Lagelu descendants. This also happened to Ijaye by Dodo and Kurumi. In “Owu in Yoruba History” at page 65, the authors wrote:**

“This is a development which can be seen in the history of several other such movements of wondering marauders in Africa. The sixteenth century Jaga and Sumba in central Africa or the Ngoni in nineteenth century East central Africa are examples in which long period of wandering and devastation was eventually followed by definitive settlement and the attempt to create a stable policy.

The first war outside the Oyo homeland, then, was the **Owu War, c. 1812–22.3** The Owu War was, indirectly and directly, caused by the troubles of the Oyo country. The remotest root of it was planted when the Alaafin Awole ordered the Oyo army in c. 1793 to attack and sack the Ife market town of Apomu. As would be remembered, the Baale of Apomu, finding that the Ooni of Ife was not able to save Apomu, **took his own life in order to save his town.** Hatred for Oyo authorities, resulting from this, never died at Apomu and other Ife villages near Apomu. Years later, as the power of the Alaafin’s government disintegrated, Oyo traders trading at Apomu or passing through to the Ijebu country came under occasional attacks by the people of Apomu and the other Ife villages. *By then, the Alaafin was no longer able to help his subjects. However, two of the leading chieftains of the Oyo country, Adegun (the Onikoyi of Ikoyi) and Teyeje (the Baale of Ogbomoso) sent messages to the Olowu of Owu (Akinjobi) urging him to help stop the attacks on Oyo traders. Thereupon, an Owu army went into action and suppressed Apomu and some other*

Ife villages. This led to a brief war between Ife and Owu (c. 1812) in which the Ife army was defeated. Ife then embarked on bigger preparations for war and asked the Awujale of Ijebu-Ode for help. The rulers of Ijebu-Ode under the Awujale had long resented what they regarded as Owu's over ambition over the trade routes that connected the Ijebu country with most of the Yoruba interior. Now, they bristled at Owu's sacrilegious disrespect of Ife. An Ife-Ijebu alliance was formed, and it declared war on Owu in 1817. But Rev. samule said it was between 1814 and 1820.

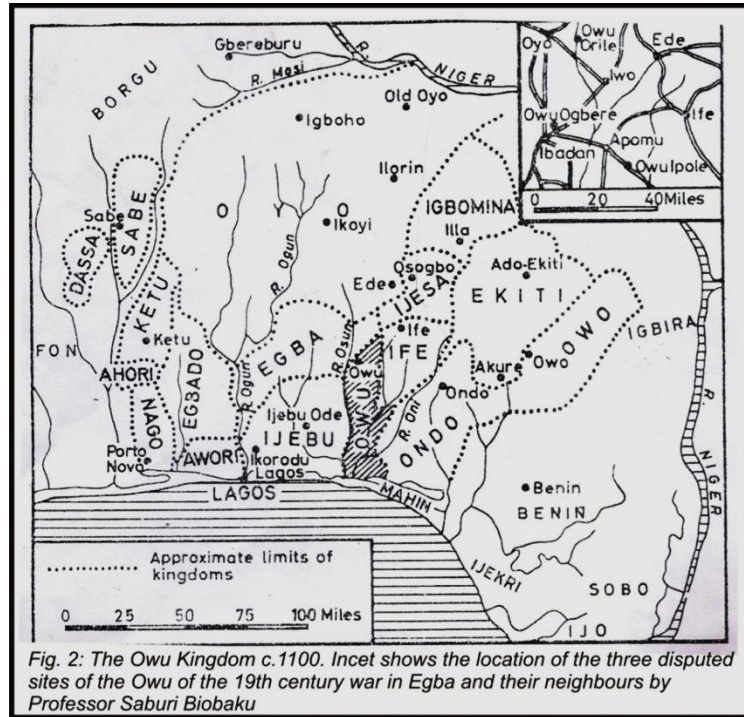
At the bottom of all these developments around Apomu were the centuries-old rivalries for the control of the large trade in the market town of Apomu and the routes through the Apomu area. At the height of the power of the Oyo Empire, the Oyo traders had come to dominate this trade — with the strong support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

The usually formidable Owu army marched out to meet the Ife-Ijebu allies, but the allies proved to be stronger — especially because the Ijebu army was armed with guns bought from European traders on the coast. The Owu army fell back on their city, which was then besieged by the allies. The Oyo chiefs who had got Owu into this situation could not help the Olowu; they were too preoccupied with the troubles in their own country. As the siege dragged on, large numbers of Oyo men - refugees fleeing from their own country - joined with the allies outside the walls of **Owu-Ipole**. The invaders thus became too strong for the defenders, and **Owu-Ipole's defenses collapsed in c. 1820. The Olowu (by then a warlike king named Akinjobi) managed to escape.** The invading armies, greatly swollen by the Oyo

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refugees, then broke into the city and completely wiped it out. According to widespread traditions, the Ooni ordered that a curse be placed on the site of Owu-Ipole, with an interdict that it would never again be resettled. Owu-Ipole survivors fled, and so did the inhabitants of all the smaller Owu towns - some southwards into northern Ijebu, but most into neighboring Egba villages. *The victorious allies, greatly swollen in numbers by the continually arriving Oyo refugees, followed them into the Egba country because some of the Egba villages had helped the Owu during the siege of Owu-Ipole. One by one, all towns and villages in the eastern and central parts of the Egba country were destroyed. The Egba people, plus most of the Owu, then fled westwards. When they came under the Olumo Rock in the far western part of the Egba country, they settled down and began to build a new town which they named Abeokuta.*

Thus ended the Owu War. It needs to be added that the siege of Owu (c. 1817–22) was contemporary with Afonja's creation of his Jamaa army in Ilorin in 1817, and his conquest of parts of the Oyo country. *Owu was destroyed in 1822 and Afonja died in 1824. As will be remembered, Afonja's death was followed by unsuccessful attempts by Oyo armies to dislodge the Fulani from Ilorin, and by the firm establishment of an Islamic emirate in Ilorin.*



6.2 Ibadan and Owu-Ogbere War in 1825 A.D.

At page 64 of *Owu in Yoruba history*. Professor Akin Mabogunje and Professor J.D. Omer-Cooper narrated the account given to them by the late Oba Akinyele of Ibadan and the Baale of Erunmu as the most likely explanation for the quarrel between Ibadan (i.e second Ibadan) and the refugee settlement of Owu-Ogbere. In both of these accounts, Owu was stated to be just outside Ibadan on the site known as **Owu-Ogbere**. The ruler of this town was said to have become involved in a conflict with Ibadan. The reason given was that the *Olowu had married a daughter of Baale of Ibadan whose name, Nkan, meant "something"*.

War broke out and the allied army was called in as it had been the struggle between **Oorun and Idomapa**. Owu-Ogbere was destroyed and the army then took possession of Ibadan, squeezing out its original Lagelu descendants (not Egba) population. The settlement of the composite army in Ibadan marked the beginning of a new phase in the long chain of events which began at the Apomu market.

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

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

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

According to Rev. Samuel Johnson in “The History of the Yorubas (1921)” at page (224-225) – 1976 edition: of all the towns overrun the previous might such as Ojokodo, Iwohala, Ojoo, Ikerekuiwere, Ijaiye-maja etc. Ibadan alone they found not destroyed by fire, and so this marauding band hastily **occupied it. *The war-chiefs taking possession of any compound they chose, and their men with them and thus Ibadan was again re-people but not by the owners of the town,*** but by a composite band of marauders, consisting of Oyos, Ifes, Ijebus, and some friendly Egbas.

Destruction of Owu Ogbere and Foundation of the Third Ibadan in 1825

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.*

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

Thereafter, an excuse was found for an open intra-class struggle in **c.1833**. This later escalated into GBANAMU war between the Ife, who attracted support from Edunabon and Ipetumodu and the Oyo-Yoruba who also received assistance from Ijaye, led by Kurunmi, Ede and Iwo where there were other pockets of refugees. The Oyo-Yoruba won, and Ibadan became, up till today, an Oyo-Yoruba town (Toyin Falola, 1989 and 2012).

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

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

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

7.0 WHY IBADAN ADOPTED A MILITARY ARISTOCRACY

In fashioning a new government, the migrants had very little jurisdictions to duplicate the old Oyo system of a monarchical government. Their recent experience favoured the search for a new workable alternative. Ibadan was founded by “**iron and blood**” and right from the beginning, it was clear that there would not be much room for the traditional, civil office holders who might not be able to face the challenges and threats posed by the wars and insecurity of the period.

Circumstances called for the 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 (Professor Toyin Falola, 2012).

Ibadan was not alone in adopting military rule at this time in Yorubaland. For instance, at **Ijaye**, a new government set up by **Kurunmi** went **further than Ibadan** in establishing **a military dictatorship** that concentrated political, economic, and religious power in the hands of a single man in the person of **Kurunmi** himself. His subjects feared and dreaded him more “**than even the gods**” and **they were required to submit to “his absolute will”**. Also at **Abeokuta**, founded in 1830 after being forced out of Ibadan by **Maye Okunade and Ife ethnic group**, the first government was a sort of **military autocracy with Sodeke**, the leader of the Egba migrants to Abeokuta, as the Balogun.

Ibadan derived its strength and stability partly from the fact that all the people who established and nurtured its unique characteristics came from different parts of Yorubaland; according to Professor Akinwumi Ishola in an article “Governance in the Republic Warriors published in 2007. **Lagelu** came from Ile-Ife, **Oluyedun** from Ilorin, **Oluyole** was from Oyo-Ile, **Oyesile Olugbode** came from Kuta. **Ogunmola** hailed from Fesu near Iwo and **Ibikunle** migrated from Ogbomoso, **Orowusi** came from Ogbagba and **Aiyejenku Foko** was from Eju (Onipee, Oyun) and so on. *Each one brought with him unique experience in the techniques of war and administration but they all subscribed to the idea of a free, just, egalitarian society with a hereditary system of leadership.*

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 procedure and energetic ad ever-expanding economy. By 1851, a well-defined political arrangement which put the military at the helm of affairs had been fashioned out. Essentially, **there were four categories of chiefs; two civil and two military**. The creation of the four categories shows how the political system developed from the military lime initially created in the **1830s**. **The addition of the civil lines was in response to the need for**

a permanent set of rulers who could see to the administration of Ibadan when the military men were out of town.

The **civil leaders were war veterans** who were supposed to combine military experience with old age and political experience. The second civil category of officers was of less political importance. This was **Iyalode line**, consisting of woman chiefs. The Iyalode's influence largely depended on her personality and not on any definite political power which she was supposed to wield by the constitution.

According to Professor Akinwumi Ogundiran (2020), although warrior-kings were the major actors during this period, others with less dramatic powers also mobilized their agentive resources from below and made indelible marks on the Yoruba political topography. Traders, hunters and professional warriors were among these later agents of change.

Between 1570s and 1650 was a period of renewal and regeneration marked by rebuilding of old kingdoms such as Oyo, Ife, Ilesa, Benin, Owu Igbomina etc and foundation of new ones such as Ibadan, Iwo, Osogbo, Ilorin and Ogbomoso. The political landscape of Yorubaland was transformed by warrior-kings and militaristic states.

However, in the nineteenth century, the power politics and political intrigues in metropolitan Oyo, 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 Yoruba region to reach its socio-political breaking point between **1790-1837**. During the long night of confusion, **the underclass revolt in Oyo and the Ife-Ijebu siege of Owu were particularly moments**. Both events launched the Yoruba world into worst region-wide crisis since the second half of the fifteenth century.

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

8.0 THE GROWTH AND STRATEGIC URBAN DEVELOPMENT OF IBADAN METROPOLIS:

Ibadan located within the interface of the **Savannah Belt** and the forestland was founded in the **16th Century**, precisely in **1580AD** by Lagelu, a warrior chief from Degelu compound, Oke-Eso in Ile-Ife at the time during the reign of Alaafin Abipa (1580-1590) when Oyo was returning to the Old capital (Oyo-Ile) after the destruction of the capital by the Nupe militarists. **The first Ibadan** was destroyed in the late **18th century** and **the second Ibadan** was **abandoned** after **Ibadan and Owu-Ogbere war** and was occupied by the allied army of Ife, Ijebu, Oyo and Egba in **1825** when Maye Okunade, an Ife general, became the first Baaale.

8.1 The Growth of the Traditional Core Area:

The site of the **second and third Ibadan** at **Ojaba** formerly known as **Labosinde market** until **1838** when Alaafin Atiba conferred Basorun title on **Oluyole, the son of Basorun Olukoye in the Old Oyo Empire**. The site was not only found suitable but it also had an extensive land reserve for expansion. The availability of a large tract of land was necessary because of the people's farming system of shifting cultivation (Professor Toyin Falola, 2012).

The new town was small, it was not more than a kilometer in all directions from **Ojaba** at the centre. Its layout closely followed the pattern of the older towns. **It had a market centrally located at Mapo.** Surrounding this market in all directions were the earliest compounds of the **military chiefs and other notable warriors.** These compounds were built at the base and brow of **Oke Mapo** for security reasons as explained above.

In less than two decades after its establishment, Ibadan had grown into a big commercial centre. From the small settlement of the **1830s**, it rapidly expanded to such an extent that the **second town wall** had to be built in the late 1840s under Oluyole administration, and the third city wall, known as **Ibikunle city wall** in **1858** during the reign of Baale Ajayi Oyesile Olugbode, to protect its almost one hundred thousand (100,000) dwellers. This rapid growth in the size of the town and its population corresponded with and provided a stimulus for the expanding economy of Ibadan during this period.

By **1850**, Ibadan had become an urban centre with a population of about **60,000** to **100,000** people living within the town, which covered about sixteen (16) square miles. By that date, it had also established an identifiable **social, political** and economic structure which sustained it for the remaining fifty (50) years of the century.

8.2 Physical Location and Strategic Developments of Ibadan:

Ibadan, along with Kano and Kumasi (Ghana), are one of the few major pre-colonial Sub-Sahara cities to retain its importance as an urban centre today.

As the capital of Oyo state, Ibadan occupies a strategic regional position within Nigeria. With a population of over 6 million, it is the most populous city in the state, and the third most populous city in Nigeria, after Lagos and Kano. It is Nigeria's largest city with an area of **3,145.96sq. kilometer**, which is nearly 11 percent of the state.

The city is well connected to the **national road and rail networks**. Located in the South-eastern part of Oyo state. It is approximately **119** kilometers North-east of Lagos and **120** kilometers east of the border with Republic of Benin. It is the most prominent transit point with trading routes between the coastal regions and the neighboring states and contains major transport arteries linking Lagos with the federal capital, Abuja, the northern metropolis of Kano and other important cities,

(a) Road Transport:

The Lagos-Ojoo Expressway, part of the **trans-African Highway** network, passes through the city along with the Lagos-Nguru railway line. A number of **inter-urban** bus routes also serve the city while domestics' flight to Abuja and Lagos operate from **Ibadan Airport** (now named after Chief Ladoke Akintola).

There is also the construction of Lagos-Ibadan **high speed rails** which terminate at Alabata. The **high speed line** from Lagos is an opportunity to open up the city to further investment and increase commercial activity between the two cities.

(b) Relief:

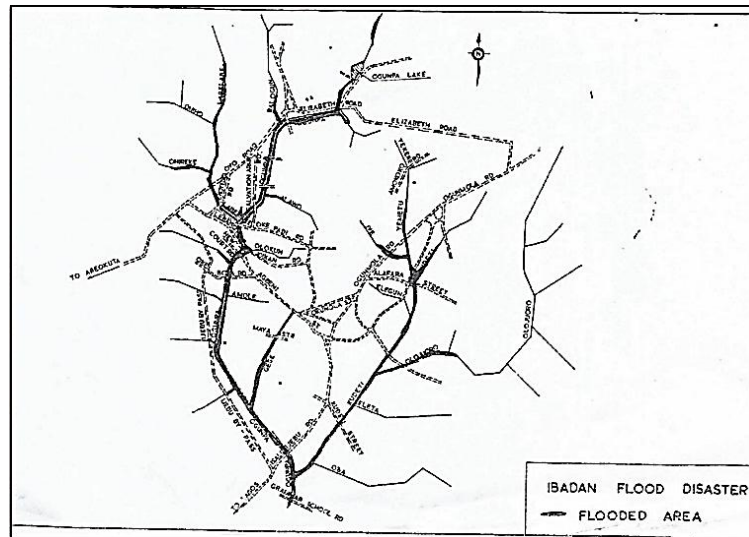
Ibadan lies within the tropical forest zone but close to the boundary between the Forest and the Savannah. It is characterized by **rugged terrain with steep slopes** creating a very dense network of streams with wide valley plains. The city ranges in elevation from **150 metres** in the valley area, to **275 metres** above sea level on the major **North-South ridge** which crosses the central part of the city from Mapo hill to Aare Latosa hill and Mokola hill. Aare Latosa hill where Bower's Tower was erected to Mokola hill on top of which was a mill. Premier hotel were covered with teak plantation called (Agala Forest Reserves) planted by the Ibadan Native Authority in **1936**. The Agala Forest Reserves extended to Upper Ogunpa Dam turned to Agodi Gardens (see the Google map attached).



Fig. 1: Aare Hill with Ibadan House and Olubadan palace

(c) Drainage System:

The city is naturally drained by four rivers with many tributaries. **River Ona** on the North and the west, **River Ogbere** towards the East, **River Ogunpa** flowing through the city and **River Kudeti** in the central part of the city. **Lake Eleyele** is located in the North-western part of the city, and the East is bounded by **Osun River** and **Asejire Lake**. **These rivers are the main drainage channels that can cause flooding** when not properly maintained. There is an existence network of rivers and streams throughout the city as a result of a combination of the **geology of the area** and the tropical monsoon climate.



8.3 Settlement Pattern in the 20th century:

The more contemporary areas of the city lie to the West and North of the range of hills first traversed by the founding fathers. Some of the hills are **Oke Sapati, Oke Oluokun, Oke Seni, Oke Are, Oke Foko, Oke Mapo, Oke Ado, Oke Bola** etc. The settlement pattern are marked out by the variation in architectural patterns and, to some extent, the social and economic stratification within the sprawling city. Professor Akinlawon Mabogunje noted that the earlier coop of immigrants into Ibadan from about **1900** were from neighboring Yoruba communities, such as Ijebu, Egba and Ijesha. They were mostly traders, who settled in parts of the Western sector known as **Amunigun, Agbeni, Idikan, Oke-Padi and Foko**.

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

The general land use pattern of the Ibadan metropolitan area show a clear distinction purely residential use for Urban Ibadan and agricultural use for Rural Ibadan. According to Ayeni (1994) residential land use is the most predominant among all land uses in the built up part of Ibadan. In this analysis, the metropolitan area refer to the Urban only and some rural area.

The arrival of the railway bringing European goods and personnel for trade and administration marked the beginning of large-scale immigration. The railway system began in 1896 in Lagos and reached Kano in 1911 while the first motorable road in Nigeria was constructed from Ibadan to Oyo in 1906. Ethnic groups such as the Ibos, Edos, Urhobos, Nupe Igbiras. Sabo became occupied predominantly by the Hausas and Fulani with an expansive Cola-nut trade while using their heavy presence to influence politics. Oke-Ado and Oke Bola were then laid out for occupation by Yoruba ethnic groups such as Ijebus and the Egbas. These were “invaders” of some sort but not the caliber expected to challenge business elite. They constituted mostly the underclass which provided supporting services in the society.

The growth of Ibadan became more rapid from 1946 when it was made the headquarters of the then Western Region of Nigeria. It then began to attract more Europeans as administrators and businessmen, Yorubas mostly as civil servants but also as traders, and other ethnic groups who came into various unskilled occupations. The settlement pattern continued to follow the triangular form, which had been established. And Jericho with other new reservations for Europeans were established because Agodi hill had become inadequate. By 1952, the population of those Europeans had become 2,000. This is a large figure for those times. But largerband more rapid expansion were taking place in the indigenous areas such as Oke-Padi, Oniyanrin, Oke-Aremo, Oke-Offa, Ode-Aje, Agugu, Elekuro, Kudeti and Ogunpa area. According to Professor Bola Ayeni, “The Metropolitan Area of Ibadan has one of the **highest population densities** in the country and mostly densely settled area remain the central and indigenous core of the city”.



The Hausa from the North were granted a parcel of land which was christened **Sabo**, an abbreviation of **Sabon gari**. Sabo is often translated as new town or stranger's quarters. This is an indication that the area is a quarter for settlers. Adjacent to this, the Nupe were settled within **Mokola Layout** referred to as **Ago Tapa**, which translates as **Nupe hamlets**. These settlements were about a mile and a half north of the railway terminus.

8.4 Origins and Characteristics of Residential Districts

(i) The Modern Slum:

Most of the **Sub-Urban** area on either side of the **Ibadan-Lagos Express Way** such as **Olomi, Olorunsogo, Oremeji, Ogbere, Academy** etc. are regarded as modern slums. These areas are generally **high density residential districts**, with many houses lacking direct vehicular access.

Others areas such as **Agbowo, Samonda** and **Orogun/Ojoo** have become slums because of the huge demand for housing and goods and services by the staff and students of the University of Ibadan and other service groups attracted to Ibadan.

A similar effect on the **Sango** residential district has also been created by the Ibadan polytechnic. Subsequently, the residential areas of **Sango, Samonda, Agbowo, Orogun** and **Ojoo**, which are the adjoining area of University Ibadan and Ibadan polytechnic have virtually become slums with an alarming rate of deterioration.

(ii) The Fairly Planned Area:

The fairly planned areas are essentially the creation of successive waves of migration into Ibadan from other towns. They were created during the colonial and post-independence periods. **The residents of some of these areas display socio-cultural affinities reflecting the close associations within ethnic and sub-ethnic concentration of the earlier immigrants.** For example, the Ijebu are concentrated at **Isale-Ijebu** and **Oke-Ado**, the Egba at **Odo-Ona**, the Ijesa/Ekiti/Ife at **Mokola, Inalende, Ode-alo**, and **Oniyanrin**, while the hausa and Fulani are concentrated at **Sabo, Ojoo**, and **Shasha**. Other areas in this classification are **Oremeji, Coca-cola, Oketunu, Ijokodo, Eleyele, Olopo-mewa, Felele**, and **Iwo-Road**. Where developments were fairly guided by planning regulations, thus providing better planned residential neighborhoods, compared with the traditional core residential areas and emerging modern slums. These areas are essentially high/medium density residential districts and enjoy good road connectivity. The common types of residential buildings are flat types and each building could contain two to six flats.

(iii) Government Residential Areas/Housing Estates:

The development of the Government Reservation Area outside core residential was as a result of the Township Ordinance of 1917 promulgated by the British Colonial government which classified urban centres into the categories. First class was Lagos and second class townships of which Ibadan was one of them. The Agodi GRA was the first established GRA in 1893 in Ibadan while Jericho and Iyaganku GRA were developed followed by link and Onireke GRAs. After the promulgation of Township Ordinance in 1917 by the British. Jericho Nursing Home was established in 1905.

The Western Nigeria Housing Corporation (WNHC) now the Oyo state Housing Corporation, formerly Property Development Corporation of Oyo state (PDCOS) was established in 1958 and almost immediately started developing the Old Bodija Estate.

8.5 Historical Development of Transportation:

A road construction project across the whole country began in **1897**. As much as possible, the new roads followed existing footpaths and were not too wide. A minor difficulty was experienced in expanding those roads within the town because “**it was hard** not to hurt the susceptibility of the people by passing over the graves of their ancestors”.

By October **1906**, the town had been linked with Lagos by a road wide enough for a car. In addition, Ibadan and his environs had at least twenty miles of roads which **Governor Egerton**, who rode in the first car to the town, described as “**sufficiently good to support wheeled traffic**” A year later in **1907**, it became feasible to begin a transport service between **Ibadan and Oyo**. The roads later extended to **Ogbomoso, Iseyin and Ife**. The plan was to link all major centres and maintain those that had previously been built because of their potential to generate rapid commercial transactions (Prof. Toyin Falola, 2012).

Railway work also began in **1898**, reached **Abeokuta in 1900, and Ibadan in 1901**. The line continued northwards reaching **Jebba in 1910**. By **1918**, a total of **\$8,670,145** had been expended on railway and a total of **1,110 miles** had been constructed out of this, **the Western Railways**, a three foot by six inch gauge from Lagos to **Kano**, was **704 miles long**.

In **1920 and 1921**, the **provincial government did not build new roads, except the widening of the Ibadan-Ife road**. In **1921**, the **Ibadan District administration** constructed and paid for a total addition of forty-four (44) miles, with **Ibadan city** benefiting from a quarter of this. Those additional roads brought the total

network of roads in the **Oyo Province** to **4131/4** miles out of which Ibadan had the following: Ibadan town (20 miles)

- Ibadan-Akanran (4miles), and
- Ibadan-Olodo (7 miles),
- Ibadan-Oyo (33 miles),
- Ibadan-Ife (56 miles),
- Ibadan- Ijebu-ode (44 miles) and
- Ibadan- Ilugun (20 miles).

9.0 THE CHANGING STATUS OF THE INSTITUTION OF OBASHIP INYORUBALAND DURING AND AFTER THE BRITISH COLONIAL ADMINISTRATION

9.1 AN OVERVIEW:

Britain does not have written constitution but they maintain their tradition and culture. We have a written constitution but we have deleted our culture and tradition from our constitution and that is pour greatest dilemma. Our traditional rulers represent the best of our tradition and culture. They have been and will continue to be. Even in our struggle for independence, they played prominent roles. It was not only the politicians that struggled for our independence, traditional rulers, journalists and others were in the struggle too.

According to **Erediawa, the 39th Oba of Benin** (23/3/79), a traditional ruler means the traditional head of an ethnic community **whose stool is conferred the highest traditional authority** on the incumbent since the time before the beginning of British rule. On the other hand, *He is defined as a person who, by reason of inheritance or lineage has been appointed to a chieftaincy position by those entitled to do so under customary law and whose appointment has been approved by the approving authorities.*

From these definitions, and in practical terms, *the pre-independent traditional ruler stands as the repository of all the Executives, Legislative and*

judicial powers of his domain. In some areas, particularly amongst the Yoruba's, a traditional ruler is regarded as a replica of **God** (*mutatis mutandis*) by virtue of which all their words became law, the infraction of which oftentimes attract corporal and sometimes, capital punishments.

9.2 Traditional Rulers under the British Rule:

The advent of colonial rule in Nigeria occasioned a major paradigm shift in traditional rulership as it was then known. Colonialism restructured the erstwhile well-organized traditional ruling system and incorporated an indigenous system to serve the interest of the colonial state and the metropolitan authority.

Colonialism ushered in a transformation in the role of traditional rulers. This change was necessitated by the desire to realize the objective of colonialism, which was to exploit the natural resources of Nigeria to meet the industrial needs of the capitalist metropolis. Traditional rulers were used to serve these objectives.

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 deposed traditional ruler to die was certainly one of the many customary practices that the British axed, considering its obnoxious, inequitable and repugnant.*

According to **Aare Afe Babalola SAN**, in the Nigerian Tribune of Thursday, 2 April, 2020, under the colonial dispensation, the fate of the **deposed Oba** produced dilemma around which revealed two contrasting viewpoints such as:

- 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 was the adage that a new Oba could not be appointed while the holder is still alive.

With Traditional rulers becoming **pivotal to the effective implementation of the British colonial indirect rule**, the disposition of those traditional rulers was

bound to create a major offset in the administrative policy. However, **the British response to the disposition of a traditional ruler was banishment**, either to avert or in response to political complications. *The Deposed chiefs, Removal Ordinance, 1917 provides thus: “When a Native chief has been deposed, the Governor may if satisfied that it is necessary for the re-establishment or maintenance of peace, order and good government, direct that such chief shall leave the area over which he had exercised jurisdiction and that he shall not return to such area without the consent of the Governor*, For example:

- Oba Kosoko of Lagos 1851
- King Jaja of Opobo 1880
- Ovonramwen, Oba of Benin 1897
- Akarigbo Oyejajo 1891-1897
- Awujale Adenuga 1925-1929 etc.
- Alaafin of Oyo Oba Adeyemi II was sent on exile to Ilesha and later relocated to Edgerton Street on Lagos Island where he lived and died in 1960.

9.3 Post-Colonial Status of The Traditional Institution

The role and relevance of traditional rulers under British colonial administration, according to **Aare Afe Babalola SAN**, suffered **steady, continuous decline** and upon independence. Some of the attributes of the British colonials, including ensuring the sustained irrelevance of traditional institutions, continued to hold sway.

Nevertheless, at that time, many traditional rulers were appointed as members of house of the North, East, West, and Midwest regions and had continued to wield some form of influence in the newly established political structure. For instance, **the Ooni of Ife, the late Oba Adesoji Aderemi**, was elected into the house of

Representative and appointed a Federal Minister. He also served as the Governor of the Western Region between **1960** and **1963**.

However, at the time of the military coup in **1966**, **traditional rulers had seen their role evaded** from that of being members of the house of the representatives to that of being members of a largely advisory body. ***Just as the elected politicians, the military regime sought to undermine the political influence wielded by the traditional rulers so that popular loyalty shifted towards the state government.***

9.4 Changes and Reforms in the Hierarchy of Crowned Obas

British colonialism retained and energized traditional rulers for its use and advantage. Post-colonial Nigeria maintains them not as “**Museum materials**” but as links of stability and (possible) instruments stability and development. Amidst failure of politics and politicians, kings new influence and attract infrastructure to their kingdoms (Dr. Lasisi Olagunju 2023).

Ile-Ife and Old-Oyo kingdom were at the very core of the cultural and political essence of the Yoruba nation. While the whole of Yoruba have managed to preserve Ile-Ife as home to all. **With the collapse of the Old Oyo Empire in 1837, Ibadan pointedly rejected a kingdom and the lineage system that produced a kingdom’s hereditary type of leadership and adopted military republicanism as a model of governance in the nineteenth century.** Since then, Ibadan has undergone constant changes and reforms from 1893.

In July 2023, the Late Olubadan, His imperial Majesty, Oba Lekan Balogun Okunade II. Wrote to His Excellency. Oluseyi Abiodun Makinde, the Governor of Oyo state seeking approval to crown his chiefs. ***The Olubadan got the approval and the crowning of hid chiefs and himself on Friday 2023, and the sea of Ibadan has been remarkably calm. There are eleven junior kings (i.e. The High Chiefs) and 34 coronet Obas (i.e. the Baales) now in Ibadan.***

Traditionally in the pre-colonial period, the highest group of the **quarter chiefs** (i.e. the chief on both Otun Olubadan line and Balogun Line in Ibadan) became the highest king's council or (inner council in Ife), and (Oyomesi in Oyo) its membership is usually numbered **five** occasionally more, nut hardly even more than **seven** except in Ibadan where they are **eleven**. In addition to providing leadership in their quarters, the members of the **king's council** met with the king daily in the palace (as the king-in-council) to take all decisions affecting the kingdom. **The king-in-council also served as the kingdom's highest court of appeal.** The king was prohibited from taking decisions of state outside the king-in-council, but all its decisions were presented to the people as the king's decision (Professor Bamiji Akintoye, 2010). These numbers of king-in-council bore different names and the numbers varied from kingdoms to kingdoms.

Before the narratives of **Olubadan Kingship reform sharing his royalty with his senior chiefs and Baales (co-regency)** according to Lasisi Olagunju in the Nigerian Tribune of Monday 10, July 2023 wrote that he was present with the Late Ooni of Ife, Oba Okunade Sijuwade II, crowned his senior chiefs and Baales in February 2009. It was Governor Oyinlola government in Osun state which approved the crowning of these senior chiefs and Baales from one end of the ancient kingdom to the other. 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. Ife senior chiefs got beaded crowns, Ogunsua of Modakeke got it's too, all

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on the same day and directly from the hands of the Ooni of Ife. Since then, there has been peace now and forever more.

In Ogun State, instead of two paramount rulers, there are now four paramount rulers namely: Egba, Ijebu, Remo and Yewa having their own paramount rulers followed by first class Obas and second class obas, Oyo state has three paramount rulers namely: Olubadan, Alaafin and Soun bearing the titles of His Imperial Majesties.

9.5 Present Status of The Institution of Obaship in Yorubaland

According to Professor Toyin Falola in the Nigerian Tribune of Saturday, 4th January, 2025 *“Civilizational changes and globalization have been major threats to the survival of African culture and traditions. There are now fewer institutions and elements that preserve the traditional sanctity”* Education, social orientations, political subscriptions, and general convictions are generally engineered to work against the promotion and preservation of customs and traditions.

He continued, *but we know that customs and cultures that are neither respected nor revered would be forgotten and metamorphosed into abusive practices.* The only institutions that will give hope for the sustainability of the African and Yoruba cultures are the traditional institutions and rulership popularly referred to as **Obaship**. To become a traditional leader in the Yoruba culture, you are seen as embodiment of cultural understanding and a stand-in stead of the gods in all ramifications. The sanctity of the gods must not be adulterated by any contradictory conceptions.

While it is understandable that development and globalization are contemporary realities of every society, the Obaship institutions cannot escape the changes they bring. However, while the whole nation is set against traditional and cultural conceptions, the traditional stools are supposed to be the emblems of African

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spiritual and traditional realities and givers of hope that the waves of modernity will not wash off our cherished culture.

Unfortunately, the traditional leaders are now bent on foreign religious and beliefs that are contradictory to the cure of the stools they sit on. Professor Toyin Falola noted that the Oba's are now kneeling for Pastors and Imams to pray for them dancing gullibly to the beacons of politicians. **Many of them have forgotten the core of the Yoruba tradition and they are supposed to be the foremen of the tradition itself. It is pitiful they are no longer appointed by divination but by money.** If you see them at social functions, some of them have collected acceptance fees. Their unending corrupt passions now command the Iku-Babayeyes and become **land grabbers** and **puppet** to the politicians.

9.6 CONSTANT CHANGES AND REFORMS OF TRADITIONAL OLUBADAN KINGSHIP

Introduction:

Ibadan other unique quality is that it evolved in the nineteenth century a leadership system based primarily on merit, and it has remained so till today. What was important was one's ability to contribute to the development of the town through the display of military prowess in its defense or through peaceful pursuits such as trade, industry, farming etc., which can sustain this military republic. **The leadership of such outstanding people was acknowledged in running the affairs of the town unlike in the traditional system where chieftaincy position were hereditary.** Chieftaincy System gave hope for all to aspire and within that context developed a promotional System staring from the lower rung of the ladder to its pinnacle as the Olubadan.

The decision of the first warriors that established Ibadan to choose leaders only on merit and proven ability can be seen as a revolt against the traditional Yoruba kingship system. In their new resolve they would never live under kings provided by dynasties. Ibadan would not create a dynasty. This meant that persons of diverse

origin could aspire to the position of Olubadan and indeed no less than three two Baales and One Olubadan have been **Owus**.

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

9.7 Change From Military Aristocracy To Military Republicanism

In 1851, a well-defined political arrangement which put the military at the helm of affairs had been fashioned out. The creation of the civil lines (Otun Baale and Iyalode) in addition to Balogun line was in response to the need for a permanent set of rulers who could see to the administration of Ibadan when the military men were out of town.

The first civil line was headed by the **Baale** (the title was changed to Olubadan in **1936**). He was the leader of the town and to him and his lieutenants (the Otun Baale, Osi Baale, Eketa Baale, Asipa, Ekeriin, and Maye) had the primary responsibility of maintaining the law and order in Ibadan. **The civil leaders were veterans** who were supposed to combine military experiences with old age and political experience.

The Baale Civil Office holders were primarily charged with administering Ibadan. The Baale and his subordinate Chiefs were expected to be knowledgeable in military history and welfare, and above all they must be familiar with the foreign policies of every major Yoruba sub-group and their neighbours.

9.8 Change of Baale Title to Olubadan in 1936

In **1936**, Ibadan as a city was tired of dragging the **Baale title** with minions in charge of its villages. It wanted its traditional head to be called and known as **Olubadan** instead of the lowly Baale title. The colonial government approved it on **18 June, 1936** but put it on hold on 7 July. On 9 July, fifty seven (57) Ibadan chiefs

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signed a petition asking the authorities to *“bring about the desired change”* they all longed for. *The approval for the title-change came on 21 October, 1936 with the colonial government emplacing that the title was cosmetic, that it could only massage the ego of bearer, it contained no potency that could make the bearer king with a beaded crown to watch which they eventually won in 1976.*

9.9 THE IMPERATIVE OF REFORMING YORUBA HIERARCHY OF TRADITIONAL KINGSHIP

The current hierarchies, distinguishing between the so-called primary and secondary Yoruba Kingdoms are products of the regional political reorganization that followed the collapse of 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 wars created at the instigation of the colonial officers, who needed this narrative to implement the British policy of indirect rule. And the hierarchies have been revised several times since independence to accommodate the **changing** political configurations in post-colonial Nigerian Politics.

SAMUEL JOHNSON LIST OF YORUBA KINGS

On pages 7 and 8 of his book, **“The History of the Yorubas”** Samuel Johnson claims that Oduduwa had many children, the eldest of whom was Okanbi who in order of age were as follows:

- 1) The mother of the Olowu of Owu
- 2) The mother of Alaketu of Ketu
- 3) The King of Benin, called Eweka
- 4) The Orangun of Ila
- 5) The Onisabe of Sabe
- 6) The Olupopo of the Popos, and
- 7) Oranyan, the first Alaafin of Oyo

Note:

- (a) The historical error regarding Oranyan is note-worthy. It was Oranyan who founded the Kingdoms of **Benin** and **Oyo**. He first founded Benin Kingdom in charge of which he put his son. Eweka I, when returning to Ile-Ife from Ile-Ife he again moved northward to found Oyo Kingdom.
- (b) The above list is far from being complete, according to Tpl. Oluremi I. Obateru (2006).
- (c) The name of **Ajibogun** was missed out. He was the **Owa of Ilesa** who procured **sea water** to cure Oduduwa, his father's blindness. Henc, he is called **Owa Obokun**.
- (d) **Lugborogan**, the Awujale of Ijebuland was also omitted and was the grandson of **Olu-Iwa** the founder of Ijebu-Ode Owo Kingdom was founded **Ojugbolu** (and his son Imade); and the Ado in Ekiti founded by **Awomoro**.

(a) Ile-Ife-Modakeke Peace Package:

It was Governor Olagunsoye Oyinlola government in Osun State which approved the crowning of Senior Chief and Baales form one and of the ancient Kingdom to the other. The Ooni today, in his majesty and glory, wears his crown, his top Chiefs wear their own crowns with the understanding that **cat** will remain a **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**.

Ife **Senior Chiefs** got beaded crowns, **Ogunsua of Modakeke** got his too, all on the same day and directly from the hands of Ooni of Ife, Oba Sijuwade Olubuse II. Since then, there has been peace now and forever more (Dr. Lasisi Olagunju, Monday, 10 July, 2023).

(b) Changes and Reform of Olubadan Kingship System

In 2023, the reigning Olubadan, Oba Lekan Balogun, Okumade II, wrote to Governor Oluseyi Abiodun Makinde, the Governor of Oyo State, seeking approval to crown his chiefs. The Olubadan got the approval and did the crowning of his High Chiefs him selves on Friday, 7 July, 2023 and later about 34 Baales wearing **Coronet Crowns**. The nomenclature of the obas historically and hierarchically and hierarchically became; the Olubadan of Ibadanland-His Imperial Majesty the eleven High Chiefs- His Royal Majesties while the crowned Baales became. His Royal Majesties. The sea of Ibadan has been remarkably calm.



His Excellency; Engineer Seyi Makinde (2019 – 2027)



*His Imperial Majesty, Oba Lekan Balogun,
Okumade II (2022 – 2024)*

9.9 PRESENT STATUS OF THE INSTITUTION OF OBASHIP IN YORUBALAND

According to Professor Toyin Falola, in the Nigerian Tribune of Saturday, 4 January, 2025, *“Civilizational changes and globalization have been major threats to the survival of African culture and traditions. There are now fewer institutions and elements that preserve the traditional sanctity”*. Education, social orientations, political subscriptions, and general convictions are generally engineered to work against the promotion and preservation of customs and traditions.

He continued, *we know that customs and cultures that are neither respected nor revered would be forgotten or metamorphosed into abusive practices*. The only institutions that will give hope for the sustainability of the African and the Yoruba cultures are the traditional institutions and rulership popularly referred to as Obaship. To become a traditional leader in the Yoruba culture, you are seen as embodiment of culture understanding and a stand-in stead of the gods and must not be adulterated by any contradictory conceptions.

While it is under stable that development and globalization are contemporary realities of every society, the Obaship institutions cannot escape the changes they bring. However, while the whole nation is set against traditional and cultural conceptions, the traditional stools are supposed to be the emblems of African spiritual and traditional realities and givers of hope that the waves of modernity will not wash off our cherished culture.

Unfortunately, the traditional leaders are now bent on foreign religious and beliefs that are contradictory to the core of the stools they sit on. Professor Toyin Falola noted the Obas are now kneeling for pastors and Imams to pray for them acting gullibly to the beacons of politicians. *Many of them have forgotten the core of the Yoruba tradition, and they are supposed to be foremen of the tradition itself. It is pitiful. They are no longer appointed by divination but by money*. If you see them and at social functions, some of them have collected attendance fees. Their unending

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corruption passions now command the Iku-babayeyes and become **land grabbers and puppets to the politicians.**

To improve the situation, let the traditionalist uphold the stool and where those who have embraced **modern beliefs** and convictions should take the **traditional beliefs as supreme** because of their positions on the keepers of the customs. Let the people they represent finance them. Let them have the means of survival instead of stealing other people's land to sell. Let the promote education in the palaces.

In conclusion, during the lifetime of the Obas, they were **custodian of Yoruba culture and heritage** ensured the continued promotion and uplifting of Yoruba customs and values. The traditional rulers among them (monarchs) 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.**

APPENDIX I
COMPREHENSIVE LIST OF THE PAST RULERS OF IBADANLAND
IN THE FOUR CHIEFTAINCY LINES

S/NO	PERIOD	RULER	TITLE	BALOGUN	OTUN BAALE	IYALODE
1.	16 th Century	Lagelu	Generalissimo	None	None	None
2.	1820-1830	Maye Okunade	Baale	ᛚ	ᛚ	ᛚ
3.	1832-1835	Oluyedun Afonja	Aare-Ona Kakanfo	ᛚ	ᛚ	ᛚ
4.	1835-1836	Lakanle	Baale	Bankole Alesinloye	ᛚ	ᛚ
5.	1836-1849	Oluyole	Basorun	Oderinlo	ᛚ	ᛚ
6.	1849-1850	Oderinlo	Balogun	None	ᛚ	ᛚ
7.	1850-1851	Opeagbe	Baale	Vacant	ᛚ	ᛚ
8.	1851-1864	Oyesile Olugbode	Bale	Ibikunle	Sunmola Laamo	Subuola
9.	1864-1865	Vacant	-	Ibikunle	Vacant	Subuola
10.	1865-1867	Ogunmola	Basorun	Akere		Subuola
11.	1867-1869	Vacant	-	Akere	Vacant	Subuola
12.	1869-1871	Orowusi	Baale	Ajobo	Iahajo	Efunsetan
13.	1871-1885	Latosisa	Aare-Ona Kakanfo	Ajayi Ogboriefon		Efunsetan
14.	1885-1893	Vacant	-	Ajayi Osungbekun	Iahajo	Iyaola
15.	1893-1895	Fijabi (Omo Babalola)	Baale	Akintola	Osuntoki Olosun	Lanlatu A. Giwa
16.	1895-1897	Osuntoki Olosun	Baale	Akintola	Fajinmi	Lanlatu A. Giwa
17.	1897-1902	Fajinmi (Omo Yerombi)	Baale (Basorun)	Akintola Babalola/Kongi	Mosaderin	Lanlatu A. Giwa
18.	1902-1904	Mosaderin	Baale	Apampa	Dada Opadare	Lanlatu A. Giwa
19.	1904-1907	Dada Opadare	Baale	Omiyale	Apampa	Lanlatu A. Giwa
20.	1907-1910	Apampa (Omo Osundina)	Basorun	Akintayo	Irefin	Lanlatu A. Giwa
21.	1910-1912	Akintayo Awanibaku	Baale	Shittu (Omo Aare)	Irefin	Lanlatu A. Giwa
22.	1912-1914	Irefin (Omo Ogundeji)	Baale	Shittu	Ola Kobomoje	Lanlatu A. Giwa
23.	1914-1925	Shittu (Omo Aare)	Baale	Ola (Kobomoje) Idowu Famiwa Oyewole	Oyewole Foko	Iya-Isale Osun (1914-1917) Ramlatu Ajiseomo (1917-1935)
24.	1925-1929	Oyewola Foko Aijenku	Baale	Okunola Abaas Alesinloye		Ramlatu Ajiseomo (1917-1935)

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25.	1930-1946	Okunola Abass	Baale/Olubadan	Aminu		Rukayat Akande
26.	1946	Akere II	Olubadan	Aminu		Rukayat Akande
27.	1946	Oyetunde I	Olubadan			Rukayat Akande
28.	1946-1947	Akintunde Bioku	Olubadan	Aminu		Rukayat Akande
29.	1948-1952	Fijabi II	Olubadan	Aminu		Abimbola
30.	1952	du Ali-Iwo	Olubadan	I.B. Akinyele	Igbintade Apete	Abimbola
31.	1952-1955	Igbintade Apete		I.B. Akinyele		Abimbola
32.	1955-1964	Isaac Babalola Akinyele	Olubadan	Salawu Aminu	Yusuf Kobiowu	Abimbola
33.	July-Dec.	Yesufu Kobiowu	Olubadan	Salawu Aminu	S.A. Oyetunde	Adebisi Abeo
34.	1965-1971	Salawu Akanbi Aminu	Olubadan	G.A Adebimpe	D.T. Akinbiyi	Adebisi Abeo
35.	1971-1976	Shittu Akintola Oyetunde II	Olubadan	G.A Adebimpe	D.T. Akinbiyi	Adebisi Abeo
36.	1976-1977	Oba G. Akanbi Adebimpe	Olubadan	Y. Oloyede Asanke	D.T. Akinbiyi	Wuraola Esan
37.	1977-1982	Oba Daniel Tayo Akinbiyi	Olubadan	Y.B. Ogundipe	E.A. Adeyemo	Wuraola Esan
38.	1983-1993	Oba Yusuf Olyede Asanke	Olubadan	Y.B. Ogundipe	E.A. Adeyemo	Humani Alade
39.	1993-1999	Oba E. Adegboyega Adeyemo Operinde	Olubadan	Y.B. Ogundipe	S.L. Durosaro	Wuraola Akintola (from 1995)
40.	1999-2007	Oba Yinusa Bankole Ogundipe	Olubadan	H.V.A. Olunloyo	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • S.L. Durosaro • S.O. Lana • Lateef Omotoso 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Wura Akintola (1995-2007) • Aminat Abiodun
41.	2007-2016	Oba Samuel Odulana Odugade	Olubadan	S.A. Omiyale	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Oyeleke Ajani • Omowale Kuye 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Aminat Abiodun
42.	2016-2021	Oba Adetunji Aje Ogunguniso	Olubadan	Olakulehin	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Adewolu Ladoja 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Laduntan Oyekan
43.	2021-2024	Oba Mahood Balogun	Olubadan	Olakulehin	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Adewolu Ladoja 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Laduntan Oyekan
44.	2024-2025	Oba Owolabi Ige Olakulehin I	Olubadan	Ajibola	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Adewolu Ladoja 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Laduntan Oyekan
45.	2025	Oba Rasheed Adewolu Ladoja Arusa I	Olubadan	Ajibola	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Oyewole Foko 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Laduntan Oyekanmi

NOTE; THANK GOD, LAGELU IS NOW RECOGNIZED AS THE FIRST RULER OF IBADANLAND. SO FAR, WE HAVE 45 TRADITIONAL RULERS FROM LAGELU TO OLUBADAN OBA RASHEED LADOJA ARUSA I

APPENDIX II
OBA RASHEED ADEWOLU LADOJA WILL BECOME THE 45TH OLUBADAN OF
IBADANLAND RULERS OF IBADAN FROM 15TH CENTURY TILL PRESENT

NAME	TITLE	PERIOD
1. Lagelu	Generalissimo	16 th Century
2. Maye Okunade	Baale	1820-1830
3. Oluyedun Afonja	Aare-Ona Kakanfo	1832-1835
4. Baale Lakanle	Baale	1835-1836
5. Basorun Oluyole	Basorun	1836-1849
6. Balogun Oderinlo	Balogun	1849-1850
7. Baale Opeagbe	Baale	1850-1851
8. Baale Oyesile Olugbode	Baale	1851-1864
9. Baale Ibikunle	Baale	1864-1865
10. Basorun Ogunmola	Basorun	1865-1867
11. Baale Akere	Baale	1867-1869
12. Baale Orowusi	Baale	1869-1871
13. Aare Ona Kakanfo Latosisa	Aare-Ona Kakanfo	1871-1885
14. Baale Ajayo Osungbekun	Baale	1885-1893
15. Baale Fijabi (Omo Babalola)	Baale	1893-1895
16. Baale Osuntoki Olosun	Baale	1895-1897
17. Basorun Fajinmi (Omo Yerombi)	Baale (Basorun)	1897-1902
18. Baale Mosaderin	Baale	1902-1904
19. Baale Dada Opadare	Baale	1904-1907
20. Basorun Apampa (Omo Osundina)	Basorun	1907-1910
21. Baale Akintayo Awanibaku	Baale	1910-1912
22. Baale Irefin (Omo Ogundeji)	Baale	1912-1914
23. Baale Shittu (Omo Aare)	Baale	1914-1925
24. Baale Oyewola Foko Aijenku	Baale	1925-1929
25. Olubadan Okunola Abass	Baale/Olubadan	1930-1946
26. Olubadan Akere II	Olubadan	1946
27. Olubadan Oyetunde I	Olubadan	1946
28. Olubadan Akintunde Bioku	Olubadan	1946-1947
29. Olubadan Fijabi II	Olubadan	1948-1952
30. Olubadan Ali-Iwo	Olubadan	1952
31. Olubadan Igbintade Apete	Olubadan	1952-1955
32. Oba Isaac Babalola Akinyele	Olubadan	1955-1964
33. Oba Yesufu Kobiowu	Olubadan	July-Dec.
34. Oba Salawu Akanbi Aminu	Olubadan	1965-1971
35. Oba Shittu Akintola Oyetunde II	Olubadan	1971-1976
36. Oba G. Akanbi Adebimpe	Olubadan	1976-1977
37. Oba Daniel Tayo Akinbiyi	Olubadan	1977-1982
38. Oba Yusuf Olyede Asanke	Olubadan	1983-1993
39. Oba E. Adegboyega Adeyemo Operinde	Olubadan	1993-1999
40. Oba Yinusa Bankole Ogundipe	Olubadan	1999-2007
41. Oba Samuel Odulana Odugade	Olubadan	2007-2016
42. Oba Adetunji Aje Ogunguniso	Olubadan	2016-2021
43. Oba Mahood Balogun	Olubadan	2021-2024
44. Oba Owolabi Ige Olakulehin I	Olubadan	2024-2025
45. Oba Rasheed Adewolu Ladoja Arusa I	Olubadan	2025

The Owu-Ogbere war ended the reign of Lagelu dynasty in 1825A.D. while the allied army of Oyo, Ife, Ijebu and Egba led by Maye Okunade took over the second Ibadan. The Gbanamu war ended Maye Okunade era 1833 during which the Owu migrated to Abeokuta established in 1830A.D.

Aare Oluyedun took over the THIRD IBADAN between 1833 and 1835 succeeded by Lakanle who spent just one year or less before Oluyole planned a coup against him and committed suicide